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PREM 19 / 1314

Confidential filing

Yalta victims memorial

MEMORIALS

January 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
15.2.1980							
21.2.80							
17.3.80							
31.3.80							
3.4.80							
11.4.80							
29.4.80							
14.5.80							
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16.7.80							
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15.8.80							
19.8.80							
24.6.81							
29.3.82							
1.4.82							
5.4.82							
1.2.83							
12.3.84							

44 YORK MANSIONS
PRINCE OF WALES DRIVE
LONDON SW11 4BP

01-622 4288

12th March, 1984.

Dear John,

I visited the Yalta Victims Memorial opposite the Victoria and Albert Museum last week and I thought you ought to know that it was in a disgusting state, totally unlooked after and the actual plaque was so dirty that you couldn't even read the writing on it. Cigarette ends and bits of rubbish were lying everywhere and I felt angered and ashamed that I had had anything to do with your recruiting campaign. How could so much money have been spent on what can only be described as a concrete bath with two holes in it?

If all those trusting and generous people who contributed to this memorial knew what the end result now looks like, they would be as horrified as I am.

I believe that you and all the other members of the Yalta Victims Memorial Committee (to whom I am compelled to copy this letter) have a great deal to answer for unless you can get something more suitable erected on this prominent site.

The 'memorial' is no commemoration to the victims we are honouring and I am outraged that, having acquired this very important site with Government approval (including a personal donation from the Prime Minister), it continues to be ill-maintained and totally neglected. What tribute can

... /

you honestly say this is to those victims so heroically described in Nikolai's account?

I would be interested to know what you are doing about this and, in view of the large sums of money that I believe were collected in 1982, I also wonder if any accounts have been circulated?

*Yours,
James Illingworth*

Mrs. James Illingworth.

The Hon. John Jolliffe,
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer,
Yalta Victims Memorial Appeal,
The Manor House,
Kilmersdon,
Bath,
AVON.

Copies sent to:-

YALTA VICTIMS MEMORIAL APPEAL

Committee:

- ✓ Sir Bernard Braine, DL, MP (Chairman)
- ✓ Lord Bethell, MEP
- ✓ Sir Nicholas Cheetham, KCMG
- ✓ Sir John Foster, KBE, QC
- ✓ The Right Hon. J. Grimond, PC, MP
- ✓ Lord St. Oswald, DL, MC
- ✓ Professor Lord Thomas of Swynnerton
- ✓ The Hon. John Jolliffe
(Hon. Secretary and Treasurer)

Sponsors:

- ✓ Professor Lord Dacre of Glanton
- ✓ Gwynfor Evans
- ✓ Lord Harmar-Nicholls, MEP
- ✓ Bryan Magee, MP
- ✓ Lord Mayhew
- ✓ James Molyneaux, MP
- ✓ Neville Sandelson, MP
- Malcolm Muggeridge
- The Right Hon. Donald Stewart, PC, MP
- Count Nikolai Tolstoy
- Dame Rebecca West, DBE

→ The Prime Minister ✓

- ✓ Angela Conner,
- ✓ Ivor Bulmer-Thomas.
- ✓ Lady Monson

Mrs. K. Zinoviev, General Secretary, Russian Refugees Aid Society.
Prince George Galitzine, Chairman, Russian Refugees Aid Society.

cc RB (FCO) pc



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

1 February, 1983

Dear Nicholas.

Thank you for your letter of 28 January about the Yalta Victims' Memorial. I was horrified to hear of the despicable vandalism against the Memorial. Such desecration is the act of barbarians and we must hope that the police will be able to catch them. I hope the second Memorial will escape the fate of the first.

Y
Lonsdale

Raymond

The Lord Bethell.

RW



29

FROM
NICHOLAS
BETHELL

TELEPHONE
01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE
LONDON W2 2SS

The Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher, MP,
10 Downing Street,
London S.W.1.

28th January 1983

Dear Margaret,

Yalta Victims' Memorial

You gave us such valuable support over the construction of a memorial to the innocent victims of forcible repatriation to the Soviet Union in 1945 that I thought it right to let you know of a recent disturbing development.

You probably read that the memorial was dedicated in March 1982 by the Bishop of London. It was a mobile stone sculpture designed to symbolise the plight of the displaced person, together with an appropriate plaque carrying the words agreed between us.

A few months ago the sculpture was comprehensively vandalised - presumably for political reasons. The main "arm" of the sculpture was cut off with an electric stone saw of a type driven by a wheeled petrol generator.

It seems clear therefore that the action was carefully premeditated and carried out by more than one person. I must say that I find it deeply shocking that a work of art should have been destroyed in this way, for political reasons, in an open London square.

We are now busy preparing to construct a second memorial, one that will be less easy to demolish. We are not of course asking that you or the Government take any action, though I hope that the police will catch the miscreants. I am merely writing to put you in the picture, since you gave the project such crucial support.

Yours ever,

Nicholas



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

5 April, 1982.

Dear Mrs. Polanska-Palmer,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of 20 March and for sending me a copy of the newspaper article about the unveiling ceremony on 6 March.

As you know, the Government agreed to the erection of the Memorial on Crown land to commemorate those who died after repatriation to the Soviet Union at the conclusion of the Second World War. I am naturally glad that that purpose has been achieved, and reciprocate your good wishes for the future.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

Mrs Zoe Polanska-Palmer

So



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 April 1982

Dear Willie,

PL type
2/4

As requested in your letter of 29 March,
/ I enclose a draft reply from the Prime Minister
to Mrs Zoe Polanska-Palmer's letter of
20 March about the Yalta Memorial.

Yours ever,

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

Willie Rickett Esq
10 Downing Street

DSR 11 (Revised)

DRAFT: ~~minute~~/~~letter~~/~~teleletter~~/~~despatch~~/~~note~~
XXXX XXXXX XXXXXXXXX

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:
Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

~~Top Secret~~
~~Secret~~
~~Confidential~~
~~Restricted~~
Unclassified

Mrs Zoe Polanska-Palmer
33 Cedar Road
Broughty Ferry
Angus DD5 3BA
Scotland

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

Thank you very much for your kind letter of 20 March and for sending me a copy of the newspaper article about the unveiling ceremony on 6 March.

CAVEAT.....

As you know, the Government agreed to the erection of the Memorial on Crown land to commemorate those who died after repatriation to the Soviet Union at the conclusion of the Second World War. I am naturally glad that that purpose has been achieved, and reciprocate your good wishes for the future.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

BF

29 March 1982

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister
I enclose a copy of a letter to the
Prime Minister from Mrs. Zoe Polanska-Palmer,
about the Yalta Victims Memorial.

I should be grateful if you could provide
a draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature,
to reach us by 12 April.

W F S RICKETT

W F S RICKETT

S

Mrs. Zoe Polanska-Palmer

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

33 Cedar Road,
Broughty Ferry,
Angus DD5 3BA,
Scotland,
20-3-1982.

R27

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

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

During my recent visit to Lord Bethell's home, I have been talking to many prominent people and learnt that it was your personal intervention which has made possible for me to unveil the Yalta Victims Memorial Fountain on March 6th 1982. Thus I am writing to convey my profound gratitude.

At the unveiling Ceremony even through the tears I felt overwhelmed with everyone's kindness and dignifyingly proud of the fact that at last the Yalta Victims have been recognised in the most beautiful site of London. For which I can never thank you enough.

I enclose a little article about it in the Sunday Telegraph, I am sure that you will understand it in some tiny way how the innocent victims were faced with such a traumatic circumstances of forcible repatriation to the Soviet Union.

I pray that the Memorial will serve as a caution to all politicians.

With my humble thanks again and warmest good wishes for the remaining and the next term of office.

Yours sincerely,

Zoë Polanska-Palmer

Zoë Polanska-Palmer (Mrs).



Memorials
file

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

29 June 1981

YALTA MEMORIAL

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 23 June on this subject and has accepted the advice therein. I have spoken to Lord Bethell. He will not be pursuing the idea of a Prime Ministerial message for the opening ceremony.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

F. N. Richards, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

FB



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

You have already warned Lord Bethell of the "complications"

which a message from you would involve. There is no need for you to write again at present. 23 June 1981

But, if you agree with the FCO advice, there would probably be advantage in my signing Lord Bethell & suggesting that he should not proceed any further with the idea of a message. Agree?

Dear Michael,

Yalta Memorial

Print 24/6

You asked in your letter of 11 June for advice on whether the Prime Minister should send a message to the organising committee on the occasion of the unveiling of this memorial.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary believes that it would be wise for the Prime Minister to decline Lord Bethell's request, for the same reasons as she decided against accepting his invitation to unveil the memorial. As you know, the Prime Minister told Lord Bethell last year that permission to erect a memorial on Crown Land was given on condition that the inscription was uncontroversial and did not seek to impute guilt to previous British Governments. This was accepted by the organising committee, but at their subsequent press conference Lord Bethell and Sir Bernard Braine were quoted as having made their own views on the matter very plain. This will no doubt be the case also at the dedication ceremony itself, when any message from the Prime Minister would presumably be read out. In view of the Written Answer given by the Prime Minister in the Commons on 10 July 1980 (Hansard extract enclosed) Lord Carrington considers that it would be a mistake for her to involve herself in possible further controversy.

Yours ever,

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

I have spoken to Lord Bethell. He has agreed not to ask for a message.

Print 29/6

also written to my right hon. Friend proposing a meeting to discuss this matter, and that this proposal has been accepted.

ACT OF SETTLEMENT

Rev. Ian Paisley asked the Prime Minister if she will publish the letter which she has received from the leaders of the Orange Institution in the United Kingdom regarding the operation of the Act of Settlement; and what reply she has sent.

The Prime Minister: The Rev. Martin Smyth wrote to me on 7 May and my office replied on my behalf on 28 May. It is not my normal practice to publish exchanges of correspondence, but the Rev. Martin Smyth is at liberty to do so if he wishes.

Rev. Ian Paisley asked the Prime Minister whether Her Majesty's Government propose to take steps to seek to alter the provisions of the Act of Settlement which prohibits the Monarch from becoming a Roman Catholic or marrying a Roman Catholic.

The Prime Minister: As I told the House in 8 July, the Act of Settlement remains in force and the Government have no plans to change it.

Mr. Michael Brown asked the Prime Minister what representations she has received relating to the amendment of the Act of Settlement; and what replies she has sent.

The Prime Minister: The Rev. Martin Smyth wrote to me on 7 May, and my office replied on my behalf on 28 May. In addition, I have received a few letters on this subject this week.

Mr. Michael Brown asked the Prime Minister whether she has any proposals for introducing legislation at any stage during the lifetime of the present Parliament to amend the Act of Settlement.

The Prime Minister: As I told the House on 8 July, the Act of Settlement remains in force and the Government have no plans to change it.

BRITISH ACADEMY

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Prime Minister if she will review the procedure by which the British Academy is used as the vehicle by which public funds are distributed to other bodies in the light of the academy's failure to remove from its list of fellows a self-confessed Soviet agent, Professor Antony Blunt.

The Prime Minister: I have full confidence in the way the British Academy administers its grant and do not therefore propose any changes. The question of Professor Blunt's fellowship is for the Academy.

BRANDT COMMISSION

Mr. Ioan Evans asked the Prime Minister whether Her Majesty's Government have yet reached a conclusion as to which of the Brandt Commission proposals they intend to endorse.

The Prime Minister: The Government will shortly submit a memorandum on this subject to the Overseas Development Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

YALTA MEMORIAL

Mrs. Knight asked the Prime Minister on what grounds permission was given for a memorial to the "victims of Yalta" to be erected on Crown Land; and if she will make a statement.

The Prime Minister: The purpose of the memorial is to commemorate those who died. The Government agreed to the memorial being erected on Crown Land on condition that this purpose was strictly observed. The planned inscription does so. It passes no judgment either on the policies of Governments in the relevant period or on the actions of those who made and carried out those policies.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Official Paid Envelopes

Mr. Wrigglesworth asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster if, in view of the Government's decision to cease using official paid envelopes in the Civil Service, he intends to dispense with their use in the House.

Mr. Beith asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster whether sure that whatever change the use of pre-paid envelope Department, they will be available for use by Parliament on parliamentary

Mr. St. John-Stevas: I plan to do so, but I shall matter with the Post Office Majesty's Stationery Office the House.

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

Hong Kong

Mr. Canavan asked the whether he will arrange to error of Hong Kong to cumstances surrounding late Inspector John Ma Royal Hong Kong police

Mr. Blaker: I shall Governor on 14 July, when he is in this country discuss this topic with announced in Hong Kong a judicial inquiry is being amine the circumstances death of Inspector Macl

WALES

Welsh Language

Mr. Wigley asked the State for Wales what have been made available tion authorities in Wales to implement the recon Council for the Welsh nursery education as set 24 of that report; and education authorities tage of any such prov

Mr. D. E. Thomas of State for Wales w sources have been made Department to increase the under-fives in the tapes, films and pictu with the recommendations of the report on nur the Council for the We



cc: fco.

28.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

11 June 1981

Dear Nicholas,

Thank you for your letter of 8 June.
I am delighted to hear that the Yalta
memorial appeal is proceeding satisfactorily.

There are the obvious complications
about a message to be read out at the
unveiling ceremony but I will certainly
think carefully about your request.

Yours ever,

(sgd) MT

The Lord Bethell

28



File

JA BK

Memorials
8/7

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 June 1981

Lord BETHELL

I enclose, together with a copy of her reply, a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from Lord Bethell about the Yalta memorial.

I should be grateful to receive in due course advice as to whether or not the Prime Minister should send a message to the Committee.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Francis Richards, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

BK.



FROM
NICHOLAS
BETHELL

TELEPHONE
01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE
LONDON W2 2SS

The Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher, MP,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON S.W.1.

8th June 1981

Dear Margaret,

When you received Mrs Avital Sharansky and me on April 29th, you were kind enough to ask how our Yalta memorial was progressing. So I thought that I would send you a copy of our new fund raising brochure that has just been printed.

As you will see from page 2 of the brochure our appeal has gone quite well. We are most of the way there. But we still need a few thousand pounds to pay for the services to be provided by the local authority in perpetuity.

We do not anticipate very much trouble in raising this extra money and we very much hope to have the work finished and to arrange a date for the ceremony of dedication quite soon. The ceremony will probably be at the end of this year, possibly at the beginning of next year.

I must repeat, although I need hardly do so, how tremendously grateful we all are for what you did to make our enterprise possible. I will write to you again when we have set a date for the ceremony and will ask you to consider issuing a short message to the committee, which could be read out at the ceremony. I thought that I would warn you, so that you can think about whether or not you could do this.

Yours ever

Nicholas

Dissident's wife meets PM



PRIME MINISTER Mrs Margaret Thatcher meets Avital Sharansky, wife of imprisoned Russian dissident Anatoly Sharansky at Downing Street during her recent mission to Britain.

Mrs Sharansky appealed to the Prime Minister for Government support to get her husband freed from his 13-year sentence. He is currently in solitary confinement. Also at the meeting was Mrs Rita Eker, of the 35s Golders Green Group, and Euro-MP Nicholas Bethell.

Last week members of the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry, including women from Golders Green, disrupted a concert by the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra at the Royal Festival Hall.

Concertgoers were confronted by the banner-waving protesters demanding Mr Sharansky's release.

Joy

I think you have papers.

Joy
28/8

Memorials ^{sent}

No papers with me
nor recollection of cheque
being sent. 19 August 1980

Joy 20.8.80

In the absence of the Prime Minister who is at present taking a short holiday, I am writing to thank you for your letter of 15 August.

I will certainly ensure that your letter is brought to Mrs. Thatcher's attention on her return and I know she would wish me to thank you most sincerely for sending her the details of the Yalta Memorial sculpture.

With all best wishes,

CAROLINE STEPHENS

Mrs. Angela Conner

289

The Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher,
10, Downing Street,
London.

GEORGE W. BRASOR HALES
10, DOWNING STREET
LONDON W1M 7LW
TEL: 01-227-3155

K
18
PFS

August 15th 1980

Dear Madam,

How very lovely to get your contribution to the Yalta Memorial Fund. It expresses more clearly than anything I know the freedom in this country in contrast to the Soviet Union which is the cause of this sculpture. It was particularly pleasing as I understand it to be a personal contribution.

Since you have been kind enough to be involved perhaps you would be interested to hear briefly about the sculpture itself. It will be in stone, and will have three sweeping curves that have jets of water coming from. They attack a small stone sphere. It lies in a hollow, and when moved away by one jet of water then it is helplessly caught by the jet of another, which in turn shifts it, only to be caught by another and so on. I felt this symbolised the frailty of an individual such as those Yalta victims when they were jostled and moved from place to place by the political force of nations. I thought this was such an opportunity for England to show the freedom we have in our art. It enables us to take the abstract, spiritual essence of an idea. Had I been a Russian artist heavy, realistic, bronze figures holding their heads in distress would have been the order of the day!


Once again may I thank you very much indeed for your marvellous gesture and contribution to the sculpture.

I have the honour to be, Madam,


Yours faithfully,

Angela Conner.

Angela Conner.



YALTA VICTIMS MEMORIAL



'The story of the enforced repatriation of a host of Soviet citizens, left stranded and abandoned in Hitler's Europe at the end of the Second World War, and sent home to be shot, starved, driven to death in labour camps or tortured by Stalin's police, is one of the most disgraceful chapters in our history.'

Edward Crankshaw in *The Observer*, 1979

'The whole episode is not just a bit of tragic history best forgotten. The facts . . . are a matter of public concern because they involve the public policies of this country and the way these policies were arrived at and implemented . . . They also provide a valuable reminder of the dangers of excluding elementary considerations of justice and humanity from the conduct of diplomacy in the misguided belief that this can serve the national interest.'

The Times, leading article, June 1979.

'The British failed to see that the Soviet state had no independent judiciary, that the MVD or NKVD was the sole law in the land, and that returning these people to the Soviet Union was turning them over to naked horror. It was astonishing that the British, with their fine sense of justice and the administration of law, should have been so thoroughly remiss in examining the sort of justice that was likely to be meted out to the repatriates.

'The great majority of people the British forced back from Austria [to Yugoslavia] were simple peasants. They had no murders on their hands . . .

Their only crime was fear of Communism and the reputation of Communists.

'The British did completely the wrong thing in putting these people back across the border, as *we* did completely the wrong thing in shooting them all!

Milovan Djilas, Vice-President of Yugoslavia until 1954, in an interview in *Encounter*, 1980.

Official permission has been received to set up a fountain in memory of the many hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children who were repatriated, most of them forcibly, to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia by Great Britain and her allies between 1944 and 1947. The site is an ideal one, in the centre of London, on the grass triangle on the north side of Thurloe Square, opposite the main entrance to the Victoria & Albert Museum. A number of stone benches will be put up round the fountain, and the site will be surrounded with shrubs and trees, to screen it from passing traffic and create a pleasant and peaceful oasis.

Our chief practical consideration has been to make the fountain as durable as possible, and as secure against defacement, damage and decay. Provision must also be made for the upkeep of the fountain and the cost of water supply in perpetuity. In this connection the Committee is extremely grateful for the co-operative and helpful attitude of the Kensington & Chelsea Borough Council, the Thames Water Authority and the London Electricity Board, whose staff have made a complicated task far easier.

The Committee has also been immensely encouraged by the desire of hundreds of individual subscribers to take part in atoning for a dishonourable policy which, for fear of an outcry at the time, was concealed not only from the public but from Parliament as well. Our supporters include Members of Parliament of all parties, many former members of the British armed forces and several retired members of the Foreign Service, some of them of the highest rank.

A sum of £13,000 has so far been raised, but to meet the ever increasing cost of constructing the fountain and securing its future, a further sum in the region of £8,000 will be needed. Those who have already subscribed – some of them more than once – are most warmly thanked again. If each of them can persuade a friend to follow their generous and constructive example, the target will very soon be reached.

Contributions should be made to Yalta Victims Memorial Fund, Coutts & Co., 440 Strand, London WC2R 0QS.

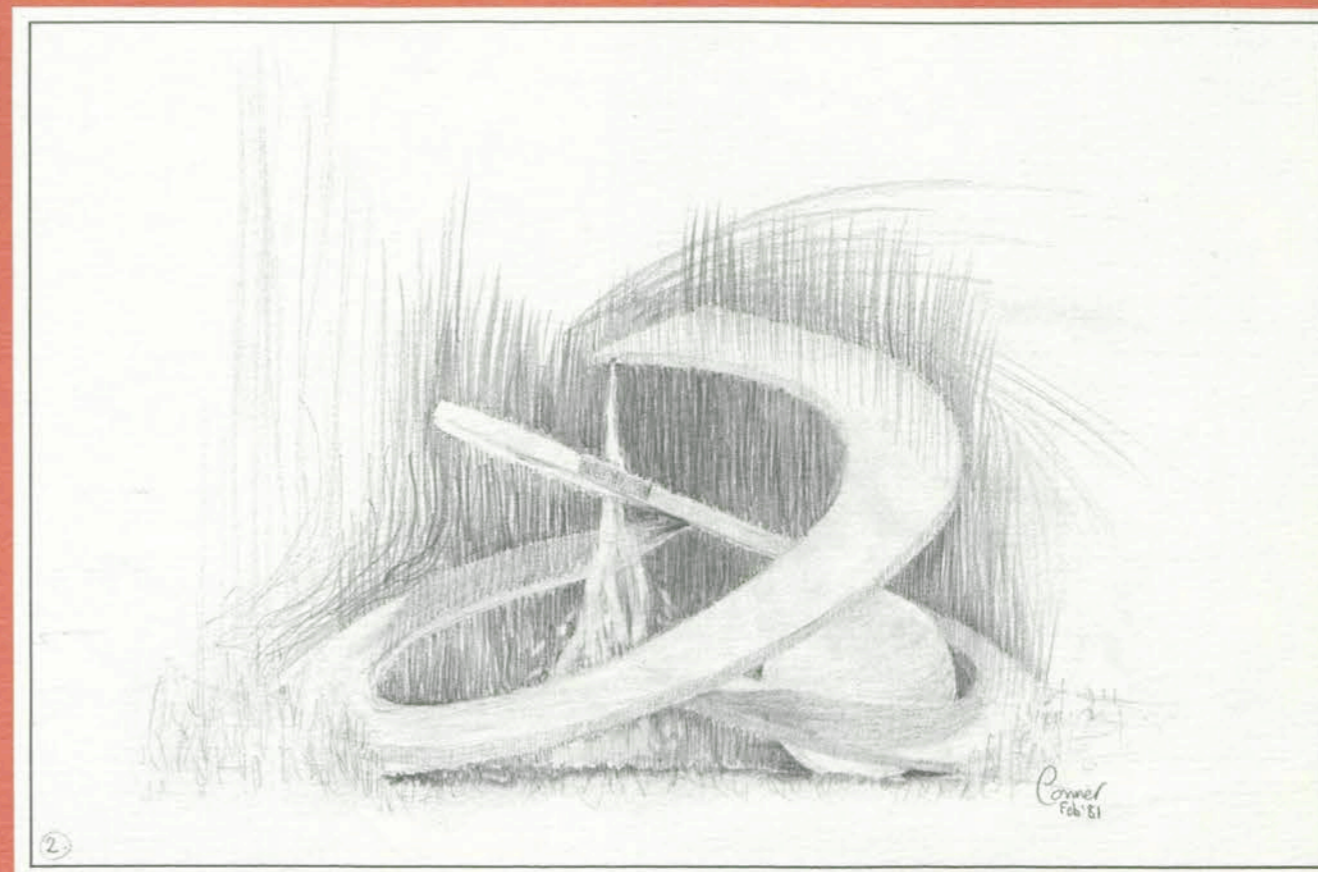
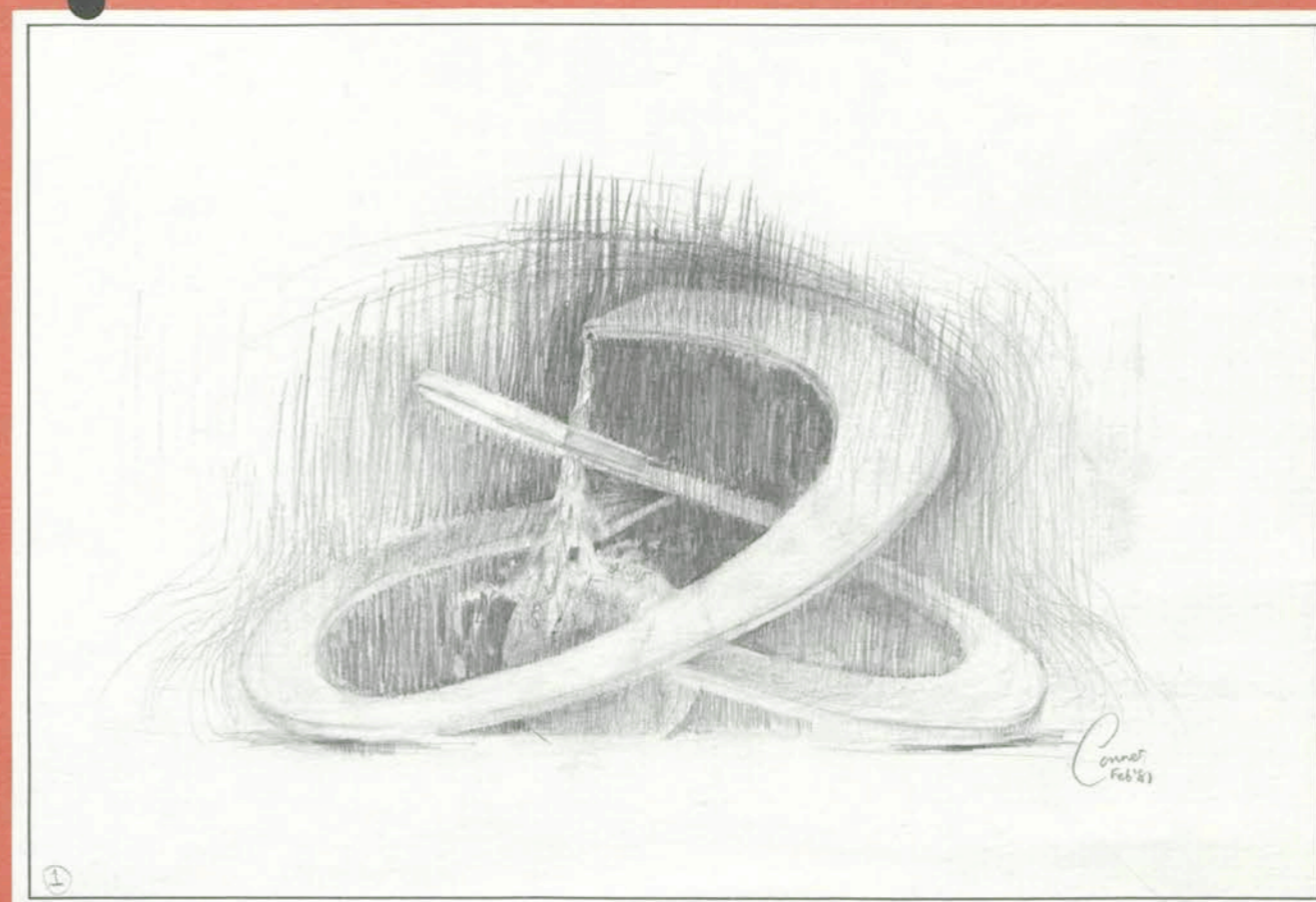
Full historical details of the repatriation policy have been released under the thirty-year rule, and may be found in two notable books: *Victims of Yalta* by Nikolai Tolstoy (Hodder & Stoughton, and Corgi Books paperback) and *The Last Secret* by Nicholas Bethell (André Deutsch and Futura).

Artist's notes on The Sculpture

The tragedy of the victims of Yalta is the inspiration for the sculpture. Rather than acting only to regret those past decisions, may it also be a positive reminder for the future.

Since we live in a free country where contemporary art has been allowed to emerge I wanted to avoid propaganda art, such as one would find in communist countries. They would produce something like a group of human figures holding their heads in woe. I therefore have taken the essence of the subject which is the helplessness of individuals caught between the forces of nations.

The sculpture is in working process and the theme and basic design are begun. There are two huge stone rings emerging from the earth, similar to the prehistoric slabs of Stonehenge. Surrounded by these rings, rather as the victims were surrounded by the forces of national politics, is a stone sphere floating in a pool. Like those victims this stone is caught by one jet of water from a ring (Fig. 1). This forces it across the pool only to be buffeted by another water spray, and so on endlessly (Fig. 2). Thus the round stone is constantly at the mercy of the powerful jets, in the same way as the victims were subjected to relentless diplomatic manoeuvres.



Here in stone and water is the essence of the tragedy of the Yalta Victims. The unshielded sphere is caught and buffeted between the conflicting forces of water as they were between the forces of politics.

YALTA VICTIMS MEMORIAL APPEAL

Committee:

Sir Bernard Braine, DL, MP (Chairman)
Lord Bethell, MEP
Sir Nicholas Cheetham KCMG
Sir John Foster, KBE, QC
The Right Hon. J. Grimond, PC, MP
Lord St. Oswald, DL, MC
Professor Hugh Thomas
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James Molyneaux, MP
Neville Sandelson, MP
Malcolm Muggeridge
The Right Hon. Donald Stewart, PC, MP
Count Nikolai Tolstoy
Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper
Dame Rebecca West, DBE

~~of record~~
Original - AR



Home Affairs

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

14 July 1980

Dear Mr Crawford,

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 26 June about the 'Yalta' Memorial. As you will no doubt have seen, the Prime Minister has now, in answer to a Written Question from Mrs. Jill Knight, MP, stated the grounds on which permission was given for this Memorial to be erected. (Hansard, 11 July, Column 260 W. - copy enclosed). I hope this will have gone some way to meet your concerns.

It is not clear to me from your letter whether or not you are aware of the precise inscription which the Memorial will bear. The wording is as follows:

" This Memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all Parties, and others, to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women and children from Russia and other Eastern European nations, who were imprisoned and died at the hands of Communist Governments after their repatriation at the conclusion of the Second World War."

Yours sincerely

Michael Alexander

T. R. Crawford, Esq., MBE.

21

also written to my right hon. Friend proposing a meeting to discuss this matter, and that this proposal has been accepted.

ACT OF SETTLEMENT

Rev. Ian Paisley asked the Prime Minister if she will publish the letter which she has received from the leaders of the Orange Institution in the United Kingdom regarding the operation of the Act of Settlement; and what reply she has sent.

The Prime Minister: The Rev. Martin Smyth wrote to me on 7 May and my office replied on my behalf on 28 May. It is not my normal practice to publish exchanges of correspondence, but the Rev. Martin Smyth is at liberty to do so if he wishes.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

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Mr. Wrigglesworth asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster if, in view of the Government's decision to cease using official paid envelopes in the Civil Service, he intends to dispense with their use in the House.

Library a list of her official engagements for the day on Tuesdays and Thursdays when the House of Commons is sitting.

The Prime Minister: While I appreciate the reasoning which lies behind my hon. Friend's suggestion, I told the House on 12 July last year that I was prepared to answer any oral question, whether open or substantive, which could reasonably and appropriately be directed to me. That remains the position, and since last July I have not transferred a single oral question. In these circumstances, it is for hon. Members themselves to decide whether to table open or substantive questions, and I do not think that I should seek to block the most popular form of open question.

THE TAOISEACH

Q18. **Mr. Biggs-Davison** asked the Prime Minister when she expects next to meet the Taoiseach.

The Prime Minister: I have no immediate plans to do so. The date for the next bilateral meeting has not yet been fixed.

ANGLESEY

Q22. **Mr. Best** asked the Prime Minister when she intends next to visit Anglesey.

The Prime Minister: I shall be visiting Anglesey on Friday 18 July.

YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDE

Q34. **Mr. Cryer** asked the Prime Minister when next she expects to visit Yorkshire and Humberside.

The Prime Minister: I have no immediate plans to do so.

CHILD BENEFITS

Q35. **Mr. Peter Bottomley** asked the Prime Minister whether she intends to introduce proposals to make alterations in the relationship between child benefits for parents in and out of employment.

The Prime Minister: No, but the relationship between social security benefits

for children of families in and out of work is one of the factors taken into account during the annual review of the rates of child benefit.

DEVOLUTION

Q42. **Mr. Wigley** asked the Prime Minister what is the timetable of the Government concerning changes in the constitutional relationships between various parts of the United Kingdom.

The Prime Minister: I have nothing to add to the statement made by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland on 2 July 1980.

EMPLOYMENT BILL

Q46. **Mr. Arthur Lewis** asked the Prime Minister what action she has taken or intends taking on the communications sent to her by Mr. Peter Taylor, Q.C., Chairman of the Senate of the Inns of Court and the Bar, and Sir John Stebbings, President of the Law Society regarding the drafting of the Employment Bill; and whether she will make a statement on the subject matters of these letters.

The Prime Minister: Both the Attorney-General and I have replied to the letters from Mr. Peter Taylor, Q.C., and Sir John Stebbings. The matters to which the letters referred were debated in the House of Lords on 8 July.

GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

Mr. Parry asked the Prime Minister what representations she has received from the Gaelic Athletic Association concerning the occupation of its land by the Army in Crossmaglen; what reply she has sent; and if she will make a statement.

The Prime Minister: I recently received a letter from Mr. Thomas Walsh of the Gaelic Athletic Association concerning the occupation by the security forces of part of the Association's land in Crossmaglen. A reply has been sent to Mr. Walsh on my behalf from the office of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. I understand that the hon. Member has



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 July 1980

Dear Michael,

MS

Yalta Memorial

In my letter of 9 June I said that Lord Carrington considered it necessary that the Government's attitude to the erection of this memorial should be made clear publicly, in the first instance by an inspired PQ. The Prime Minister in her letter of 11 June to Sir John Eden said she would be taking an opportunity to make her position clear publicly.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary suggests that the enclosed draft Question and Written Reply by the Prime Minister should be used for this purpose.

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

DRAFT PQ FOR WRITTEN REPLY BY THE PRIME MINISTER

CAVEAT.....

To ask the Prime Minister on what grounds permission was given for a memorial to the ~~so-called~~ 'victims of Yalta' to be erected on Crown land, and if she will make a statement.

DRAFT REPLY

In the Government's view the purpose of the memorial is to commemorate those who died. A condition of the Government's agreement to the memorial being on Crown Land was that the inscription should not impute guilt to previous British Governments and should be uncontroversial. The intended inscription fulfils those conditions. I do not, therefore, consider that the memorial condemns the policies of Governments of the relevant period or the actions of those who made and carried out those policies.

Enclosures—flag(s).....



Handwritten initials: *Handwritten initials*
cc 720

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

11 June 1980

Dear John.

Thank you for your letter of 28 May about the Yalta Memorial. I enclose a copy of the reply the Foreign and Commonwealth Office sent to the two letters Mr Crawford wrote to me on 1 and 8 May.

In my view there can be no objection in principle to a memorial which commemorates innocent people who died as a result of circumstances beyond their control. On these grounds, I decided that I should not stand in the way of the erection of a memorial to Russians and Eastern Europeans who died following their repatriation at the conclusion of the second world war. At the same time, I took the view that a memorial could not appropriately be erected on Crown Land if it sought to perpetuate a particular interpretation of complex historical events or implied criticism of the policies of previous British Governments. I therefore told the organisers of the Memorial Appeal that I was giving my consent to the memorial's erection on condition that its inscription was not controversial and did not impute guilt to previous British Governments. The Government subsequently discussed the inscription with the organisers and agreement was reached on a form of words, which in my view, met the conditions I had imposed.

I do not consider, therefore, that this memorial condemns the policies of the Governments of the period 1944-47 or the actions of those who made and carried out those policies. I shall be taking an opportunity to make this clear publicly.

Yours ever
Rogant

The Right Honourable Sir John Eden, Bt, MP

JS



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*Draft to type for signature,
as amended.*

Am

9 June 1980

Dear Michael,

Yalta Memorial: Letter to the Prime Minister
from Sir John Eden

*see
copying*

Thank you for your letter of 4 June. I enclose the draft of a reply from the Prime Minister to Sir John Eden. I also enclose copies of Mr Crawford's two letters to the Prime Minister and of the Department's reply (the Department had earlier been in touch with him by telephone).

Lord Carrington has had it in mind since receiving your letter of 14 May about the invitation to the Prime Minister to unveil this memorial to advise the Prime Minister that the Government's attitude towards its erection should be made quite clear publicly, in the first instance by an inspired PQ. He considers this necessary both because of the tendentious way in which the Yalta Victims Memorial Appeal has presented the Prime Minister's decision publicly, and also to reassure people, such as Mr Crawford, who were directly involved in events at the time and who now feel that they have been let down. A further factor is the serious view which the Soviet Government have taken of the decision: Mr Gromyko made a strong complaint about it and threatened retaliation when he met Lord Carrington in Vienna on 17 May. You will see that the draft reply from the Prime Minister to Sir John Eden reflects Lord Carrington's views.

G G H Walden

(G G H Walden)

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

[Handwritten mark]

DRAFT: ~~minute~~/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

Rt Hon Sir John Eden Bart MP
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

Thank you for your letter of 28 May about the Yalta Memorial. I enclose a copy of the reply the Foreign and Commonwealth Office sent to the two letters Mr Crawford wrote to me on 1 and 8 May.

CAVEAT.....

~~I should like to make my attitude towards this memorial quite clear to you.~~ ⁱⁿ My view is that there can be no objection in principle to a memorial which commemorates innocent people who died as a result of circumstances beyond their control. On these grounds, I decided that I should not stand in the way of the erection of a memorial to Russians and Eastern Europeans who died following their repatriation at the conclusion of the second world war. At the same time, I took the view that a memorial could not appropriately be erected on Crown Land if it sought to perpetuate a particular interpretation of complex historical events or implied criticism of the policies of previous British Governments. I therefore told the organisers of the Memorial Appeal that I was giving my consent to the memorial's erection on condition that its inscription was not controversial and did not impute guilt to previous British Governments. The Government subsequently discussed the inscription with the

Enclosures—flag(s).....

organisers and agreement was ~~finally~~ reached on a form of words, which in my view, met the conditions I had imposed.

I do not consider, therefore, that this memorial condemns the policies of the Governments of the period 1944-47 or the actions of those/^{who}made and carried out those policies.

I shall be taking an opportunity to make this clear publicly.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

Telephone 01-

T R Crawford Esq MBE
61A Patshull Road
London NW5

Your reference

Our reference

Date

6 June 1980

Dear Mr. Crawford,

I have been asked to reply to your letters of 1 and 8 May to the Prime Minister about the 'Yalta Memorial' and also to thank you for sending a copy of the first letter to Lord Carrington. You may remember that we spoke on the telephone shortly after you had written.

I am sorry that you have heard nothing since then, but we found your letter of 1 May of considerable interest and have initiated some research into our records and those of the Ministry of Defence to see what further light they cast on some of the points you mention. We were very intrigued, for example, by your comments on the role of Commander Brykin at your meetings with the Soviet Military Mission and on the reports he was sending to Moscow. I think I may have mentioned to you on the telephone that we have done quite a lot of research into this complex and difficult subject in the FCO in recent years, but your letter has provided us with some further leads to follow up.

When our research has progressed further, I shall write to you again with any specific comments we may have. In the meantime, I am sure you will wish to know the background to the Prime Minister's decision to permit the erection of this memorial on Crown Land in Kensington. She believes that the purpose of the memorial should be to commemorate those who died as a result of circumstances over which they had no control. It is not her intention that the memorial should in any way perpetuate a controversial or incomplete view of the events in question or impute guilt to previous British Governments or their servants such as yourself. I hope you will find reassurance in this.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen Band

S H Band
Eastern European & Soviet Department

-9 JUN 1960





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 June 1980

Kearney,

Yalta Victims Memorial

I enclose a copy of a letter received by the Prime Minister from Sir Bernard Braine last month together with a copy of the reply which she has now sent to him.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosures to John Chilcot (Home Office), Paul Bristow (Department of the Environment), Colin Munro (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Nicholas Alexander

G.G.H. Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

ds

HS

cc F20
F20(Min)
HO
DOE
CO

5 June 1980

Yalta Victims Memorial

Thank you for your letter of 9 May inviting me to unveil this memorial later in the year. I greatly appreciate your kindness in asking me to perform the unveiling ceremony but, after a good deal of thought, I have come to the conclusion that it would not be right for me to accept the invitation. I am sorry to have to send you this disappointing reply.

(Sgd) MARGARET THATCHER

Sir Bernard Braine, D.L., M.P.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 June 1980

BF 6/6

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Sir John Eden, Bt., M.P. about the Yalta Victims Memorial. This letter ties in with letters of 1 May and 8 May from Mr. Tucker Crawford on the same subject. I gather that Mr. Crawford's letters are under consideration in EESD and have not yet received any reply. In view of the considerable lapse of time, I should be grateful to receive a draft reply which the Prime Minister might send to Sir John Eden, together with a copy of whatever reply has by then gone to Mr. Crawford, by close of play on Friday 6 June.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

6

from: The Rt. Hon. Sir John EDEN Bt. M.P.

R29



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON S.W.1.

28 May 1980.

Dear Margaret,

Please excuse this hand-written note (catching up at home during the recess!).

Requested from
FCO - again 30/5 -
(again 2/6)

see
film

You will have had a letter (1st May) from Tucker Crawford expressing his concern at your reported decision to authorise a memorial on crown land to the "YALTA VICTIMS". It is possible that you have already answered him. If this is the case, I would be grateful if your office would send me a copy. Tucker was a close friend of my father's, and I have known him since the end of the war.

My uncle often spoke to me about the repatriation decision. He strongly rejected the critics' stance that other options were open to him. In the context of events at the time, he believed there was no other way to be certain of securing the return of all British soldiers then inside Russia. Rightly, that was his first and overriding priority.

To condemn that policy now - and to imply that the Government of the Day was guilty of causing the death of Russian citizens - is both superficial and unfair.

Yours
John



Prime Minister

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

I have mentioned to the Foreign Secretary's PS more than once that you would like a word about Sir B. Brainer's invitation to you to unveil the Memorial. So far no opportunity seems to have presented itself. There is no great urgency.

My ref: H3PSO/13705/80

Your ref:

22 May 1980

don't think I can visit it.

Dear Michael

Paul 27/5

YALTA MEMORIAL

Thank you for your letter of 29 April 1980.

Now that the principle of erecting the memorial on Crown land and the wording of the inscription have been settled, the papers have been passed to PSA London Region for ensuing action. This involves 2 matters;

- (i) The land on which the memorial is to be sited, although Crown land, is maintained by the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea under a licence entered into by the Crown and the Borough in 1936. The licence will therefore require amendment to clarify responsibilities regarding maintenance of the memorial and its siting on the land.
- (ii) The Borough may agree to take on board the maintenance liability for the memorial but if they do not, the Yalta Appeal will have to consider if they can make arrangements to cover this on-going liability.

Both the Borough and the Yalta Appeal Committee have already been approached on these matters and replies are awaited. I shall let you know if any difficulties arise.

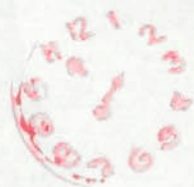
I am copying this to Paul Lever and Colin Munro (FCO) and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely
Paul Bristow*

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq
Private Secretary, 10 Downing Street

27 MAY 1960



COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

B/F B-6-80
to continue to consider file
NA necessary - see
M to Braine S. G.

14 May 1980

Yalta Victims Memorial

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from Sir Bernard Braine. She would like to have a word about Sir Bernard Braine's proposal with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Home Secretary at some stage.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to John Chilcot (Home Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

KRF

George Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Prime Minister.

9th May, 1980

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON, SW1.

You may wish to discuss this with Lord
Cammie & Mr Whitelaw? I would not
have thought it a good idea for the
Govt to be involved to the degree that would
be implied by your presence.

Dear Margaret —

Andy - g/s

Yalta Victims Memorial

Now that I have announced publicly that we are going ahead with our memorial may I write personally to thank you most warmly for the wise advice and great encouragement you gave my Steering Committee at a crucial stage in our negotiations for planning permission on Crown Land. I and my colleagues have been deeply touched by your interest and support.

We hope to have the memorial ready for unveiling towards the end of the year. I know that my Committee would be delighted and honoured if you would consent to perform the unveiling ceremony.

If you feel able to agree to this in principle we would be happy to arrange a date and time well in advance in order to suit your convenience.

I would be grateful if you could let me know whether the idea appeals to you.

With very best wishes

As ever

Bernard Braine

Home Affairs

file

JS



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

29 April 1980

Yalta Victims Memorial

Further to my letter to you of 11 April on this subject, I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Lord Bethell informing the Prime Minister that the Yalta Victims Memorial steering committee have approved the wording in the Prime Minister's letter of 3 April.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to Paul Lever and Colin Munro (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Bristow, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

KRB



FROM

NICHOLAS
BETHELL

TELEPHONE

01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE
LONDON W2 2SS

The Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher, MP,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON S.W.1.

28th April 1980

12914
Dear Margaret,

Yalta Victims Memorial

This is just to let you know that I sent your letter of 3rd April to the members of our steering committee and, I am glad to say, they have approved the wording that you proposed to them.

We are now ready to move ahead with the construction of the memorial by our sculptress Miss Angela Conner. On Wednesday, May 7th, we will be holding a press conference in the Grand Committee Room and showing a short documentary film from US archives, which portrays an actual event when Russian prisoners were forcibly repatriated from a camp near Munich in 1946.

We shall simultaneously be launching another appeal for funds. All being well, we would then unveil the memorial in late October or early November of this year.

I will keep you informed of the progress that we make. Once again I would like to thank you for the added effectiveness that you have given our enterprise by permitting the memorial to stand on Crown land.

Yours ever

Nicholas

FILE ✓

RH

Home Affairs

11 April 1980

"Yalta Victims Memorial"

Enclosed with my letter to you of 3 April was the text of a letter which the Prime Minister had sent to Lord Bethell about the Yalta Victims Memorial. I now enclose a copy of a reply received by the Prime Minister from Lord Bethell. It remains to be seen whether Lord Bethell will succeed in persuading the other members of the steering committee to accept the proposed inscription.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to Paul Lever and Colin Munro (FCO) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O. D. B. ALEXANDER

SL

P N Bristow, Esq
Department of the Environment



10 DOWNING STREET

fa.

MODBA (~~oe~~)

PM has not seen yet-

ms

9/4

cc Ian Gow,
FCO
CO
EW.



FROM
NICHOLAS
BETHELL

TELEPHONE
01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE
LONDON W2 2SS

The Prime Minister
10 Downing Street

April 6th
1980

Rg.

P.A. has seen

fg. Pmt 14

Dear Margaret,

I make haste to reply to your letter of April 3rd about our Yalta victims' memorial before leaving for a few days' holiday.

I am very conscious of the fact that, were it not for your personal interest in our enterprise, we would probably never have been allowed to place our memorial on the site in question under any circumstances at all. I would like you to know how deeply grateful I am that you were able to find time amid all your other problems to consider this matter.

As you point out, we are never going to devise an inscription that will embrace everything and satisfy everybody. I would have preferred

myself - and Bernard Braine has been pressing this more strongly still - to "spell out" the truth of the matter by indicating that the innocent victims were returned against their will.

But, now that you have clearly expressed your view about the various wordings that we have discussed, I am happy to accept what you say and I have written to the other two "negotiators" advising them to accept your proposed inscription. I very much hope that they will feel as I do. In any case, I will let you know.

Once again I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your very valuable advice and support.

Yours ever

Nicholas



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

3 April 1980

Dear Nicholas,

I have seen the correspondence which has ensued since I wrote to you on 21 February about the proposal to erect a memorial on Crown Land to those who were repatriated to the Soviet Union at the end of the last war. I am sorry that it has proved so difficult to reach agreement on the inscription for the memorial.

You will recall that I said in my letter that the memorial could be erected on Crown Land provided the inscription on the memorial was uncontroversial and, in particular, avoided imputing guilt to previous British Governments. I am bound to say that some of the wording which has been proposed to Michael Heseltine by the Steering Committee seems to me both to be controversial and to impute guilt.

My own attitude towards the memorial has always been based on the assumption that we were trying to commemorate those who had died, not to convict those who could no longer answer for the decisions for which they were responsible. In my view, the inscription proposed by Michael Heseltine at his meeting with you on 17 March meets this objective. It was as follows:-

"This

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all Parties, and others, to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women and children from Russia and other Eastern European nations, who were imprisoned and died at the hands of Communist Governments after their repatriation at the conclusion of the Second World War."

I am aware that you have criticised this form of words on the ground that some of those returned to the Soviet Union were not Soviet citizens and that the reference to 'repatriation' is therefore inappropriate. But the same objection applies to the other formulations that I have seen on this point, for example those which refer to the return of the victims to their homelands.

I do not think that in a brief inscription we can hope to embrace everything. The Government have already come a long way towards your position, and I personally have tried to be helpful in this process. I hope you will now see whether you cannot come the rest of the way to meet my point and to accept the inscription set out above.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

The Lord Bethell.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

3 April 1980

Dear Paul,

"Yalta Victims Memorial"

You wrote to me on 31 March about the impasse which had been reached in discussions between the Secretary of State for the Environment and the Yalta Victims Memorial Appeal Steering Committee.

The Prime Minister has seen your letter and some of the previous correspondence. As a result, she has written to Lord Bethell. I enclose the text of her letter. We can take a view of the next steps once we have received Lord Bethell's reply.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to Paul Lever (FCO) and Colin Munro (FCO) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Michael Alexander

P. N. Bristow, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

RJA

Michael Alexander, Ctg
10 Downing Street,

Telephone
01-212 8001

DEPARTMENT OF THE
ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET
SWIP 3EB



Wespondue.

I now attach
a copy of Lord Bethell's letter of
1 April

With the Compliments of the

Private Secretary to the Secretary of

to Mr. Hadfield, State for the Environment

Paul Bowler
2 April '80.



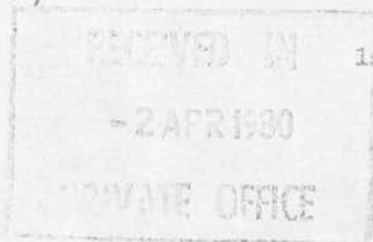
FROM

NICHOLAS
BETHELL

TELEPHONE
01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE
LONDON W2 2SS

The Rt. Hon. Michael Heseltine, MP,
Department of the Environment,
Marsham Street, LONDON S.W.1.



Dear Mr Heseltine,

It was good to see you again, although briefly, at Hendon Town Hall last Friday. I much admired the vigour of your address to us, especially since it was at the end of a long day, and your inspired auctioneering.

It is now more than two weeks since our inconclusive meeting to discuss the inscription on the Yalta victims' memorial and, it seems, no one is yet able to assure us when or even whether this matter will be satisfactorily resolved.

Bernard Braine and I are now under increasing pressure from members of our steering committee to bring this matter to a solution, either by agreeing a wording or by deciding to seek another site. Our secretary is also receiving letters of enquiry from the large number of people who contributed to our appeal. They are asking us to explain publicly the reasons for this long delay.

You will appreciate that ever since 1974 the Foreign Office has rejected the entire thesis of my argument on this historical issue. It was therefore to be expected that they would oppose our project. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, has always encouraged us. In her letter to me of February 21st she wrote that she had asked you to discuss the proposed inscription with me and that she was confident that it would prove possible to agree on a wording with which everyone was content.

I feel sure that she did not envisage that more than five weeks would elapse without the matter showing any sign of being resolved.

It also seems to me that the Foreign Office, even though their interest as a department lies in the collapse of our project and even though their recommendations in the matter have been substantially rejected, are once again taking the lead in this discussion over the wording.

It had been my understanding that you were mandated by the Prime Minister to negotiate the wording on your own and it was quite a shock at our

...../



- 2 -

The Rt. Hon. Michael Heseltine.

1st April 1980

/.....

meeting when it emerged that this was not the case.

I beg you, therefore, to assert your authority over this matter and, in order to avoid a clash, to resolve it now along the common sense lines proposed at our meeting, which involved concessions by both sides.

Yours sincerely

Nicholas Beckett

c.c. Ian Gow
Sir Bernard Braine

2- APR 1960

12 1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10 11



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

31 MAR 1980

Dear Michael

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION PROPOSED BY "YALTA VICTIMS MEMORIAL APPEAL STEERING COMMITTEE"

We spoke about this matter on 28 March, and I said that I would write to you setting out my Secretary of State's views.

Following the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Bethell of 21 February, Mr Heseltine has twice written to Lord Bethell (on 28 February and on 5 March) and has met Lord Bethell, Sir Bernard Braine and the Hon John Jolliffe (on 17 March) in an effort to agree an inscription which would be uncontroversial and did not impute guilt to previous British Governments. You have received a copy of my letter of 17 March to Colin Munro in Mr Peter Blaker's office, in which I recorded the view which Lord Bethell expressed at the meeting, that the inscription proposed by the Appeal Steering Committee was completely factual and therefore uncontroversial. Lord Bethell and Sir Bernard Braine were insistent that their Committee would not agree to the use of "repatriation" or "return" (as a noun) in the inscription.

My Secretary of State has now seen Colin Munro's letter to me of 26 March, setting out Mr Blaker's view that the inscription proposed by Mr Heseltine on 17 March is as far as the Government is able to go. Mr Heseltine considers that Mr Blaker's view signals an impasse in the discussion with Lord Bethell's Committee, and he wishes to propose that, since this blocks the prospect of an agreement on the wording which the Prime Minister held out in her letter of 21 February, Mr Blaker should now take over the role of explaining the Government's view to Lord Bethell's Committee. He hopes that the Prime Minister will agree.

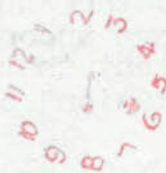
I am copying this to Colin Munro (FCO) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely
Paul Bristow

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq

31 MAR 1960



PRIME MINISTER

We are trying to commemorate
those who died - not to commit
those who can no longer answer for
their decisions. I have tried to help
Yalta Victims Memorial Appeal Nicholas Bethell - surely
he can now move some way
downwards
us.

You will remember seeing papers six weeks ago about the proposal to erect a memorial to those who were repatriated to the Soviet Union at the end of the last war. You decided then that the memorial could be erected on Crown land provided that the inscription on it was uncontroversial and avoided imputing guilt to previous British Governments.

The attached letter from Mr. Heseltine's Private Secretary summarises the exchanges which have since taken place between the Secretary of State for the Environment and the Memorial Appeal Steering Committee. Deadlock appears to have been reached.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (who have been advising Mr. Heseltine) would be prepared to recommend to you an inscription reading as follows:

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all Parties, and others, to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women and children from Russia and other Eastern European nations, who were imprisoned and died at the hands of Communist Governments after their repatriation at the conclusion of the Second World War."

After
the
inscriptions

However, Lord Bethell and Sir Bernard Braine are not prepared to accept the phrase "after their repatriation". They would be prepared to accept instead the words "after being returned to their homelands at the conclusion of the Second World War". They insist on these words, or similar words, in order to make it clear that the "Yalta victims" were returned against their will. Sir Bernard Braine would not, for instance, be prepared to accept the words "after their return to their homelands" since these are

/ ambiguous

ambiguous and could imply voluntary action. The intentions of the Steering Committee are plain from the fact that Sir Bernhard Braine in his meeting with the Secretary of State for the Environment on 17 March referred to the need for an "act of atonement" by the British Government and British people. He also referred to the historical event in question as a "war crime", and a "wickedness" which was "contrary to international law".

The immediate question is whether or not you agree with the Secretary of State for the Environment that any further debate with the Steering Committee should be conducted by a Foreign and Commonwealth Office Minister. The longer term question is whether, given that the Steering Committee seem unlikely to move, you would regard the Steering Committee's text as "uncontroversial".

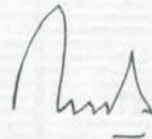
You will recall that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary felt strongly that this was not a foreign policy issue: it was a question for decision by the Government as a whole and for which the Secretary of State for the Environment should be responsible.

If you agree, I will write to Mr. Walden saying that you do not wish to insist that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary should take up the cudgels, but that you would welcome his advice as to whether or not the Steering Committee's text is or is not acceptable. I would copy the letter to the Home Secretary's Private Secretary seeking his advice also. You might then have a small meeting with both Ministers and with the Secretary of State for the Environment to consider how to proceed.

My own view is that the text as a whole, if it included the words "after being returned to their homelands" would be controversial and would, taken together with the word "innocent" earlier in the text, impute guilt to a previous British Government. However, before taking a final view on this, it might be worth arranging a meeting between, say, the Home Secretary and Sir Bernard Braine to see whether they would not be prepared to accept that the

words "after their repatriation" or "after their return" are sufficiently ambiguous for the Steering Committee's purposes.

Do you agree that I should proceed as in the penultimate paragraph above?

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'A. M.' or similar, with a horizontal line underneath the final letter.

31 March, 1980.



Home Affairs
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

B/F 31/3

26 March 1980

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your letter of 17 March.

I understand that, during the meeting with Mr Heseltine on 17 March, Sir Bernard Braine, referred to an 'act of atonement' by the British Government and British people, and that he also referred to the historical events in question as a 'war crime' and a 'wickedness', which was 'contrary to international law'. Against this background, Mr Blaker sees a danger that the Memorial Appeal Steering Committee may seek to present in the same light any decision by the Government to allow the memorial to be erected on Crown Land. This would be a misrepresentation of what Mr Blaker understands the Prime Minister's position to be. Mr Blaker therefore thinks that, if the Government's agreement to the inscription and therefore the memorial is now given, the Government should make it clear in writing when conveying their decision to the Steering Committee that their consent does not imply any judgement on the complex and disputed historical issues involved and, in particular, does not imply any imputation of guilt to previous British Governments.

It is, of course, a matter of judgement precisely how far we can go regarding the wording of this inscription. In view of Sir Bernard's remarks Mr Blaker believes that the use of the word 'repatriation' in the inscription proposed in my letter to you of 14 March represents the limit of what is wise and what Sir Bernard and Lord Bethell can reasonably ask. Mr Blaker is not

/impressed

P N Bristow Esq
Private Secretary to the
Secretary of State
Department of the Environment



impressed by Lord Bethell's argument that 'repatriation' is not an appropriate word because some of those sent back to the Soviet Union at the end of the war were not Soviet citizens. He thinks the word makes the point the organisers of the appeal wish to make perfectly well, and considers that the fact that a strict interpretation of the word may exclude a small number of the persons involved is not significant. Mr Blaker's view is that the formula 'after being returned to their homelands' points the finger more directly at previous British Governments than is desirable. Mr Blaker therefore believes that Lord Bethell and Sir Bernard Braine should be told that the inscription proposed by Mr Heseltine at the meeting on 17 March is as far as the Government is able to go.

Given the sensitivity of the issues involved, Mr Blaker thinks that Mr Heseltine may wish to inform the Prime Minister of his views on these matters before any decision by the Government is given to Lord Bethell and Sir Bernard Braine.

I should add that, in giving his agreement to the inscription in my letter to you of 14 March, Mr Blaker is assuming that the design of the memorial remains as in the artist's impression enclosed with your Secretary of State's letter to Lord Carrington of 20 December 1979. This appears to show that there is nothing in the design of the memorial which is controversial or which imputes guilt to previous British governments, and which might not therefore fall within the Prime Minister's guidelines.

.....
I am copying this letter to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

C A Muñro

C A Muñro
PS/Mr Blaker



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

Home Affairs

17 March 1980

* *Time these ffs were reunited with their file.*

ls - Amt 17/3

Dear Colin

INSCRIPTION PROPOSED BY YALTA VICTIMS
MEMORIAL APPEAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Thank you for your letter of 14 March.

My Secretary of State met Lord Bethell, Sir Bernard Braine and the Hon John Jolliffe today to discuss the inscription for this proposed memorial.

Sir Bernard Braine stressed that the Appeal Steering Committee were anxious to operate within the guidelines set out by the Prime Minister in her letter of 21 February to Lord Bethell, and that they had therefore agreed to omit the words "by Britain and her allies" from the inscription. He emphasised their view, however, that their desired wording as put forward in Lord Bethell's letter of 29 February to Mr Heseltine was completely factual and was therefore uncontroversial. The Committee could not accept the words "after their return to their homelands", since they implied voluntary action; and Lord Bethell was also insistent that they could not accept the alternative wording "after their repatriation" which my Secretary of State proposed at today's meeting, since, Lord Bethell stated, those sent back to the USSR at the end of the war included some who were not Soviet citizens.

My Secretary of State recognised that the use of the word "repatriation" was open to objection on the grounds of this deficiency, but stressed that he could not agree to the inclusion of the phrase "delivered against their will" in the inscription. Sir Bernard accepted this constraint and suggested one further possible wording which the Committee could agree to: "... after being returned to their homelands at the conclusion of the second world war." Mr Heseltine held out no hope that the Government would agree this, but said that he would wish to consult his colleagues and would respond to this suggestion in the next few days.

I would be grateful if you could let me know Mr Blaker's views on this latest suggested wording by Wednesday 19 March. You should be aware that Sir Bernard Braine warned that unless agreement on the wording for the inscription was quickly reached, the circumstances of the Government's "hesitation" could be expected to become widely known among those who supported the memorial appeal.

I am copying this to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Paul Bristow

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

17 MAR 1969





~~Mosby~~ oio

(File with I Gow)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Ka. *Paul* - 14/3

14 March 1980

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your letter of 6 March.

To take your final point first, Mr Blaker thinks we should avoid referring publicly to a 'Memorial to the Victims of Yalta' since the expression implies an accusation that the British and American Governments were somehow accomplices of the Soviet Government in this matter at the time the Yalta agreement was signed.

Mr Blaker still believes that inclusion of the word 'delivered' in the inscription, even if 'against their will' is omitted, would amount to criticism of the British Governments of the time. This is because the inscription would then in effect be saying that British governments were responsible for the imprisonment and death of thousands of innocent people. If Lord Bethell cannot accept the words 'after their return', Mr Blaker thinks that 'after their repatriation' would just be an acceptable alternative, even though this may carry some implication of British responsibility. The inscription Mr Blaker is now proposing therefore reads as follows:

'This memorial was placed here by members of Parliament of all parties, and others, to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women and children from Russia and other Eastern European nations who were imprisoned and died at the hands of Communist governments after their repatriation at the conclusion of the Second World War.'

Mr Blaker's view is that we cannot go further towards meeting Lord Bethell without being in breach of the Prime Minister's ruling. Indeed, the inscription cited above will already certainly be considered by some people to be both controversial and critical of previous British governments.

/If

P N Bristow Esq
PS/Secretary of State
Department of the Environment
Marsham Street



If Lord Bethell cannot accept the above inscription therefore, and if he continues in particular to insist on 'delivered' or 'delivery', Mr Blaker believes that the Prime Minister's ruling would mean that a monument so inscribed would be inappropriate for erection on Crown Land.

As you know, Lord Carrington does not consider that the question whether a particular form of words imputes guilt to previous British Governments or not, is essentially one of foreign policy.

... I am sending copies of this letter to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

C A Munro

C A Munro
PS/Mr Blaker



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

6 March 1980

Dear Charles

MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF YALTA

Thank you for your letter of 4 March. You will have seen that my Secretary of State wrote to Lord Bethell on 5 March, inviting him to consider a revised wording for the inscription in line with Mr Blaker's comments as recorded in your letter.

Lord Bethell has again spoken to me by phone and, while he acknowledges that the latest wording which my Secretary of State has proposed goes some way towards meeting the wording which he and Sir Bernard Braine have pressed for, he has said that he cannot accept the phrase "after their return". He has commented that this form of words could be taken to refer to groups of Russians or East Europeans other than those whom the proposed memorial is intended to commemorate, and he has stressed his, and his colleagues', desire for an inscription which would make it clear that those commemorated did not return to Russia and Eastern Europe voluntarily. He has repeated that he would wish to include the word "delivered (to imprisonment and death)", although, if I have properly understood him, he would not insist on the phrase "against their will".

My Secretary of State has not so far met Lord Bethell and his colleagues to discuss this matter, but at Lord Bethell's request we have now provisionally arranged a meeting for Monday 17 March. This would not be necessary, however if Mr Heseltine were able to go any further towards the position now taken up by Lord Bethell. I would therefore be grateful if you could let me know in the next few days whether Mr Blaker sees scope for a consensus and, if not, what line my Secretary of State should take in meeting Lord Bethell and his colleagues.

One final point. This correspondence (including Lord Carrington's letter to Sir Bernard Braine of 27 February) has been exchanged under the heading "Memorial to the Victims of Yalta". It is not clear to me whether Lord Bethell and his colleagues regard this

as a mutually acceptable description; but it would be helpful if you could also let me know whether Mr Blaker sees any reason to object to the public use of this phrase in referring to the memorial.

I am copying this to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Paul Bristow

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

Charles A Hamilton Esq
PS/Mr Peter Blaker MP



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

5 March 1980

to Paul

Dear Lord Bethell,

MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF YALTA

Thank you for your letter of 29 February, which I understand you discussed with Paul Bristow of my office earlier today. As he explained, we can accept the majority of your points on the wording of the inscription. Could I now suggest a version on the following lines:

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all parties, and others, to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women, and children from Russia and other East European nations who were imprisoned and died at the hands of Communist Governments after their return to their homelands at the conclusion of the second world war."

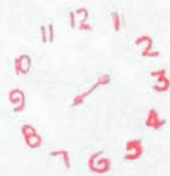
I very much hope that this will be acceptable to you and your colleagues.

I am copying this to Bernard Braine - I hope he feels it serves also as a reply to his letter of 29 February - and to John Jolliffe.

yes

MICHAEL HESELTINE

- 6 MAR 1980





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 March 1980

Dear Paul,

NB 287

Point 5/3

MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF YALTA

Thank you for your letter of 29 February to Colin Munro enclosing a copy of Lord Bethell's letter to Mr Heseltine of the same day and your letter of 3 March enclosing a copy of Sir Bernard Braine's letter to Mr Heseltine of 29 February.

Mr Blaker does not think that the deletion of the words "by Britain and her Allies" from the original inscription proposed by Lord Bethell and Sir Bernard Braine is enough to meet the Prime Minister's requirements that the inscription should be uncontroversial and avoid imputing guilt to previous British Governments. He has the following further comments on Lord Bethell's points:

Points 1 and 2. He is prepared to accept the inclusion of the words "thousands" and "innocent".

Point 3. We believe that the number of people forcibly repatriated who had left Russia before the Soviet Union was formed is very small. However, it is a documented fact that a small number of such people were repatriated in error, and Mr Blaker is not therefore inclined to advise Mr Heseltine to take issue with Lord Bethell on this point.

Point 5. Mr Blaker thinks that the words "delivered against their will to imprisonment and death at the hands of Communist Governments" represent a point of real difficulty. Even with the deletion of "by Britain and her Allies", Mr Blaker considers that these words imply strong criticism of previous British Governments particularly when placed, as they are, in juxtaposition with the word "innocent". This is because only British and other Governments can logically be the subject of the verb "delivered"; because there is a strong implication that the Governments concerned were fully aware that the consequences of their policies were mass death and imprisonment; and because the words give the strong impression that imprisonment and death were as much the responsibility of the British and other Governments concerned as of the Communist Governments. Mr Blaker believes that these imputations of guilt can only be avoided by omission of the words "delivered against their will".

/Lord

P N Bristow Esq
Private Secretary
Department of the Environment



Lord Bethell does not specifically pick up the substitution in our alternative inscription of "at the conclusion of the second world war" for "between 1943 and 1947". Mr Blaker prefers "at the conclusion of the second world war" or "at the close of the second world war" for historical reasons. Very few people were repatriated as early as 1943. However, this is not a sticking point.

Mr Blaker therefore considers that an inscription which meets the Prime Minister's requirements and yet is quite close to what Lord Bethell and Sir Bernard Braine have proposed would be:

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all parties, and others, to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women, and children from Russia and other East European nations who were imprisoned and died at the hands of Communist Governments after their return to their homelands at the conclusion of the second world war."

I am sending copies of this letter to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely
Charles A Hamilton

Charles A Hamilton
APS/Mr Blaker



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

3 March 1980

*Ls
P.N.*

Dear Colin

MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF YALTA

Further to my letter to you of Friday last, I am now sending you a copy of the letter which my Secretary of State has today received from Sir Bernard Braine and which argues for the same wording for the proposed inscription as did Lord Bethell in his letter of 29 February.

I would be grateful if you could take account of Sir Bernard's letter in the advice which I have asked you to provide by tomorrow (Tuesday 4th).

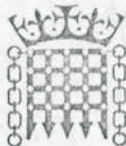
I am copying this to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely
Paul Bristow*

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

Colin Monro Esq

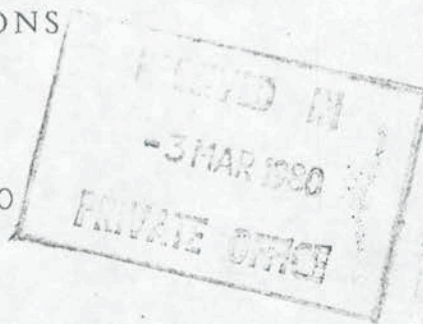
From Sir Bernard Braine, D.L., M.P.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

29th February, 1980

The Rt. Hon. Michael Heseltine, MP,
Secretary of State,
Department of the Environment,
2 Marsham Street,
LONDON, SW1P 3EB



My dear Michael —

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 28th February addressed to Nicholas Bethell about the wording of the inscription on our proposed memorial to the victims of Yalta.

With respect I fear that the words you suggest would not be acceptable to us because they obscure what happened. Our memorial is dedicated not to the memory of the even larger number of Soviet citizens who were returned to their homeland after the war in accordance with the Yalta Agreement, but to those who were sent back forcibly against their will contrary to international law. Some of these preferred to kill themselves rather than to return. Our wording refers to the "innocent", i.e. it specifically excludes any persons guilty of war crimes, a point which is not picked up in your wording.

What is more those forced to return against their will included persons who were not Soviet citizens at all and who had surrendered willingly to us and to our allies believing that they would not be handed over to the Soviet authorities.

I want to make it plain that our Committee was not concerned with making any attack upon the Soviet Union which is clearly implied by your wording, nor those British individuals who were responsible for a monstrous crime which was deliberately concealed from Parliament at the time, but rather to show that once the truth was out Parliamentarians of all parties and others were determined to make atonement.

We are willing to negotiate a realistic and truthful inscription within the guidelines laid down in the Prime Minister's letter and I understood that this task was to be mandated to you and not to anyone else.

As a beginning, therefore, I would suggest that our proposed inscription stands, but with the deletion of the words "by Britain and her allies". This would leave an inscription which accords with the truth, is hardly controversial and omits any reference to Britain and allied governments. It seems to me to be within the Prime Minister's guidelines. For ease of reference I attach the revised wording.

I am sorry we will be unable to meet on Tuesday morning, but quite understand the reason. If you can agree with my suggestion then we need not have a meeting, otherwise I would be grateful if arrangements could be made for us to meet at your convenience as soon as possible.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Nicholas Bethell and John Jolliffe.

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THIS MEMORIAL WAS PLACED HERE BY MEMBERS OF
PARLIAMENT, OF ALL PARTIES, AND OTHERS TO COMMEMORATE
THE THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN
FROM RUSSIA AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS
DELIVERED AGAINST THEIR WILL, ~~BY BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES~~
TO IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH AT THE HANDS OF COMMUNIST
GOVERNMENTS BETWEEN 1943 AND 1947.



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

29 February 1980

for
P.N.B.

Dear Colin

MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF YALTA

Further to my earlier letter to you of today, I am now copying to you the comments which my Secretary of State has received from Lord Bethell on the inscription which, at your suggestion, we have proposed to him.

As I mentioned in my earlier letter, Lord Bethell has said that he and his colleagues will wish to discuss this question with Mr Heseltine, and this discussion is likely to take place on Wednesday 5 March. I would be grateful if you could provide advice on Lord Bethell's comments - and particularly on his submission that his suggested wording is not controversial and therefore falls within the Prime Minister's guidelines - by Tuesday 4 March.

I am copying this to Michael Alexander (No 10), and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely
Paul Bristow

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

Colin Munro Esq
PS/Peter Blaker Esq MP



FROM
NICHOLAS
BETHELL

TELEPHONE
01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE
LONDON W2 2SS

The Rt. Hon. Michael Heseltine, MP,
Department of the Environment,
LONDON S.W.1.

29th February 1980

Dear Mr Heseltine,

Memorial to the Victims of Yalta

Thank you for your letter of February 28th. Paul Bristow telephoned me this morning with an amendment to the suggested text for our inscription contained in your letter. I may as well place it on the record that your suggested text now reads:

This memorial was placed here by members of Parliament, of all parties, and others to commemorate the men, women and children from the Soviet Union and other East European nations, who were persecuted after their return to communist countries at the conclusion of the Second World War.

I indicated to Mr Bristow that I had spoken to Sir Bernard Braine and that we agreed that, while we fully accepted the guidelines laid down by the Prime Minister in her letter to me of 21st February, we could not agree with the text that you propose.

I should mention that I personally did my best to persuade the members of our steering committee, many of whom approached this subject with deep emotion, to keep the inscription simple and uncontroversial. Indeed, it could well be argued that the inscription as it stands falls within Margaret Thatcher's guidelines.

However, we have taken particular note of her decision that, if the memorial is to be erected on Crown land, the inscription must not contain any implicit or explicit criticism of previous British governments. We are therefore ready to remove the words "by Britain and her allies" from our suggested text.

But Sir Bernard and I feel that this is really about as far as we can reasonably go, bearing in mind the views of the committee and the facts

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- 2 -

The Rt.Hon. Michael Heseltine, MP.

29th February 1980

/....

of the matter. Perhaps it would help if I indicated why we feel inclined to insist on our text in the various places where it diverges from yours.

Firstly, the word "thousands" was included as a deliberate understatement of the truth. No one knows precisely how many people were delivered to the Soviet Union against their will, but it was probably several hundred thousand. We feel that the word "thousands" indicates, without exaggeration, the extent of the tragedy.

Secondly, we insist that the word "innocent" be included. Such criticism as has been levelled against our project is based on the idea that some of those forcibly repatriated committed atrocities during the Second World War and could be classified as war criminals. This may be true, although it applies only to a small number of those involved. Anyway, it is no part of our plan to honour the memory of war criminals or opportunists who joined Hitler's side for selfish reasons. The word "innocent" is essential if we are to maintain this position.

Thirdly, we believe that "Russia" is a more accurate statement of fact than "Soviet Union". One of the most important aspects of this affair is that a number of individuals forcibly repatriated were old emigres who had left Russia before the Soviet Union came into existence. They were sent East, contrary to the Yalta agreement, even though they were not Soviet citizens. We would wish to include them under the category "from Russia".

Fifthly, there is the significant toning down of your description of what happened to those who were sent East. We wish to inscribe that they were "delivered against their will to imprisonment and death at the hands of communist governments". You suggest that we should inscribe that they were "persecuted after they returned to communist countries".

We have no wish to over-emotionalise our inscription. We appreciate that people will read it, will draw their own conclusions from it and make their own individual comments about it. But we feel that to inscribe

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- 3 -

The Rt. Hon. Michael Heseltine, MP.

29th February 1980

/.....

simply that the victims of forcible repatriation were "persecuted" is to carry understatement to the point of absurdity.

This is an area where the facts are simply not in dispute. Everyone but the most die-hard Soviet apologist will nowadays admit the truth about Stalin's labour camps and the millions of innocent people who perished in them. We feel that our suggested wording represents the truth, pure and unvarnished. It is not controversial. And it therefore falls within the Prime Minister's guidelines.

We therefore hope very much that you will find it possible to accept our suggested wording, with the one amendment conceded in my fourth paragraph above.

Yours sincerely

Nicholas Beckett

Inscription Proposed by Yalta Victims Memorial Appeal Steering Committee

This memorial was placed here by members of Parliament, of all parties, and others to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women and children from Russia and other East European nations delivered against their will by Britain and her allies to imprisonment and death at the hands of communist governments between 1944 and 1947.

Inscription Proposed by Michael Heseltine

This memorial was placed here by members of Parliament, of all parties, and others to commemorate the men, women and children from the Soviet Union and other East European nations, who were persecuted after their return to communist countries at the conclusion of the Second World War.

29 FEB 1980





2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

*For
Munro*

29 FEB 1980

Dear Colin

/ You will wish to see the enclosed copy of a letter I have today sent to Lord Bethell.

You should know that, in giving his initial reaction over the 'phone, Lord Bethell said that he thought it unlikely that the wording in my letter to him would prove acceptable to his colleagues and himself. He undertook to put their comments in writing, but added that he thought that a discussion with Mr Heseltine would be necessary at an early date. We shall of course look to you for further advice on the line to take over the inscription.

I am copying this letter, together with my Secretary of State's letter of 28 February, to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Paul Bristow

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

Colin Munro Esq



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

29 FEB 1980

Dear Lord Bethell

MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF YALTA

The Secretary of State wrote to you yesterday with an alternative wording for the inscription on this proposed memorial. As I explained to you by 'phone this morning, Mr Heseltine has asked me to let you know that the wording which we would like you to consider is in fact the following:

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all parties and others to commemorate the men, women and children from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations who were persecuted after their return to Communist Countries at the conclusion of the Second World War."

You said that you would let us have your comments on this wording in writing, in advance of the discussion which you thought you would wish to have with Mr Heseltine. We shall of course seek to arrange such a discussion as soon as is mutually convenient.

I am sending copies of this letter to Sir Bernard Braine and to the Hon John Jolliffe.

Yours sincerely

Paul Bristow

P N BRISTOW
Private Secretary

The Lord Bethell



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref: *Loose*

Your ref:

28 February 1980

The Lord Bethell

MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF YALTA

I know that, following the Prime Minister's letter to you of 21 February, you have been in touch with my office to arrange a meeting, at which Sir Bernard Braine and John Jolliffe would also be present, for next Wednesday morning (5 March). I am anxious to resolve the question of the wording of the inscription as soon as possible, particularly since it is some time since the proposal for the memorial was made. I regret to say, however, that a meeting of a Cabinet Committee of which I am a member has been arranged for next Wednesday morning, and that I shall have to postpone our meeting as a result. I understand as well that the timing of our proposed discussion would have proved difficult for Peter Blaker, who is now handling the FCO interest in this matter.

I am sorry about this further delay, but I can now put to you the following alternative wording which, we consider, would meet the Prime Minister's concern to ensure an uncontroversial inscription:

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all parties and others to commemorate the thousands of men, women and children from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations who suffered unjustly after their return to the communist countries between 1943 and 1947."

Perhaps you could let me know whether you can agree to this alternative wording, and whether you still wish to discuss the question.

I am sending copies of this letter to Sir Bernard Braine and John Jolliffe, and to Peter Blaker at the FCO.

Michael Heseltine
MICHAEL HESELTINE

The Lord Bethell

29 FEB 1980





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 February 1980

(File with the box)

Mr. Munro

Dear Paul,

I am writing to thank you for your letter of 25 February to Paul Lever.

We agreed this morning that as it is not now clear when Mr Heseltine could meet Lord Bethell, Sir B Braine and the Hon John Jolliffe, he might first invite their comments on an alternative draft inscription. I incorporate a suggested text incorporating certain revisions to the one suggested in Paul Lever's letter of 7 February to Michael Alexander in a draft letter which Mr Heseltine might send to Lord Bethell.

I should add that, as was said in Paul Lever's letter of 7 February, FCO Ministers do not accept that this is an issue of foreign policy. The problem lies over the acceptability of allowing Crown land to be used for the erection of a monument whose inscription imputes culpability to previous British governments.

I am sending copies of this letter (and enclosure) to Michael Alexander (No 10) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

Colin A. Munro

C A Munro
PS/Mr Blaker

P N Bristow Esq
Private Secretary
Secretary of State for the Environment
2 Marsham Street
London SW1P 3EB



DRAFT LETTER FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT TO SEND TO LORD BETHELL

The Prime Minister has sent me copies of the letter from you about the proposal to erect a memorial to those who were repatriated to the Soviet Union at the end of the war and her reply.

I should be glad to discuss this with you. As a starting point you might like to consider the following as a possible alternative text for the inscription:

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all parties and others to commemorate the men, women and children from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations who were persecuted after their return to communist countries at the conclusion of the Second World War."

Perhaps you, and Sir E Braine and the Hon John Jolliffe, to whom I am copying this letter, would like to let me have your comments.

CONFIDENTIAL



cc DDF
CO

MS
Home
Affairs

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

21 February 1980

Yalta Victims Memorial

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 7 February about the proposal that a memorial should be erected on Crown Land to those who were repatriated to the Soviet Union at the end of the last war.

The Prime Minister has decided that it would not now be right to try to prevent the erection of the memorial on Crown Land. However, it is also her view that it would not be acceptable for a memorial to be put up with the inscription at present proposed. The Government's agreement is conditional on the amendment of the inscription along the lines proposed in the final paragraph of your letter under reference.

The Prime Minister has written to Lord Bethell informing him of her decision. I enclose a copy of her letter. As you will see she has not conveyed to Lord Bethell the proposed new wording for the inscription. The negotiation of the wording with the organisers of the appeal is unlikely to be altogether easy. I imagine that you will wish to keep in touch with David Edmonds about this.

I am sending copies of this letter to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

SB



CC FCO
DOE
CO

RH.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

21 February 1980

Dear Nicholas,

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter to me of 28 January about the proposal to erect a memorial on Crown Land to those who were repatriated to the Soviet Union at the end of the last war. The proposal, as I am sure you realise, raises some difficult issues.

Having reflected on the problem, I have come to the conclusion that it would only be right for the kind of memorial that you have in mind to be erected on Crown Land if the inscription on the memorial is uncontroversial and, in particular, if it avoids imputing guilt to previous British Governments. I have, therefore, asked Michael Heseltine to get in touch with you and arrange for a discussion to take place about the wording of the inscription. I am confident it will prove possible to agree on wording with which everyone is content.

Yours
Margaret

The Lord Bethell

HL



①

PRIME MINISTER

Prime Minister

Shall I minute to Lord Carrington's
Private Secretary on these lines?

Yes please
ms

Am
- 19/2

YALTA VICTIMS MEMORIAL

You asked for my advice on a personal basis about the erection of a memorial to those repatriated to the Soviet Union at the end of the last war.

I should be inclined strongly to oppose the erection of a memorial on Crown Land, if that carried the proposed wording which implies guilt on the part of this country.

Indeed, it would clearly be preferable if the memorial could be on land other than Crown Land. But as the chosen site is on Crown Land, I would advise against an attempt now to prevent it being erected on the proposed ground.

In the circumstances, therefore, I would favour allowing the memorial to be erected on the proposed site on Crown Land, but only provided that the sponsors first agree to amend the inscription on the lines proposed in the letter of 7 February from Peter Carrington's Private Secretary.

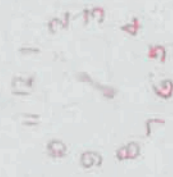
Attache 8

Wohls

19 February 1980



19 FEB 1980



Home Affairs ^{DFG}

Free
~~BF 22.2.80~~

15 February 1980

YALTA VICTIMS MEMORIAL

I enclose copies of two letters about the erection of a memorial to those who were forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union at the end of the last War. I hope that the letters, taken together, are self-explanatory.

The Prime Minister's present inclination is to decide that the memorial may be erected on Crown Land provided that the inscription is changed in the manner proposed in Paul Lever's letter. However, before taking a final view, the Prime Minister would be grateful to receive, on a personal basis, the advice of the Home Secretary.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

John Chilcot, Esq.,
Home Office.

DFG

Yalta Victims

File



(1)

10 DOWNING STREET

Ronnie Minister

Two decisions :-

- (a) Should the memorial be on Crown land? Lord Cannington thinks not (a personal recommendation rather than a departmental one). Do you agree? You may like to consult one or two other colleagues e.g. the Home Secretary before deciding.

Yes mi.

If you decide that the memorial should be on Crown land then

- (b) Should the inscription be changed?

An alternative text is proposed in the attached letter.

Consult Home Secretary.

Provided the inscription is changed as indicated - I have difficulty in having the memorial on crown land ^{stz} out



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 February 1980

Dear Michael,

Yalta Victims Memorial

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Prime Minister had a word about this on 4 February.

Few of the facts about this sad story are not in dispute. It is clear, however, that over one million Russians were repatriated to the Soviet Union between 1944 and 1947 from various parts of liberated Europe by the British authorities (30,000 of them from the UK itself), in accordance with the policy of the Government of the time and with the Yalta Agreement. A relatively small minority of these were returned against their will, including some women and children. Many were subsequently sent by the Soviet regime to labour camps and some were shot.

There is no doubt that this was one of the grimmest episodes at the end of a grim war. But the conflicting and uncertain evidence would require further research before specific and conclusive judgements could be attempted. In particular Count Tolstoy, in his book, "Victims of Yalta" gives very little weight to a number of considerations surrounding the repatriation, notably the then Government's concern that British citizens under Soviet control should promptly be returned home; the importance attached at that time to co-operation with the Soviet Union wherever possible; and the fact that many of the repatriated persons had fought on the German side and thus were traitors to an ally (whatever view we may now take of the nature of that ally).

Although there will no doubt be Russian and Eastern European reactions if the monument is put up, Lord Carrington believes that the matter is not really one of foreign policy. The question is whether Crown Land should be used for a permanent memorial which would both imply criticism of the British Governments of the period, bearing in mind also that some of the Ministers and others concerned (or their widows and other relatives) are still alive, and also making a controversial political point on a subject where historians and the general public are by no means unanimous. It is, of course, for the Prime Minister herself to judge how compelling the arguments are against imputing guilt to previous British governments, bearing in mind that it was the government of Mr Churchill who signed the Yalta Agreement. But Lord Carrington's personal view is that Crown Land should only be used for monuments to events about which there is a broad national consensus. He would prefer the sponsors of the memorial to be told that they ought to look for another site.

/If



If, however, the Government decided to allow the memorial to be built on Crown Land, Lord Carrington suggests that the Secretary of State for the Environment might require that at least the inscription on the memorial should be uncontroversial. We understand from Sir Bernard Braine that the present draft of the inscription reads:-

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all parties and others to commemorate the thousands of innocent men, women and children from Russia and other Eastern European nations delivered against their will by Britain and her allies to imprisonment and death at the hands of communist governments between 1943 and 1947."

This text is open to objection. The people who were returned to the communist countries were not all innocent, since many had fought for the Germans. They included other Soviet nationalities besides Russians. It is not known that all suffered imprisonment and death. And the phrase "delivered against their will by Britain and her allies" implies criticism of the British Governments of the day. A possible text might read:-

"This memorial was placed here by Members of Parliament of all parties and others to commemorate the thousands of men, women and children from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations who suffered unjustly after their return to the communist countries between 1943 and 1947".

I am sending copies of this letter to David Edmonds (Dept of Environment) and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON



FROM
NICHOLAS
BETHELL

TELEPHONE
01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE
LONDON W2 2SS

By Hand

The Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON S.W.1.

28th January 1980

Dear Margaret,

*earlier
comes to
Pol office* { You may remember that on January 29th you wrote me a very kind letter about our all-party project to erect a memorial to the innocent victims of forcible repatriation to the Soviet Union in 1944-47. And you sent an anonymous contribution of £10 to our appeal fund.

Our project has progressed well since then. We have enough money to construct the memorial, which will be in the form of a fountain, and we are on the point of commissioning a well-known sculptor. We have outline planning permission to erect it on a piece of Crown land near the Victoria and Albert Museum and the matter is with the Department of the Environment for final decision. I thought that we were home and dry - until this morning.

It seems that the Department of the Environment thought it appropriate to consult the Foreign and Commonwealth Office before giving us our final approval. And now, so I gather from private conversations, FCO officials are advising Peter Carrington to prevent the memorial from being built on Crown land. Our site, of course, is on Crown land and we believe it thoroughly appropriate that this should be so, since it was in the name of the Crown that a large number of innocent men, women and children were sent to their deaths in Russia.

This morning Bernard Braine, chairman of our appeal, was telephoned by a FCO official, who told him that an answer to our request for planning permission would not be long delayed, that a decision by the Foreign and Commonwealth secretary would soon be taken, but that before this he would

...../



- 2 -

The Prime Minister

28th January 1980

/.....

have to consult with "colleagues", presumably the Cabinet.

At this point, although until now I have not bothered you with this small matter and of course I have preserved the anonymity of your personal contribution to the fund, I feel that I must write and appeal to you not to allow FCO objections to destroy our work and kill our project. You will appreciate, I know, what the effect of a refusal would be, in this week of all weeks, on the many people in this country who feel strongly that a terrible decision was made in 1944 and that much injustice was done in Britain's name, injustice which should now be atoned for as far as is possible.

With all best wishes,

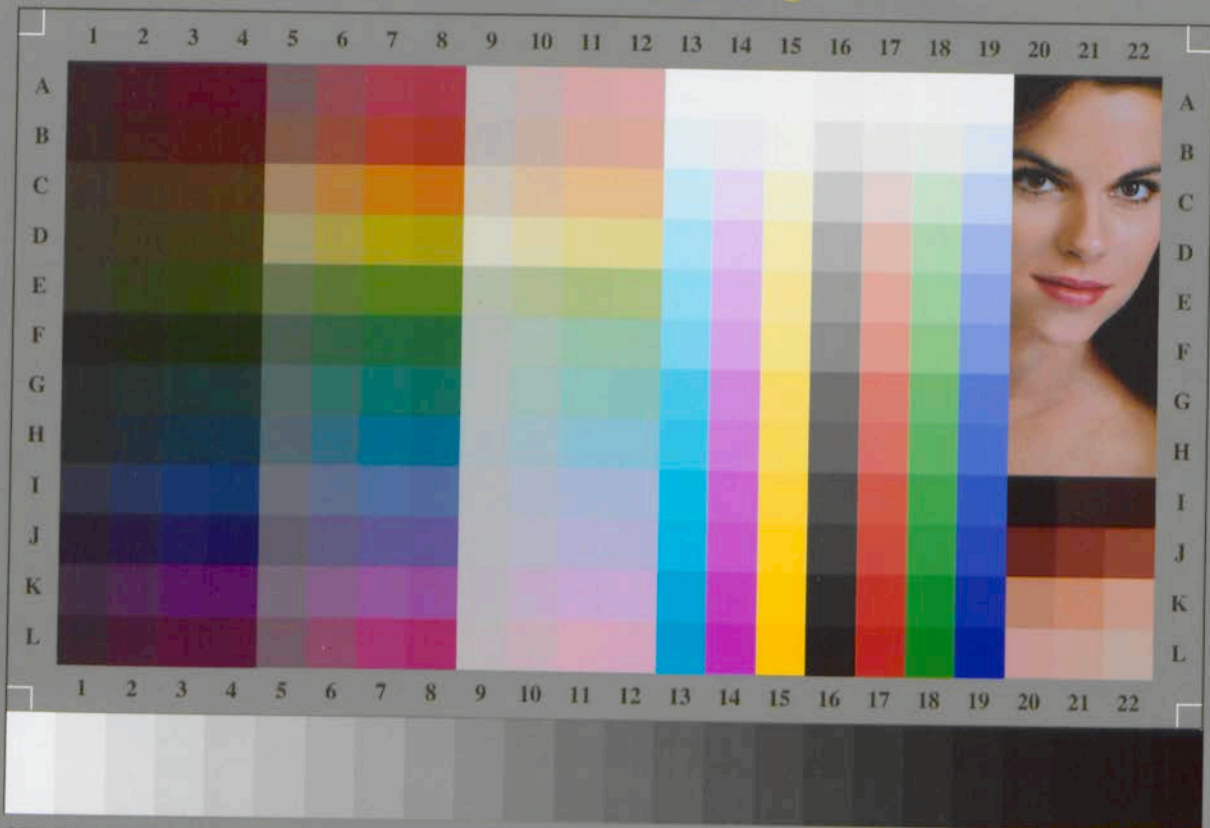
Yours,

Michaelmas



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