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Prime Minister

10(A-G)

You have forced Foreign and Commonwealth Office

a more systematic approach and the American criteria seem to me generally to meet the case, although they are not very specific on emigration numbers, or freedom of association. We need to see the

London SW1A 2AH

10 November 1988

Dear Charles,

CSCE: Moscow Human Rights Conference

Soviet response
COP
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We spoke this morning about the conditions under which we might agree to the Moscow Conference being held.

Following the Prime Minister's exchange of letters with President Reagan in October, the US have been working, in close consultation with us, on a set of preconditions to be met by the Russians.

On 29 October, Mr Shultz sent the Foreign Secretary the attached paper, intended for Western consideration. The preconditions listed took full account of our suggestions. Sir Geoffrey agreed that the paper met all our concerns, subject only to our interpretation that the term "political prisoners" should cover those in internal exile (the US already include psychiatric detainees in this category), and that we should in the first instance ask the US to negotiate on our behalf. We have told the US that any Soviet response will have to be studied jointly, and that there can be no question of presenting us with a fait accompli.

The US Head of Delegation in Vienna (Zimmermann) briefed the NATO caucus on the paper on 8 November. Preliminary reaction was sympathetic though many consider it unrealistic to expect the Russians to comply with Western-imposed performance criteria, particularly within the time frame envisaged. France and the FRG, who were forewarned, have reservations about drawing up specific political preconditions in terms of improvements in Soviet human rights performance, though they could agree - as could most of the Allies - to set standards on arrangements for the conference itself (on access, openness etc). The Twelve have also been briefed separately.

Meanwhile, Shevardnadze has written to Shultz (attached) making a strong pitch for the Moscow Conference "without advancing complicating 'criteria' and requirements". (He had made a similar demarche to HMA Moscow two days earlier, followed by a demarche in London at senior official level.) Shultz's response (attached), which

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is expected to be delivered in Moscow today. [redacted] covers all the conditions set out in the US paper but without mentioning UK attitudes. Zimmerman (who exceeded his instructions in letting us see this correspondence) will follow up with a demarche to his Soviet colleague, at which time he will no doubt mention UK concurrence. The ball will then be firmly in the Russians' court.

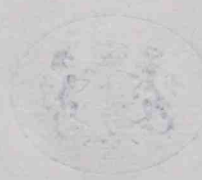
I am copying this letter to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Jans.

Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



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DISCUSSION PAPER

In considering the Soviet proposal to host a CSCE human rights conference in Moscow, a number of countries have said that CSCE meetings must take place in an atmosphere of openness and on the basis of a credible record by the host country in the area being discussed.

The West would be prepared to agree to a concluding document in Vienna which provided for a Moscow meeting in the field of human rights if, by a date certain and prior to the end of the Vienna meeting, the Soviet Union were to take the following steps:

- Release of all political and religious prisoners.
- Permission for all long-term refuseniks to emigrate.
- Resolution of all bilateral family reunification cases, raised by our countries.
- Satisfactory solution of the outstanding human rights issues still under debate at the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting.

We would also expect the Soviet Union to assure us that it will take the following steps by the end of 1989 with the understanding that such a commitment could not remain private and would in due course have to be confirmed by both sides:

- A continued increase during 1989 in the rate of emigration.
- Significant progress on eliminating jamming of foreign radio broadcasts.
- Abolition or amendment of the "political and "religious" articles of the criminal code (Articles 70, 190-1, 142 and 227), as well as effective legislation on press freedoms, emigration, freedom of religion, and judicial reform.

Furthermore, we would also expect the Soviet Union, as other hosting nations, to provide specific guarantees of openness and access for all who might wish to attend, report on, or be present at such a conference in the same manner as the Austrian government has done for the present meeting.

In making this proposal, we assume that the current positive trend in East-West relations will continue. Should there be a major disruption in East-West relations, we would have to reconsider any decision made in today's context.