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From the Private Secretary

30 May 1990

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

I have seen Moscow tel. nos. 1011 and 1012 about the programme for the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union. I have the following comments:

- I do not think that the Prime Minister will have any difficulty with it being a working rather than an official visit, especially in present circumstances. But we must make this clear to the press in advance, so that no unfavourable comparisons are drawn with the 1987 visit.
- arrival time. We cannot bring forward the Prime Minister's departure from Scotland. But I understand that the RAF can fly faster and we can arrive by 2200.
- the absence of arrival statements will be very welcome.
- the revised programme in Moscow seems to give us longer with Gorbachev (1030-1430). This is welcome.
- it might be better to have the press conference before the meeting with the military (if, after all, we cannot have the latter in the morning). That would allow the meeting with the military to run on.
- we feel strongly that it ought to be a joint press conference. That was the pattern with President Mitterrand and is intended for President Bush: the media would be quick to pounce on the difference if we went for separate conferences. The Embassy should go back to the MFA on this.
- the subjects which the Prime Minister will want to raise with the military are European security, German unification, arms control including CFE, nuclear matters and the problems being experienced by the Soviet military in implementing arms control agreements.

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- any available time between the end of the joint press conference/meeting with the military and dinner shall be used for short interviews with British radio and television at the Embassy. Alternatively, these might be done after dinner. Any interview with Soviet television will have to be done the day before the Prime Minister's departure from London (although we have some qualms whether it is worthwhile trying to repeat the 1987 success).
- I hope we have not lost the idea of a breakfast meeting with Jewish refuseniks or opposition parties or even the Mayor of Moscow (who sounds a great improvement on his predecessor)
- Mr. Thatcher would not want to traipse round Moscow, but carry out the commercial engagements which I have suggested to you. We should insist on this.
- the Embassy's revised programme for Kiev in Moscow tel. no. 1012 seems fine. We rather wonder whether the British Council book exhibition merits half an hour. I very strongly agree that the Prime Minister will not want to go all the way out to the guest house at 1630.
- we don't quite understand why the programme allows for 55 minutes at Kiev on the way back from Leninakan. Surely it's just a quick transfer from one aircraft to another.

(C. D. POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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FCO TELS 942, 949, 950: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION.

1. AT OUR INSISTENCE, KRASNOV (SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT) AND FEDOROV (DEPUTY HEAD OF PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT) REVIEWED PLANNING FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT WITH US ON 29 MAY. WE HAD HEARD FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS, INCLUDING GORBACHEV'S OFFICE, THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WAS WORKING UP PROPOSALS WHICH AT CERTAIN POINTS DIFFERED FROM THE PLAN AGREED WITH THE RECONNAISSANCE PARTY. THE MEETING AT THE MFA CONFIRMED THIS. WE HAD TO EXTRACT INFORMATION PIECEMEAL, AS THE MFA ARE STILL NOT PREPARED TO GIVE US THEIR PROGRAMME IN WRITING. ON SOME POINTS, THEY ARE CLEARLY INTENDING TO AVOID FINAL COMMITMENT UNTIL GORBACHEV'S RETURN FROM THE UNITED STATES, ON THE EVE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S ARRIVAL. THE LAST MINUTE PLANNING IS TRADITIONAL, BUT FRUSTRATING.

2. KRASNOV SAID THIS WAS BEING PLANNED AS A ''WORKING'' RATHER THAN AN ''OFFICIAL'' VISIT. HE SPOKE AS IF THIS WAS COMMON GROUND BUT HE WAS NOT AT ALL SURE WHETHER THE POINT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR IN LONDON. HE SAID THAT THE ''OFFICIAL VISIT'' WAS BEING SAVED FOR A LATER DATE. (THIS CHIMES WITH SOME MUCH EARLIER DISCUSSIONS. IT MEANS, THAT IN PROTOCOL TERMS AND PRESENTATION, NEXT WEEK'S VISIT IS NOT THE RETURN MATCH FOR MR GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO THE UK LAST APRIL).

3. ''WORKING'' STATUS MEANS THAT THERE WILL NOT BE A GUARD OF HONOUR AT THE AIRPORT AND THAT THERE NEED BE NO FORMAL RECEPTION CEREMONY AT THE KREMLIN.

4. THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS TO EMERGE IN THE SOVIET DRAFT PROGRAMME ARE AS FOLLOWS:

THURSDAY 7 JUNE

ARRIVAL ARRANGEMENTS: THE PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT HAD UNILATERALLY DECIDED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD LAND AT 2200, CLAIMING THAT 2220 WAS TOO LATE. WE REPLIED THAT THE TIME OF ARRIVAL WAS DICTATED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S ENGAGEMENTS IN THE UK. WE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO BRING THIS FORWARD, BUT

UNDERTOOK TO ENQUIRE IF IT COULD BE ADVANCED
BY 20 MINUTES. GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

THE PRIME MINISTER WILL (PROVISIONALLY) BE MET BY:

PRIME MINISTER RYZHKOV

LAVEROV (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND CHAIRMAN OF STATE COMMITTEE
FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, WHO DROPPED OUT OF A
SCHEDULED VISIT TO THE UK TWO WEEKS AGO)

KVITSINSKY (NEW DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER RESPONSIBLE FOR EUROPE)
AMBASSADOR ZAMYATIN

CHERNYSHEV (HEAD OF PROTOCOL)

USPENSKY (HEAD OF SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT)

FLAGS WILL BE RAISED, BUT THE MFA PROPOSE TO HAVE NO/NO ARRIVAL
STATEMENTS AT THE AIRPORT. THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD THEREFORE STEP
INTO THE MOTORCADE AFTER SHAKING HANDS IN THE RECEPTION LINE. IT HAS
YET TO BE DECIDED WHETHER RYZHKOV OR LAVEROV WILL ACCOMPANY HER INTO
TOWN.

FRIDAY 8 JUNE

THE SOVIET PLAN IS AS FOLLOWS:

NO TIME GIVEN	CALL AT MOSSOVIET
1010	WREATH LAYING
1030	TALKS WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV
1300	LUNCH
1500	MEETING WITH RYZHKOV
1600	SIGNING CEREMONY
1630	MEETING WITH DEFENCE MINISTER YAZOV AND OTHER MILITARY LEADERS
1730	PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE OR TV INTERVIEW
1930	OFFICIAL DINNER IN THE FACETED HALL OF THE KREMLIN

COMMENT

A) MILITARY ROUND TABLE

WE AGAIN PRESSED VERY HARD FOR THE MEETING WITH THE MILITARY
TO START THE DAY (AT 8.30 OR 8.45), STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE THE
PRIME MINISTER ATTACHED TO A FULL AND UNCONSTRICTED DISCUSSION
OF AT LEAST AN HOUR. WE MET A WALL OF RESISTANCE. COUNTER-
ARGUMENTS WERE:

- 1630 WAS ALREADY FIXED IN YAZOV'S PROGRAMME. THE MORNING
MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM.
- PROTOCOL AND TRADITION DICTATED THAT THE PM'S FIRST
SUBSTANTIVE MEETING SHOULD BE WITH THE HOST, GORBACHEV.
- A MEETING AT 1630 COULD BE EXTENDED BY DELAYING THE

SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE.

WE REPLIED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE UNWORRIED BY PROTOCOLAIRE REFINEMENTS, BUT WOULD NOT WISH TO MEET THE MILITARY FIRST IF GORBACHEV PERSONALLY PREFERRED TO HAVE THE FIRST ROUND WITH HER. WITH MUCH RELUCTANCE, THE MFA AGREED TO CONSULT FURTHER, BEFORE GIVING A DEFINITIVE REPLY TO OUR PROPOSAL. USPENSKY CAME INTO THE MEETING TO ASK FOR MORE PRECISION ABOUT THE POINTS THE PM WISHED TO PUT TO THE MILITARY. WE SAID THAT IN GENERAL HER PERSPECTIVE ON THE FUTURE OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS, OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL, AND TO STIMULATE A ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION. USPENSKY NEVERTHELESS PRESSED FOR US TO SPECIFY ''4 OR 5 QUESTIONS'', TO HELP THE MILITARY PREPARE THEMSELVES (AND POSSIBLY DETERMINE WHICH COMMANDERS SHOULD ATTEND). GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

B) PRESS CONFERENCE:

THE MFA'S ASSUMPTION WAS THAT GORBACHEV DID NOT ENVISAGE A JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. THIS POSITION WAS NOT EXPRESSED FIRMLY, AND IT WOULD BE OPEN TO US TO GO BACK TO THEM IF THE PRIME MINISTER HAD A STRONG DESIRE TO HOLD THE PRESS CONFERENCE JOINTLY (AS MITTERRAND DID WITH GORBACHEV ON 25 MAY). HOLDING THE PRESS CONFERENCE JOINTLY COULD AFFECT THE TIMING. UNLESS INSTRUCTED TO THE CONTRARY, WE SHALL ASSUME THE PRIME MINISTER IS CONTENT WITH A PURELY BRITISH OCCASION.

C) MOSSOVIET:

IT WAS AGREED THAT THE FATE OF THIS ITEM WOULD BE DECIDED BY A) ABOVE, WITH THE POSSIBILITY THAT MR THATCHER WOULD STAND IN FOR THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE PRESENTATION.

MR THATCHER'S PROGRAMME ON 8 JUNE

THE MFA THOUGHT IT LIKELY, BUT FAR FROM CERTAIN (''51 PER CENT OR MORE'') THAT LUNCH ON 8 JUNE WOULD INCLUDE MR THATCHER AND MRS GORBACHEVA. WE PRESSED FOR EARLY CONFIRMATION, TO ALLOW TIME TO MAKE ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IF NECESSARY. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WE SHALL NOT RECEIVE THE ANSWER BEFORE THE GORBACHEVS RETURN FROM THE USA.

WE SPOKE TO YOUR TELNO 942. IN REPLY, THE MFA OFFERED A TOUR OF MOSCOW BEGINNING AT 1500, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE A VISIT TO THE KUSKOVO ESTATE ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF TOWN.

COMMENT

A KREMLIN TOUR IN THE MORNING, THE OFFICIAL LUNCH, AND A MOSCOW TOUR IN THE AFTERNOON WOULD LEAVE VERY LITTLE TIME FOR THE OTHER ENGAGEMENTS IN YTUR. GRATEFUL FOR GUIDANCE ON WHETHER MR THATCHER

WOULD PREFER TO DECLINE THE SOVIET OFFER FOR THE AFTERNOON, SO THAT HE COULD THEN CARRY OUT COMMERCIAL ENGAGEMENTS. THE LATTER WOULD STILL GIVE HIM CHANCE TO SEE SOMETHING OF THE TOWN.

SATURDAY 9 JUNE: KIEV

THE MFA WERE ''ALMOST CERTAIN'' THAT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV WOULD FLY ON THE SAME AIRCRAFT AS THE PRIME MINISTER TO KIEV, DEPARTING AT 0900. BUT THEY HAD CONSTRUCTED A DIFFERENT ORDER OF EVENTS THEREAFTER, AS FOLLOWS:

1100-1230 VISIT BRITISH LIFE AND TRADE EXHIBITIONS WITH MR AND GORBACHEV.
1230 THE GORBACHEVS DEPART.
PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVIEW WITH BBC RUSSIAN SERVICE.
1245 PRIME MINISTER DEPARTS FOR MARIENSKY PALACE.
1305-1330 OPPORTUNITY TO REST/FRESHEN UP IN PRIVATE ROOMS AT THE PALACE.
1330 OFFICIAL LUNCH ATTENDED BY THE GORBACHEVS AND THE CHAIRMEN OF THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET AND UKRAINIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.
1450 PRIME MINISTER LAYS WREATH AT TOMB OF UNKNOWN SOLDIER
1505-1530 VISIT PECHERY LAVRA
1535 WALKABOUT IN OCTOBER REVOLUTION SQUARE.
1550 ATTEND BRITISH COUNCIL BOOK AND FASHION EXHIBITIONS (MRS GORBACHEVA IS EXPECTED TO JOIN THE PM FOR THIS ITEM).
1620 LAY FLOWERS AT BABI YAR MEMORIAL
1630 DEPART FOR THE GUEST HOUSE AT MEZHIGORIYE
1650 ARRIVE GUEST HOUSE
1825 DEPART GUEST HOUSE
1845 VISIT KIEVSKI RUSS CINEMA FOR DEMONSTRATION OF HIGH DEFINITION TV FOLLOWED BY INTERVIEW WITH UKRAINIAN TELEVISION
1930 ATTEND PERFORMANCE OF ''XERXES'' WITH MR AND MRS GORBACHEV, AND THE CHAIRMEN OF THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER LAVEROV

AT CONCLUSION OF OPERA, MR AND MRS GORBACHEV TO TAKE THEIR LEAVE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

COMMENT

THE SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR 9 JUNE IGNORE MANY OF THE POINTS AGREED WITH THE RECONNAISSANCE PARTY. WE SAID THAT WE WOULD CONSULT

YOU BEFORE REPLYING DEFINITELY. MIFT CONTAINS A SUGGESTED REVISION OF THE 9 JUNE PROGRAMME WHICH MIGHT RECONCILE THE SOVIET AND BRITISH VERSIONS. WE MADE THE FOLLOWING IMMEDIATE OBSERVATIONS:

- A) WE HAD DROPPED THE INTERVIEW WITH THE BBC RUSSIAN SERVICE AND REPLACED IT BY THE JOHN BROWN SIGNATURE CEREMONY AND THE PRESENTATION OF SCHOLARSHIPS TO SOVIET STUDENTS.
- B) WE DID NOT THINK THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD WISH TO SPEND 40 MINUTES DRIVING TO AND FROM THE MEZHIGORIYE RESIDENCE IN ORDER TO CHANGE AND REST. WE MUCH PREFERRED THE ARRANGEMENT WITH THE RECONNAISSANCE PARTY FOR HER TO CHANGE BEFORE THE OPERA IN A SUITE AT THE HOTEL KIEV. THIS MET STRONG RESISTANCE. THE MFA ARGUED THAT THERE WERE SECURITY PROBLEMS OVER THE USE BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF A HOTEL, AND THAT SHE WOULD FIND THE GUEST HOUSE A MORE PLEASANT PLACE TO RELAX AND POSSIBLY TAKE A WALK. WE REPLIED THAT 40 MINUTES IN A CAR WOULD NOT BE RELAXING, AND WOULD WASTE TIME, AND STOOD OUR GROUND. THE MFA INDICATED THAT THEY MIGHT LOOK FOR AN ALTERNATIVE GUEST HOUSE IN THE CENTRE OF KIEV. WE SAID THAT THERE WAS NO OBJECTION TO THE PRIME MINISTER SPENDING THE NIGHT IN THE MEZHIGORIYE RESIDENCE.
- C) OPERA: THE MFA WERE UNAWARE OF THE AGREEMENT THAT THE OPERA WOULD BEGIN AT 1900, AND THAT THE RUNNING TIME WAS 3 HOURS 40 MINUTES. THEY HAD ALSO FORGOTTEN THE RANK XEROX RECEPTION. THEY WILL MAKE FURTHER ENQUIRIES. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT PRESIDENT AND MRS GORBACHEVA WILL ATTEND THE RECEPTION, BUT THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE DETERMINED IN ADVANCE.

SUNDAY 10 JUNE

THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE SEEN OFF AT THE AIRPORT BY THE UKRAINIAN LEADERSHIP, AND WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER LAVEROV. AT LENINAKAN THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE MET BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ARMENIAN SUPREME SOVIET AND BY THE MAYOR. WHEN THE PM RETURNS TO KIEV TO CHANGE AIRCRAFT, SHE WILL BE MET AND SEEN OFF BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UKRAINIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, MASOL.

THE ONLY CHANGES TO THE PROGRAMME FOR 10 JUNE RESULT FROM THE FLIGHT TO LENINAKAN TAKING LONGER THAN PREVIOUSLY ANTICIPATED. THE NEW TIMINGS ARE:

0900 DEPART BORISPOL AIRPORT, KIEV
1220 (LOCAL) ARRIVE LENINAKAN
1630 DEPART LENINAKAN
1805 LAND BORISPOL

1900 LEAVE BORISPOL

COMMENT

THIS WOULD PRESUMABLY DELAY THE RETURN TO HEATHROW TO APPROXIMATELY 1955. IS THAT TOO LATE?

NEXT MEETING

5. WE HAVE TOLD THE MFA THAT WE SHALL SEEK INSTRUCTIONS RAPIDLY. WE WOULD LIKE TO HOLD A FURTHER MEETING WITH THEM BY THE END OF THE WEEK. GRATEFUL THEREFORE FOR A REPLY DESKBY 011500Z IF POSSIBLE.

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MIPT: VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER TO SOVIET UNION: PROGRAMME IN KIEV

1. WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR THE KIEV LEG AS A MEANS OF RECONCILING EXISTING BRITISH AND SOVIET PROPOSALS. THE PROGRAMME OMITTS THE VISIT TO PECHERY LAVRA MONASTERY IN ORDER TO ALLOW FOR A TOUR OF THE BRITISH COUNCIL EXHIBITION AT 1545, WHICH WOULD DOVETAIL WITH MRS GORBACHEVA'S PROGRAMME, AND MORE GENERALLY TO RELIEVE PRESSURE ON THE AFTERNOON PROGRAMME. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR COMMENTS.

SATURDAY 9 JUNE

0730 BREAKFAST IN RESIDENCE WITH MEMBERS OF JEWISH COMMUNITY
0830 LEAVE RESIDENCE
0855 ARRIVE VNUKOVO 2 AIRPORT
0900 DEPART FOR KIEV ON SOVIET PLANE (PROBABLY ON PRESIDENT'S PLANE)
1015 ARRIVE BORISPOL AIRPORT, KIEV
ARRIVAL CEREMONY
1025 LEAVE AIRPORT FOR BRITISH EXHIBITION SITE
1100 VISIT TO BRITISH LIFE EXHIBITION WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS GORBACHEV
1140 WALK TO TRADE EXHIBITION. POSSIBILITY OF MEETING CROWD LINING ROUTE AND OF SHORT INTERVIEW WITH UKRAINIAN PRESS
1150 VISIT TO BRITISH TRADE EXHIBITION
1225 (PRESIDENT AND MRS GORBACHEV LEAVE EXHIBITION SITE)
ATTEND JOHN BROWN SIGNING CEREMONY
1235 PRESENT SCHOLARSHIPS TO SOVIET STUDENTS
1250 LEAVE FOR KIEV HOTEL, OR FOR MARIENSKY PALACE (VERY CLOSE TO EACH OTHER)
1305 FRESHEN UP EITHER AT HOTEL OR AT PALACE
1330 LUNCH AT MARIENSKY PALACE HOSTED BY PRESIDENT GORBACHEV
1430 LEAVE PALACE FOR WREATH LAYING
LAY WREATH AT TOMB OF UNKNOWN SOLDIER (PRESIDENT AND MRS GORBACHEVA LEAVE TO FOLLOW OWN PROGRAMME)
1450 LEAVE FOR OCTOBER REVOLUTION SQUARE
1500 WALKABOUT
1515 LEAVE FOR BABI YAR

1525 LAY FLOWERS AT BABI YAR
 1535 LEAVE FOR BRITISH COUNCIL BOOK AND FASHION EXHIBITIONS
 1545 ARRIVE EXHIBITION. VISIT WITH MRS GORBACHEVA.
 1615 LEAVE FOR KIEVSKI RUSS CINEMA FOR CENTRAL TV DEMONSTRATION
 AND INTERVIEW
 (MRS GORBACHEVA AGAIN FOLLOWS OWN PROGRAMME)
 1625 ARRIVE KIEVSKI RUSS CINEMA
 1650 LEAVE FOR KIEV HOTEL
 1700 ARRIVE HOTEL. TIME TO CHANGE AND HAVE LIGHT SUPPER
 1835 LEAVE HOTEL FOR OPERA
 1840 ATTEND PRE PERFORMANCE RECEPTION HOSTED BY RANK XEROX
 1855 TAKE SEAT
 1900 PERFORMANCE OF XERXES ATTENDED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS
 GORBACHEVA
 2240 OPERA ENDS. MEETING WITH PEFORMERS BACKSTAGE. PRESIDENT
 AND MRS GORBACHEV SAY FAREWELL - EITHER AT END OF OPERA
 OR AFTER BRIEF APPEARANCE AT POST-PERFORMANCE RECEPTION
 2300 ATTEND RANK XEROX RECEPTION
 2330 LEAVE RECEPTION FOR UKRAINIAN STATE GUEST HOUSE
 2350 ARRIVE GUEST HOUSE AT MEZHIGORIYE

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