



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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21 December 1988

Dear Charles,

*Ria Minister*

*We have reached the point of decision. Even with the advances registered, any decision to accept a Moscow conference must surely be conditional on Soviet performance with promises.*

CSCE: Moscow Conference

US negotiations with the Soviet Union about the Moscow Conference are at an advanced stage.

The attached copy of Shultz's instructions to the US Ambassador in Moscow sets out the US requirements. They go into considerable detail on individual cases, but the main elements are as follows:

- (a) the satisfactory resolution of some 20 remaining American family reunification cases (NB the American list also includes Mrs Gordievskaya, in respect of whom the Americans ask that she and her daughters be permitted to visit the UK, to decide with Mr Gordievsky the family's future);
- (b) permission for a number of American-Soviet dual nationals to leave the Soviet Union;
- (c) the release of all prisoners of conscience convicted under explicitly "political" provisions of the Soviet criminal code;
- (d) the establishment of a mechanism for resolving cases of those convicted on other charges, but for manifestly political reasons. This category includes those wrongfully held in Soviet psychiatric institutions;
- (e) exit visas without delay for a substantial number of long-term refuseniks, together with further Soviet assurances about the handling of others in this category;
- (f) further information about Soviet intentions as regards the abolition of key articles in the criminal code and future legislation on religious freedom and other human rights questions.

*with promises. Agree to send it attached message to decide Reagan? CDD 21/xii*

/According

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According to the latest information from the Americans, it has been agreed that Soviet MFA officials and representatives of the US Embassy in Moscow are to meet daily this week to work through all the lists of individual cases. The Soviet side have affirmed that "progress is being made on legal reforms". Articles 190 (1) and 207 will be dropped, though Article 70 will remain. A new decree on emigration is said to be "virtually complete", and there are plans to establish a "new law on conscience".

Our firm public stand on the Moscow Conference has served us well. The combination of external pressures and President Gorbachev's own domestic needs to reform Soviet society has brought about improvements undreamed of only two or three years ago. A critical examination of the balance sheet shows that in the following areas the Russians have now gone a long way towards meeting our conditions for a Moscow Conference:

- Jamming of Western broadcasts to the Soviet Union has now ceased. The US judgement is that the reference within Gorbachev's speech at the UN means that the Russians are unlikely to go back on this;
- 13 of the 22 political and religious prisoners of major concern to the UK have been released within the last two months. The Americans propose to go through other names known to the West with the Russians, case by case;
- 18 of our list of 56 refuseniks of major concern to the UK have left the Soviet Union, have been given permission to leave, or have had secrecy restrictions lifted;
- Jewish emigration has substantially increased: the total number of those leaving has risen from 914 in 1986 to 8,143 in 1987, and to almost 17,000 during the first 11 months of 1988. It currently exceeds US resources for coping with resettlement;
- There are no outstanding UK/Soviet bilateral cases on our list (though we continue to pursue the Gordievsky and Badanova cases);

/- The Russians

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- The Russians have now told the Americans they can accept Western language defining the conditions of access and openness which will apply equally at all 3 of the proposed series of human dimension conferences in Paris, Copenhagen and Moscow.

Manifestly it will take time to bring all this to fruition. But we understand that, in the light of these developments, Shultz proposes to recommend to President Reagan that the US government should agree that the Moscow Conference can go ahead. The Americans believe that resolution of this issue remains crucial to the conclusion of the CSCE negotiations, and the start of the Conventional Stability Talks. Recent Soviet utterances suggesting diminishing interest in the Moscow Conference seem now, in the light of Soviet exchanges with the Americans, to have been no more than tactical.

In the light of the progress achieved, the Foreign Secretary considers that, if the Americans decide to accept a Moscow Conference, we should be prepared to join them. He does not believe that any UK national interest would now be served in standing out - in near or even total isolation - against agreeing to the Moscow Conference. It would, however, be essential to make clear that our agreement to it was wholly conditional on continued advances on the Soviet human rights front between now and the holding of the conference in 1991. We should have to be sure too that the Americans, in signifying to the Russians their acceptance of the conference, would likewise emphasise its conditional nature. This point is already accepted by the Americans, but the Prime Minister may consider that it would be worth re-emphasising it in a further message to President Reagan. I enclose a draft.

*Jane,*  
*Stephen Wall*  
(J S Wall)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

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Following Mr General Powell from Charles  
Powell, No-10 Downing St.

[DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO  
PRESIDENT REAGAN]

~~Please pass following message from  
me to get on~~

If the present Vienna CSCE meeting is to be concluded during your Administration, as I believe is your hope, we ~~can no longer delay~~ <sup>shall have to reach</sup> <sup>very soon</sup> a decision on whether to agree to a Human Dimension Conference in Moscow.

Since my message of 20 October our <sup>experts</sup> people have kept in close touch on the prior conditions <sup>which are essential</sup> on which we insist. Clearly, a good deal of further progress has now been made.   
- A number of family reunification cases have been resolved.   
- The conditions on which refuseniks are allowed to emigrate have been eased and visas are being issued.   
- Prisoners of conscience are being released.   
- Overall Jewish emigration figures are well up on recent years.   
- The jamming of Western broadcasts to the Soviet Union has ceased.   
- President Gorbachev has also given the most public assurances, in his UN speech, about the reform of the Soviet criminal code and other legislation affecting human rights.

~~But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there is much still to be put right. I remain worried that by agreeing now to a Moscow Conference, we would be thought to have let down those who have campaigned so bravely for human rights in the Soviet Union. We must also guard against any possibility of the Soviets back-sliding on their commitments in the long interval until 1991 when the proposed Conference would take place.~~

~~/I recognise~~

The following is the text of a message from the Prime Minister to the President about the proposal to hold a human rights conference in Moscow.

12/11/80

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actually implemented after negotiations

~~I recognise however that other Western interests, in particular the need to embark soon on the Conventional Stability Talks, require that we bring the Vienna Conference to an early close. We must therefore find a way of keeping the Soviet Union up to the mark. I hope you will agree that we must make it clear to Moscow, publicly and privately, that our agreement to attend a Moscow Conference in 1991 is strictly conditional on continued progress meanwhile, which we will monitor closely; and that we would not consider ourselves bound to attend if the Russians have not kept to their side of the bargain.~~

~~We have both welcomed President Gorbachev's programme of reform and must hope that it continues. But we cannot afford to take future Soviet performance on trust.~~

With ~~the~~ warm regards & very good wish to you & family for Christmas & the New Year from us both.

Yours  
Margaret

I feel sure that you will agree that this is a vital point

~~reach a final decision on attendance until we are sure that the Russians have kept to their side of the bargain. It is a vital point.~~

MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

15 DECEMBER 1988

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-- THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED ME TO CONVEY TO FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE REGARDING THE VIENNA MEETING AND YOUR PROPOSAL FOR A MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE.

-- TO BEGIN WITH, THE SECRETARY WANTS TO REITERATE THAT HE HOPES FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF THE VIENNA CSCE MEETING WITH PROVISION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MEETINGS IN PARIS (1989), COPENHAGEN (1990) AND MOSCOW (1991) IF THE PROPER CIRCUMSTANCES CAN BE CREATED.

-- THE SECRETARY WAS ESPECIALLY ENCOURAGED BY MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE'S COMMENT IN THEIR NEW YORK MEETING THAT THE POSITIVE EVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION'S APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS IS A RESULT OF THE UNFOLDING PROCESS OF PERESTROYKA IN SOVIET SOCIETY, AND NOT PRIMARILY A RESPONSE TO THE VIEWS OF WESTERN COUNTRIES.

-- AS PRESIDENT REAGAN TOLD CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND BELIEVES THAT ITS CONTINUED VITALITY REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN BUILDING GREATER TRUST AND STABILITY IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND IN THE WORLD AT LARGE.

-- THE PROGRESS WE HAVE SEEN IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAS BEEN MOST HEARTENING, AND GOES A SUBSTANTIAL WAY TOWARD SATISFYING OUR CONCERNS.

-- FOR EXAMPLE, YOUR GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO END JAMMING OF ALL WESTERN RADIO STATIONS WAS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD. WE TAKE SPECIAL NOTE, IN THIS REGARD, OF CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT AT THE UNITED NATIONS THAT YOUR COUNTRY VIEWS THE CESSATION OF JAMMING TO BE PART OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS. WE FULLY AGREE AND BELIEVE THE OUTCOME IN VIENNA SHOULD REFLECT MR. GORBACHEV'S VIEWS ON THIS MATTER.

-- THERE HAS ALSO BEEN TREMENDOUS PROGRESS ON EMIGRATION AND THE RESOLUTION OF INDIVIDUAL DIVIDED FAMILY CASES. THIS, TOO, IS MOST WELCOME, THOUGH WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF EMIGRATION AS A RIGHT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

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-- THE RELEASE OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS OF MORE THAN 600 INDIVIDUALS WHOM WE IN THE WEST HAVE CONSIDERED TO BE PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IS ALSO VIEWED BY MY GOVERNMENT AS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE.

-- WE PARTICULARLY WELCOME THE STEPS CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV ANNOUNCED IN HIS UNGA ADDRESS REGARDING LEGAL REFORM, EXIT-AND-ENTRY PROCEDURES, SECRECY RESTRICTIONS AND THE USSR'S PARTICIPATION IN UN AND CSCE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING ARRANGEMENTS.

-- HIS STATEMENT REGARDING EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE STEPS PROVIDES THE ASSURANCE WE HAVE SOUGHT THAT THE REFORMS WILL CARRY THE FORCE OF LAW.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, WE NEED TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE DETAILS OF THE PLANNED CHANGES, FOR EXAMPLE: THE ABOLITION OR AMENDMENT OF KEY CRIMINAL CODE ARTICLES, THE CONTENTS OF FUTURE LEGISLATION ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, THE TIME LIMITS FOR REFUSALS ON SECURITY GROUNDS, THE NATURE OF THE APPEAL PROCESS, AND THE LIKE. WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN TOLD THAT THESE DETAILS WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC THIS YEAR.

-- AS THE SECRETARY TOLD MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE ON GOVERNORS ISLAND, HE HOPES YOU WILL SHARE WITH ME YOUR THINKING ON THESE MATTERS.

-- THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED ME TO REVIEW THE REMAINING ISSUES WHICH WE EXPECT TO BE RESOLVED IN KEEPING WITH YOUR MESSAGES TO THE SECRETARY, AND WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY ON THE PROPOSED MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE.

-- LET ME BEGIN BY STATING WHAT WE UNDERSTAND TO HAVE ALREADY BEEN AGREED UPON IN DISCUSSIONS NOT ONLY IN VIENNA, BUT IN MOSCOW, WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK AS WELL.

BILATERAL REPLISTS

-- AS REGARDS OUR "REPRESENTATION LISTS" OF BILATERAL DIVIDED FAMILY CASES, WE UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE AGREED TO RESOLVE THESE CASES. QUITE A NUMBER HAVE ALREADY BEEN SETTLED, BUT THERE ARE MORE THAN 20 WHICH STILL REMAIN PENDING (EMBASSY SHOULD HAND OVER NAMES OF STILL UNRESOLVED FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES CITED IN STATE 387403).

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-- WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE MINISTRY'S HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS SECTION THAT WORK IS ACTIVELY GOING FORWARD ON THESE CASES, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS MENTION OF POSSIBLE EXCEPTIONS.

-- IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT FOR US TO SEE ALL THESE CASES RESOLVED. THE SECRETARY, THEREFORE, REQUESTS THAT ALL THE REMAINING CASES BE REVIEWED WITH SPECIAL CARE AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE CHECK THE RESULT.

-- IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR US TO UNDERSTAND THE DENIAL OF EXIT PERMISSION, FOR EXAMPLE, TO SERGEY PETROV -- AN ARTIST WHOSE LAST ACCESS TO SECRETS WAS TEN YEARS AGO.

-- AS THE SECRETARY AND MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE DISCUSSED IN NEW YORK, LET'S WORK FOR A TRUE "ZERO OPTION" FOR THESE CASES. WE WOULD HOPE THE SAME SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND FOR THE SIX UNRESOLVED CASES ON THE PRESIDENT'S LIST PRESENTED TO CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV IN NEW YORK

- (FYI: THE SIX REMAINING CASES, OF THE ORIGINAL 17,
- ARE: PETROV, THE FAMILY OF ABE STOLAR, VASILIIY AND
- GALINA PARATS, YULI KOSHAROVSKY, LEV LUKYANENKO AND
- LFILO GORDIYEVSKAYA. ALL BUT GORDIYEVSKAYA ARE
- COVERED UNDER OTHER LISTS (REFLIST, REFUSNIK,
- PRISONER); ON GORDIYEVSKAYA, WE ARE ASKING ONLY THAT
- SHE AND HER DAUGHTERS BE PERMITTED TO COME TO THE UK
- FOR A STAY WITH MR. GORDIYEVSKIY SO THAT THE FAMILY
- CAN TOGETHER DECIDE ITS FUTURE. ENI FYI)

DUAL NATIONALS

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-- THE SECRETARY UNDERSTANDS THAT DUAL NATIONALS WILL BE ALLOWED TO RENOUNCE THEIR SOVIET CITIZENSHIP AND DEPART ON U.S. PASSPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES. THIS STRIKES US AS A PRACTICAL APPROACH.

-- THE REMAINING DUAL NATIONAL CASES ARE (AMBASSADOR SHOULD HAND OVER LIST):

DASKEVICIENE, MARY  
KAPVELIS, EDMUND  
VLASANSKAS, NELLIE  
MAKAR, ALEXANDRIA  
WIZELOWSKI, JOHN

NOWACZYNSKI, ELEONORA  
PECIULAITIS, POVILAS  
PIASECKI, MICHAEL  
THOMPSON, ALICE

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-- WE FURTHER UNDERSTAND THAT MANY OF THESE PERSONS HAVE ALREADY BEGUN THE PROCESS OF RENOUNCING CITIZENSHIP. WE HOPE YOU CAN CONFIRM THAT THIS PROCESS CAN BE COMPLETED WITHIN A FEW WEEKS FOLLOWING THE FILING OF THEIR APPLICATIONS, SO THAT THOSE WHO WISH TO DEPART WILL BE ABLE TO DO SO.

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

-- FROM CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT AT THE UNGA AND MINISTER SHEVARNADZE'S EARLIER COMMENTS, THE SECRETARY ASSUMES THAT BY THE END OF THIS YEAR ALL PERSONS CONVICTED UNDER THE FOUR "POLITICAL" ARTICLES OF YOUR CRIMINAL CODE WILL BE RELEASED FROM ALL FORMS OF PUNISHMENT, INCLUDING INTERNAL EXILE AND COMPULSORY LABOR. WE WOULD WELCOME CONFIRMATION.

-- WE ALSO NEED TO FIND A MEANS OF RESOLVING THE MANY REPORTED CASES WE HAVE RAISED IN WHICH SOVIET CITIZENS MAY HAVE BEEN WRONGFULLY CONVICTED FOR ORDINARY CRIMES OR CONFINED TO MENTAL HOSPITALS FOR POLITICAL REASONS, AND WE OBVIOUSLY WOULD HOPE THAT NO NEW CASES SUCH AS THIS WILL ARISE.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT MANY OF THESE CASES COULD EASILY BE RESOLVED NOW. FOR EXAMPLE, FOR SOME, THE ONLY "TREASONABLE" OFFENSE WAS ATTEMPTING TO CROSS THE BORDER ILLEGALLY.

-- REGARDING OTHER CASES, THE SECRETARY IS PLEASED TO NOTE THAT A MECHANISM FOR THE REVIEW OF THE QUESTIONABLE PSYCHIATRIC CASES HAS NOW BEEN CREATED.

-- WITH REGARD TO QUESTIONABLE CASES OF SO-CALLED ORDINARY CRIMES, THE SECRETARY HAS BEEN INFORMED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCIFTER THAT THE MFA HAS AGREED TO DISCUSS WITH THE PROCURATOR GENERAL'S OFFICE THE PROVISION OF COURT RECORDS OF THESE CASES SO THAT THEY CAN BE DISCUSSED MEANINGFULLY. CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT THE PROCURATOR GENERAL'S OFFICE AGREES TO THIS PROCEDURE? (WE HAVE FURNISHED DETAILS AND RECORDS IN CASES OF ORDINARY CRIMES WHICH RESULTED IN CONVICTIONS IN THE U.S.

THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAS RAISED WITH US IN THE PAST.)

-- AS THE SECRETARY DISCUSSED WITH MINISTER SHEVARNADZE, WE NEED TO GO THROUGH THESE CASES ONE BY ONE, AND TO DO SO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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-- WE WOULD SUGGEST PROCEEDING IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

- - PERMISSION WOULD BE GIVEN FOR U.S. PSYCHIATRISTS  
- TO REVIEW ALL CASE RECORDS OF PERSONS ON OUR LIST WHO  
- REMAIN IN PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTIONS AND TO EXAMINE AS  
- MANY OF THESE AS THEY MAY DEEM APPROPRIATE.

- - AS NOTED, THE SECRETARY LOOKS FOR A PARALLEL  
- PROCEDURE ON THE SO-CALLED ORDINARY CRIMINAL CASES,  
- WHICH WOULD RECIPROCCATE OUR OWN APPROACH TO CASES  
- RAISED BY THE SOVIET SIDE.

- - IT IS, OF COURSE, UNDERSTOOD THAT IF THESE  
- PROCEDURES RESULT IN THE UNCOVERING OF AN IMPROPER  
- COMMITMENT OR IMPRISONMENT, CORRECTIVE ACTION WILL BE  
- TAKEN PROMPTLY.

- - IN ADDITION, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT  
- MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO LOCATE THOSE PERSONS ON OUR  
- LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO HAVE NOT YET BEEN  
- TRACED. WE NOTE THAT, THANKS TO YOUR EFFORTS TO  
- DATE, THE NUMBER OF SUCH CASES HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY  
- REDUCED.

-- THE SECRETARY WOULD LIKE TO HEAR FROM MINISTER  
SHEVARDNAI7E THAT HE AGREES TO MOVE FORWARD ON THIS BASIS,  
AND THAT THERE WILL BE PROMPT RESOLUTION OF THESE CASES.

LONG-TERM REFUSENIKS  
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-- THE REGULARIZATION OF SECRECY RESTRICTIONS ANNOUNCED  
BY CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV IN HIS UN ADDRESS WILL, WE UNDER-  
STAND, GO A LONG WAY TOWARD ELIMINATING THE CASES OF  
SO-CALLED "REFUSENIKS" WHOSE EMIGRATION HAS BEEN HELD UP.

-- IN THIS CONNECTION, WE ARE PLEASED WITH YOUR LIFTING  
OF THE SECRECY BAR FOR YULI KOSHAROVSKY AND DOZENS OF  
OTHER LONG-TERM REFUSENIKS. WE WOULD LIKE  
THEM TO RECEIVE EXIT VISAS WITHOUT DELAY.

-- WE ASSUME FROM CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT THAT  
THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES NOW PLAN TO PROCEED WITH THE  
RESOLUTION OF ALL REMAINING LONG-TERM REFUSENIK CASES IN  
WHICH THE SECRECY BAR WAS INVOKED.

-- WE ALSO HOPE THAT, AS WE HAVE INDICATED BEFORE, A  
PROCEDURE WILL BE CREATED THAT WILL RESOLVE CASES IN  
WHICH PARENTS UNREASONABLY PREVENT THE EMIGRATION OF

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THEIR ADULT CHILDREN. (WE HOPE, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THE STOLAR CASE CAN BE RESOLVED SOON.)

-- YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE LIST OF REFUSENIK CASES OF SPECIAL CONCERN THAT OUR EMBASSY PRESENTED ON DECEMBER 2. YOU ARE ALSO FAMILIAR WITH THE CASES THAT HAVE BEEN PASSED BY THE CSCE COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

-- WE UNDERSTAND MR. GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT AT THE UN TO MEAN THAT THERE WILL BE PROMPT, POSITIVE RESOLUTION OF ALL THESE CASES. IS THIS UNDERSTANDING CORRECT?

-- AS YOU KNOW, CONGRESSMAN HOYER AND MANY OF HIS CONGRESSIONAL COLLEAGUES ARE KEENLY INTERESTED IN THIS ISSUE.

-- IN THIS REGARD, THE SECRETARY WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THE KEY ROLE PLAYED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS IN THE HELSINKI PROCESS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF ENSURING BROAD CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR U.S. PARTICIPATION IN A MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE.

-- WITH THIS IN MIND, THE SECRETARY WOULD HOPE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE COULD, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, TACKLE ALL THE CASES OF SPECIAL CONCERN IN THE SAME CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED OUR ONGOING BILATERAL REVIEW PROCESS IN THIS AREA.

- (FYI: WE WILL PROVIDE VIA SEPTEL CASES OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO THE CSCE COMMISSION THAT SHOULD BE PASSED TO SOVIETS AS FOLLOW-UP TO LIST EMBASSY PRESENTED ON DECEMBER 2. END FYI)

#### VIENNA ISSUES

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-- FINALLY, I SHOULD MENTION THAT WE ALSO NEED TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES REMAINING IN VIENNA IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

-- AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN HAS APPROACHED AMBASSADOR KASHLEV TO WORK ON THESE, BUT PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW. THE SECRETARY HOPES THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WILL INSTRUCT KASHLEV TO COMPLETE THIS EFFORT.

#### CONCLUSION

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-- THE SECRETARY THINKS WE HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS.

-- HE FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE REMAINING TASKS OUTLINED CAN BE RESOLVED QUICKLY, AND THAT WITH INTENSIVE EFFORT IN THE COMING WEEKS, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO BRING THE VIENNA MEETING TO AN EARLY AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

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10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

21 December 1988

CSCE: MOSCOW CONFERENCE

Thank you for your letter of 21 December about the proposed human rights conference in Moscow. The Prime Minister has agreed to send a message to President Reagan and I enclose a text which we transmitted on the direct line to the White House this evening. As you will see it is amended in some respects from your draft but preserves the essential sense.

Charles Powell

Stephen Wall Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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FM CABINET OFFICE LONDON  
TO THE WHITE HOUSE  
BT  
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MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO  
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE**  
SERIAL No. T 192A/88

*Submit to Harber  
AF OPS*

FOLLOWING FOR GENERAL POWELL FROM CHARLES POWELL, NO. 10  
DOWNING STREET.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER  
TO THE PRESIDENT ABOUT THE PROPOSAL TO HOLD A HUMAN RIGHTS  
CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW.

"DEAR RON

IF THE PRESENT VIENNA CSCE MEETING IS TO BE CONCLUDED DURING  
YOUR ADMINISTRATION, AS I BELIEVE IS YOUR HOPE, WE SHALL HAVE  
TO REACH A DECISION VERY SOON ON WHETHER TO AGREE TO A HUMAN  
DIMENSION CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW.

SINCE MY MESSAGE OF 20 OCTOBER OUR EXPERTS HAVE KEPT IN CLOSE  
TOUCH ON THE PRIOR CONDITIONS WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL. A GOOD DEAL  
OF FURTHER PROGRESS HAS NOW BEEN MADE:

- A NUMBER OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED.
- THE CONDITIONS ON WHICH REFUSENIKS ARE ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE HAVE  
BEEN EASED AND VISAS ARE BEING ISSUED
- PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE ARE BEING RELEASED
- OVERALL JEWISH EMIGRATION FIGURES ARE WELL UP ON RECENT YEARS.
- THE JAMMING OF WESTERN BROADCASTS TO THE SOVIET UNION HAS  
CEASED.
- PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS ALSO GIVEN THE MOST PUBLIC ASSURANCES,  
IN HIS UN SPEECH, ABOUT THE REFORM OF THE SOVIET CRIMINAL CODE AND  
OTHER LEGISLATION AFFECTING HUMAN RIGHTS.

BUT THERE IS MUCH STILL TO BE PUT RIGHT. I REMAIN WORRIED THAT  
BY AGREEING NOW TO A MOSCOW CONFERENCE, WE WOULD BE THOUGHT TO  
HAVE LET DOWN THOSE WHO HAVE CAMPAIGNED SO BRAVELY FOR HUMAN  
RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. WE MUST ALSO GUARD AGAINST THE  
SOVIETS BACK-SLIDING ON THEIR COMMITMENTS IN THE INTERVAL UNTIL  
1991 WHEN THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE WOULD TAKE PLACE.

WE MUST THEREFORE FIND A WAY OF KEEPING THE SOVIET UNION UP TO  
THE MARK. WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR TO MOSCOW, PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY,  
THAT OUR AGREEMENT TO ATTEND A MOSCOW CONFERENCE IN 1991 IS  
STRICTLY CONDITIONAL ON CONTINUED PROGRESS MEANWHILE, WHICH WE  
WILL MONITOR CLOSELY; AND THAT WE SHALL NOT REACH A FINAL  
DECISION ON ATTENDANCE UNTIL IT IS CLEAR THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE  
ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTED THEIR UNDERTAKINGS. I FEEL SURE THAT YOU  
WILL AGREE THAT THIS IS A VITAL POINT.

WITH WARM REGARDS AND EVERY GOOD WISH TO YOU AND NANCY FOR  
CHRISTMAS AND THE NEW YEAR FROM US BOTH.

YOURS EVER

MARGARET''

BT