



DAS file (65)

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

5 March 1987

**PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW: EVENTS OUTSIDE
THE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME**

I have seen a copy of Moscow telegram number 297 which raises a number of points about the programme for the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow.

The Prime Minister will be very content for the Ambassador to give a reception at the Embassy for her to meet resident British businessmen, journalists, teachers, students and members of the Embassy staff. She agrees that arrangements for a meeting with Doctor and Mrs Sakharov should be left until the last moment, and that the meeting should take place after she has seen Mr Gorbachev (or at least had a first meeting with him).

The same applies to the proposed meeting with the Refuseniks. The Prime Minister will be very happy to make the award to Mr Begun. She would be guided by the Ambassador's advice on other participants, although has mentioned in particular the name of Ida Nudel, with whose case she has had a particular connection. She agrees that the total number should be kept small.

C D POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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FM MOSCOW
TO DESKBY 031100Z FCO
TELNO 297
OF 031000Z MARCH 87

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Private Secretary

Also - can we go
furni on TBILISI?

FOLLOWING FOR HEAD OF SOVIET DEPARTMENT

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: EVENTS OUTSIDE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

*M. ...
... Smith*

1. IN THE CONTINUING ABSENCE OF INDICATIONS FROM THE SOVIET SIDE ON EVEN THE OUTLINE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PROGRAMME (I PRODDED USPENSKY AGAIN TODAY, 3 MARCH, WITHOUT RESULT) IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO HAVE DEFINITE APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE FOR THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS SO THAT THEY CAN BE FIRMED UP, IN TERMS OF DATES AND TIMES, AT VERY SHORT NOTICE:

4/3

I) RECEPTION FOR BRITISH COMMUNITY (MY TELNO 158).
CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE CONTENT FOR ME TO HOLD A RECEPTION AT WHICH SHE COULD MEET RESIDENT BRITISH BUSINESSMEN, BRITISH JOURNALISTS AND MEMBERS OF MY STAFF? THE MOST LIKELY DATE FOR THIS WOULD BE SUNDAY, 29 MARCH, BUT THIS WILL DEPEND, E.G. ON WHETHER THE FIRST MEETING WITH GORBACHEV TAKES PLACE ON THAT DAY.

(+ a few British teachers/students)

II) MEETING WITH THE SAKHAROVs.
WE ARE GETTING IN TOUCH WITH SAKHAROV TO TELL HIM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE IN MOSCOW FROM (WE HOPE) 28 MARCH TO 1 APRIL AND THAT SHE HOPES THAT SAKHAROV AND MRS BONNER WILL BE ABLE TO CALL ON HER AT THE EMBASSY DURING THAT PERIOD AT A TIME TO BE ARRANGED, PROBABLY AT THE LAST MINUTE! IT WOULD IN MY VIEW BE INADVISABLE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO MEET SAKHAROV BEFORE HER OFFICIAL PROGRAMME HAS BEGUN, I.E. BEFORE SHE HAS MET GORBACHEV; THIS COULD GIVE HER SOVIET HOSTS AN ODD IMPRESSION OF OUR PRIORITIES AND CAUSE UNNECESSARY IRRITATION. IT SHOULD PROVE POSSIBLE TO FIND A SLOT FOR THE SAKHAROVs ON 30 OR 31 MARCH.

III) REFUSENIKS.
THIS WILL, OF COURSE, BE AN EVEN MORE SENSITIVE ENCOUNTER. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT IT SHOULD BE A PURELY SYMBOLIC ONE AND THAT THE NUMBER OF REFUSENIKS INVOLVED SHOULD BE VERY SMALL. ANY GROUP OF MORE THAN, SAY, 4 WOULD BE REGARDED BY THE RUSSIANS AS A DEMONSTRATION AND AS A PROVOCATIVE MEDIA EVENT. MY SUGGESTION, THEREFORE, IS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD RECEIVE MR AND MRS BEGUN (TO WHOM SHE COULD PRESENT THE ALL-PARTY COMMITTEE'S AWARD), ONE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE 'JEWISH WOMEN AGAINST REFUSAL' GROUP (YOUR TELNO 246) AND PERHAPS PROFESSOR LERNER. FROM THE WOMEN'S GROUP, WE HAVE

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✓ DIRECT CONTACT WITH INNA IOFFE AND CONSIDER THAT SHE WOULD BE A SUITABLE CHOICE TO REPRESENT THE GROUP: BUT YOU MAY WISH TO CHECK THIS AT THE LONDON END, WHILE EMPHASISING THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RECEIVE MORE THAN ONE REPRESENTATIVE. AS WITH THE SAKHAROV'S, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR THIS ENCOUNTER TO TAKE PLACE ONLY WHEN THE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME IS WELL UNDER WAY: AND THIS, AGAIN POINTS TO A VERY LAST-MINUTE ARRANGEMENT.

CARTLEDGE

YYYY

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 February, 1987.

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW: SAKHAROV

I should record that Lord Bethell knows about the Prime Minister's wish to meet the Sakharovs during her visit to Moscow. Despite my request to him to be discreet, he tells me that he has mentioned it to Dr. Sakharov on the telephone in recent days, so presumably the Russians now know of it. This is awkward since I recall that Bryan Cartledge had not intended to tell them until nearer the time.

Bethell mentioned that the Sakharovs would be leaving Moscow for a holiday on 15 March, though Dr. Sakharov had said that he would of course return to Moscow for a meeting with the Prime Minister. Nonetheless, it would probably be as well for Bryan Cartledge to discuss arrangements with them before they go on holiday.

(C.D. Powell)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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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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