

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO MOSCOW

You will want to see the attached letter (A) from Bryan Cartledge about your visit to Moscow.

Most of the points have already been dealt with, and I am sure you will agree to see Bryan in late February.

But you will want to note particularly his first point, namely his strong advice that you should take a very small party to Moscow; and that participation in your meeting(s) with Gorbachev should be limited to Bryan himself and to me. He does not think Gorbachev will open up properly in front of a wider audience, including Shevardnadze (who would have to be there if the Foreign Secretary was).

The Foreign Secretary has also now expressed a view (B). In essence, he wants to come to Moscow, accepts that you will want to have a very restricted discussion with Gorbachev, but would want to attend any plenary.

*No plenary*

There is also the question of the overall size of the delegation. The Foreign Secretary is likely to press you to take, at least, an arms control expert (probably Mr. Fall). I am not sure this is strictly necessary, if our prior briefing is full enough. We can rely on Bryan Cartledge and his staff for local briefing.

Can I reply to the FCO and to Bryan that:

- you will want one or two very restricted sessions with Gorbachev, at which you would be accompanied only by me (to take a note) and Bryan.
- that we should also propose a single plenary session at which Foreign Ministers and others would be present.

*No plenary*

- that you do not envisage taking officials other than your immediate staff.

*Agreed no*

It is important that he should be able to let the Russians know your view on this at as early a stage as possible.

*C D*

*Agreed as amended*

C D POWELL

12 January 1987

SLHAEK



JE DABPU  
cpc.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

13 January 1987

*From the Private Secretary*

**PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW**

Thank you for your letter of 12 January conveying the Foreign Secretary's view that it would be appropriate for him to accompany the Prime Minister on her visit to Moscow. The Prime Minister would be perfectly content for the Foreign Secretary to do so. As you know she wishes to have two full sessions of talks alone with Mr. Gorbachev with only notetakers (and probably Ambassadors) present. The Foreign Secretary will presumably have simultaneous meetings with the Soviet Foreign Minister. Subsequently there will no doubt be an opportunity for a plenary session to draw together the threads of what has been discussed in the separate meetings. The two Foreign Ministers would presumably be present at this.

I should be grateful if this structure of meetings could be put to the Russians as the Prime Minister's strong preference.

The Prime Minister envisages taking only a very small delegation of her immediate staff to Moscow and will rely on the Embassy for local expertise. There will of course need to be a full briefing session beforehand covering the main issues and in particular arms control.

(C.D. POWELL)

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



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 January 1987

*Dear Charles,*

Prime Minister's Visit to Moscow

The Foreign Secretary has considered whether or not he ought to accompany the Prime Minister on her visit to Moscow. He believes strongly that he should. The prime reason for this is that the Foreign Secretary thinks that this will be a useful opportunity for him to pursue his discussions with Mr Shevardnadze.

There are however also two essentially negative reasons. The first is that the Russians will expect him to be there, since this has been the normal pattern in previous visits and also in visits by other Western premiers. If he is not with the Prime Minister the Russians are liable to draw their own conclusions about the reasons for this. The second reason is that his Ministerial colleagues clearly expect him to go: it was for instance quite clear that Shultz assumed without question that he would do so when he saw him in Bermuda last week. If he were not to do so he believes that this would be misunderstood.

The Foreign Secretary of course accepts that the Prime Minister will wish to hold part or parts of her talks with Mr Gorbachev on a very restricted basis, and is quite content with that. He would intend to use such opportunity or opportunities to have separate talks with Mr Shevardnadze. He would of course wish to attend any plenary session between Mr Gorbachev and the Prime Minister. This too would follow the pattern set, for example, by President Reagan and others on similar occasions.

*Yours ever,*

(A C Galsworthy)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

*JE DCA  
cpc*



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 January 1987

*Dear Bryan.*

**PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW**

Thank you for your personal letter about the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit. On a strictly personal basis I can say:

(i) The Prime Minister also favours a very small party. I have told the Foreign Office that she wishes two sessions of talks with Mr. Gorbachev at which she would be accompanied only by you and me. These might be followed by a relatively brief plenary session at which Foreign Ministers would also be present. The Prime Minister would, I know, want you to press hard for this structure for the talks.

(ii) If we are to go to Zagorsk on the Sunday, the Prime Minister will probably travel out to Moscow on the evening of Saturday 28 March. I hope that you will not regard this as too much of a good thing.

(iii) The Prime Minister is in no doubt that she would much prefer to stay at the Residence and would wish this to be made clear to the Russians. She would like to see the Sakharovs at the Embassy as you suggest.

I am sure that the Prime Minister will wish to see you when you are over here for the seminar at the end of February, either on the day of the seminar itself or separately. I will let you know.

*Best wishes for the New Year -  
and please write again about my  
post, which crop up  
yours ever  
(C.D. POWELL)*

Sir Bryan Cartledge, K.C.M.G.

*Charles*

*K*



BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

6 January 1987

Charles Powell Esq  
 Private Secretary for Overseas  
 Affairs  
 10 Downing Street  
 London SW1H 2AH

*Dear Charles,*

THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

1. I hope you will forgive me for offering, on a very personal basis, a few thoughts on some aspects of the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to Moscow. They have all been injected, in various contexts, into more orthodox FCO channels but for obvious reasons I can be more candid in writing directly to you. Specifically:-

i) I hope very much that the Prime Minister will favour a very small party - not, by any means, for administrative reasons but primarily because I believe that the crucial sessions with Gorbachev are more likely to produce the results we would like (particularly in the arms control area) if there are very few people at the table. The Russians would of course have to match whatever participation there is on our side. The task will be one of intellectual persuasion: my belief is that Gorbachev will be more open to this if he is not performing in front of an audience of his own people (eg Shevardnadze). I think the ideal on our side would be the Prime Minister, you and me:

[You have agreed] ii) I hope, too, that the Prime Minister will be able to arrive in Moscow in the late afternoon or evening of Sunday, 29 March. If we are to have any chance of accommodating her wish to see something of the Soviet Union outside Moscow, she will need three full working days, i.e. 30 and 31 March and 1 April (departing for the UK on the evening of 1 April, taking advantage of the three hour time difference).

[You have agreed] iii) A further hope is that the Prime Minister will decide that she would like to stay in the Residence, rather than in a Soviet guest house on the Lenin Hills. Not only is this logistically much easier (it takes 15-20 minutes to get from the Lenin Hills to anywhere, and vice-versa) but I think that ready access to our secure speech room, without having to make the long journey from the Lenin Hills for the purpose, will be of great importance throughout the visit. A further factor concerns the Sakharovs. You may have seen from my telegram number 9 that Sakharov is very enthusiastic about the possibility of meeting the Prime Minister while she is here. The Russians obviously cannot be trusted to produce him during the Prime Minister's visit to the Academy of Sciences, if she makes one:



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equally I do not think that it would be right for the Prime Minister to call on the Sakharovs in their tiny flat - they would be embarrassed and media attention would be uncontrollable. The best solution would be for the Sakharovs to call on the Prime Minister in this Embassy, where we could ensure access as we could not to the Government guest house. The Russians might take a little umbrage if the Prime Minister does decide to stay in the Residence but I think this would be manageable if I lodge her preference early enough and have discretion to make play with the fact that I am a former member of her staff etc.

2. Finally, I think it might be very helpful, to me at any rate, if the Prime Minister could spare me 10 minutes or so on the margins of her seminar on 27 February, to discuss these and possibly other matters concerning the visit. I shall look forward to seeing you then, too.

*Best wishes for '87!*

*Yours ever,*

*Bryan*

Bryan Cartledge

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bc: PC

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

5 January 1987

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

You raised with me the question of the Foreign Secretary accompanying the Prime Minister on her visit to Moscow. I have now discussed it with her on a couple of occasions. I have to say in all frankness that the Prime Minister is very reluctant to enlarge the party for her visit. She takes the view that the prospects for making progress in high level meetings are best when they are very small indeed and when there is a single spokesman on each side. She would much prefer to stick to the pattern of her visits to, for instance, Camp David to meet President Reagan in 1984 and 1986. Having said that, she realises that the Foreign Secretary was of course present at her first meeting with Mr. Gorbachev at Chequers in 1984 (before he became General Secretary). She also acknowledges that other Heads of Government have been accompanied by their Foreign Ministers on visits to the Soviet Union. I think that she would accept a solution whereby her main meetings with Mr. Gorbachev were à deux with only note-takers present, and that the Foreign Secretary would have separate meetings with his opposite number. There might be an enlarged meeting with Mr. Gorbachev subsequent to her main meetings with him, in which the Foreign Secretary and others would also participate.

You will be better able to judge how far such a solution would be agreeable to the Foreign Secretary; and it would of course depend on the Russians agreeing to arrange the programme in this way. But the Prime Minister attaches the greatest importance to being able to meet Mr. Gorbachev in restricted session and is most unlikely to change her mind on this point.

You may care to discuss this when we next have a talk.

Charles Powell

Sir Patrick Wright, K.C.M.G.

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