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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 May 1990

**PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE
SOVIET UNION: PROGRAMME**

Thank you for your letter of 30 April about the programme for the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union. I am grateful for the work which has gone into this. The draft is very much on the right lines. The main problem is likely to arise from the enormous success of the 1987 visit and efforts by the media to draw unfavourable comparisons with it. I think there is enough variety in the programme to avoid that. But we shall need to bear it in mind.

I have the following observations:

- talks with President Gorbachev. There is substantial time set aside for these, but the media will be looking for contrasts with the extraordinary amount of time spent in talks in 1987. This will be manageable if Mr. Gorbachev also comes with the Prime Minister to Kiev, less so if he does not. There seems little scope for extending the time available for talks unless we drop Ryzhkov or postpone some of the afternoon programme. These are options worth considering. But we should also start scaling down media expectations in advance.
- speaking engagement. There is some expectation, stemming from press stories at the time of the Prime Minister's stop-over in Moscow en route to Japan last September, that she will address the Supreme Soviet. If it is not sitting, well and good. Anyway, it would probably suit us better for the Prime Minister to do this next year. But if there is any possibility that it will be in session then, we should not discard the possibility of an address (and some contingency work should be done on the outline of a speech). Failing that, I agree that a television interview would be the best bet.

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- joint press conference. I have discussed this with Bernard Ingham. The Prime Minister did a joint press conference with President Bush: and the President is likely to do one with Gorbachev in Washington. We are inclined to favour it, but do not have to decide yet.
- walk-abouts. I agree that there are important elements in the programme, and we should plan on them in Kiev and Leninakan: and a visit to a co-operative in Moscow. I think we should try to include both Pecherylavra and Babiy Yar while in Kiev.
- ICI farm consultancy. I continue to think we should do this as a good example of how Britain is contributing to economic reform. But what do we know about Soviet helicopters? Should we take one of our own?
- Armenia. Having gone that far, we should try for the fuller programme suggested in the annex to your letter, although I agree that Yerevan is probably not feasible. We should certainly take in Kirovakan.
- Trade Aspects. I am content with what you propose, assuming that projects and agreements are sufficiently far advanced.

A further thought which you will probably dismiss: a great deal is being said about the growing influence of the military over aspects of Soviet policy. Is there anything to be said for suggesting a meeting between the Prime Minister and a group of senior Soviet military men (after all she has seen Defence Minister Yazov here and entertained Ahkromeyev to lunch)? I realise that any such idea would have to be cleared with Gorbachev's office. But it could be a chance to influence their thinking on some key issues, and challenge them on points where we do not believe their performance matches their undertakings. The concept is not without some PR appeal: Maggie takes on Red Army. But it would not be worth doing with Yazov alone, only if a group of senior commanders could be assembled, including men like Gromov.

I assume you have booked Richard Pollock to interpret.

C. D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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30 April 1990

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's Visit to the Soviet Union: 7-10 June:
Programme

The main elements of the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union are that she will have talks in Moscow on 8 June; visit Kiev on 9 June to see the British exhibition and attend a performance by the ENO; and open the British school in Armenia on 10 June (your letter of 29 October).

We shall almost certainly not know until fairly late in the day whether President Gorbachev will accompany the Prime Minister to Kiev. This is not the only complication. There are one or two commercial projects in the pipeline which, if all goes well, might merit the Prime Minister's involvement. It is not yet clear how far we will have got with the proposed British Trade and Cultural Centres in Moscow. Putting proposals to the Russians will help to move things forward. I therefore enclose a fairly detailed draft outline programme, which incorporates Sir R Braithwaite's suggestions, and should be grateful for your views.

It would also be helpful to have your views on the following specific points:

- a. We had intended to recommend that the Prime Minister should make a speech to the Supreme Soviet. But, as it is now most unlikely that the Supreme Soviet will be in session in early June, our inclination is to drop this idea. It might be best to focus on a major television interview.
- b. It would be possible to suggest a joint press conference with President Gorbachev on 8 June. This would be a high-profile occasion with risks as well as advantages. We might take a view on it nearer the time.
- c. We suggest a visit to a cooperative enterprise in Moscow. This should offer an opportunity for contact with ordinary Russians, as would the proposed walk-about in Kiev and Leninakan. These were the public highlights of the 1987 visit. Is the Prime Minister ready to undertake one in each centre?

/d.

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- d. Is the Prime Minister happy in principle to travel by helicopter to the ICI farm consultancy project? (You gave a reasonably positive response to the idea of visiting this project in your letter of 9 November 1989 to David Barnes of ICI.) If so, we shall pursue with the Russians what sort of aircraft might be available.
- e. On the basis of the present draft programme, the Prime Minister's visit to Armenia will not require her to go outside the immediate surroundings of Leninakan. Given the political sensitivities, we do not believe that it would be wise to include Yerevan (which is the centre of Armenian nationalism). But if time permits it might be possible to arrange a helicopter trip to allow the Prime Minister to see some of the major Soviet reconstruction work and to go to Kirovakan where she could lay the foundation stone for the hospital which Aid Armenia is going to build there. This would acknowledge the major contribution made by donations from the British public.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Crowne (DES), Ben Slocock (DTI) and Andy McKean (DH).

Thank you for your letter of 30 April - which arrived while this was in type.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: DRAFT PROGRAMME

Thursday 7 June

Dinner on plane. Arrive late evening. Informal briefing by Ambassador. Stay in Residence.

Friday 8 June

0945 Lay wreath at Tomb of Unknown Soldier
1000 Talks with President Gorbachev
1245 Signing ceremony (Long-term Economic and Industrial Cooperation Programme; MOU on Management Training Agreement on Establishment of Cultural Centres)
1300 Working lunch with President Gorbachev
1500 Meeting with Mr Ryzhkov
1545/1815 Visit to a cooperative or similar enterprise. Press conference, possibly with President Gorbachev, and/or record Soviet TV interview. Visit to Moscow City Soviet (presentation of Trade Centre Project by Carroll Group) and/or presentation on GEC/Plessey's System X telephone exchange
1830-1900 Short TV/radio news interviews in Residence with British media
2000 Official dinner given by President Gorbachev (with short speeches)

Saturday 9 June

Breakfast in Residence, possibly with Jewish community leaders

0900 Flight to Kiev in Soviet aircraft
1035 Arrival in Kiev
1055 Visit British Life and Trade Exhibitions with President Gorbachev

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(Including Presentation of UK Scholarship Awards and signature ceremony for new John Brown joint venture.)

- 1300 Short interview with BBC Russian/World Service at their Special Kiev Unit at the exhibition site - again with President Gorbachev if possible
- 1315 Leave exhibition site
- 1330 Lunch given by Kiev City Soviet
- 1445 Visit to British Council Book Exhibition and Fashion Exhibition (sponsored by Marks and Spencer)
- 1515 Leave British Council Exhibition Centre
- 1545 Arrive ICI Farm Consultancy Project (by helicopter)
- 1645 Walkabout in city centre and/or visits to Pecherylavra (historic centre of the Orthodox Church in Kiev) and/or Babiy Yar (Monument to those - principally Jews - killed during the Nazi occupation)
- 1800 Return to Guest House
- 1845 Arrive Central Television studio for High Definition Television demonstration and interview
- 1930 Attend ENO performance of Xerxes with President Gorbachev, followed by supper with ENO

Sunday 10 June

- 0815 Fly to Leninakan in Soviet aircraft
- 1215 Arrive Leninakan Airport
- 1230 Arrive school site. Opening ceremony and inspection of school
- 1330 Lunch hosted by Leninakan Town Council
- 1445 Walkabout in Leninakan. Visit to one or two sites of earthquake damage - eg main church in town centre
- [1545 Leave for Kiev. Transfer to VC10
- [1815 Arrive Heathrow

OR

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[1530 Leave by helicopter for Kirovakan. View
[extensive reconstruction of residential areas
[1550 Arrive. Lay foundation stone. Meet construction
[staff, medical personnel and children
[1630 Return to Leninakan
[1700 Leave for Kiev
[1930 Arrive Heathrow

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From the Private Secretary

30 April 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION

It would be helpful to know where preparations for the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union in June now stand, and how the programme is shaping up. One particular point on which we need to be clear is whether the Prime Minister will need to make a speech during the visit. If so, we need to set in hand some work fairly soon. It would be helpful to have a summary of where we are with all this.

(C. D. POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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