



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26<sup>th</sup> February 1989

Dear Stefan,

A note to say that  
I am immensely grateful to you  
for writing down in such detail  
your views on how the Gorbachev  
reforms are doing. You have  
given me the kind of information and  
insight that I could not have got  
from anyone else.

Please give my warm good

Wishes to your family who are  
still in the USSR. Denis joins me  
in sending warm regards to you  
or your family here.

Yours ever

Nagant

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From The Minister of State

*Rich Roberts*  
*WR*  
*16/2*

15 February 1989

*Dear Prime Minister,*

You will recall that when you met members of the Water Bill Committee, we had a wide-ranging discussion which touched on conditions in the USSR and Mr Gorbachev's difficulties in reviving the spirit of enterprise.

The name of Stefan Terlezki cropped up in our discussion, and when I met him later in the week, I sought his opinion. His views were sufficiently interesting for me to ask him to set them down and he has done so. He addresses the main issue on page 4.

*Yours sincerely*  
*WR*

WYN ROBERTS

Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP  
The Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW 1



Wyn Roberts Esq MP.,  
The Minister of State,  
LONDON SWIA 0AA.

16 Bryngwyn Road,  
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*Dear Wyn,*

7th. February 1989.

It was good to see you last week at the Pontypridd By-Election Adoption Meeting of Nigel Evans. I must congratulate you on your excellent and invigorating speech, which I am sure, recharged the batteries of everyone present. You truly sent everyone off to the Pontypridd constituency with a lot of ammunition at their disposal, in order to work hard for Nigel and achieve a good and favourable result. I shall campaign for him also.

The point you made about the Prime Minister's interest in mr Gorbachev's perestroika which doesn't seem to work and the reason why, and what did I think about it - well, I can speak and write volumes on the past and present social, political and economic situation in the Soviet Union, but I will try to keep it as short as possible, and should be more than happy to help if asked. I hope you will be able to give Margaret a copy of this letter.

My views regarding the situation in the Soviet Union is without doubt, that things are happening in Russia today, and there must be no turning back.

As Ukrainian by birth, and with personal experience, I understand the situation better than reading about it a hundred times, and so, I try to understand the West's reaction to glasnost and perestroika, and ask myself, how would I react?

I think I would be pleased it is happening, but afraid of rejoicing prematurely. I think I would have mixed feelings and emotions, and want to believe it was true, but fearful of being mistaken. I would be sceptical, cautiously optimistic and so, it is vital to understand the present situation.

There is a certain mental fatigue in the people in the soviet Union. It comes from the gulf between the words that leaders used to speak and what the people saw around them.

In the past, no one wanted to do anything until they were ordered to do so. Now, the people enjoy speaking freely (limited), but they want a home for their families, good food on the table, and the most basic commodities and



necessities in their daily lives. And for the man in the street, the economic benefits have yet to materialise. Things are worse now than before, and so Mr Gorbachev has insurmountable problems to overcome, if indeed he can.

The question needs to be asked - whilst Mr Gorbachev has stated his aim is to make the Marxist-Leninist-Communist system better, and the steps he has taken are quite radical, can he attempt such changes without admitting that Socialism has failed?

Personally speaking, I am an optimist, because optimism is an obligation. I just wonder, whether Mr Gorbachev is likewise minded? Does he want to see perestroika and glasnost a reality in his life-time, or in his grand-children's lifetime?

I feel that we should be wary of Gorbachev's seductive smile. He is a great performer and communicator, but in Winston Churchill's formulation - "to think about Russia was to confront a riddle rapt in mystery inside an enigma".

What Mr Gorbachev has been speaking about, alongside glasnost and perestroika, is only a little of the truth that has been obvious since 1917.

He tells us that it was Stalin and Brezhnev who should be blamed for everything that has happened in Russia. And so they should, but not for everything. Because it was Lenin, not Stalin or Brezhnev who started it all. Lenin built the system of tyranny, the slave-labour camps and allowed torture and executions with impunity. Mr Gorbachev knows that.

Once again, he tells us that Stalin and Brezhnev's atrocities must not be forgotten, and Leninism-Communism in its purity, must be adhered to. I find this irreconcilable.

The evidence against Lenin is overwhelming. He established the Russian Secret Police and NKVD, and I, and regrettably my father, his family, relations and friends have experienced. The horror, atrocities and prosecutions carried out by the NKVD was horrendous. The NKVD was given ultimate power over people and never subjected to legal restraints.

Lenin's concentration and slave-labour camps were kept full and to a great extent, it remains so today. He believed in terror as a means of suppressing internal opposition. In 1921, Lenin forced a passage of resolutions forbidding any criticism of his regime. I ask myself, is this the inheritance to which Mr Gorbachev is so anxious to retain or return to? Or does he secretly dislike Lenin as much as he dislikes Stalin and Brezhnev, because rejecting Lenin, whilst remaining a Marxist-Leninist-Communist is extremely difficult.





I believe Mr Gorbachev when he says he is a Leninist, therefore, he has nothing to teach me about freedom, or how to maintain a decent, free and democratic society. He may convince me only on condition that, perestroika and glasnost continues to succeed. But then, I ask myself, can a siberian bear become a vegetarian?

I welcome whole-heartedly the INF Agreement as it is a step in the right direction, to be sure. And in spite of Mr Gorbachev's announcement of a reduction in arms, I strongly believe that NATO's strategy of extended nuclear deterrent must be unchanged and where necessary, modernized.

I believe that we should maintain the necessary strength in nuclear and conventional arms, in order to speak from and defend if and when required our freedom and liberty, because in spite of the Russian pronounced reduction, they still out-number the West on sea, land and in the air. After all, in man-power alone, the Russians have 5,500,000 troops and 4-5 million reservists, which in itself, speaks volumes for the West to be on guard at all times.

As I said, I certainly want glasnost and perestroika to succeed, but then, when you take Mr Gorbachev's statement: "that glasnost means you can say anything you like, providing it does not harm Socialism -sov-speak - Leninism-Communism", in other words, you can discuss anything except, the most important question of all - Has Communism ever worked? And if not, should something-else be tried? And who decides what "harming Socialism means"?

Last November, Mr Gorbachev said that his reforms are facing difficulties and that many people have become apathetic towards the ideals of Communism. He told Moscow activists in the Young Communist League (the Komsomol) "... the process of democratisation, the unfolding of Socialist democracy's potential, is not going smoothly". He even acknowledged that people brought up in the 1960s and 1970s, "are sometimes spoken of as a lost generation, for whom Communism has presumably become meaningless". He also said that "many things are making people angry, and there has been no noticeable improvement in getting food and consumer good to the people". He went on to say, "despite the cynics in all generations, loyalty to the October Revolution of 1917, faith in Socialism and in our choice had been preserved". "Perestroika, should not end up like the locomotive which had just enough steam for a single blast of it's whistle. "We have already blown the whistle. Now we must roll ahead and pick up speed".

Well, he may be talking a lot of sense, but in the end, he has to pretend to believe much of the fantasy of the Russian past and Utopian future. He cannot break the bond of that fantasy.



Take glasnost, which has not touched foreign affairs, or any aspect of current Soviet foreign policy. The Nationalities question, as the Russians refer to their problem of empire. Mr Gorbachev and his subordinates cannot understand why the "little brothers" (as the Soviet minorities are sometimes referred to), are not truly grateful for the Russian conquest. At least the Afghans can be dismissed as mad Muslims, never members of the empire.

To allow small nations to edge away from within the Soviet Union maybe too hard for Mr Gorbachev and his subordinates to stomach. Although, he should be credited with getting rid of the old-guard in the armed forces and the Kremlin. But, he must still fight the generals. The army is not a "disappearing institution", it still takes 15-25 % of the GNP for its expenditure, without too many questions being asked. Most senior officers in the Russian Army are dyed-in-the-wool hard nosed Marxist-Leninist-Communist party men, who see the armed forces as the bastion of Marxism-Leninism-Communism-socialist State.

There are about 30 members of the armed forces and KGB in the Communist Party's 300 Member Central Committee. There is compulsive military service of two years, which is extremely harsh and unattractive, if one has to serve in Vladivostok, Mongolia, Alaska, the Arctic Peninsula and Siberia. The conscripts only receive £3.80 per month, the meagre minimum for a conscript. There is no glasnost, no perestroika written into their service contract.

The problems for Mr Gorbachev are horrendous. He must use his trendy charisma and charm to pacify and contain 285 million people in some sort of orderly manner and take action, which in my opinion is imperative to re-educate the masses, so that he can sustain stability and give perestroika a chance to succeed.

The reason why perestroika is not working at the moment is not hard to define. The Armenians, the Balts, Moslems - approximately 17 million of them - the Georgians, Belorussians and Ukrainians are not exactly on the same wave-length with glasnost and perestroika, they have other ideas.

Mr Gorbachev I am sure, is fully aware that the KGB is still a force to be feared. It is the largest and most oppressive organisation in the history of the world, with more staff than the American CIA; the British Secret Service; the French; German, Canadian, Israeli and Chinese - all put together. Then there is the CRU, about 600,000 which is the main military intelligence Directorate Service, which carries out sabotage and terrorist activities in the United States, Europe, Africa and the Middle East.



On top of all that, you have the local informers and aparatchicks, coupled with 22 million bureaucrats most of whom do not know what economics is all about. followed by 21 million dedicated hard-core Communist Party Members, neither of which will relinquish their power easily. Followed by 42 million strong Komsomol Youth Organisation, which is one of the strongest organisations within the Communist Party. Also, the Pioneer Youth, to which my father prevented me from joining whilst at school, which is modelled by the Communist educational system into Marxist-Leninist-Socialist ideology.

All this illustrates quite clearly the problem Mr Gorbachev is having in his drive for glasnost and perestroika.

Perestroika may bring gifts and Mr Gorbachev may only succeed if he can involve the people in running the country. Otherwise, it will be throttled by beurocracy, the military and inerthia.

Democracy must be seen to mean rolling back the state adn creating a new political and social culture of pluralism and diversity, outside the state and the party.

Mr Gorbachev, I am sure, will sink or swim according to whether or not he will succeed in modernising an economy that is growing increasingly backward. He will stand accused by the conservatives of undermining the fundamentals of Socialism, but if his revolution succeeds by half, a great deal more will be up for grabs.

I believe we should maintain friendly relations with Russia: And the Prime Minister is right to be cautious about human rights, political prisoners and religion, which is still not fully met, especially where 5 million Ukrainian Catholics are concerned. it took Lenin, Stalin adn the bolshevicks 70 years to create the unacceptable face of marxist-Leninist-Socialism, it will take at least 20 years to change it, and Mr Gorbachev may not last that long.

On the other hand, it is just conceivable that, mr Gorbachev may survive for the next 20 years, subject to certain factors, a dn continue with Marxist-Leninist ideology, while in the meantime, western leaders will come and go (I hope Margaret will stay for a long time) therefore, Lenin's declaration - "Prolitarian in all land Unite" must not become a reality, as long as the West speaks from strength at all times.

When I spoke to Mr Gorbachev and most of the members in his party when they visited London in December 1984, at the invitation of the IPU, and then subsequently speaking to Mr Schevarnadze at the Foreign Office about the Soviet Union, human rights, tourism, exchange of students and school children, professional and ordinary people, relatives and friends between our two countries, both





Mr Gorbachev and Mr Schevornadze agreed that, it was a very good idea ect. That was about 5 years ago, and although there have been changes, but a lot remains to be desired.

Over the past twelve months or so, I have spoken to teachers and others that have come on a visit to this country from the Soviet Union. They told me a lot about the economic, social and political situation, as well as the harvesting after the Chenobyl disaster which is quite staggering. Just a few weeks ago, one teacher told me that and I quote " the ice has cracked, but it is not floating yet".

If Mr Gorbachev lasts for the next 10 years, the ice may well begin to float.

*With Best Wishes  
yours ever  
Stefan*

Stefan Terlezki CFA.



R113 PPS

ATT Prime Minister (4)  
STEPAN TELLEZKI  
16. BRYNGWYN RD.  
CYMCOED. CARDIFF.  
CF2 6PQ.

Dear Prime Minister.

3 March. 1989.

I was immensely pleased to receive your letter regarding my views on how the Gorbachev reforms are doing.

I know how extremely busy you are, therefore I kept the details as short as possible.

If I may, I will periodically send you briefs, and keep you informed with my up to date information and my views with the developments in the Soviet Union and East West Relation in general.

My family in the Ukraine will be immensely proud and blessed for your good wishes to them, as they are fully informed of your great work, support and dedication to freedom, human rights, religious persecution, peace and social justice.

I am still well booked with my speaking engagements up and down the Country, flying the flag for our Party and for you in particular.

Many joins me in wishing you and Dennis our most sincere and warmest regards, and many congratulations on becoming grand-parents.

Yours ever  
Stepan