



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

16 March 1987

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister  
 Agree to stick to your  
 intention to see a small  
 group of refuseniks privately,

Thank you for your letter of 27 February enclosing one from the Editor of Jews in the USSR with a request from a group of refusenik women in Moscow to meet the Prime Minister during her visit.

despite the Ambassador's misgivings?

Sir Bryan Cartledge sent some initial advice on the question of meeting with refuseniks in Moscow telegram No 297 (paragraph 1(iii)) enclosed. In the light of that, you told us in your letter of 5 March that the Prime Minister agreed that

CDP  
16/3

- the total number should be kept small;
- she would be happy to make an award to Mr Begun;
- she would be guided by the Ambassador's advice on other participants, though she mentioned in particular the name of Ida Nudel.

Yes not

The Ambassador has subsequently thought further about this and sent further advice that a meeting with refuseniks risks casting a shadow over the visit. He questions whether our aims would not be better served by taking up the question of refuseniks strongly in the Prime Minister's talks with Gorbachev, and revealing this subsequently.

Sir Bryan is right to draw attention to the risks of taking action which would make the Soviet authorities act more harshly towards the refuseniks or would compromise the achievement of our other ends. But neither of these is a major risk. The Soviet authorities could hardly be very surprised: the Prime Minister is widely known to have endorsed the refusenik cause. Her seeing them would not damage their chances of leaving the country (and even if it did, they are perhaps the best judges of what should be done). It would certainly give them and their supporters outside the Soviet Union encouragement. There is no doubt that pressure and interest on the part of senior Western figures has helped their cause in the past.

A Soviet decision to prevent the refuseniks getting into the Embassy for the meeting would lead to publicity, and



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necessitate a strong protest by us. It cannot be ruled out, but we do not think it likely.

The Foreign Secretary's view is that the risks are acceptable. I should be grateful to know the Prime Minister's decision.

The Ambassador suggested that Inna Joffe, a member of the group which has written to the Prime Minister, should be one of those whom the Prime Minister should meet. We agree. But we think that since arrangements for any meeting are to be made at the last minute, it will be best not to give any commitment at this stage to Nan Greifer about a meeting. Advance publicity would not be helpful. It will be important not to give the British press any advance hint of the Prime Minister's intentions.

/ I enclose a draft reply to Nan Greifer.

Yours ever,  
*A C Galsworthy*

(A C Galsworthy)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

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GR

C/F Do you wish to keep?  
JR 18/3  
Yes



file

SBATC

bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

17 March 1987

Dear Tony,

Thank you for your letter of 16 March about the Prime Minister's wish to meet a small group of refuseniks while she is in Moscow.

The Prime Minister recognises that there are some risks inherent in this but nonetheless she wishes to go ahead on the basis set out in my letter of 5 March.

I have sent the letter to Ms. Greifer.

Yours sincerely,

C. D. POWELL

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

DTS



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**IMMEDIATE**

**ADVANCE COPY**

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FM MOSCOW

TO DESKBY 271500Z F C O

TELNO 494

OF 271330Z MARCH 87

YOUR TELNO 408; PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT; MEETING WITH REFUSENIKS

1. REUTERS HAVE NOW PUBLISHED BEGUN'S INFORMATION ON THE PROPOSED MEETING, INCLUDING THE DATE AND TIMING. THE BBC HAVE ALSO CONTACTED US ASKING FOR CONFIRMATION. FOR THE MOMENT WE ARE SIMPLY RESPONDING ON THE LINES OF TUR.

2. GRATEFUL FOR AN UPDATED LINE TO TAKE WITH THESE AND ANY OTHER PRESS ENQUIRIES.

CARTLEDGE

YYYY

MXHPAN 8834

NNNN



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CC AL

CONFIDENTIAL  
 FM MOSCOW  
 TO DESKBY 170830Z F C O  
 TELNO 384  
 OF 170800Z MARCH 87

FOLLOWING FOR LLEWELLYN SMITH, SOVIET DEPARTMENT

YOUR TELNO 315: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: DRAFT PROGRAMME

1. I AM GRATEFUL FOR THESE VERY PROMPT REACTIONS.
2. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD CONFIRM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S WISH IS THAT UK PARTICIPATION IN THE DINNER ON 31 MARCH (PARA 9 OF YTUR) SHOULD BE THE SAME AS THAT SPECIFIED IN PARA 6 OF YTUR. IF SO, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE AN INDICATION OF HOW THE SECRETARY OF STATE WOULD WISH TO SPEND THE EVENING. FOR A SOCIAL OCCASION, AS DISTINCT FROM MORE FORMAL TALKS, I THINK IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE FOR POLLOCK TO BE INCLUDED TO SHARE THE BURDEN OF INTERPRETATION: WOULD THIS BE ACCEPTABLE ?
3. MAY I ASSUME, FROM PARA 7 OF YTUR, THAT CONSIDERATION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO MY TELNO 317 ? IF SO, A SUITABLE TIME FOR A BRIEF PRIVATE MEETING WITH REFUSENIKS WOULD BE 0830 ON 1 APRIL, IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTURE FOR THE KREMLIN FAREWELL. IF THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE CONTENT WITH THIS, WE SHALL GO AHEAD WITH THE ARRANGEMENTS.
4. I AGREE THAT THE BEST TIME FOR A SEPARATE PRESS CONFERENCE WITH BRITISH JOURNALISTS WOULD BE AFTER DINNER ON 31 MARCH. THE ONLY POSSIBLE VENUE, HOWEVER, WOULD BE MY STUDY IN THE EMBASSY WHICH THE NO 10 PRIVATE OFFICE WILL HAVE BEEN USING. WOULD THEY BE WILLING TO PACK UP DURING THE EVENING OF 31 MARCH SO THAT THE ROOM CAN BE RE-CONFIGURED FOR THE PRESS CONFERENCE AT, SAY, 2200 ?
5. AS SOON AS YOU ARE ABLE TO RESPOND TO THE ABOVE POINTS, I SHALL SEEK A FURTHER SESSION WITH CHERNEYSHEV.

CARTLEDGE  
 MXHPAN 8532

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 PROTOCOL D MR THOMAS  
 NEWS D MR RATFORD  
 RESEARCH D MR BOYD  
 PS  
 PS MR RENTON

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CONFIDENTIAL  
FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 031100Z FCO  
TELNO 297  
OF 031000Z MARCH 87

CONFIDENTIAL

1035

FOLLOWING FOR HEAD OF SOVIET DEPARTMENT

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: EVENTS OUTSIDE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

1. IN THE CONTINUING ABSENCE OF INDICATIONS FROM THE SOVIET SIDE ON EVEN THE OUTLINE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PROGRAMME (I PRODDED USPENSKY AGAIN TODAY, 3 MARCH, WITHOUT RESULT) IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO HAVE DEFINITE APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE FOR THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS SO THAT THEY CAN BE FIRMED UP, IN TERMS OF DATES AND TIMES, AT VERY SHORT NOTICE:

I) RECEPTION FOR BRITISH COMMUNITY (MY TELNO 158).

CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE CONTENT FOR ME TO HOLD A RECEPTION AT WHICH SHE COULD MEET RESIDENT BRITISH BUSINESSMEN, BRITISH JOURNALISTS AND MEMBERS OF MY STAFF? THE MOST LIKELY DATE FOR THIS WOULD BE SUNDAY, 29 MARCH, BUT THIS WILL DEPEND, E.G. ON WHETHER THE FIRST MEETING WITH GORBACHEV TAKES PLACE ON THAT DAY.

II) MEETING WITH THE SAKHAROV'S.

WE ARE GETTING IN TOUCH WITH SAKHAROV TO TELL HIM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE IN MOSCOW FROM (WE HOPE) 28 MARCH TO 1 APRIL AND THAT SHE HOPES THAT SAKHAROV AND MRS BONNER WILL BE ABLE TO CALL ON HER AT THE EMBASSY DURING THAT PERIOD AT A TIME TO BE ARRANGED, PROBABLY AT THE LAST MINUTE. IT WOULD IN MY VIEW BE INADVISABLE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO MEET SAKHAROV BEFORE HER OFFICIAL PROGRAMME HAS BEGUN, I.E. BEFORE SHE HAS MET GORBACHEV: THIS COULD GIVE HER SOVIET HOSTS AN ODD IMPRESSION OF OUR PRIORITIES AND CAUSE UNNECESSARY IRRITATION. IT SHOULD PROVE POSSIBLE TO FIND A SLOT FOR THE SAKHAROV'S ON 30 OR 31 MARCH.

III) REFUSENIKS.

THIS WILL, OF COURSE, BE AN EVEN MORE SENSITIVE ENCOUNTER. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT IT SHOULD BE A PURELY SYMBOLIC ONE AND THAT THE NUMBER OF REFUSENIKS INVOLVED SHOULD BE VERY SMALL. ANY GROUP OF MORE THAN, SAY, 4 WOULD BE REGARDED BY THE RUSSIANS AS A DEMONSTRATION AND AS A PROVOCATIVE MEDIA EVENT. MY SUGGESTION, THEREFORE, IS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD RECEIVE MR AND MRS BEGUN (TO WHOM SHE COULD PRESENT THE ALL-PARTY COMMITTEE'S AWARD), ONE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "JEWISH WOMEN AGAINST REFUSAL" GROUP (YOUR TELNO 246) AND PERHAPS PROFESSOR LERNER. FROM THE WOMEN'S GROUP, WE HAVE

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/DIRECT



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DIRECT CONTACT WITH INNA IOFFE AND CONSIDER THAT SHE WOULD BE A SUITABLE CHOICE TO REPRESENT THE GROUP; BUT YOU MAY WISH TO CHECK THIS AT THE LONDON END, WHILE EMPHASISING THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RECEIVE MORE THAN ONE REPRESENTATIVE. AS WITH THE SAKHAROV'S, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR THIS ENCOUNTER TO TAKE PLACE ONLY WHEN THE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME IS WELL UNDER WAY: AND THIS, AGAIN POINTS TO A VERY LAST-MINUTE ARRANGEMENT.

CARTLEDGE

YYYY

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MR THOMAS  
MR RATFOR D

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-2-







BM

cc fwo

## 10 DOWNING STREET

16 March 1987

*From the Private Secretary*

Thank you for your letter of 26 February enclosing one to the Prime Minister from the group 'Jewish Women Against Refusal'.

The Prime Minister much admires the courage of these wives and mothers, and values the work of your publication on their behalf. As you know already, she feels very strongly about the unjustifiable denial of exit visas to the many thousands of Soviet Jews who want only to be reunited with loved ones and to be free to follow their culture.

She was pleased to hear that Tim Renton met with a number of refuseniks, including Inna Ioffe, during his visit to Moscow in January and hopes that this was an encouragement.

The programme for her own visit is still under discussion. I cannot make any commitments, but the Prime Minister has noted carefully the request of 'Jewish Women Against Refusal' to meet her; and she will have the plight of refuseniks very much in her mind in her discussions with Mr. Gorbachev.

(C.D. Powell)

Ms. Nan Greifer

Jew



DSK (Revised Sept 85)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM:

Reference

PS/NO 10  
DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

Your Reference

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SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

- Top Secret
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Nan Greifer  
 Editor "Jews in the USSR"  
 Contemporary Jewish Library  
 31 Percy Street  
 LONDON  
 WLP 9FG  
 SUBJECT:

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

CAVEAT .....

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Enclosures flag(s) .....

can.





DAS file (65)

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

5 March 1987

**PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW: EVENTS OUTSIDE  
THE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME**

I have seen a copy of Moscow telegram number 297 which raises a number of points about the programme for the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow.

The Prime Minister will be very content for the Ambassador to give a reception at the Embassy for her to meet resident British businessmen, journalists, teachers, students and members of the Embassy staff. She agrees that arrangements for a meeting with Doctor and Mrs Sakharov should be left until the last moment, and that the meeting should take place after she has seen Mr Gorbachev (or at least had a first meeting with him).

The same applies to the proposed meeting with the Refuseniks. The Prime Minister will be very happy to make the award to Mr Begun. She would be guided by the Ambassador's advice on other participants, although has mentioned in particular the name of Ida Nudel, with whose case she has had a particular connection. She agrees that the total number should be kept small.

C D POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

dg



CONFIDENTIAL  
FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 031100Z FCO  
TELNO 297  
OF 031000Z MARCH 87

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Private Secretary

Also - can we go  
furni on TBILISI?

FOLLOWING FOR HEAD OF SOVIET DEPARTMENT

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: EVENTS OUTSIDE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

*M. ...  
... Smith*

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4/3

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(+ a few  
British  
teachers/  
students)

II) MEETING WITH THE SAKHAROVs.  
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Nan GREIFER  
13/3

file

OA 42



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

27 February 1987

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the editor of "Jews in the USSR". As you will see, she in turn encloses a letter from 11 refuseniks in Moscow who ask whether the Prime Minister could meet them during her visit.

At the end of the seminar on the visit to the Soviet Union this afternoon, the Prime Minister mentioned to Sir Bryan Cartledge that she would like if possible to meet some representatives of the Jewish community discreetly and informally during her visit. It may well be that the group referred to in this letter are not particularly appropriate. But you will wish to take account of Sir Bryan Cartledge's advice on the broader point about such a meeting before letting me have a draft reply.

(Charles Powell)

OA

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.





10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

27 February 1987

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 26 February enclosing a further letter from the group "Jewish Women Against Refusal". I will bring this to the Prime Minister's attention and let you have a reply as soon as possible.

(Charles Powell)

Ms. Nan Greifer.



# CONTEMPORARY JEWISH LIBRARY

31 PERCY STREET, LONDON W1P 9FG

Tel: 01-636 0536 / 01-580 0681

26th February 1987

R27

The Right Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
London, S.W.1.

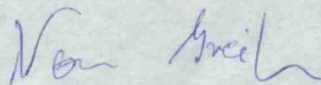
Dear Prime Minister,

I am enclosing this letter from eleven refuseniks in Moscow which reached me this morning by "special messenger". I also enclose the note addressed to me with the request to pass on the correspondence to you.

If there is any additional information I can give you, I shall be only too happy to do so.

It would also be possible for me to pass on a message, should you consider it useful.

I remain,  
Yours truly,



NAN GREIFER  
EDITOR "JEWS IN THE USSR"

ENCS.



TRANSLATION:

MOSCOW

13 February 1987

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

We welcome your visit to the Soviet Union!

Our group, "Jewish Women Against Refusal" would be most happy if we could meet you during your visit in Moscow at whatever time is convenient to you.

Elena Dubianskaya  
Oksana Kholmianskaya  
Mara Balashinskaya  
Rimma Yakir  
Ada Lvovskaya  
Evgenya Lukatskaya  
Rosa Ioffe  
Inna Ioffe  
Elena Klots  
Tatiana Ulanovskaya  
Zoya Kopelman



Москва, 13 апр  
1987г

Уважаемая миссис Титмер!

Мои приветствия Вам присылаю  
в Советский Союз!

Наша группа "Еврейские менсхины  
против отказа" будем рада сосре-  
титься с Вами во время Вашего  
выезда в Москву в любое удобное для  
Вас время.

Елена Дубенская  
Оксана Коминская  
Мара Балашинская  
Ришма Дир  
Ада Лотовская  
Евения Лукацкая  
Роза Удгооре  
Инна Удгооре  
Елена Киоу  
Татьяна Улановская  
Зоя Копельман



Иэн, дорогая!

13.02.87

Пожалуйста Вам приглашение  
для миссис Мэттер.

Пожалуйста, переведите  
его на английский язык  
и в соответствии с протоколом,  
пожалуйста, если будет  
возможность, перешлите  
это письмо нашему  
друзю и Вашему Трейдер-Министру.  
Наше письмо вы можете  
приложить к Вашему  
переводу.

Целую Вас.

Лена



TRANSLATION:

13 February 1987

Dear Nan,

We are sending you our invitation to Mrs. Thatcher. Please translate it into English and transmit it to your Prime Minister, whom we regard as our friend, through the appropriate channels.

Kisses,

Lena