



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

20 September 1989

Dear Mr. Reich,

Thank you for your recent letter about Raoul Wallenberg which was forwarded here by our Embassy in Washington.

I greatly admire the heroism shown by Raoul Wallenberg, and I am very aware that, despite repeated representations from ourselves and other like-minded countries, the Soviet Government has still failed to give an adequate explanation of Raoul Wallenberg's fate. We very much hope that the recent invitation from the Soviet authorities for a delegation from Stockholm, including members of Wallenberg's family, to visit Moscow is a sign that the Soviet Government now wish to resolve this case.

I certainly expect to discuss the issue of human rights with Mr. Gorbachev during my forthcoming short stay in Moscow. But I am afraid that we will have a crowded agenda and I will not have time to go into individual cases.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Mr. Seymour Reich

I must keep the time for
briefing, especially about the
disarmament talks

Please refer respectfully
mb

Prime Minister

How do you feel
about a meeting
with refuseniks?
There is some time, but
not much & you will
need it for briefing. I
think meeting refuseniks is
more appropriate to a full
visit than a filling

ZCZC
HPTYAN 7288 MXHPAN 7046
CONFIDENTIAL
DD 201600Z TOKYO
FM MOSCO TO TOKYO
201502Z SEP
GRS 331

CONFIDENTIAL
FM MOSCOW
TO DESKBY 201600Z TOKYO
TELNO MISC 263
OF 201502Z SEPTEMBER 89
INFO IMMEDIATE FCO

FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW: REFUSENIKS

1. WE HAVE RECEIVED A NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIONS FROM THE JEWISH
COMMUNITY IN MOSCOW IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S TALKS
WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV.

are. Agree to raise
the issue with G.

- 2. THESE FALL INTO THREE CATEGORIES
 - A) REQUESTS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER RAISE THE SITUATION OF
REFUSENIKS AS A GENERAL PRINCIPLE.
 - B) REQUEST THAT INDIVIDUAL REFUSENIK CASES, AND OTHER ISSUES OF
CONCERN TO THE COMMUNITY BE DISCUSSED WITH MR GORBACHEV.
 - C) THAT THE PRIME MINISTER RECEIVE THE REFUSENIKS TO HEAR THEIR
CONCERNS AT FIRST HAND.

but not all of
Yes
refuseniks themselves?
C80

3. WE ASSUME THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS RECEIVED BRIEFING ON THE
HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. WE RECOMMEND THAT SHE AGREES TO 2A) IN THIS
CONTEXT. THIS COULD BE DONE WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSED MOSCOW
CONFERENCE IN 1991, GORBACHEV'S UN SPEECH AND STATEMENTS AT THE END
OF THE VIENNA MEETING THAT OUTSTANDING REFUSENIK CASES WOULD BE DEALT
WITH WITHIN SIX MONTHS, AND CONTINUED UNCERTAINTY ABOUT WHEN NEW
LEGISLATION ON EMIGRATION WILL BE INTRODUCED INTO PARLIAMENT.

4. ON 2B) WE WILL PREPARE A LIST OF CASES RECEIVED. IF THE PRIME
MINISTER DISCUSSES THE ISSUE IN PRINCIPLE, SHE MIGHT THEN SAY THAT
SHE IS AWARE OF SPECIFIC CASES, AND HAS BEEN ASKED TO RAISE THEM AND
WILL INSTRUCT THE EMBASSY TO DISCUSS THEM IN DETAIL WITH THE FOREIGN
MINISTRY. SHE MIGHT ADD THAT THE CASES WILL BE ON THE AGENDA FOR THE
NEXT ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOSCOW ON 9 OCTOBER.
(THE UK DELEGATION WILL CONSIST OF SIR BERNARD BRAINE MP, AND
ACADEMIC EXPERTS, AS WELL AS OFFICIALS).

5. THERE IS SPACE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S PROGRAMME FOR A MEETING
WITH REFUSENIKS BEFORE SHE DEPARTS FOR THE KREMLIN. THOSE WHO HAVE
CONTACTED US SO FAR ARE KNOWN PERSONALLY TO THE EMBASSY AND
SERIOUS-MINDED PEOPLE. DO YOU WISH US TO INVITE THEM FOR A BRIEF
MEETING AT THE EMBASSY SATURDAY MORNING?

BRAITHWAITE

ZCZC
HPTYAN 7216 MXHPAE 6806
RESTRICTED
OO TOKYO
FM MOSCO TO FCOLN
191416Z SEP
GRS 192

RESTRICTED
FM MOSCOW
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 1610
OF 191416Z SEPTEMBER 89
INFO IMMEDIATE TOKYO

TOKYO FOR PM'S PARTY.

FCO TELNO 1238: VISIT OF SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION

1. THE QUESTION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION CAME UP WHEN
PRIMAKOV MET MRS THATCHER DURING HER TECHNICAL STOP ON 18 SEPTEMBER.
PRIMAKOV CONFIRMED TO ME THAT THE VISIT WOULD GO AHEAD IN DECEMBER.
HE HIMSELF WOULD NOT BE FREE TO LEAD IT BUT THE HEAD OF THE
DELEGATION WOULD BE A VERY SENIOR SOVIET FIGURE.

2. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE HEAD OF SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT IN THE
MFA EARLIER ON 18 SEPTEMBER I HAD RAISED THE SUBJECT OF THE VISIT.
WE BOTH AGREED THAT THIS WOULD BE A MAJOR POLITICAL BILATERAL EVENT
AND THAT IT WAS DESIRABLE FOR THE DELEGATION TO BE HEADED BY A MEMBER
OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. USPENSKY DID NOT DISSENT WHEN I SUGGESTED
THAT A POTENTIAL HEAD OF THE DELEGATION MIGHT BE VICE-PRESIDENT
LUKYANOV, WHO IS GORBACHEV'S DEPUTY WITHIN THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM
AND IS WIDELY EXPECTED TO BE PROMOTED TO FULL MEMBERSHIP OF THE
POLITBURO SOON. IF THE PRIME MINISTER HAS BEEN BRIEFED TO RAISE THE
VISIT WITH GORBACHEV, SHE MIGHT WISH TO SUGGEST LUKYANOV'S NAME TO
HIM.

BRAITHWAITE

YYYY

MXHPAE 6806

NNNN

ZCZC
TYHPAE 2396
CONFIDENTIAL
DD 210600Z MOSCO
OO FCOLN
FM TOKYO TO MOSCO
210355Z SEP
GRS 120

CONFIDENTIAL
FM TOKYO
TO DESKBY 210600Z MOSCOW
TELNO MISC 125
OF 210355Z SEPTEMBER 1989
INFO IMMEDIATE FCO

FOLLOWING FROM CHARLES POWELL

YOUR TELEGRAM NUMBER MISC 263: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW:
REFUSENIKS.

THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD CERTAINLY BE READY TO RAISE THE SITUATION OF REFUSENIKS BUT DOES NOT SEE HER MEETING WITH MR. GORBACHEV AS THE OCCASION TO GET INTO DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL CASES. NOR DOES SHE THINK IT WOULD BE PRACTICABLE ON THIS OCCASION TO RECEIVE A GROUP OF REFUSENIKS. THERE IS ONLY A VERY LIMITED TIME AVAILABLE AND SHE WOULD PREFER TO USE IT FOR BRIEFING FOR HER MEETING WITH MR. GORBACHEV. PERHAPS YOU COULD SEE THE REFUSENIKS ON HER BEHALF ON FRIDAY SO THAT YOU CAN GIVE THE PRIME MINISTER AN UP TO DATE ACCOUNT OF THEIR CONCERNS ON HER ARRIVAL.

WHITEHEAD

YYYY

TYHPAE 2396

NNNN

21/2
TELEGRAM TO MOSCOW

CONFIDENTIAL

DESK BY 210600Z

FOR INFORMATION IMMEDIATE TO FCO

FOLLOWING FROM CHARLES POWELL

Your telegram number Misc 263: Prime Minister's visit to Moscow: refuseniks.

The Prime Minister would certainly be ready to raise the situation of refuseniks but does not see her meeting with Mr. Gorbachev as the occasion to get into discussion of individual cases. Nor does she think it would be practicable on this occasion to receive a group of refuseniks. There is only a very limited time available and she would prefer to use it for briefing for her meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. Perhaps you could see the refuseniks on her behalf on Friday so that you can give the Prime Minister an up to date account of their ~~efforts~~ *concerns* on her arrival.

CDP
CDP

21.9.89

SLH/31

Mr Powell

JEWISH EMIGRATION

1. I met some of the Moscow refuseniks this morning. They welcomed the prospect that the Prime Minister might raise the emigration question in broad terms when she saw Mr Gorbachev and ask him to instruct his officials to negotiate with the Embassy constructively and urgently about individual cases.

2. The new law on emigration (and other Human Rights legislation) is now unlikely to be passed by the Supreme Soviet until the Spring, because economic legislation has priority. Meanwhile, the time-table within which Mr Gorbachev at the United States last December, and his negotiators in Vienna in January, said that these matters would be resolved is not being observed. There are obvious implications for the 1991 Human Rights Conference in Moscow.

/ 3. I attach some points that the Prime Minister might wish to make.

RB

Rodric Braithwaite

22 September 1989

JEWISH EMIGRATION

POINTS TO MAKE

- Welcomed Gorbachev's helpful remarks at the UN General Assembly, and Soviet officials' statements at Vienna CSCE final conference.

- But necessary Soviet laws and regulations still not yet in place. In consequence:

- (a) would-be emigrants are still denied visas on "secrecy" grounds, although in 70% of cases known to Embassy the applicant last did secret work more than ten years ago;
- (b) the requirement to secure acquiescence of "poor relations" has meant (sometimes deliberately) that visas have been unreasonably denied;
- (c) there is no adequate procedure for applicants to appeal against refusal;
- (d) in several cases, visas have been granted and then been revoked.

||| - Hope Gorbachev could instruct Soviet officials to discuss constructively with British Embassy; |||

- Obvious implications both for perestroika generally, and for prospects for 1991 Conference.



GORDIEVSKY

Points to make

- Understand that your Embassy have recently proposed that the Gordievsky family should meet in Prague.

Grateful for this suggestion but it does not meet our point that the family should be allowed to come to the UK to discuss their future with Mr Gordievsky free of all pressures. Will give you my personal undertaking that, if Mrs Gordievsky, or indeed Mr Gordievsky, then decided to return, no obstacle would be put in their way.

- This is the one Anglo-Soviet family reunification case on which we have made no progress in 3½ years. Important both in the bilateral and in the CSCE context that it should be resolved. I personally attach great importance to this.

Defensive points

Why not a meeting in a third country?

- Important that the meeting should be in a natural environment and free from pressures. This could not be achieved in a third country.

She does not wish/has not applied to come

- She has made clear that she wants to see him, viz proposal for a meeting in Prague. The CSCE concluding document signed in January included a special article on defectors. This stipulated that applicants for travel or family reunification should not be adversely affected by acts or omissions by members of their family (text attached).

CSCE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT: "Defector" Clause

13. In dealing with applications for travel for family meetings, family reunification or marriage between citizens of different States, they will ensure that acts or omissions by members of the applicant's family do not adversely affect the rights of the applicant as set forth in the relevant international instruments.

R

Walt to Powell enc. 15/9/89

200



R.

Mrs. MARGARET THATCHER
The Prime-Minister of Great Britain

Dear Mrs. Margaret Thatcher!

Jews-refuseniks express you our great gratitude for you tireless efforts in the assertion Human Right, including our right to leave the Soviet Union. We have been inspired and warmed by fact that your Government and British Parliament demand from the Soviet representatives (on every meetings) to liquidate the shameful phenomenon of long-term refusal and support always our requests:

- to give all the long-term refuseniks exit visas without any preconditions;
- to accept the Law about entrance and exit, that must be in full accordance with International Pacts and Agreements, including Vienna Final Document;
- to verify one year the practical usage of this Law.

In spite of increased number of the exit visas during this year, nowadays in the USSR there more than 100 families (known to us) so-called "state-secrecy" refuseniks.

There are: 3 families, members of which quitted their "secret job 25 and more years ago;

16 families, members of which quitted their "secret job 16-24 years ago;

51 families, members of which quitted their "secret job 10-15 years ago;

7 families, members of which quitted their "secret job 5-9 years ago.

The practice of withdrawal the exit visas and renewal the "state-secrecy" status still goes on. During the last months the number of "state-secrecy" refuseniks has been increased and number of "poor relatives" also increased. For various reasons (mostly because of fear for career or of revenge) the relatives avoid to give the affidavites their children and ex-spouses.

The Ambassador Yuri Kashlev's promise in Vienna in January 1989 to revise all the refuseniks cases during half an year was not fulfilled. The draft of the Law of entrance and exit has not been published yet, the time of it's consideration on the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is not known. The long-term refuseniks did not received the answers from the Commissions of the Supreme Soviet to their request to invite them for discussing the draft of the Law. The lawless practice of deprivation of citizenship

of persons who leave the Soviet Union by Israely visas still going on(with the fee-500rb.).

In connection with your future meeting with Mr.M.Gorbachev we ask you to demand from the USSR to fulfill it's International obligations in the sphere of Human Rights.The free emigration from the Soviet Union has to be guaranteed by Law with essential legal protection,but not to be the Authorities arbitrary favour or crumb,it must not depend on juncture,trade transaction and state visits.


Only your influence and pressure can help us to realize our natural right to emigrate from the USSR.It is high time to put an end to the shameful Phenomenon of Refusal.

We do not know how it is possible to plan the Conference about Human Dimension of CSCE in 1991 in capital of the country,which violates the Right to emigrate?

Sincerely yours

On behalf of long-term refuseniks - the members of the legal seminar on emigration problems and members of the Publik Committee for monitoring visa-office work:

Leonid Stonov
David Mikhalev
Natalia Magazanik
Anatoly Genis
Zanna Tessler
Boris Zolotarevsky
Lev Milman
Eugene Scrinnik
Emanuel Lurie
Alexandr Rappoport
Irina Sterkina
Dmitry Protopopov
Ester Futorianskaya
Emil Kunin



and others

Moscow, September, 18, 1989

Enclosed-The lists of Refuseniks

Moscow 19 September 1989

Her Excellency, the Prime Minister of Great Britain
Mrs. Margaret Thatcher

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

For almost a year, an Institute for Judaic Studies under the auspices of the Academy of World Civilizations / World Laboratory has been operating in Moscow. This educational framework provides intensive courses in traditional Jewish literature to a growing number of Soviet Jewish students. The Institute has had a very positive impact on the cultural life of the Jewish community of Moscow and far beyond; since it is the only legally recognized institution providing a program in Judaic studies in a country with a Jewish population numbering in the millions. When I addressed the All Party Committee for the Release of Soviet Jews of the House of Commons in London last July I mentioned the operation of this institute as one of the most positive developments in recent years. The information on the institute aroused great interest among the Members of Parliament present.

For the past few months, the Institute has been housed in a branch of the Moskva Hotel located at Zvenigorodskaya 16. A few days ago, the Institute was informed that the Moscow municipal authorities have ordered the Institute to vacate the building within a fortnight - on Oct. 1, which is the second day of the Jewish High Holiday (Rosh Hashana). No explanation was given and no opportunity was given to come to a mutually satisfactory financial agreement. The reasons for this are not clear. All parties involved agree that the continued growth and development of the Institute within its legal framework is desirable. Therefore the sponsoring bodies have done their best to find an alternative. However, due to the absence of prior notice and the current very tight housing market in Moscow, it is almost impossible to find an adequate alternative facility.

The arbitrary action of city authorities does not appear to be in accordance with current governmental policies nor to have been taken with the knowledge of the highest governmental authorities. I allow myself to hope that Your Excellency sympathizes with the goals of this institution and its current difficulties. I would be most grateful if you could bring this situation to the attention of the highest Soviet authorities with whom you will be meeting and express your concern. Such action on your part should rectify this situation promptly and would be in accord with the British tradition of humanitarianism and your own long standing record of concern and deeds on behalf of Soviet Jews.

With gratitude for your assistance,

V. Dashevsky
Dr. Vladimir Dashevsky,

copy: All Party Committee for Release of Soviet Jewry / House of Commons