PREM 19/3213

confidential Filing

The resignation of the Prime Minister, Margaret matcher

PRIME.
MINISTER

November 1990

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The Rt. Hon. John Wakeham, M.P.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SWIA 0AA

#### PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

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|| November 1991

Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
London
SW1A 2AS

Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Dear Normi

I have now had the opportunity of reading Alan Watkins' book, which is due to be serialised in the Observer from next Sunday. Although it is pretty nasty, it does not contain any substantial facts. I enclose a summary of the more vicious points.

I do not propose to make any public comment; but as I shall be in the Far East from Friday I have left with Andrew Mitchell, my PPS, the attached note which he can quote from to enquiring journalists.

I am sending a copy of this to Richard Ryder and to Andrew Turnbull.

Jon en

JOHN WAKEHAM

John Wakeham read Alan Watkins' book before he left for a Government visit overseas.

Alan Watkins is a socialist commentator of a Welsh, romantic disposition and it is no surprise that he has written a tendentious and inaccurate report of events about which he has only a partial understanding.

On essential facts, such as the substance of the casual encounter John Wakeham had with John Gummer and Ken Clarke, Watkins is plainly wrong; and on others he has made points which contradict themselves. For example, on page 5 Watkins asserts that before the first ballot John Wakeham "suspected she [Mrs Thatcher] would fail to win"; and yet on page 191 he "expected Mrs Thatcher to win outright and composed an uplifting message on Party unity for her".

In view of his strong support for Mrs Thatcher over many years he does not feel any need to make any further comment.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Chapter 1 The Fall of a Prime Minister

## a) Down the steps

- Mrs Thatcher's statement on the steps of our Embassy in Paris had been "thought about carefully" by J.W. and others before Mrs Thatcher's departure from Paris (p4).
- J.W. "later observed laconically: 'She picked up the right piece of paper'" (p4).

#### b) The initial plot

- Early on the day of the result, JW met Ken Clarke and John Gummer in Mr Gummer's office in the House and agreed that Mrs Thatcher, in the words of one of the participants, "was not going to make it" (p4). They further agreed that she could not proceed to the second ballot without splitting the Party.
- According to Watkins, J.W. was Mrs Thatcher's "best friend in the Cabinet", following the departure of Norman Tebbit and Nick Ridley.\* He was the one who exercised the greatest influence in the crucial 39 hours, even if Heseltine, Lawson and Howe had been responsible for bringing Mrs Thatcher to her "current condition" (p4).
- After deciding with Messrs Clarke and Gummer that "she would in the interests of the Party have to be persuaded to go quietly" preferably by Denis and Carol Thatcher Watkins poses the question of why J.W. drafted such a strong declaration for Mrs Thatcher to make in Paris, rather than the more conciliatory one favoured by Ken Baker making reference merely to "consultations" (p5).
- Based on J.W's subsequent comments to Jim Naughtie that any other statement would have "allowed the rats to get in", Watkins claims that J.W's aim was to "secure Mrs Thatcher's return from Paris with her dignity unimpaired. The Thatcher family and the men in suits could then set to work without the necessity of her seeing colleagues" (p5).

<sup>\*</sup> Page 5 carries a potted biography, describing J.W. as "never one of us - a left-of-centre, consensus Conservative".

The second question that Watkins asks is why J.W., holding such views, agreed to become Mrs Thatcher's Campaign Manager. He argues that J.W. gives two reasons - the first that he was not formally approached, and the second that he "told somebody else that he had been asked to do it from Paris" (p6). The Garel-Jones meeting c) With Mrs Thatcher still in Paris, Ken Clarke was giving robust defences of Mrs Thatcher on television, pursuing the plan agreed with J.W. to get her back from Paris "with dignity" (p7). d) Mr MacGregor does a survey On the Wednesday morning, J.W. was busy with electricity privatisation and asked John MacGregor to undertake a survey of the Cabinet's opinions. J.W. would clearly have performed this task if he had not been occupied with other matters (p12). What is not clear is whether J.W. had asked John MacGregor to carry out a survey acting as Mrs Thatcher's Campaign Manager or "as the impresario of her fall" (p12). In his survey of the Cabinet, John MacGregor includes J.W. as one of the Prime Minster's supporters but the total was still 12-7 against. The Grey Beards' failure e) J.W. meets Mrs Thatcher in the Cabinet Room - along with Messrs Renton, Onslow, MacGregor, Tebbit, Baker and Moore - on her return from Paris (p14). John MacGregor tells J.W. about the results of his survey - the origin of "the parade of the Cabinet Ministers on the Wednesday evening" (p15). J.W. asks Messrs Ryder and Garel-Jones to help Mrs Thatcher's campaign but they refuse (p15). J.W. urges Ministers to tell the Prime Minister themselves if they think she ought to stand down (p15).

## f) The fatal procession Watkins puts forward two theories as to why J.W. initiated the procession. The first was, in Peter Morrison's words, to "gee-up" Ministers: the second, according to a journalist who interviewed J.W. shortly afterwards, is that J.W. had "already concluded ... that she was dead. The Cabinet wheeze was a contraption to deliver the fatal message" (p16). Mrs Thatcher tells J.W. that she hasn't got time to see the Cabinet - but is persuaded to do so after her audience with the Queen (p16). Cabinet Ministers are summoned by J.W. to the Commons from 6 o'clock onwards for five minute interviews. J.W. urges them to be completely frank but to "avoid unnecessary brutality" (p17). J.W. stands outside Mrs Thatcher's office with Andrew Turnbull, while the meetings are in progress (p18). J.W. urges Chris Patten to be "frank but sensitive" (p19). J.W. maintains on "The World this Weekend" that Cabinet Ministers were well qualified to answer the question as to whether Mrs Thatcher should continue because they were "parliamentary animals" (p20). The drafting of Mr Hurd and Mr Major q) J.W. argues against a Cabinet meeting on Wednesday night, advocating leaving it until Thursday morning (p21). Messrs Patten and Clarke tell J.W. and Alistair Goodlad that they will resign if Mrs Thatcher continues (p21). J.W. tells Ken Clarke at 11 pm that Mrs Thatcher is going to sleep on her decision to stand down (p22). Tears in the Cabinet h) J.W. was in tears in Cabinet, along with Tony Newton and David Waddington. Cecil Parkinson wonders why J.W. should be crying when he had precipitated Mrs Thatcher's fall (p25). When asked about her mood after the announcement of her resignation, J.W. says "she's sad, of course, she's sad" (p26).

Chapter 6 The Last Phase J.W. describes Michael Heseltine's letter to his Constituency Chairman as "an egotistical outburst" (p149). Chapter 8 The Triumph of Mr Major J.W. expresses doubts about Mrs Thatcher's views on a Referendum over a Single Currency (pp185-6). J.W. meets on Tuesday 20 November with Messrs Baker, Younger, Neale and Onslow to draft a statement for Mrs Thatcher following the outright win they expected (p191). Watkins claims that all those at the front of Mr Major's campaign - "above all Mr Wakeham" - were the same Ministers "who had crushed the Prime Minister's spirit only 24 hours previously" (p204). J.W. tells Alan Watkins that "she will to her dying day think it was a plot" (p213).

Mrs Thatcher rang Andrew Turnbull to confirm that she will definitely not be standing for Parliament again. This will be announced at 11-11.30 UK time ie 12-12.30 Luxembourg time. You are bound to be asked for a comment and I am sure it would be right for you to offer your thoughts on what will be regarded as a very important announcement. I suggest something like the following:

Mrs Thatcher's departure will be a sad loss to the Commons
but I am sure it will not be the end to her contribution
to political life both at home and internationally. She
has achieved a great deal in her 32 years in
Parliament. And for all but 2 of those years she was a
Minister either in Government or on the Front Bench in
Opposition. I am sure she will go down in history as
one of the great Prime Ministers. The Prof Communic will be
the proper for her addition.

- Q: Will she be going to the Lords?
- A: It is difficult to think of anyone who could make a greater contribution to the Lords. But of course this will not arise until the end of this Parliament.

Former has now heard that the announcement will be made by
1045 landa time (1145 here). Mrs T. will give aterious.

Cor how you fin wentie to talk about flevenia. Broken was singly worked that she might say sounding I dail think it nother:

It will be livined by the waie very den. Spephe

Topon sor union: reis. r17/12 17/2: ПОСОЛЬСТВО СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК Mr. Charles Powell 10 Downing Street

17 December 1990

Elect 22/11/92

Dear Charles,

As promised I am sending you the originals of Mr. Gorbachev's letters to Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. John Major.

Thelan Sou union Peter.

Yours sincerely,

He Koeof



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b.f. for book on

22/1.

5 7/12

## CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SWIA 2AS Telephone 071-270 0101

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Ref. A090/2980

7 December 1990

Dow Ms Rome

#### Reception for Cabinet Presentation to Mrs Thatcher

I have now spoken to Private Secretaries to all members of the former Cabinet about the date for the presentation to Mrs Thatcher. I am writing to confirm that the reception will take place from 6.00 pm on Wednesday 23 January 1991 in the Lord Chancellor's Residence, House of Lords. The presentation itself will be made at 6.30 pm.

I am copying this letter to Private Secretaries to all members of the former Cabinet.

yours sincorely

(M J Sweet)
Assistant Private Secretary

Ms Jenny Rowe PS/Lord Chancellor



## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

5 December 1990

I enclose a draft reply from Mrs. Thatcher to the Fiji Prime Minister.

CHARLES POWELL

Mrs. Amanda Ponsonby

10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA From the Private Secretary 4 December 1990

General Powell, who came in this morning, made a point of taking me aside to say how disappointed he had been not be able to see Mrs Thatcher during his visit to Britain. He had been looking forward to a meeting for months. He asked me to pass on to her his warmest regards, together with best wishes and respect of the American Armed Forces as a whole for whom she was a hero.

Charles Powell

Mrs Amanda Ponsonby.



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

4 December 1990

I enclose draft replies to messages from:

Secretary Baker ("Dear Jim");

Prime Minister Rocard ("Dear Prime Minister"); and

Mr. Papandreou ("Dear Mr. Papandreou")

If you return them to me, I will arrange for their despatch.

I am enclosing in the same envelope the original of the message from the Polish Prime Minister to which Mrs. Thatcher has already replied: and a letter from our High Commissioner in Singapore, covering a very complimentary editorial from the Straits Times. I have written to thank our High Commission for this.

CHARLES POWELL



#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

4 December 1990

I attach two more messages for Mrs. Thatcher:

- from the NATO Secretary-General. I am afraid that page 3 is missing and all attempts to find it have so far failed. I can only apologise on behalf of No. 10. I enclose a draft reply.
- from King Hassan of Morocco (the original will follow). Again I enclose a draft reply.

If you would like to return the replies to me, I will arrange for their delivery.

(C. D. POWELL)

DRAFT REPLY FROM MRS. THATCHER TO DR. MANFRED WOERNER, NATO SECRETARY GENERAL

Thank you very much for your very kind letter from Budapest. Support for NATO and its purposes is for me absolutely fundamental. No international organisation has played a more effective and successful role: and while there will have to be changes in future, I firmly believe that we must maintain the basic structure, as the means to bind the United States to the defence of Europe. Much of NATO's success in recent years is owed to the strong lead which you have given as Secretary General and we all have cause to be very grateful for that. I look back on our work together with great pleasure and satisfaction at a job well done.

With warm good wishes.

c:\foreign\woerner (kk)

## AGANISATION DU TRAITÉ DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD



### NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL SECRETARY GENERAL BOULEVARD LÉOPOLD III 1110 - BRUXELLES TÉL 728.41.11 - 728.49.17

Rur Prime Minister, Indagest, 22.11.30

it is with the greatest sadvers that I received the news of your reignations have in Indapart where I am delivering the message of our handay summint to

the Hungarian people.

This is du muneure 1071 fot out alli mucc

You have been one of the dominant few ou ahi Fieg and Stamuchust sufforters

## GANISATION DU TRAITÉ DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD



NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL SECRETARY GENERAL BOULEVARD LÉOPOLD III 1110 - BRUXELLES TÉL 728 41.11 - 728 49.17

of the Alliance. I admired and continue to oduise vous advisable posserauce in building and maintrining a meaning ful transathantic relationship. Le have achieved a lot duming the last years. Your contribution was crucial. Uno anccess would not have been possible without you. Your vision, conrage and Steadfustuens - expecially in critical phasey of history-gave an encouraging example DRAFT REPLY FROM MRS. THATCHER TO KING HASSAN OF MOROCCO

I have been fortunate to receive many messages over the past two weeks from Heads of State and Government in many different parts of the world. None has given me greater pleasure than Your Majesty's letter, for its eloquence, generosity and warmth. I value it most of all because it comes from a leader for whose wisdom I have the highest respect, and whose friendship and kindness will be one of the lasting memories of my time as Prime Minister. I recall in particular our talks at the time of Your Majesty's very successful State Visit and again during my own visit to Morocco: talks which unveiled for me the history and underlying currents of Middle Eastern problems as never before.

May I also make special mention of the visit to Britain of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince. His grace and bearing won him very many friends in our country.

It is inevitably a sad moment when one relinquishes high responsibility. But I do so secure in the knowledge that Your Majesty's wisdom and guidance will continue to play a vital part in the affairs not only of the Maghrab and Middle Eastern region, but more widely as well.

My husband joins me in sending Your Majesty our warm and respectful regards.

CONFIDENTIAL

FM RABAT

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 365

OF 030926Z DECEMBER 90

MIPT
MESSAGE FROM KING HASSAN TO MRS THATCHER

1. FOLLOWING IS TH TEXT OF THE MESSAGE OF THE KING TO MRS THATCHER.

BEGINS

MRS PRIME MINISTER AND DEAR FRIEND,

AS YOU HAVE TAKEN THE DECISION TO LEAVE YOUR HIGH DUTIES, BEING DRIVEN IN THIS BY THE SUPREME INTEREST OF YOUR COUNTRY, WE ARE ANXIOUS TO JOIN THE HOST OF ALL THOSE WHO, WHETHER THEY BE FRIENDS OR ADVERSARIES, ARE GETTING TOGETHER TO RENDER YOU AN ULTIMATE HOMAGE.

THIS HOMAGE IS, TO BEGIN WITH, RENDERED TO THE FIRST WOMAN EVER TO BE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IT IS EQUALLY RENDERED TO THE EXEMPLARY COURAGE MANIFESTED BY YOU UPON ENTERING ON STAGE AND LEAVING IT.

IT IS LASTLY RENDERED TO THE LADY WHO KNEW HOW TO CURE THE BRITISH NATION OF THE ILLS AFFECTING HER AND TO KINDLE WITHIN HER ONCE AGAIN THE HISTORICAL SENSE OF GRANDEUR.

WE WHO VALUE ALL OF THESE GREAT VIRTUES WISH TO TELL YOU PARTICULARLY HOW MUCH WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO APPRECIATE RIGHTLY YOUR SENSE OF FRIENDSHIP AND LOYALTY. THESE, YOU MAY REST ASSURED, WERE AND SHALL REMAIN MUTUAL.

WILL YOU KINDLY ACCEPT, MRS PRIME MINISTER AND DEAR FRIEND, THE EXPRESSION OF OUR HIGHEST CONSIDERATION

(SIGNED) YOUR LOYAL FRIEND HASSAN II

PAGE 1
CONFIDENTIAL



c. Consinet

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBIN BUTLER

#### CABINET PRESENTATION TO MRS THATCHER

The Prime Minister was content with the suggestion that
Mrs Thatcher should be presented with a pair of silver
candlesticks and that this should be done at an occasion in the
Lord Chancellor's lodgings. I have spoken to Amanda Ponsonby in
Mrs Thatcher's office and she thinks this would be acceptable to
Mrs Thatcher too. Could your office now liaise with Amanda.

Andrew Turnbull

3 December 1990

S

IO DOWN ING STREET
LONDON SWIA 2AA

ary

3 December 1990

From the Private Secretary

I enclose letters to Mrs. Thatcher from the Israeli Prime Minister and from the former Israeli Ambassador, Mr. Avner, together with draft replies, in the hope they are useful.

(C. D. POWELL)

Mrs. Amanda Ponsonby

DRAFT REPLY FROM MRS. THATCHER TO HIS EXCELLENCY MR. YITZHAK SHAMIR, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL

I was grateful for your very kind letter with its generous words about my time as Prime Minister. It was of particular satisfaction during that time to see relations between Britain and Israel become much warmer, and I have the happiest memories of my visit in 1986. It was also a great joy that we were able to make progress on securing the freedom of Jews to leave the Soviet Union.

I am sorry that we shall not be able to meet during your visit but I send you my best wishes.

#### ראש הממשלה THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem,

November 23, 1990. 39-7(2)

Dear Prime Minister,

I appreciate your message of 22 November informing me of your decision that morning to step down as Prime Minister. We learnt the news with sadness and regret.

During your long term as Prime Minister you emerged as an outstanding and inspiring national leader with great international influence. You earned the respect and admiration not only of your own people, but of many around the world, including the citizens of Israel, who admire your adherence to principle, and your pursuit of your goals with perseverance and tenacity.

Under your leadership Britain's relationship with Israel was improved and strengthened, especially in the growing trade between the two countries. We recall with pleasure the visit you paid to us during your term of office.

I appreciate the cordial personal relationship and cooperation between us during your Premiership.

I extend to you and your husband my wife's and my best wishes for good health, happiness and success in the years ahead.

Yitzhak Shamir

Sincerely,

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

DRAFT LETTER FROM MRS. THATCHER TO MR. YEHUDA AVNER

It was so kind of you to write and very good to hear from you. We look back on your time as Ambassador here as a period of great progress in Britain's relations with Israel and I shall always remember my visit there in 1986, in which you played such a very helpful part. I shall continue to follow all that happens in Israel and in the region with the greatest interest, and try to make a contribution to moving matters forward. And I still have many invitations to Israel which I should like to take up now that I have more time. So perhaps we shall have the chance to meet again. Meanwhile I send you my warm good wishes.

Jehuda Amer

13 Diskin St

Terusalen

Israel

28.11.90

Dear Mrs Thatcher,

with to extend

to you and 6 Mr. Thatcher my

sincere bear wisher at this time

of decision or you step down from

high office. As Isroel's ambaroador 6

London until a few year ango!

had he privilege of knowing you

and it is an argumentanoship! shall

forever cherish. Your fews in Irrael are

" - Politically to Table 1 in the last

numerous for you are admired as a live friend.

Cood speed to you and to your dear husband as you boild your rew future together. May it always be one of health and hyppiniss.

Respectfully,

Selude Arms





#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

30 November 1990

Thanks for sending me the message to the Prime Minister from President Kaunda. I enclose a draft reply.

Charles Powell

Mrs Amanda Ponsonby

10

DRAFT LETTER TO H.E. DR. KENNETH DAVID KAUNDA FROM MRS THATCHER

I was very touched by your extremely generous message, which was to typical of you. I know we have had our differences, but I have always enormously respected your sincerity and dedication to the best interests of your people. It seems a long time since we sat down together in Lusaka in 1979 and set in train the process which brought Zimbabwe to independence. But a great deal has been achieved since then, both in Southern Africa and the wider world. And I think we can both look back with satisfaction on the changes and the even greater hopes for the future.

I very much hope we shall have other opportunities to meet. In the meantime, Denis joins me in sending warmest good wishes to someone who has always been a good and true friend.

c: Kaunda (MJ)





HOUSE OF COMMONS LONDON SWIA 0AA

30th November 1990

Dear Cherles

As requested I enclose the letter we discussed this morning.

I would be very grateful for a draft reply.

Clare Louthing po AMANDA PONSONBY

Charles Powell Esq



State House Lusaka, Republic of Lambia

29th November, 1990.

My Dear Mangaret,

As you leave 10 Downing Street, I want you to know that the fact that we have differed over many issues involving the possible solutions to the problems of Southern Africa does not in any way detract from the fact that you have provided for this world a formidable type of leadership, clear in your own thoughts, words and deeds even where these isolated you from the rest in any given situation. It must be admitted, at least I think so, that this world needs more and more of this type of leadership.

History can never forget, nor indeed ignore, the fact that you were the first Western leader to identify the super qualities of leadership in one called Mikhail Gorbachev. Nor can we forget, let alone ignore, your contribution to the breaking down of the extremely dangerous ideological wall that separated the East from the West.

Yes, for us in Southern Africa, we shall always remember that you came to Lusaka in 1979 determined to recognise Zimbabwe/Rhodesia as an independent state, but you listened to reason and here again you took decisions that moulded the beginnings of an independent Zimbabwe. In this outmoded so-called man's world, it required a mother to put an end to the carnage that led to the destruction of more than 45,000 lives. We cannot forget, nor can we thank you sufficiently, for this.

1 . . .

Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP, House of Commons, LONDON S.W.1.



2.

Even in situations where we differed vehemently over policies in Southern Africa, I remained your open admirer. In retirement from that office you will continue to command my open love, respect and admiration which I extend to your dear husband who has stood behind you in all situations. He, too, deserves our thanks.

I wish you God's guidance as you prepare for a new and quieter life.

your en ,

Kenneth D. Kaunda

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Ref. A090/2874 PRIME MINISTER Cabinet Presentation to Mrs Thatcher As you will know, Mr Baker made a collection among members of the former Cabinet for a presentation to Mrs Thatcher. He has bought a pair of silver candlesticks. The question is: on what occasion should these be 2. presented. At the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor, Mr Baker has suggested that the Lord Chancellor might arrange an occasion in his lodgings for members of the former Cabinet at which the presentation would be made to Mrs Thatcher. This would be both less painful for her and also attract less publicity than a event for this purpose in No 10. Would you be content with this? If so, I will try to 3. arrange a date which everyone can manage. ROBIN BUTLER 29 November 1990



# Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SWIA 2AH

an

29 November 1990

Dear Joy

# Top Copy of a Message to Mrs Thatcher from the Polish Prime Minister

Soon after her decision to step down, Mrs Thatcher was sent a message from Mr Mazowiecki, to which she replied. The Embassy in Warsaw have now sent us the top copy of the message, together with a translation. These I enclose.

Your eve, Krhans.

(R H T Gozney) Private Secretary

Miss Joy Robilliard Secretary to The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP House of Commons

bcc: PS/No.10

H.E. Robert Hendrie Consul General British Consulate Dubai

Your Excellency,

Greetings.

Date:

Ref. :

I have the honour to deliver to Your Excellency for onward transmission the enclosed letter in a separate envelope from His Highness Shaikh Maktoum Bin Rashid Bin Saeed Al Maktoum, The Ruler of Dubai, thanking The Right Honourable Mrs. Margaret Thatcher MP, for the letter dated 22nd November, 1990, formally informing about her decision to resign as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

With assurances of my highest considerations, I remain.

Yours sincerely,

KAMAL HAMZA DIRECTOR

H.H. THE RULER'S COURT

Encl: As above

LONDON

سفارة الملكة المغربية

لندن

000770

London, 28 November 1990

CVBO LETKI

Mr. Charles Powell 11 Roland Way London SW7

Dear Charles,

By now, you may have heard of the message His Majesty King Hassan II asked H.E. Mr. John Macrae, the British Ambassador in Morocco, on 27th November 1990 to convey to Mrs. Thatcher. His Majesty's words are a sound indication of the affection and respect which Mrs Thatcher enjoys in Morocco. She will be remembered as a towering Uninted-Kingdom Prime Minister of 20th century.

In so far as we are concerned, under her tenure, our bilateral relations have witnessed a great leap forward. Visits have been exchanged at the highest level thus giving new momentum to economic, cultural and political ties between our two Kingdoms. Therefore, I should be grateful if you would kindly extend to Mrs Thatcher our ever-lasting gratitude for all she has done for our bilateral relations.

My wife and I shall always cherish the memory of the dinner she kindly accepted to have with us in April 1989. Please convey to the Thatchers our best wishes of good health and long life.

Yours in truth

Abdesselam ZENINED



CCFCO

## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 November 1990

Dear Prime Minister.

Thank you very much for your kind and thoughtful letter of 27 November. I know from our meetings in the past that we share many of the same views and I am delighted that you will be taking up the battle for our ideas just as I am giving up office. I wish you every success.

I think it would probably be better not to try to meet during your visit next week, but I would of course be happy to see you on a future visit. I note that your High Commissioner will be contacting the No.10 office to discuss a meeting with my successor.

Jour siverely

again habiter

The Honourable Jim Bolger, M.P.

eu



ce: Fco

# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 November 1990

Year In President.

Thank you for your kind message. I was touched and heartened by your generous words. I remember our meeting here at No.10 very well: and I congratulate you on the vigour and courage with which you are tackling the great problems which confront your country. You carry the hopes and good wishes of every one of us - and I am sure my successor will be no less ready to provide every possible help and support.

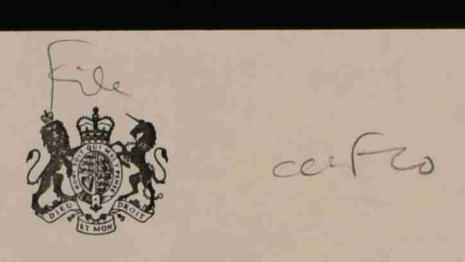
With warm regards,

Jours svicerely

Dayantshaliker

His Excellency Dr. Cesar Gaviria Trujillo

885



### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 November 1990

Year Privile Mister.

Thank you for your kind letter. It was good of you to write and much appreciated. I believe that relations have become better over recent years and I would wish that to continue.

May I take the opportunity to wish you success in the great tasks which face you.

Town svierely

Shri Chandra Shekhar

NB.

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SWIA 2AA

27 November 1990

THE PRIME MINISTER

Vear Th. Adje.

Thank you so much for your letter. It was kind of you to write. I have always been aware of the immense contribution which GCHQ makes and the extraordinary dedication of its staff. I should be grateful if you would convey my gratitude to all of them.

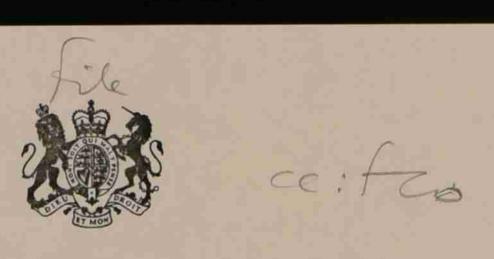
With best wishes,

Our riverely

Jayaneshaliter

J. A. Adye, Esq.

Sh



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 November 1990

Dear Men Wan Hof- Habulcans

I am most grateful to you and M. Fleming for your charming letter, and for all the marvellous help which you have given me over the years. Whatever else may happen, I think European Councils will be a little less lively and a little less interesting! | Shall will them.

Please convey my gratitude to all the members of the Commission's interpreting services.

Kind regards to you and Th. Flerwig.

> Yours svicerely agaret shalter

Mme. Renée van Hoof-Haferkamp

889



## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 November 1990

Mear Prime Minister.

Thank you for your kind letter of good wishes. I have very much enjoyed our time working together and in particular the visit which I paid to Luxembourg in 1989. You will face a very demanding six months as Luxembourg assumes the Presidency of the European Community, but I can think of no one better qualified to take matters forward in a sensible and balanced way.

With every good wish,

Jours svively

Dayour Shaliter

His Excellency Monsieur Jacques Santer

45



ce. Fro

# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 November 1990

Hear Prime Misser.

Your very kind message touched me greatly. I have very much enjoyed our various meetings and am full of admiration for the skilful leadership which you have given to Japan. I hope that one of the things for which my time as Prime Minister will be remembered is the much closer relations between Britain and Japan and the way we have welcomed Japanese investment in our country. It has been a very successful partnership and one which I hope will continue in the future.

I look forward to further opportunities to meet and talk. Meanwhile I send you my warm good wishes.

Jours sirverely Dayaueshaliter

His Excellency Mr. Toshiki Kaifu, K.B.E.

86)

Ce scorr.



### New Zealand High Commission London

27 November 1990

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury
10 Downing Street
LONDON

Bero Prime himsten

I have just been asked to pass on to you the attached letter from our new Prime Minister, Hon J B Bolger.

hong I add you thould, and have

for all your build and fire yours, and our name

good wishes to you and your board.

Good sincerally

Lord builted barband



### PRIME MINISTER

27 November 1990

Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP Prime Minister 10 Downing Street LONDON SW1A 2AA

Dear Mrs Thatcher

As your long and distinguished leadership of Britain draws to a close, I should like to express the appreciation of the New Zealand Government and people for the solid support you have provided us over the years.

Your much appreciated congratulations to me on our recent victory were, I had hoped, the precursor to a close and enduring relationship between us as Prime Ministers. That is not to be but I hope that you will always regard New Sealanders as friends and close contact between us will continue in the years ahead.

There are many things for which we are grateful: your frequent efforts on our behalf with respect to trade access to the Community, and your unceasing fight for a free and fair trading system, are but two. With respect to the latter, I appreciated receiving your message on the GATT negotiations and will do my best to break the log-jam that has occurred there when I attend the Ministerial Meeting in Brussels next week. Your Government represents the high water mark, within the European Community, of member states seeking meaningful and enduring agricultural reform and we are as determined as you to reach a satisfactory conclusion.

I hope to meet your successor in London on my way to the Ministerial Meeting. I have made arrangements to be in London on Tuesday 4 December if this proves convenient. My High Commissioner will contact you closer to the time but if you are free at some stage during that day I should very much appreciate the opportunity to call on you.

Yours sincerely

Jim Bolger

ADVANCE COPY

RESTRICTED
FM BOGOTA
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 596
OF 271700Z NOVEMBER 90

MESSAGE FOR PRIME MINISTER.

1. PRESIDENT GAVIRIA HAS SENT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE (DATED 26 NOVEMBER) TO THE PRIME MINISTER (UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION: ORIGNAL BY BAG TO LAD).

BEGINS ...

DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN A SECOND BALLOT TO ELECT THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, I WOULD LIKE TO TRANSMIT TO YOU THE EXPRESSION OF MY HIGHEST ADMIRATION FOR THE STEPS YOU TOOK IN GUIDING THE DESTINY OF YOUR COUNTRY DURING THE LAST ELEVEN YEARS.

THE VALIDITY OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, THE EFFECT OF THE MARKET ECONOMY, THE ENERGETIC CONVICTION AGAINST TERRORISM AND OTHER VIOLENT MEANS USED TO OBTAIN CHANGE, AND YOUR PRAGMATISM, CONSTITUTED THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF THE MAKE-UP OF YOUR GOVERNMENT. THE DEEP TRANSFORMATIONS WHICH THE WORLD IS LIVING TODAY INDICATE THAT THESE ARE PRECISELY THE PARAMETERS AROUND WHICH A NEW WORLD ORDER IS BEING BUILT. THE WORLD ACKNOWLEDGES THE SIGNIFICANCE OF YOUR LEADERSHIP.

I COULD NOT END THIS MESSAGE WITHOUT RENEWING, ON BEHALF OF THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS PEOPLE, OUR MOST SINCERE GRATITUDE FOR GREAT BRITAIN'S QUICK, DECIDED AND EFFICIENT RESPONSE TO OUR CALL FOR SOLIDARITY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUG TRAFFICKING, THE MOST RECENT DECISION BEING THAT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES IN GRANTING A PREFERENTIAL TYPE OF TREATMENT TO COLOMBIAN EXPORT PRODUCTS.

I WOULD LIKE TO AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW TO YOU THE INVITATION MADE DURING OUR MEETING, TO HONOUR US WITH A VISIT TO OUR COUNTRY.

PAGE 1 RESTRICTED WITH BEST WISHES FOR THE FUTURE,

CESAR GAVIRIA TRUJILLO

ENDS.

MORRIS

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

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ADVANCE

PS

PS/NO 10

HD/LAD

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PAGE 2 RESTRICTED



### PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi November 27, 1990

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

I learnt about your resignation from office as Prime Minister when I was in the Maldives recently for the South Asian regional summit.

As you prepare to relinquish the high office which you held with such distinction for many years, I cannot but reflect on your significant contributions in the national as well as international arena. We in India will remember, with deep appreciation, your personal interest in strengthening and diversifying our bilateral relationship.

I send you my best wishes for your health and happiness and every success in your continued endeavours for the well-being of the British people and for promoting greater international understanding and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

[Chandra Shekhar]

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, F.R.S., M.P. Prime Minister of Britain London

GRAND DUCHE DE LUXEMBOURG

November 27th, 1990



Fran has brangement thatcher,

At the time you have chosen to retire as Prime Minister, I deeply feel obliged to express you my most sincere thanks for all the efforts you never ceased to make in strengthening and consolidating the bi-lateral relations linking both our countries. Personally, I am most grateful.

I have always found in your person a most open and frank interlocutress who has clear and resolute views on the future of her country, Europe and the world. You may be assured that I shall miss you a lot in the future.

I offer you my best wishes for your private prospects. Be assured, should you ever come to Luxembourg, that you shall always be most enthusiastically welcomed in my country.

4: th warm regards

Prime Minister

Jacques SANTER

The Right Hon. Mrs Margaret THATCHER

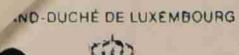
Prime Minister

of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain

and North Ireland

10, Downing Street

GB - LONDON





#### TELEPAX

A/TO/AN

aux mains de : The Right Hon. Mrs Margaret THATCHER, Prime Minister

to the attention of : zu Händen von :

DE LA PART DE : MINISTERE D'ETAT - LUXEMBOURG

FROM : PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE - LUXEMBOURG
ABSENDER : AMT DES PREMIERMINISTERS - LUXEMBURG

Nombre de pages : 2 y compris cette page de couverture Number of pages : including this cover sheet in

Seitenzahl : einschliesslich dieses Deckblattes

Date/Datum : 27.11.1990

MESSAGE/MITTEILUNG :

En cas de réception incomplète, veuillez contacter

If you do not receive all of this document please notify

Im Falle eines unvollständigen Empfanges, bitte kontaktieren Sie:

téléphone: (352) 478 232 resp. (352) 478 223 téléfax : (352) 461 720 4, rue de la Congrégation, L - 1352 LUXEMBOURG Adresse postale : L - 2910 LUXEMBOURG

EMBASSY OF JAPAN LONDON 27th November 1990 Dear Prince Minister. I am asked to send you, for your information, the two public comments, one issued by Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and one by Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama in Tokyo following your decision to step down as Leader of the Conservative Party. I have pleasure in enclosing herewith the text of these messages. Kazuo Chiba Ambassador The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP, Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 10, Downing Street, London.

Public Comment by Mr. Taro Nakayama, Minister for Foreign Affairs
of Japan, on Prime Minister Thatcher's announcement of her resignation
as Leader of the Conservative Party

Over a long period since May 1979, Prime Minister Thatcher has been active as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and one of the great world leaders and has been a politician to whom the people of Japan feel very close. In the rapidly changing international society of the present time, I feel that the resignation of such an experienced and powerful leader as Prime Minister Thatcher is a great loss to the world.

Prime Minister Thatcher announced that she has decided to resign as Prime Minister to open the way for her colleagues, thus ensuring the unity of the Party and victory in the next General Election. Whilst I feel a renewed sense of admiration at her resolution, it is very regrettable that Prime Minister Thatcher has resigned.

After coming to office, Prime Minister Thatcher visited Japan on four occasions and leaves many achievements in the furtherance of Anglo-Japanese relations. In particular, she has contributed greatly to the broadening of economic relations with Japan and, in close partnership with Japan, has striven tirelessly to strengthen unity between Europe, the United States and Japan.

Japan will maintain a close dialogue with the Government of the United Kingdom under Prime Minister Thatcher's successor and will continue to work to maintain and devleop the cordial Anglo-Japanese relations which have been built up under the Thatcher Government./.

Public Comment by Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu on Prime Minister Thatcher's announcement of her resignation as Leader of the Conservative Party

Prime Minister Thatcher is a rare leader of firm convictions who has invigorated the United Kingdom and I feel great regret that she has withdrawn from the front line.

Prime Minister Thatcher has worked to create good Anglo-Japanese relations and we have had summit meetings on four occasions, where I always felt very attracted by her strong convictions. At the recent Houston Summit, I well remember with gratitude her understanding of Japan's position and her speech of support. Whoever her successor is, we will continue to work together in the light of the present cordial Anglo-Japanese relations./.

R27/11

#### OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR NIGERIA



TELEPHONE: 01-839 1244

file

9 NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE

LONDON WC2N 5BX

C000 27/Ki

27 November 1990

Mr C.D. Powell
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
for Overseas Affairs
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Mr Rowell

On Saturday I sent the unsigned text of a message from President Babangida to the Prime Minister. I now forward the signed copy which has just reached me and I shall be glad if you will submit it to the Prime Minister.

You must be even busier now than before and when you have settled down again I shall make contact. I much appreciate the help which you always gave to me and I shall look forward to staying in touch in some way or another.

(G. DOVE-EDWIN)

High Commissioner

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FM CABINET OFFICE LONDON

TO THE WHITE HOUSE

BT

S E C R E T

MESSAGE FROM CHARLES POWELL, NO.10 DOWNING STREET:

TO ROBERT GATES, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DEPUTY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS.

+DEAR BOB,

CHARLES HAS SHOWN ME YOUR VERY KIND AND GENEROUS MESSAGE. IT HAS BEEN THE GREATEST IMAGINABLE PRIVILEGE TO HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED STATES UNDER THREE PRESIDENTS IN SO MAY COMMON CAUSES. I KNOW HOW MUCH YOU PERSONALLY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THOSE YEARS, AND TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN THE FORMER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. WE ARE ALL GRATEFUL TO YOU.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

MARGARET THATCHER + BT

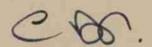
Please pass the following to Robert Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs from Charles Powell, No.10 Downing Street:

"Dear Bob,

Charles has shown me your very kind and generous message. It has been the greatest imaginable privilege to have worked closely with the United States under three Presidents in so many common causes. I know how much you personally have contributed to the achievements of those years, and to the transformation of the political landscape in the former Communist countries. We are all grateful to you.

With warm regards,

Margaret Thatcher"



VZCZCWAGO36 - OAAMZYUW YEXXWHXOO95 3310134-MNSH--YEXCABO. ZNY MMNSH ZKZK OO SOA DE 0 270134Z NOV 90 ZYH FM WHITE HOUSE TO CABINET OFFICE LONDON ZEM CONFIDENTIAL VIA CABINET CHANNELS QQQQ THIS TRANSMISSION IS CLASSIFIED TO PROTECT THE PRIVACY OF PRESIDENTIAL COMMUNICATIONS. THE TEXT OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE IS UNCLASSIFIED. TO: CHARLES POWELL ASSISTANT TO PRIME MINISTER THATCHER 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON FROM: ROBERT M. GATES ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DEPUTY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS BEGIN TEXT: DEAR CHARLES: I KNOW BRENT HAS SENT YOU A MESSAGE BUT I JUST WANT TO LET YOU KNOW PERSONALLY HOW TERRIBLY SADDENED I AM BY THE TURN OF EVENTS IN LONDON. I AM PERHAPS THE ONLY SENIOR OFFICIAL WHO HAS BEEN IN OUR GOVERNMENT CONTINUOUSLY (AT CIA AND THE NSC) DURING THE ENTIRE TIME MRS. THATCHER HAS BEEN PRIME MINISTER. I CANNOT TELL YOU WHAT A GREAT INSPIRATION AND EXAMPLE SHE HAS BEEN. FROM PREPARING AND READING CABINET LINE MESSAGES WHEN I WORKED HERE FOR ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI TO MY MORE RECENT CALLS ON HER WITH LARRY EAGLEBURGER, I HAVE ALWAYS MARVELED AT HER COURAGE. STEADFASTNESS AND PRINCIPLED APPROACH TO GOVERNANCE. REMARKABLE AND TRUE ALLY. WE ALL WISH HER WELL. HER ADMIRERS ARE LEGION AND HER PLACE IN HISTORY IS SECURE. AND WORKING WITH YOU HAS BEEN AN EXTRAORDINARY PLEASURE AND PRIVILEGE. WARM REGARDS AND VERY BEST WISHES. BOB GATES END TEXT OADR £0095 NNNN

PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING PERSONAL MESSAGE TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER:

"Dear Brent

Thank you for your message, one of the nicest which I have ever received. I have an unshakeable faith in the United States, particularly under George Bush's leadership backed up by your wise and calm advice. The achievements of the past two years have been remarkable indeed: and in the testing times which still lie ahead, you can rely on me for full support in whatever way is open to me.

With many thanks for your marvellous help and your friendship,

Warm regards

Margaret".

19.J.

CABWTEOD2
0 261722Z NOV 90
FM CABINET OFFICE LONDON
TO THE WHITE HOUSE
BT
S E C R E T PERSONAL
MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT

+DEAR BRENT,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE, ONE OF THE NICEST WHICH I HAVE EVER RECEIVED. I HAVE AN UNSHAKEABLE FAITH IN THE UNITED STATES, PARTICULARLY UNDER GEORGE BUSH'S LEADERSHIP BACKED UP BY YOUR WISE AND CALM ADVICE. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST TWO YEARS HAVE BEEN REMARKABLE INDEED: AND IN THE TESTING TIMES WHICH STILL LIE AHEAD, YOU CAN RELY ON ME FOR FULL SUPPORT IN WHATEVER WAY IS OPEN TO ME.

WITH MANY THANKS FOR YOUR MARVELLOUS HELP AND YOUR FRIENDSHIP,

WARM REGARDS

MARGARET

BT

NNNN

PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING STRICTLY PERSONAL MESSAGE TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT FROM CHARLES POWELL:

"Dear Brent,

Thank you for your wonderfully kind message. What happened was a devastating blow and a sad commentary on standards of loyalty in politics.

I don't yet know exactly what will happen to me. It will depend partly on who wins on Tuesday or Thursday. But whatever happens, thank you for all the kindness which you have shown me stretching right back to NSC days in the early seventies. It has been a privilege to work with you and to enjoy your friendship: and I think that what we have done together lives up to the best traditions of the Anglo-American relationship.

Could I ask you to convey my warm respects and admiration to the President.

Warm regards,

Charles."



CABWTEO01 0 261720Z NOV 90 FM CABINET OFFICE LONDON TO THE WHITE HOUSE BT S E C R E T STRICTLY PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM CHARLES POWELL TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT +DEAR BRENT. THANK YOU FOR YOUR WONDERFULLY KIND MESSAGE. WHAT HAPPENED WAS A DEVASTATING BLOW AND A SAD COMMENTARY ON STANDARDS OF LOYALTY IN POLITICS. I DON'T YET KNOW EXACTLY WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME. IT WILL DEPEND PARTLY ON WHO WINS ON TUESDAY OR THURSDAY. BUT WHATEVER HAPPENS, THANK YOU FOR ALL THE KINDNESS WHICH YOU HAVE SHOWN ME STRETCHING RIGHT BACK TO NSC DAYS IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES. IT HAS BEEN A PRIVILEGE TO WORK WITH YOU AND TO ENJOY YOUR FRIENDSHIP: AND I THINK THAT WHAT WE HAVE DONE TOGETHER LIVES UP TO THE BEST TRADITIONS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP. COULD I ASK YOU TO CONVEY MY WARM RESPECTS AND ADMIRATION TO THE PRESIDENT. WARM REGARDS. CHARLES. BT NNNN

بنيك للمُزَالِجَيْمِ

الرقم ' ٢٦ نوفم بر ١٩٩٠

التاريخ "26th November 90

The Right Honourable
Mrs. Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister of
The United Kingdom

In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Your Excellency,

Thank you for the message you sent me through your Consul General in Dubai informing formally about your decision to resign the Premiership of the United Kingdom. You are leaving this august office with the widely acclaimed knowledge that you have contributed greatly towards world peace and stability in general and for the Gulf region in particular. Your legacy of courage and fortitude as a leader of one of the major powers in the world will be difficult to match. I note with pleasure that under your leadership over the last eleven years, the bilateral relationship between our two friendly countries have improved from strength to strength in all respects which I hope will continue to flourish in the coming days as well.

With wishes for your long life, well being and happiness and with my highest respect and esteem.

MAKTOUM BIN RASHID BIN SAEED AL MAKTOUM Vice President, Prime Minister of the U.A.E. and Ruler of Dubai

## دىيى قان سىموالحناكىم دېئى دۇلتۇللىما كارزىكى ئىلىم ئ

فخامة السيدة / مارجريت تاتشر عضو البرلمان رئيسة الوزراء المملكة المتحدة

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله تعالى وبركاته .

أتوجه بالشكر لسعادتكم على رسالتكم ، التى تسلمتها من القنصل البريطاني العام بدبى ، تخبرونا فيها رسميا بقراركم الخاص بالإستقالة من زعامة الحزب ورئاسة الوزارة . إنكم تتركون منصبكم الموقر وأنتم تتمتعون بإدراك وفهم ذائع الصيت برز من خلال إسهامكم العظيم في نشر السلام والإستقرار في العالم بوجه عام وفي منطقة الخليج بوجه خاص . إن شجاعتكم وقيادتكم كزعيمة لدولة من الدول العظمى في العالم المر يصعب تكراره . وأود الإشارة هنا ، وبكل السعادة ، إلى تطور العلاقات الثنائية بين بلدينا الصديقين عبر الأحد عشر عاما الماضية خلال فترة رئاستكم للوزارة في كافة المجالات ، والتي أمل أن يستمر إزدهارها في الأيام المقبلة .

مع أطيب التمنيات لسعادتكم بطول العمر ودوام الصحة والسعادة ، أرجو أن تتقبلوا منا أسمى معانى التقدير والإحترام ،،،

مكتوم بن راشد بن سعيد آل مكتوم نائب رئيس الدولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء ، حاكم دبى

# MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY MR. TOSHIKI KAIFU TO THE RT. HON. MARGARET THATCHER, FRS, MP

It was with extreme regret that I received your recent message regarding your decision to step down in order to make way for a successor.

Your premiership of Great Britain has been recorded in history as being the longest this century, as have your many achievements as a world leader.

Your remarkable and historical achievements, together with your contribution to the building of an excellent relationship between Japan and the United Kingdom, have brought you the respect and sympathy of the Japanese people.

I particularly remember the supportive remarks you made on behalf of Japan at the Houston Economic Summit. Your understanding of Japan's position very much endeared you to our people, and this event has often been spoken of with great warmth.

.../...

I am hopeful that you, as a good friend of Japan, will continue to support our efforts to expand the relationship between our two nations in the coming years. As for my part, I am determined to do my utmost to foster our present good relationship and work closely with your successor as Prime Minister.

I would like to take this opportunity to wish you good health and every success for the future.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Toshiki Kaifu
Prime Minister of Japan

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, FRS, MP
Prime Minister
No. 10 Downing Street
London SW1 2AA

26-11-90



From the Director: J A Adye
Government Communications Headquarters

Priors Road Cheltenham GL52 5AJ
Telephone 0242 (Cheltenham) 221491 ext
GTN 3073

D/5231DQ/JAA/BB

26 November 1990

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP 10 Downing Street LONDON SW1

Far Prime Minister,

I was due to call to see you early next month for one of your periodic briefings on GCHQ. Sadly that has been overtaken - together with your planned visit to Cheltenham, which we were all looking forward to. The close interest you have taken throughout in the work of GCHQ has been a great encouragement, and a welcome spur to all of us to provide the best in our power. We have known that what we produced would be read with a keen eye, and when appropriate, with stimulating comment. I am most grateful for all you have done to support GCHQ, from your early days as Prime Minister: our ability to provide an effective service to the Government has been immeasurably strengthened.

Joans sincerely,

UNCLASSIFIED

FM ROME

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 1030

OF 261730Z NOVEMBER 90

INFO ROUTINE OTHER EC POSTS, UKREP BRUSSELS, MILAN, NAPLES
INFO ROUTINE FLORENCE

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PRIME MINISTER'S RESIGNATION: ITALIAN MEDIA REACTIONS

#### SUMMARY

- 1. THE NEWS OF MRS THATCHER'S RESIGNATION DOMINATED THE ITALIAN PRESS ON 23 NOVEMBER. FURTHER EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OVER THE WEEKEND MAINLY CONCENTRATES ON THE CONTEST TO SUCCEED HER. THE GENERAL VIEW IS THAT SHE WAS A GREAT LEADER BROUGHT DOWN BY HER OWN INTRANSIGENCE. SEVERAL PAPERS COMPARE HER WITH QUEEN ELIZABETH I AND QUEEN VICTORIA. POLICY TOWARDS EUROPE, THE POLL TAX AND THE DOMESTIC ECONOMIC SITUATION ARE REGARDED AS HAVING BEEN HER MAIN STUMBLING BLOCKS. MANY COMMENT ON THE ENORMOUS CHANGES SHE WROUGHT IN BRITAIN, ONLY TO SEE THE BENEFITS ERODED AS TIME PASSED. FAVOURABLE COMMENT ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREOTTI AND SPADOLINI. FERVENT HOPES THAT HER SUCCESSOR WILL BE LESS VOCIFEROUSLY OPPOSED TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. TELEVISION COVERAGE EXTENSIVE BUT MAINLY FACTUAL, AND WILL REVIVE WITH THE BALLOTTING TO COME.
- 2. LA REPUBBLICA'S LEADER (CENTRE-LEFT, NATIONAL) ON 24 NOVEMBER APPLAUDED HER DECISION TO RESIGN (A) AS A GRAND GESTURE, AND (B) BECAUSE SHE WAS THUS REMOVING A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO EUROPEAN UNION, WHICH REMAINS 'UNTHINKABLE' WITHOUT THE UK. MUCH OF EUROPE'S ECONOMIC POLICY HAS BEEN INSPIRED BY HER. REPUBBLICA IS NOT THE ONLY PAPER TO POINT OUT THAT, HAVING RESIGNED, SHE WILL ACTUALLY LEAVE OFFICE: A LESSON WHICH SHOULD BE LEARNED BY ITALIAN POLITICIANS. THE REST OF THE EC WERE TIRED OF HER UNRELENTING INTRANSIGENCE AND SIMPLY IGNORED HER. CORRIERE DELLA SERA (CENTRIST, NATIONAL) CALLS HER THE ONLY LION AMONG A PACK OF WOLVES: NO OTHER POLITICIAN IN RECENT TIMES HAD BEEN SO INFLUENTIAL WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD.
- 3. IL SOLE (FT EQUIVALENT) WARNS THAT HER DEPARTURE FROM THE SCENE IS NOT THE TRANSNATIONAL VICTORY IT SEEMS, SINCE MRS THATCHER WAS ONE OF THE FEW WHO WAS NOT AFRAID TO MAKE DECISIONS. EUROPE HAD THUS LOST ITS BEST ALIBI AND SCAPEGOAT. CONTRARY TO PUBLIC OPINION, SHE WAS NOT ANTI-EUROPE: LOOK AT BRITAIN'S RECORD OF DIRECTIVES

PAGE 1 UNCLASSIFIED COMPLIED WITH. OTHER PARTNERS WOULD BE UNABLE TO LEAVE HER TO DO THEIR DIRTY WORK ANY MORE. QUOTE THE ONLY GREAT EUROPEAN LEADER OF THE EIGHTIES LEAVES THE STAGE UNQUOTE. PRESIDENT BUSH ESPECIALLY WOULD MISS HER FIRM SUPPORT AND DECISIVENESS. LA STAMPA (CENTRIST, N ITALY) SAYS MRS THATCHER WAS NOT ALWAYS WRONG TO CRITICISE THE EC, BUT SHE WENT OVERBOARD AND LOST CREDIBILITY. 'HER STRENGTHS WERE ALSO HER WEAKNESSES'.... IT WAS TIME SHE WENT BEFORE PEOPLE FORGOT HOW GREAT AND INNOVATIVE SHE HAD BEEN.

- 4. THE WEEKLY PANORAMA TOOK THE LINE THAT, ALTHOUGH THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY, THE POLL TAX AND EUROPE WERE MAJOR FACTORS IN HER INCREASING UNPOPULARITY, MOST BRITISH POLITICIANS FOUND IT INTOLERABLE THAT A WOMAN SHOULD CONTINUE TO LEAD THEM. THE MORE POLITICALLY AWARE WEEKLY L'ESPRESSO REITERATED A POINT MADE BY SOME OF THE DAILIES, THAT THE BRITISH DO NOT (NOT) REALLY APPROVE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ANYWAY, AND THAT IT WAS BASICALLY THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE POLL TAX WHICH LED TO MRS THATCHER'S INCREASINGLY UNPOPULARITY. AS FAR AS EUROPE WAS CONCERNED, HER DEPARTURE FROM DOWNING STREET WOULD BE THE EQUIVALENT OF DISMANTLING OF THE BERLIN WALL (SIC).
- 5. APART FROM THE BENEFICIAL IMPACT THAT ITALIANS HOPE HER RESIGNATION WILL HAVE ON UK-EC RELATIONS, MOST POLITICAL COMMENT IS FULL OF ADMIRATION AND RESPECT FOR MRS THATCHER'S HONESTY AND COURAGE IN RESIGNING IN THE WAY SHE DID. ANDREOTTI (PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL) IS SAID TO HAVE COMMENTED THAT ITALIANS DO FIND ANYTHING TRAUMATIC IN CHANGING PRIME MINISTERS (CF. LA REPUBBLICA, PARA 2 ABOVE): ALTHOUGH MRS THATCHER'S VIEWS ON EUROPE, NOTABLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF OTHER PARTNERS, HAD CAUSED PROBLEMS, ONE HAD TO ADMIRE HER, EVEN IF HER ISOLATION AT THE OCTOBER ROME COUNCIL HAD STARTED HER DOWNFALL. SPADOLINI, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, COMMENTED THAT MRS THATCHER'S GREATNESS WOULD PRESERVE HER A PLACE IN BRITISH HISTORY. NO EUROPEAN CITIZEN COULD FORGET THE OVERALL CONTRIBUTION OF ONE OF THE MAIN PLAYERS ON THE POLITICAL STAGE FOR OVER A DECADE. NILDE IOTTI, PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES, COMMENTED THAT THERE QUOTE HAD BEEN A LITTLE TOO MUCH IRON UNQUOTE AND HOPED THAT THE WAY WAS NOW OPEN FOR SMOOTHER RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND HER OTHER EC PARTNERS.
- 6. TELEVISION COVERAGE WAS EXTENSIVE BUT MAINLY FACTUAL ON 23 AND 24 NOVEMBER, BEFORE GIVING WAY TO THE WEEKEND'S SPORTING NEWS. IT WILL REVIVE TO COVER THE BALLOTTING ON 27/28 NOVEMBER, AND ON 29/30 NOVEMBER IF A THIRD ROUND PROVES NECESSARY.

PAGE 2 UNCLASSIFIED.\* UNCLASSIFIED
FM WARSAW
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 919
OF 261345Z NOVEMBER 9D

## ADVANCE COPY

MESSAGE FROM MAZOWIECKI TO THE PRIME MINISTER

1. FOLLOWING IS UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF MAZOWIECKI'S LETTER OF 22 NOVEMBER:

#### BEGINS

I AM DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE NEWS ABOUT YOUR DECISION. THE POLISH PEOPLE, INCLUDING MYSELF, REMEMBER WELL YOUR CONCERN ABOUT THE POLISH MATTERS DURING THE RECENT DIFFICULT YEARS, AS WELL AS THE GREAT MORAL AND POLITICAL ASSISTANCE THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN US. I CONTINUE TO BE PROFOUNDLY IMPRESSED BY THE PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH YOU, MADAME PRIME MINISTER, DURING MY VISIT IN LONDON AND I CHERISH THE MEMORIES NOT ONLY OF YOUR EXTRAORDINARY INSIGHT, INTELLECT AND ENERGY BUT ALSO OF WARMTH AND CORDIALITY.

I CONVEY TO YOU IN YOUR CAPACITY OF EMINENT STATESPERSON THE EXPRESSIONS OF MY DEEP-FELT ESTEEM. I REQUEST YOU TO REMEMBER THAT IN ME YOU HAVE A GOOD FRIEND THANKING YOU FOR WHAT IS NOW PAST AND WISHING YOU ALL THE BEST IN THE FUTURE.

I ASSURE YOU ALSO THAT I SHALL NOT FAIL IN MY EFFORT SO THAT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDON AND POLAND - WITH THEIR GREAT PAGES FROM THE MOST DIFFICULT TEST OF WORLD WAR II - RENEWED AND STRENGTHENED AS THEY HAVE BEEN BY YOURSELF, WILL CONTINUE TO PROGRESS WELL IN CO-OPERATION WITH YOUR SUCCESSOR.

ENDS.

- 2. ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY BAG TO EED.
- 3. MIFT CONTAINS TEXT OF SKUBISZEWSKI'S STATEMENT ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S RESIGNATION.

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DISTRIBUTION

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PAGE 2 UNCLASSIFIED

Chystes A letter has already gone to Mazonsiecki hiz



C. Reign Wall

## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

26 November 1990

I enclose some further letters from the Prime Minister, in reply to messages from Heads of Government and should be grateful if they could be despatched as soon as possible.

#### CHARLES D POWELL

J. S. Wall, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office



AP

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

Year Chief Rathi,

Nothing could have given me more pleasure than your very kind letter, and there is no one whose high opinion means more to me. I have drawn enormous inspiration from your teachings and writings, and have been fascinated by our many encounters. It is very good of you to confirm the invitation to your Valedictory Dinner on 21 February, and I indeed look forward very much to being present to celebrate the outstanding contribution which you have made to the life of our country.

My husband joins me in sending you our warmest good wishes to you and Lady Jakobovits. Hid regards,

Your snicerely

1 ay and Shalita

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Jakobovits

PERSONAL



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# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

Year Inidos - Gourd.

Thank you for your kind letter. My great regard for the work done by the Security Service in very difficult circumstances is unbounded. I would like to thank you and all the members of the Service for your unsung labours which have contributed so much to making this country safe and free.

With every good wish to you all.

Town sinery

Dayaneshalta

Sir Patrick Walker, K.C.B.

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cc: 120

## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

Jean Chief- Anyasku.

Thank you for your very nice letter. It was kind of you to write. Despite what has often been said, I am a great supporter of the Commonwealth and have always enjoyed the Heads of Government meetings - even those when I have been under attack! I had been looking forward to participating in the meeting in January, but I am sure it will be a great success and will chart the way ahead for the Commonwealth into the next century.

May I also wish you every success in your own post as Secretary-General.

With every good wish,

Town sinerely

Chief Emeka C. Anyaoku, Con.

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cc FW

### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

//car /klount.

You were very kind to write, and in such warm and generous terms. I think it has been of immense benefit to both our countries and to Europe that both Britain and Germany had staunch conservative governments throughout most of the 1980s, and it has been a privilege to work with you. I shall always remember your generous hospitality, including our visits to Deidesheim and Speyer.

I wish you every success in your forthcoming elections and send best wishes to your wife and two sons, of whom you are so rightly proud.

l'ayar



Fee

COFCO

### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

Jean R. President.

Your very generous message touched me greatly and I am most grateful for your kindness. Your own achievements, both as Prime Minister and President, have been truly remarkable, and I have always looked forward to our meetings knowing that they would be full of wisdom and interest. Turkey's role in confronting Iraq's aggression against Kuwait has been of the greatest significance and I know that it owes much to your personal and courageous decision.

I was glad that we were able to have a last talk in Paris, and I wish you continuing success in the years ahead.

My husband joins me in sending every good wish to you and Mrs. Ozal.

Wan regards.

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His Excellency Mr. Turgat Ozal

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## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

Dear Prime Mister.

Thank you for your very kind and warm message which I greatly appreciated. You know the very warm feelings we have for Portugal as Britain's oldest ally: and it was a great source of satisfaction that my time as Prime Minister coincided with Portugal's entry into the European Community. We all have happy memories of your visit here and indeed I well remember my own visit to Portugal in 1984, and am sorry that I have not yet managed to come back. But I hope we shall have another opportunity to see each other again. In the meantime I send my warmest regards and best wishes.

Jours svicerely Mayant Shalita



### 10 DOWNING STREET

CC FCW

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

Dear M. President-

Just to say I received your very kind message. I would very much like to take up your invitation to visit Prague again one day, and perhaps I might get in touch when I see a possibility. It was a very generous thought which I greatly appreciated.

With warm regards,

Town mi well

His Excellency Mr. Vaclav Havel



Flo

a FW

### 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 November 1990

Pear I brahin,

I was touched by your very kind message and the generous things you have to say. I think that together we have managed to put relations between Britain and Nigeria on a new and much better footing, and I have immense admiration for all that you have achieved in your country. I have the happiest memories of my visit to Nigeria and very much hope we shall have an opoprtunity to meet again.

Denis joins me in sending you and Maryam warm good wishes.

Jour sviely

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FM WHITE HOUSE
TO COS//LONDON

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ENTIAL VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHARLES POWELL #10 DOWNING STREET, LONDON FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS.

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DEAR CHARLES,

TO SAY I AM SADDENED BY THE RECENT TURN OF EVENTS WOULD BE A GROSS UNDERSTATEMENT. BOTH PROFESSIONALLY AND PERSONALLY I HAVE COME TO RELY DN YOU WITHOUT HESITATION. YOU HAVE MY ETERNAL GRATITUDE FOR MAKING MY JOB MUCH EASIER AND, ESPECIALLY, FOR BEING A FRIEND. WHATEVER THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR YOU, I AM ALWAYS AVAILABLE.

CHARLES, I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD PASS THE FOLLOWING NOTE TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

WARM REJARDS.

BRENT

DEAR PRIME MINISTER:

I WAS ABSOLUTELY DEVASTATED BY THE UNEXPECTED NEWS OF YOUR DEPARTURE. WHILE THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WILL SURVIVE, THE QUALITY YOU BROUGHT TO IT CANNOT BE DUPLICATED. YOU HAVE BEEN A PILLAR OF STRENGTH, CONFIDENCE, WISDOM AND FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE MOST COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT OF TIMES. WE SIMPLY COULD NOT HAVE DONE IT WITHOUT YOU AND, WITH TRYING DAYS AHEAD, WE SHALL SORELY MISS YOU.

WITH RESPECT AND WARM REGARDS.

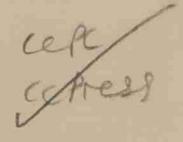
BRENT

DECL: DADR

BT #0078

INCOMING

#### OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR NIGERIA





TELEPHONE: 01-839 1244

9 NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE LONDON WC2N 5BX

24 November, 1990.

Yours very nicenty, (ronge Dove-Eduri

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

Deen Prine Minister.

I am instructed to transmit the enclosed message from President Babangida to you.

In doing so, may I add my respects and humble best wishes.

G. Dove-Edwin.



State House Lagos Nigeria

**23** November, 1990

The Right Honourable
Mrs. Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON

## My Sear Rangaret

- I have learnt with much sadness of your decision to resign as Prime Minister next week when a new leader of your Party is elected.
- 2. My countrymen and women followed with much admiration the robust conviction, courage and perseverance with which you pursued domestic policy initiatives such as the privatisation of State-owned enterprises and wider shares ownership among the population.
- 3. You also brought to foreign relations a fresh air of openness and pragmatic co-operation among nations which strengthened your country's voice in the international community but more importantly contributed directly to a lessening of world tensions.
- 4. I shall myself not forget the warm personal courtesies which you showed to me time and time again. Nor shall I forget the never-falling co-operation and valuable support which my Administration and the people of Nigeria received



from the Government of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland over the past four years as we have set out to restructure our economy. In this period, and under your prime ministership as well as with your personal interest, our bilateral relations have truly soared to new heights. I look forward to a consolidation of these relations under your successor.

- 5. I wish you well in your future undertakings, and in doing so, may I also express the sincere hope that you will continue to put your great talents and boundless energy, and rich experience, to the service of mankind.
- 6. Maryam joins me in sending fondest regards to you and Denis.

Yours most Suicerely Brahim B Babangida.

President

Commander-In-Chief

Armed Forces of Nigeria

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

24 November 1990

I enclose the Prime Minister's reply to President Gorbachev's message about her decision to resign. I should be grateful if you could arrange for it to be delivered as soon as possible.

(C. D. POWELL)

Stephen Wall, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

24 November 1990

#### PRIME MINISTER'S RESIGNATION

I attach a further batch of letters dated 22 November to foreign Heads of Government, from the Prime Minister, about her decision to resign. I should be grateful if they could be delivered as soon as possible.

CHARLES D. POWELL

The Resident Clerk Foreign and Commonwealth Office

1 10



#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

24 November 1990

#### PRIME MINISTER'S RESIGNATION

I enclose a batch of replies from the Prime Minister to letters which she has received about her resignation. I should be grateful if you would arrange for their delivery as soon as possible, provided you are content with them.

C.D. POWELL

J.S. Wall, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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### 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Dear Primi Mister,

Thank you for your kind letter. It was good of you to write and your generous sentiments are much appreciated. It will seem strange no longer to be involved in all the matters we have discussed many times over the years. But I am grateful for all that we have been able to achieve together.

With best wishes,

Jour sviendy

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Onorevole Giulio Andreotti

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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Dear Poul.

Thank you for your kind letter which I appreciated very much. You have been the best of friends and I am glad that we were able to work together to change a few things in the European Community. I send you warmest best wishes for the future.

Tours

His Excellency Mr Poul Schluter

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990.

Sila MJ

Dear Boh.

You were very good to write so kindly following my decision to resign. I have the happiest memories of my own visit to Australia and your visit here: and I believe that, between us, we have put new life into the very important relationship between Australia and the United Kingdom.

With every good wish,

Yourwa Qayaus

The Hon. R.J.L. Hawke, AC, MP.

Si



K W

# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Dear Th. President.

Thank you for your kind message. I have the greatest respect for all that you have achieved in South Africa and had hoped to be in a position to help you bring it to a successful conclusion. But you can count on my continued support outside Government - and I very much hope to find an opportunity to pay the visit to South Africa which I have so long wanted to make.

With every good wish to you and your wife.

Dan rejard.
Your svively
againshalte

The Honourable F W de Klerk DMS

lo



Sila Dea

# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Vea Charlie,

It was good of you to write and I am most grateful for your kind words. I hope that the work we have done together will be taken forward, both security co-operation and political development, so that one day we can see a more peaceful future for Northern Ireland - which is what we both want.

With every good wish,

Nomera Dayans

Mr. Charles Haughey, T.D.

e,



Sila de la ce Ess

## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Dear Brian.

Thank you for your telephone calls and your lovely message. You have been the kindest of friends, always able to find time to give encouragement and support to others. Your advice on the televising of Parliament was absolutely invaluable. I know the problems you face but am sure you will find a way through by sticking to your principles and the policies we both believe in.

I was so glad we were able to see each other in Paris.
Please give our love to Mila.

Tommer of ayour

The Right Honourable Brian Mulroney

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Sila pros

## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Mean it. President.

You were most generous to write in such warm terms. I shall very much miss our regular meetings. I have benefited greatly from your wisdom over the years and always appreciated the great courtesy which you extended to me. I hope that our joint efforts have set Britain and France on a course towards the closer co-operation which is in the interests of both, not least in the sphere of defence. In particular, I believe that the completion of the Channel Tunnel will be an event of enormous significance in the history of both countries and in shaping attitudes in Britain towards Europe.

With warm regards to you and Madame Mitterrand,

Your svicery Nayaushahte

His Excellency Monsieur le President Francois Mitterrand, GCB.

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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Jean Charuller.

You were very kind to write so warmly and I very much appreciate your generous comments. I have the happiest of memories of my several visits to Austria and the warm welcome which I have always received, and I hope that I shall indeed have more opportunities to come in future.

In the meantime, may I send you my warmest regards.

Town minery



Sile PRJ.

# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Dear Primi Thiste.

You were very good to write in such kind terms. As you know I have an enormous affection for Poland, particularly following my visit, and I shall continue to take the closest interest in developments. We are all willing you to succeed.

With every good wish,

Town svierely

10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Year 2. Ikwson.

Your wonderfully generous and kind letter was a great consolation at a difficult moment and I am enormously grateful to you and your colleages for the kind things you say. There can be no greater privilege than to serve one's country as Prime Minister and to feel one has had a hand in great events.

I should indeed very much like to see you when you visit Britain and I hope you will get in touch.

Town siverely Mayantshalte

Dr. John Hewson, M.P.

Lo

20 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SWIA 2AA

24 November, 1990

THE PRIME MINISTER

Pear Morsein Chiac.

Thank you for your very kind message. I have always valued your friendship and, working together, we were able to achieve a great deal. I hope very much we can remain in touch with each other in the period ahead.

With every good wish,

Jours sievely

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Monsieur le Premier Ministre Jacques Chirac

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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November, 1990

Dear In Bossaro.

Thank you very much for your letter of 22 November. You were kind to write in such warm terms. The interests of Gibraltar and its people have always been close to my heart, and I send my good wishes for the future.

Jams orients
Ogranishable

The Honourable Joseph Bossano

C

#### PRIME MINISTER

#### PRESIDENT HAVEL

Prince Schwarzenberg telephoned this morning from President Havel's office. President Havel felt rather shy about trying to telephone you personally because his English was not very good on the telephone. But he wanted you to know that he was dismayed by what had happened and would like you to go to Prague to stay at the Castle whenever you want and for as long as you want. The invitation was made with the greatest possible sincerity. I said that I knew you would be most grateful. And I thought you might take it up!

C D? m5

C. D. POWELL

23 November 1990

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Portuguese Embassy. 11. Belgrave Square. London, SWIX 8PP

#### FREE TRANSLATION

"Lisbon, 23rd November, 1990

Dear Prime Minister,

It was with great sadness that I heard of your decision to resign as Prime Minister. I recall, at this moment, the good personal relations and the cooperation we have always maintained; they were of great importance to the strengthening of the friendly relations which are reflected in such a positive way both in the contacts between the United Kingdom and Portugal and in the framework of the Atlantic Alliance and of the European Community.

I am certain that you have gained a place in history by the determination with which you have conducted the political life of your country and also by the way you have influenced the course of international events during the last eleven years.

I wish to convey to you my deep respect and friendship and to tell you how welcome you would be if you were to visit Portugal.

With my warmest regards and my very best wishes for the future.

Yours sincerely,

Anibal A. Cavaco Silva Prime Minister of Portugal"

### PERSONAL

Correspondence to this address must be under double cover. The outer envelope should be addressed to The Secretary PO Box 500 London SW1P 1XH and not to any individual.



### PO Box 500 London SW1P 1XH

Telephone 071-388 3232 ext. 071-491 4488 ext. GTN 3085 ext.

23 November 1990

Dear Prime Minister,

I wanted to write to you before you left office to thank you on behalf of the Security Service for all the support and encouragement you have given us during your years in office. The first part of the 1980s with the BETTANEY case and its aftermath and the Peter Wright saga were not easy. The second half of the decade has produced a reconstructed and confident Service. At no stage did our professional competence decline but the changes and improvements in the Service owe an enormous amount to your interest. In particular, I mention your agreement to legislate for the Service, your decisions which resulted in us getting the extra resources we needed and, not least, your appointment of my predecessor, Tony Duff. For all of this the whole Service is grateful.

2. With very best wishes for the future.

Your Succely Poteh bruce

Patrick Walker

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP No 10 Downing Street

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher MP Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland My Dear Prime Minister. It was with much regret that I have received your message informing me of your decision to step down as Prime Minister as soon as a new party leader has been elected. Although courageous decision have over the years become a hallmark of your distinguished career at the helm of your country this one, Mrs. Prime Minister, has us all saddened. For not only have you been a remarkable leader of historic achievements in your own country, but also an outstanding international personality whose intellect and wisdom have won the respect of everyone around the world. When you look back on your close to twelve years office as Prime Minister, not to mention your earlier successful political career, there is a treasure of achievements for you and for those who admire you to be proud of. Your have invigoraged an ailing economy and enhanced the role of the United Kingdom as an ardent defender of democracy and peace, befitting your

country's glorious past.

During your term in office, which happily coincided in great part with my own in Turkey, there is much ground to feel great satisfaction and indeed pride with the level of our bilateral relations, in political, as well as economic and other fields. have always been a personal true friend and your country a staunch ally under your leadership.

cercy TURKISH EMBASSY 43. BELGRAVE SQUARE LONDON, SWIX 8PA Tel No. 01-235 5252 The Embassy of the Republic of Turkey present their compliments to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and have the honour to request that the enclosed text of the telegraphic message from His Excellency Turgut Özal, President of Turkey, to Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland be delivered to its High Destination. The Embassy of the Republic of Turkey avail themselves of this opportunity to renew to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office assurances of their highest consideration. London, 23rd November 1990 Foreign and Commonwealth Office London SW1

Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany London, 23 November 1990 Helmut Wegner Chargé d'Affaires a.i. Dear Prime Minister, I have the honour to transmit the enclosed message from Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. A courtesy translation is attached. Jours sincerely Her Excellency The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP Her Majesty's Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury London 2) Wv: Ro

23 9 November 1990

Letter

from

Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

to

Her Excellency The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland

Prime Minister, dear Margaret

I should like to thank you for your message of 22 November 1990.

You can look back with pride and great satisfaction to more than a decade of successful activity at the helm of your country. Through your consistent policy, faithful to principles, you have made a lasting imprint on the United Kingdom and opened new and farreaching perspectives for the future. Thus you have earned high esteem world-wide for yourself and for your country.

Due to your staunch committment to peace which guarantees not only security but freedom as well you have contributed in particular to the strengthening of the Western Alliance. This proved to be an important precondition for the historic changes in Europe to which both of us were able to contribute.

We will not forget your personal efforts for overcoming the division of Europe and thus of Germany as well. For this I want to convey to you my very special thanks.

I will always cherish the trustful, friendly and open co-operation we have had over more than eight years.

May we convey to you and to Denis our best wishes for the future.

With warm regards sgd. Helmut Kohl

Botschaft

von

Herrn Helmut Kohl Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

an

Ihre Exzellenz

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher
Premierminister des Vereinigten Königreichs
Großbritannien und Nordirland

Sehr geehrte Frau Premierministerin, liebe Margaret,

für Ihre Botschaft vom 22. November 1990 danke ich Ihnen herzlich.

Sie können mit Stolz und großer Genugtuung auf ein über ein Jahrzehnt erfolgreiches Wirken an der Spitze Ihres Landes zurückblicken. Sie haben das Vereinigte Königreich durch Ihre konsequente und prinzipientreue Politik entscheidend geprägt und ihm neue und weitreichene Chancen für die Zukunft eröffnet. Damit haben Sie sich persönlich und Ihrem Land weltweit hohes Ansehen erworben.

Mit Ihrem großen Engagement für einen Frieden, der nicht nur Sicherheit, sondern auch die Freiheit garantiert, haben Sie in besonderem Maße zur Stärkung des westlichen Bündnisses beigetragen. Das war eine wesentliche Voraussetzung dafür, daß die historischen Veränderungen in Europa möglich wurden, die wir gemeinsam mitgestalten durften. Wir werden Ihr persönliches Wirken für die Überwindung der Teilung Europas und damit Deutschlands nicht vergessen.

Hierfür möchte ich Ihnen ganz besonders danken. An die über achtjährige gemeinsame, vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit mit Ihnen, die stets durch Freundschaft und Offenheit geprägt war, werde ich gerne zurückdenken.

Für die Zukunft gelten Ihnen und Denis unsere besten Wünsche.

In herzlicher Verbundenheit Ihr Helmut Kohl

2 3. XI. 1990 Brussels

Joint Service Interpretation-Conferences

Dear Mr Thateler,

After more than a decade of working for you in the councils of Europe, we should like to express our appreciation of the confidence you have always shown in the Commission's interpreting service.

On a more personal note, may we say that we derived enormous pleasure and enjoyment from being both spectators and players during your many memorable innings.

We shall greatly miss your responsiveness, consideration and unflagging energy.

On behalf of all the interpreting staff, we wish you the very best for the future.

Yours sincerely,

DICK FLEMING (your personal interpreter

at European Councils)

1. Henry

Renée van HOOF-HAFERKAMP Director-General

L. we lost the Kamp.

Rt. Hon. Mrs. M. THATCHER, Prime Minister 10, Downing Street

GB - LONDON

PAGE.001

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL MARLEDROUGH HOUSE . PALL MALL . LONDON SWIY 5HX

> 23 November 1990 Dear frime Minister,

I was on my way to Papira New Cuinea when I heard the sad news of your decision to resign from office. I hope you will understand therefore my having to send this letter by fax; but I wanted to write as soon as I could to say how much you will be missed and to thank you for the many rare qualities of strength, courage and integrity which you brought to national and international affairs.

Regardless of occasional differences of viewpoint on means, you have always been a robust supporter of the Commonwealth and its objectives. Indeed, I had been especially looking forward to having the benefit of your guidance and wisdom in the coming months as the High-Level Appraisal of the Commonwealth in the 1990s and beyond reaches its climax. I know it is an initiative to which you attach considerable importance.

Whatever your immediate feelings I hope you will appreciate just how much your many achievements as Prime Minister have been widely admired not only in Britain but also internationally. Many, especially in the Commonwealth, will root! with partioning gratifods your outstanding contribution to the process which brought independence and democracy to Zimbabwe.

Lastly, I feel I must express my deep personal gratitude for the courtesy which you paid me when I called upon you in July at the start of my period of office, Your words of wisdom then and in our more recent conversation were a source of immense encouragement to me. Your many Commonwealth friends will be sorry to see you leave office but will want to wish you and Mr Thatcher all happiness in the future.

With deep respect and warm personal repair

Emeka Anyaoku

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP Prime Minister of Britain

23 NOU '90 20:21 FROM COM-SEC PNG OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL MARLED OH HUUSE PALL MALL LONDON SWIY SHX Dear Prime Minister, I was on my way a paper learn treated the sad news of your decimants wasgr tran rifide. I hope you will understand the First of horizing to send this letter by fax; but I wanted to write marenet as ? goald to say how much you will be missen and analy your for the many rare qualifies of streams, sources and integrity which you cought to rational and interestional addairs. Regardless of occasional differences of viewpoint on rams, you have always need a solutan apporter of the mnonwealth and its objectives. Indeed, I had been pecially looking framera to having the benefit of your quidance and wiscom in the cortog roarts as the high-level Appraisal of the Correlates in in the 1990s and payond reaches its o'that. I work it is at textacive to which you ruch constarable impertance. . What have from the track that I hope you will eclate just how nuch and page a filevements as intime I trater Made been widely amitred not body in Britani out also internationally. Many, especially is the Common sealth, mill maniall with protinion brestithe more anterending contribution to the process which brought incependent and democracy to Limbabwe. Lastly, I feel I must express by deep personal gratitude for the contery which you page me when i called upon you in July at the start of my period of office. Your words of wisdom thes and in our more recent conversation were a source of Lamenas entouragement to me. Your Many Commonwealth friends will be sorry to see you leave office but will want to wish you and Mr Thatoner all happiness t the future. with doop rooped and warm pensonal repands Yours Sincerel The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP Prime Minister of Britain

dile NRW cc. FCO

### 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 November 1990

Your ldighters.

I was extremely touched by your immensely kind letter and the most beautiful flowers. You know my deep attachment to your country and people. Our regular meetings have always been of the greatest interest and I hope very much that these will continue. Indeed I understand that you will be coming in on Monday, to which I am much looking forward.

Kind rejoids.

Jours sviewly

augusthalta

His Royal Highness Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud

cc gress





שגרירות ישראל לונדון

Con

23rd November 1990

Dear Prime Minister,

I am enclosing the message from the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr Yitzhak Shamir.

May I be allowed to join my Prime Minister in expressing my sincere respect and gratitude for your unique contribution to the State of Israel and the Jewish Nation at large.

Yoav Biran

Ambassador of Israel

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

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher FRS, MP
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and
Minister for the Civil Service
10 Downing Street
LONDON
UNITED KINGDON

Dear Prime Minister

Following your announcement that you will be standing down as
Prime Minister, I want to congratulate you, both personal that

Prime Minister, I want to congratulate you, both personally and on behalf of the Liberal Party of Australia, on all that you have achieved during more than fifteen years as Leader of the Conservative Party and more than eleven years as Prime Minister.

You have championed the freedom of individuals and freedom of nations in a remarkably successful way. In doing so, you have exposed yet again the delusions of those who believe in the power of a corporate state built on deals between big governments, big business and big unions.

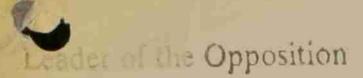
Your success has proved yet again the power of an idea ; that individuals should be given genuine freedom of choice and the incentive to achieve the best they can and that society must have a clear view of its values and be prepared to defend them.

In demonstrating the power of that idea, both in poaco and war, you gave inspiration to people not just in Britain but around the world.

You were in the vanguard of what has turned out to be a revolution of ideas that has seen the bankruptcy of communism and centralised government control exposed and the cause of free enterprise and democracy triumph.

In this context, your chievement is an histor'd one which will endure for many years to come.

ZU. T CIU. UN CI:OI UC: 11:CZ TEL: UITUUZTIIZUJA In particular, the importance you attached to developing the ties between Australia and the United Kingdom during a period of dramatic international change has served our historic relationship well and given it a new, realistic and productivo base from which to build in the future, I greatly appreciated the opportunity I had to meet with you at Gallipoli in April this year and I regret that I will not have the benefit of working with you in organisations such as the International Democrat Union. I trust, however, that it will be possible to meet again when I visit Britain, hopefully at some time next year. I wish you well in the days shead, Yours sincerely





2 3 NOV 1990

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher FRS, MP
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and
Minister for the Civil Service
10 Downing Street
LONDON
UNITED KINGDON

Dear Prime Minister

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-2-

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I wish you well in the days ahead.

Yours sincerely

DR JOHN HEWSON MP

Ref. 120.Stb.1/1 London, 23 November 1990 Down Ch. Powell, Please find enclosed copy of a letter dated 22 November 1990 from the Danish Prime Minister, Mr. Poul Schlüter, to the Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP. I would be very grateful if you would kindly forward the letter to the Prime Minister. Jun sunly Kofoed-Hansen Minister-Counsellor As original to follow. C.D. Powell, Esq. Private Secretary to the Prime Minister No. 10 Downing Street London SW1

Together with Large arrangement of Planers.

Bandar Bin Sultan Bin Abdulaziz

23.ª November 1990.

Dear Prince Minister,

Need I tell you with what consternation and immense regret we in Saudi Arabia, and myself in particular, learned of your decision to stand down?

No British leader in modern times, Winston Churchill notwithstanding, has so earned the admiration and gratitude of my family and my countrymen and the free world. You have shown us that Britain, under the right leadership, can be great indeed.

I shall miss you very much. I am still recovering from the shock of knowing that you will no longer be presiding in Downing Street. But I would like to feel that you would allow me to consult you frequently and draw on your wisdom at difficult moments - of which I suspect, there will be many in the months and years ahead.

Let me say that I personally fully recognise that, if peace is to return to our part of the world, it will be largely because you, at the very start of the present crisis, took a resolute and unshakable stand against aggression.

My warmest good wishes and blessings accompany you into the next phase of your remarkable career.

your friend and admirer

Sandar Sur Sultan



#### Dear Margaret

I want to express to you personally my great appreciation for the contribution you have made to the international political scene and to the relationship between Australia and the United Kingdom. Your courage and commitment to principle, and your opposition to aggression - as exemplified by the British response to the Gulf crisis - are qualities which deserve the greatest respect. Despite the differences we have had on some issues, I have always appreciated your direct and straightforward approach.

I appreciate, too, the personal commitment you have made to rejuvenate our bilateral relationship and to make sure that Australia and the UK do not take each other for granted. The broad base of our current relationship is testament to your own efforts in this area.

I wish you well for the future. Whatever path you now choose to follow, I know your contribution will be active and lively and that we will continue to hear of you over the years to come.

With best wishes.

**BOB HAWKE** 

#### UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

Letter

to: The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP

from: Signor Giulio Andreotti

date: Rome, 23rd November, 1990

Dear Mrs Thatcher,

Yesterday I received your kind message with which you inform me of your decision to step down as Prime Minister.

I am very sorry indeed that you relinquish your high office at such a delicate moment in the life of the world, deeply aware, as I am, of the significance of your role and action, so passionately pursued in these past years, for the improvement of East-West relations, for the strengthening of the ties between the two shores of the Atlantic, for the development of the relations with the Soviet Union and the nations of the East and for the common work carried out in the various international fora.

I too remember with pleasure the numerous occasions in which we met and wish to thank you for the support and cooperation shown by you on so many issues of common interest.

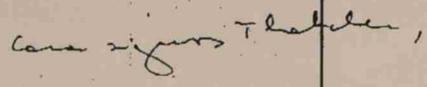
I am confident that the bilateral relations between our two countries, already excellent in all fields, as demonstrated by the recent State Visit that President Cossiga paid to the United Kingdom, to which you gave such a decisive impulse, will continue to prosper.

In formulating my most fervent best wishes for your future, I send you my warmest personal regards.

Signed: Giulio Andreotti.

Il Presidente del Consiglio deir Ministri

Roma, 23 novembre 1990



ho ricevuto ieri il Suo cortese messaggio, nel quale Ella ha voluto annunciarmi la decisione di dimettersi dalla carica di Primo Ministro.

Mi dispiace molto che Lei lasci il Suo alto incarico in un momento così delicato della vita internazionale, ben sapendo quanto sia stato significativo il Suo ruolo e la Sua azione, perseguita con tanto impegno in questi anni per il miglioramento dei rapporti Est-Ovest, per il consolidamento dei legami tra le due sponde dell'Atlantico, per lo sviluppo delle relazioni con l'Unione Sovietica e i Paesi dell'Est e per il comune lavoro svolto nei vari fori internazionali.

Serbo anch'io un gradito ricordo delle numerose occasioni di incontro con Lei e desidero ringraziarLa per l'appoggio e la cooperazione di cui Ella ha sempre dato prova su tante questioni di comune interesse.

Sono certo che i rapporti bilaterali tra i nostri due Paesi, che sono ottimi in tutti i campi, come ha dimostrato la recente visita di Stato del Presidente Cossiga nel Regno Unito ed ai quali Lei ha dato un decisivo impulso, continueranno a rafforzarsi.

Nel formulare i voti più fervidi per il futuro, desidero inviarLe i più cordiali saluti.

yeur and

S.E. Margaret THATCHER
Primo Ministro del Regno Unito
di Gran Bretagna e Irlanda del Nord

LONDRA

Station Embassy he Stalian Ambassador 4. Grosvenor Square London . W. 1. 23rd November, 1990 Dear Charles, I take pleasure in enclosing herewith the text of a letter adressed to the Prime Minister, from the Italian Prime Minister, Signor Giulio Andreotti, together with a rough translation of the same. The original letter will be forwarded to you in due course. Jener eur Boris Biancheri Encs Mr Charles Powell Private Secretary to the Prime Minister (Overseas Affairs) 10 Downing St London S W 1

UNCLASSIFIED
FM PRETORIA
TO DESKBY 230830Z FC0
TELNO 466
OF 230805Z NOVEMBER 90

## ADVANCE COPY

PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

- 1. PRESIDENT DE KLERK SENT TO ME LAST NIGHT A PERSONAL MESSAGE (TEXT IN PARA 3 BELOW) FOR THE PRIME MINISTER. DE KLERK SAID THAT HE HAD WRITTEN THIS JUST BEFORE RECEIVING THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO HIM. SOUTH AFRICA OWED A GREAT DEAL TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND THAT WOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN. DE KLERK SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED A STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT.
- 2. MANDELA MADE A POSITIVE STATEMENT TO THE BBC, SAYING THAT THE ANC HAD MUCH TO THANK THE PRIME MINISTER FOR EVEN THOUGH THEY HAD DISAGREED ON STRATEGY OVER ENDING APARTHEID. BUTHELEZI, HELEN SUZMAN AND HARRY OPPENHEIMER ALSO HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH. I HAVE PASSED ON TO THEM AND TO MANDELA THE PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL REGARDS.
- 3. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF DE KLERK'S MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

DEAR MRS THATCHER

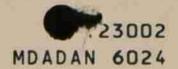
MY WIFE AND I HAVE LEARNT WITH SADNESS OF YOUR DECISION TO RELINQUISH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, WHICH CARRIES WITH IT THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO KNOW THAT, WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS, YOU ARE VERY MNUCH IN OUR THOUGHTS AT WHAT MUST BE FOR YOU A PERIOD OF GREAT PAIN AND DISAPPOINTMENT.

THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH YOU ON A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS OF MUTUAL INTEREST OVER A LONG PERIOD HAS BEEN INVALUABLE TO ME. OUR RELATIONSHIP WAS CHARACTERIZED BY MUTUAL RESPECT, TRUST AND WARMTH. MORE THAN THAT, I APPRECIATE THE FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING THAT GREW BETWEEN US.

I PAY TRIBUTE TO YOU FOR THE ROLE YOU HAVE PLAYED DURING YOUR TENURE OF OFFICE IN PROMOTING RATIONAL POLICIES TOWARDS SOUTH

PAGE 1 UNCLASSIFIED

#### UNCLASSIFIED



AFRICA BY YOUR GOVERNMENT, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE COMMONWEALTH. YOUR FAITH THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD FIND A JUST ACCOMMODATION AND YOUR COURAGE IN STANDING BY YOUR CONVICTIONS HAVE BEEN AN INSPERATION TO ME PERSONALLY AND TO ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.

I KNOW THAT YOUR PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, EUROPE AND THE WORLD IS ASSURED. YOUR STAND ON PRINCIPLE, STEADFASTNESS AND YOUR VISION WILL REMAIN AN EXAMPLE FOR WORLD LEADERS.

IN APPRECIATION

SINCERELY

F W DE KLERK

FCO PLEASE ADVANCE TO NO. 10

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DISTRIBUTION

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PAGE 2 UNCLASSIFIED

A: LUBBERS

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

#### Netherlands Prime Minister

The Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mr. Ruud Lubbers, telephoned the Prime Minister this morning.

Mr. Lubbers said he had tried hard to get through to the Prime Minister yesterday but, not surprisingly, she had been too busy. He was very concerned to know how she was bearing up in the very difficult situation. He knew her well enough to be confident that her resolve and determination would see her through. Her steady character which had served the world so well would serve her well now. She had shown tremendous dignity. The great thing was she would be leaving office with her record clear and undefeated. She would also be a very welcome guest in the Netherlands at any time. The Prime Minister said she would very much like to take up the invitation one day.

C 3?

C. D. POWELL

23 November 1990



### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Dear Th. President:

By the time you receive this message, you will probably already have heard this morning's announcement from 10 Downing street of my decision to make way for a successor, and to resign as Prime Minister as soon as the Parliamentary Party has completed the necessary procedures for electing a new leader. I shall of course remain in charge of the Government until my successor has been appointed.

I should like to thank you for the great co-operation and friendship which you have shown me during our time together in office, during which so much has been achieved and I send you my warmest good wishes for the future. I know that my successor will continue to attach the highest importance to the relations between our countries.

With warm regards,

Tom sievely

agamehalte

The Honourable R.G. Mugabe

(08)



The Rt. Hon. The Lord Jakobovits

85 Hamilton Terrace London NW8

22 hovember 1990

Vue Rt. Hon. Kus Kurfarde Maliker, MI. FRS. Prime Kumiler.

ky dear hier. Hather

The arrowscenced of your decision to besign to the source of the most-

Since your assumed the suffere leadership the nature heither britain nor the world have been the same, nor will they be the same again after your defeature. The most you left on the fortunes y the same again world makes you with one of the immortials of all times, your fearless pesolve me to confirm with terrorism and - perhaps even more enduring - your critical on tribution to the collapse of tremminime are buy the coamples of your finite unique constitution of vivin with iron determination which will place the world with your lebt for ever.

Island and the Janish people here and a broad have pershould

For me personally, as well as for may wife, there is no-one to ohome I will ever hold in higher largest. We are absolutely delighted to be honound by you at the Keledictory tinner planned for February 21.

With every blessing to you and him. Thather, also on be half I very wip.

Respectfully yours.

#### PRIME MINISTER

I attach a message from President Mitterrand which, in rough translation, reads:

"I have just learned of you intention to resign as the Prime Minister after more than eleven years. It must have been a very difficult decision, but I would like to say how very much I have appreciated the many meetings we have had over the past decade. Our views have sometimes differed but often we have reached similar conclusions. With your tremendous conviction and uncommon will, you have put your stamp on an important moment in the history of your country and of Europe. I hope that once this page of your political career has been turned you will continue to play an international role and that we shall have the opportunity to continue our never less than stimulating discussions.

I send you my warm good wishes"

I attach a reply which you might care to send.

<u>Charles Powell</u> 23 November 1990

c: Mitterrand (MJ)

Ambassade de France Londres alle

L'AMBASSADEUR

Nº 2556

23rd November 1990

CDQ 231m

Dear Prime Minister,

I have just received by telegramme the text of a personal message addressed to you by Monsieur François Mitterrand, Président of the French Republic.

Please, find it herewith,

Yours faithfully

...Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil

TR!

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

MADAME LE PREMIER MINISTRE,

JE VIENS D'APPRENDRE VOTRE INTENTION DE RENONCER AUX FONCTIONS QUE VOUS OCCUPEZ DEPUIS PLUS DE ONZE ANS.

A L'HEURE OU VOUS ETES AMENEE A PRENDRE UNE DECISION DONT J'IMAGINE CE QU'ELLE A PU VOUS COUTER, JE VOUDRAIS VOUS DIRE COMBIEN J'AI APPRECIE, TOUT AU LONG DE LA DERNIERE DECENNIE, LES OCCASIONS MULTIPLES D'ECHANGER NOS VUES, DE NOUS OPPOSER PARFOIS, MAIS SOUVENT AUSSI DE NOUS ACCORDER SUR NOS ANALYSES.

AVEC UNE FORCE DE CONVICTION ET UNE VOLONTE PEU COMMUNE, VOUS AUREZ MARQUE UN MOMENT IMPORTANT DE L'HISTOIRE DE VOTRE PAYS ET EGALEMENT, DE L'EUROPE QUI SE CONSTRUIT.

J'ESPERE QU'UNE FOIS TOURNEE CETTE PAGE DE VOTRE CARRIERE PUBLIQUE, VOUS CONSERVEREZ UN CONTACT AVEC LES ACTIVITES INTERNATIONALES ET QUE NOUS AURONS AINSI LA POSSIBILITE DE POURSUIVRE UN DIALOGUE TOUJOURS PASSIONNANT.

JE VOUS PRIE DE CROIRE, MADAME LE PREMIER MINISTRE, A L'ASSURANCE DE MES TRES RESPECTUEUX HOMMAGES ET DE MON FIDELE SOUVENIR.

FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

22 1990/1817

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HADANE MARGARET THATCHER

PREMIER MINISTRE DU ROYAUME UNI DE GRANDE BRETAGNE
ET D IRLANDE DU NORD

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDRES

PREMIER MINISTRE DE RENONCER DEPUIS DECISION PRENDRE A **PARFOIS** NOUS OPPOSER ACCORDER SUR COMMUNE VOUS AUREZ CONVICTION UNE VOLONTE DE L HISTOIRE DE VOTRE PAYS IMPORTANT MARQUE UN MOMENT QUI SE CONSTRUIT UNE FOIS ij ESPERE QU L EUROPE TOURNEE CETTE PAGE DE VOTRE CARRIERE PUBLIQUE VOUS CONSERVEREZ UN CONTACT AVEC LES ACTIVITES INTERNATIONALES ET QUE NOUS AURONS AINSI LA POSSIBILITE DE POURSUIVRE UN DIALOGUE TOUJOURS PASSIONNANT VOUS PRIE DE CROIRE MADAME LE PREMIER MINISTRE A L MON FIDELE MES TRES RESPECTUEUX HOMMAGES ET DE

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THE RT. HON. PRIME MINISTER

MARGARET THATCHER

DOWNING STREET 10

LONDON SW /

MORNING WAS INNEDIATELY BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION, I THANK
YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE AND FOR INFORMING ME PERSONALLY ABOUT
YOUR DECISION. I HAVE DURING THE PAST YEARS VALUED OUR
CO-OPERATION VERY HIGHLY AND HAVE APPRECIATED EVERY
OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH YOU AND TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. I SHARE YOUR ASSESSMENT THAT MUCH
WAS ACCOMPLISHED NOT ONLY IN THE FIELD OF OUR BILATERAL
RELATIONS BUT ALSO IN OUR EUROPEAN ENDEAVOURS TO WHICH WE
BOTH ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE.

TO MY PERSONAL THANKS FOR THIS CLOSE AND REMARDING COOPERATION AND MY BEST WISHES FOR THE FUTURE, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD MY HOPE THAT WE WILL SEE YOU AGAIN AND PERHAPS MORE OFTEN IN AUSTRIA.

WITH MY VERY BEST REGARDS,
SINCERELY YOURS
FRANZ URANITZKY
FEDERAL CHANCELLOR OF AUSTRIA

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National Emblem of Foland
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Tadeusz Mazowiecki

Dear rrime Minister,

I am deeply disturbed by the news about your decision.

The rolish people, including myself, remember well your concern about the rolish matters during the recent difficult years, as well as the great moral and political assistance that you have given us. I continue to be profoundly impressed by the personal contacts with you, Madame Prime Minister, during my visit in London and I cherish the memories not only of your extraordinary insight, intellect and energy but also of warmth and cordiality.

I convey to you in your capacity of eminent statesperson the expressions of my deep-felt esteem. I request you to remember that in me you have a good friend thanking you for what is now past and wisking you all the best in the future.

I assure you also that I shall not fail in my effort so that the relations between the United Kingdom and Poland - with their great pages from the most difficult test of World War II - renewed and strengthened as they have been by yourself, will continue to progress well in co-operation with your successor.

Warsaw, 22 November 1990

/Sgd/T. Mazowiecki

The Right Honourable

Mrs Margaret Thatcher

Frime Minister of the United Kingdom



Szanowna Pani Premier,

Jestem głęboko poruszony wiadomością o Pani decyzji.

Polskie społeczeństwo jak i ja osobiście dobrze pamiętamy Pani
zainteresowanie Polską i polskimi sprawami w ostatnich trudnych
latach i wielką pomoc moralną i polityczną, jakiej nam Pani udzieliła. Pozostaję pod dużym wrażeniem osobistych kontaktów z Panią
Premier podczas mojej wizyty w Londynie, z których zachowuję
w pamięci nie tylko Pani niezwykłą przenikliwość, intelekt i energię, ale także ciepło i serdeczność.

Składam Pani, jako wybitnemu mężowi stanu wyrazy mojego głębokiego szacunku. Proszę pamiętać, że ma Pani we mnie przyjaciela, który dziękuje za to, co było i życzy Pani wszystkiego najlepszego w przyszłości.

Zapewniam również, że dołożę starań aby stosunki między Wielką Brytanią i Polską, które mają swoją wielką kartę z czasów najtrudniejszej próby w okresie II wojny światowej, odnowione i umocnione przez Panią, rozwijały się dalej pomyślnie we współpracy z Pani następcą.

Marvins

Jej Ekscelencja
Pani Margaret THATCHER
Premier
Wielkiej Brytanii

Warszawa, dnia 22 listopada 1990 roku

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION Dear Mrs Thatcher, It is with great emotion that I learn of the decision that you have just taken. Once again, by your dignified and courageous attitude, you give an example of devotion to the higher interests of your country and your party. I have, on this occasion, to bring to your attention the very profound appreciation that I have always had for you yourself and for the policies that you have followed for more than eleven years as head of the UK Government. All the friends of your country are conscious of the historic rôle that you have played to give Great Britain the position that it enjoys. Your policies, which became part of the great tradition of the British Conservative party, will leave a profound impression on the many areas they affected. Come what may, values of liberty and responsibility will remain a source of inspiration for ever for both men and nations. [Formal close] Signed: J Chirac RK5AFL/1

Madame le Premier Ministre,

C'est avec beaucoup d'émotion que j'apprends la décision que vous venez de prendre.

Une fois de plus, par votre attitude toute de dignité et de courage, vous donnez l'exemple du dévouement aux intérêts supérieurs de votre pays et de votre parti.

Je tiens, en cette occasion, à vous adresser le témoignage de la très profonde estime que j'ai toujours cue pour vousmeme et pour l'action que vous avez conduite pendant plus de onze ans à la tête du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

Tous les amis de votre pays ont conscience du rôle historique que vous avez joué pour rendre son rang à la Grande-Bretagne.

Dans tous les domaines où elle s'est exercée, votre politique, qui s'inscrivait dans la plus grande tradition du parti conservateur britannique, laissera une marque profonde.

Quoi qu'il advienne, les valeurs de liberté et de responsabilité, pour les hommes comme pour les nations, demeurerent une source permanente d'inspiration.

Madame Margaret THATCHER Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni ling

ce Profon



# Foreign and Commonwealth Office London SW1A 2AH

22 November 1990

Dear Charler,

### Message to the Prime Minister from M. Chirac

I enclose a faxed message from M. Chirac to the Prime Minister which was forwarded by our Embassy in Paris this morning. I also enclose an unofficial translation which we have done.

We should of course be happy to forward any reply.

Jons ever, Richard Son

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

MESSAGE FROM THE TAOISEACH, MR CHARLES J HAUGHEY TD TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT HON MRS MARGARET THATCHER MP As your historic term as Prime Minister comes to an end I would like to convey to you my congratulations on your long tenure of office and my best wishes for the future. I greatly valued the many useful conversations we had and the co-operation we were able to achieve in many areas of Anglo-Irish relations. I recall too our work together in the Councils of the European Community and in international affairs at a time of great change. I believe that our first meetings in 1980 commenced a process of placing relations between our two countries on a new plane which can lead to the establishment of a framework reflecting the totality of relationships within these islands. With sincere good wishes. 22 November 1990

NOT SENT. SEE NOTE BELOW.

Other LES

Does this letter

make the Phis letter

of 22.11, today?

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THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

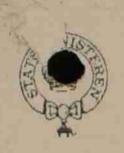
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I should like to thank you for the great co-operation and friendship which you have shown me during our time together in office, during which so much has been achieved and I send you my warmest good wishes for the future. I know that my successor will continue to attach the highest importance to the relations between our countries.

With warm regards,

The Hon. Jim Bolger, M.P.



THE PRIME MINISTER

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP Prime Minister of the United Kingdom London

Dear Margaret

I highly appreciate that you found time on such an extraordinary and busy day to inform me of your decision. I certainly return your thanks for our good co-operation and friendship. We have indeed been colleagues during a time of great changes from which we shall all benefit in the future.

While assuring you that I will continue the good co-operation with your successor, I would like to add my very warmest wishes for you personally and look forward to seeing you again.

Prime Minister of Denmark

at 1, 60



THE PRIME MINISTER

Copenhagen, November 22, 1990

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP Prime Minister of the United Kingdom London

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While assuring you that I will continue the good co-operation with your successor, I would like to add my very warmest wishes for you personally and look forward to seeing you again.

Prime Minister of Denmark

ROME, November 22, 1990 Dear Margaret, Mila and I are deeply saddened by your resignation. You have been an inspiring leader, a loyal ally and a delightful friend. I am proud to have had the occasion to know you and to have been associated with you. You have brought honour to the United Kingdom and wisdom to international deliberations. With affectionate best wishes. (signed) Brian The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, FRS, MP Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury 10 Downing Street LONDON



THE CHIEF MINISTER.

GIBRALTAR.

22 November 1990

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP 10 Downing Street London

Dew Mrs Thatder,

Your decision to resign as Prime Minister has caught us here in Gibraltar by surprise and I felt that I should write to you immediately, on behalf of my Government and the people, to thank you for the forthright stand which you have taken over the years in defence of the right of the Gibraltarians to self-determination. Indeed, you have always been a source of great reassurance and you have never hesitated to express your view clearly even when you have been speaking on Spanish soil.

In wishing you well for the future, I want to convey to you the warmth of feeling that still exists here towards you and the high regard in which you are held among the many sectors of our small community.

Youn truly.



# Foreign and Commonwealth Office

#### London SW1A 2AH

22 November 1990

Dear Charles,

Message to the Prime Minister from the Chief Minister of Gibraltar

I enclose a faxed copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Chief Minister of Gibraltar. We shall forward the original when it arrives.

> Jones ever, Richard Er

> > (R H T Gozney) Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq 10 Downing Street

C. CUELLAR (MS)

## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

")can Scuelaing - General.

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I should like to thank you for the great co-operation and friendship which you have always shown me. My admiration for your strength of purpose and commitment to the highest standards in international relations knows no bounds. I am sad that we shall no longer be able to work together on finding solutions to the problems facing the United Nations. But you will always have my fullest confidence and trust, and I send you my warmest gratitude and good wishes.

Your sinery Dayaneshable

His Excellency Senor Javier Perez de Cuellar



Show

### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Mean 7. President.

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I should like to thank you for the great co-operation and friendship which you have shown me during our time together in office, during which so much has been achieved and I send you my warmest good wishes for the future. I know that my successor will continue to attach the highest importance to the relations between our countries.

With warm regards,

Jours mients

agantshalle

His Excellency The Honourable Dr. Quett Masire, J.P., M.P.



SIAH

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Dear Prinister

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With warm regards,

Town simuly

against action

The Rt. Hon. Michael Manley, M.P.



## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Yours sviewely.

Dayourshalite

The Hon. Dr. Eddie Fenech Adami



#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Your Lincellerey.

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I am glad that we have been able to work together to improve the relations between the United Kingdom and China, and to ensure the continued success and prosperity of Hong Kong and its people. I send you my best wishes for the future. I know that my successor will continue to attach the highest importance to the relations between our countries.

With warm regards,

Your svienty

Jayans habte

His Excellency Mr Jiang Zemin

SUM



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

Jean Primi Minister.

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With warm regards,

Town minery



SUM CC FCO

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Mean Th. President:

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With warm regards,

Jour sviendy

ayaneshall



Shw

## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Town sievely Mayaneshaute

His Excellency President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni



Shu

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Your Rajerts.

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With warm regards,

Tous our mely Marganes halite

His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah



CLFCO

## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Low Highess.

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I should like to thank you for the great cooperation and friendship which you have shown me and I send you my warmest good wishes for the future. I know that my successor will continue to attach the highest importance to the relations between our countries. In particular I am sure that he will continue Britain's role in helping to defend Saudi Arabia and its neighbours against Iraq's aggression, and our strong support for full implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions.

With warm regards,

Your svienely Dayantshalite



CC FCS

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Year 7. Presider.

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With warm regards,

Jams sieurely Margarets habita

His Excellency Nqwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, G.C.B.



CC FCO

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

You Majulis,

By the time you receive this message, you will probably already have heard this morning's announcement from 10 Downing Street of my decision to make way for a successor, and to resign as Prime Minister as soon as the Parliamentary Party has completed the necessary procedures for electing a new leader. I shall of course remain in charge of the Government until my successor has been appointed.

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With warm regards,

Your sievely
againshalte

His Majesty King Hussein bin Talal, G.C.B.



DEPARTMENT/SERIES  PRON. 19  PIECE/ITEM 3213  (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details:  Note for the Record dated  22 November 1990	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	18 November 2000 OMayland
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
MISSING (TNA USE ONLY)	
DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

Ref. A090/2804

PRIME MINISTER

After whatever statement you want to make at the beginning of Cabinet, the Lord Chancellor proposes to pay a brief tribute to you on behalf of the Cabinet as a whole.

FR.B.

ROBIN BUTLER

22 November 1990

FILE KK

#### PRIME MINISTER

Henry Kissinger telephoned me in a very emotional state about your decision to resign. It was worse than a death in the family. You were one of the great figures of modern times and nobody outside Britain - indeed nobody outside Westminster - could understand how your fellow Conservatives could have done this. He and Nancy send you their affectionate regards. They have a house in the woods, which Peter Carrington had stayed in. If you could like to spend some time there to relax they would love you to have it. I said I would pass this on.

C 26

C.D.P.

22 November 1990

Sile SH be. Pe. c/foreige/was 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA From the Private Secretary 24 November 1990 ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS I enclose a copy of Mr. Gorbachev's message to the Prime Minister, which you will see is unusually warm and friendly. Among other things it is the first time, I think, that Mr. Gorbachev has addressed the Prime Minister as "Margaret". In handing it over, the Soviet Ambassador said there had been consternation in Moscow at the turn of events leading to the Prime Minister's resignation. Gorbachev had sent Shevardnadze out of a high level meeting in the Kremlin to telephone him, to find out what on earth was going on and how such a thing could be conceivable. The Ambassador said that he had indeed found it very hard to explain. Indeed, there was a certain irony. Five years ago they had party coups in the Soviet Union and elections in Britain. Now it seemed to be the other way round. C. D. POWELL J. S. Wall, Esq., L.V.O., Foreign and Commonwealth Office CONFIDENTIAL



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 November 1990

Pear Michail Sergeenich.

I was most grateful to receive your warm and generous message. I remember every one of our meetings, from your visit to Chequers in December 1984 through to our most recent encounter in Paris for their intense interest and their practical results. I believe that together we really did contribute to changing our world, and your own contribution to that has been outstanding. I share your hope that we can continue to meet on future occasions.

Meanwhile, Denis joins me in sending you and Raisa Maximovna our warmest regards.

Town sweets

Dayantshalita

#### PRIME MINISTER

I attach a very warm message from President Gorbachev which reflects the great value which he puts on his relations with you, tracing the start of his international activities back to his meeting with you in December 1984. You will also notice that he addresses you as "Dear Margaret".

I attach a draft reply for your signature.

C DD

C. D. POWELL

23 November 1990

c:\foreign\gorb (slh)

Дорогая Маргарет,

только что узнал о Вашем решении покинуть пост лидера партии и Премьер-Министра Великобритании.

С чувством большой теплоты и глубокого удовлетворения я вспоминаю все наши деловые беседы, которые сыграли столь большую роль в развитии отношений между Советским Союзом и Великобританией. Я высоко ценю сложившиеся между нами отношения взаимопонимания по многим вопросам. Для меня символично и то, что моя международная деятельность практически началась с бесед, состоявшихся у нас еще в 1984 году.

Каждому политическому деятелю современность и будущее дают свои оценки. У меня нет сомнений, что в историю Великобритании, мирового сообщества Вы внесли огромный вклад как политик.

Надеюсь на продолжение наших дружеских встреч.

Раиса Максимовна присоединяется ко всем моим добрым словам в Ваш адрес.

Передаем теплые приветы Денису.

С уважением

М.ГОРБАЧЕВ

22 ноября 1990 года

Дорогая Маргарет, Только что узнал о Вашем решении покинуть пост лидера партии и премьер-министра Великобритании. С чувством большой теплоты и глубокого удовлетворения я вспоминаю все наши деловые беседы, которые сыграли столь большую роль в развитии отношений между Советским Союзом и Великобританией. Я высоко ценю сложившиеся между нами отношения взаимопонимания по многим вопросам. Для меня символично и то, что моя международная деятельность практически началась с бесед, состоявшихся у нас еще в 1984 году. Каждому политическому деятелю современность и будущее дают свои оценки. У меня нет сомнений, что в историю Великобритании, мирового сообщества Вы внесли огромный вклад как политик. Надеюсь на продолжение наших дружеских встреч. Раиса Максимовна присоединяется ко всем моим добрым словам в Ваш адрес. Передаем теплые приветы Денису.

С уважением,

М.Горбачев

22 ноября 1990 года

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, MP Prime-Minister
10, Downing Str.
London

Dear Margaret,

I have just learned of your decision to leave the post of the leader of the Conservative party and Prime-Minister of Great Britain.

It is with the feeling of great warmth and deep satisfaction that I recall all our business-like talks that played such a great role in the development of the relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. I highly appreciate the mutual understanding on many issues that has developed between us. It is also symbolic for me that my international activities had in practice started with our conversations as far back as 1984.

Every politician is appraised both in his own time and by the future. I have no doubts that as a political leader you have made an enormous contribution both into the history of Great Britain and the world community at large.



DEPARTMENT/SERIES  PREM 19  PIECE/ITEM 32.13  (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details:  Letter from PM to President Bn82  dated 22 November 1990	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	18 November 2019 Mayland.
MISSING AT TRANSFER	4
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## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Year h. President.

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I should like to thank you for the great cooperation and friendship which you have shown me during our time together in office, during which so much has been achieved, and I send you my warmest good wishes for the future. I know that my successor will continue to attach the highest importance to the relations between our countries.

I was glad we were able to have a final meeting in Paris, and send you my very best wishes for the success of the great reforms which you are carrying through. We shall continue to worth your success will the greater possible wheth.

Denis joins me in sending you and Raisa Maximovna our warm regards and good wishes.

Jours svicenty

Jayanshahter

chev

His Excellency Mr M S Gorbachev



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#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Your Majesty.

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With warm regards,

Our sviendy

(again) Laliter

His Majesty King Hassan II

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## 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

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With warm regards,

Jours sviceoly

again Shalle

His Excellency Mr. Vaclav Havel



Cité for

### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Dear Prime Misser.

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With warm regards,

ayans haliter

His Excellency Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki

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#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

) ayand Laute

His Excellency Mr. Turgut Ozal

10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA 22 November 1990 THE PRIME MINISTER

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With warm regards,

Tous svicerely

again Dalte

The Hon. F. W. de Klerk, D.M.S.

ali Ku

## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Your Highress.

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I should like to thank you for the great cooperation and friendship which you have shown me and I send you my warmest good wishes for the future. I know that my successor will continue to attach the highest importance to the relations between our countries. In particular I am sure that he will continue Britain's strong support for full implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions, and for the restoration of the legitimate government of Kuwait. I Shall certainly
With warm regards, & make my views known.

Your svicerely auter

His Highness Shaikh Jabir Al Ahmad Al Sabah GCMG

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#### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Sui

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With warm regards,

1 shall continue to five

my strong support. to our common purpose in the Cuy.

King Fahd Bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud GCMG

Payam Shakker



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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Jean Ih. President.

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With warm regards,

Jour rivery Dayane Latter

His Excellency General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, C.F.R., G.C.B.



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# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Jours wierely Daysandhaliter

His Excellency Mr. Yitzhak Shamir

ede Kw

# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Low Majests.

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With warm regards,

Jours svierely Dayantshabter

His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said Al Said GCB GCMG GCVO

lite KW

### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Your svierely againshaliter

His Highness Shaikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan GCMG GCB

Cete Kw



### 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

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22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Town wiceely Day alte

His Highness Shaikh Khalifah Bin Hamad Al Thani GCB GCMG



Citero

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With warm regards,

Tows siewely
Dargans Rahben

His Highness Shaikh Maktoum bin Rashid bin Said Al Maktoum KCMG



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LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

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I am so sorry that we had to suggest you should postpone your visit, but I think it is for the best.

With warm regards,

Tous svicerely

againstable

His Excellency Senor Don Felipe Gonzalez Marquez



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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Dear R. Presidel.

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With warm regards,

Jours swierely

again holiter

His Excellency Mr. George Vassiliou



ale M

### 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

From the Private Secretary

22 November 1990

Hear Prime Phinister.

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With warm regards,

Your svicely againshable

His Excellency Dr. Jozsef Antall

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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Dear Prime Mister.

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With warm regards,

Jour snieurly

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Mr. Harri Hermanni Holkeri



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# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Mear The President.

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With warm regards,

Jours swierely

againstable

His Excellency The Honourable Daniel T. arap Moi, C.G.H., M.P.



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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Jours micerely

august Shaliker

His Excellency Dr. Franz Vranitzky



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LONDON SWIA 2AA

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22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Jayan Shalter

pour riverely

His Excellency Mr. Ingvar Carlsson



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Lows snicerely againsthable

Her Excellency Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland



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LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

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With warm regards,

Your svicely Margaret habter

His Excellency Professor Arnold Koller



lile M

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LONDON SWIA 2AA

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With warm regards,

Towns svierely

argantshalter

His Excellency Lic Carlos Salinas de Gortari



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22 November 1990

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With warm regards,

Lows miently

againstable

His Excellency Mr. Toshiki Kaifu, K.B.E.



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## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

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With warm regards,

Jours mierely Dayswer Lauten

His Excellency President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak



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With warm regards,

Jours svierely Quyani Shabter

Onorerole Guilio Andreotti



THE PRIME MINISTER

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agant

With warm regards,

Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D.

lile ff

### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

1/car Poul

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With warm regards,

1 our eves

His Excellency Mr. Poul Schlüter



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With warm regards,

Ous ever

His Excellency Dr. Ruud F. M. Lubbers



ali ff

### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

Mean Helmul:

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With warm regards,

( argant

His Excellency Dr. Helmut Kohl

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

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With warm regards,

Your sviency

again Dauter

His Excellency Francois Mitterrand, G.C.B.



### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

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Cili In

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LONDON SWIA 2AA

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With warm regards,

Your sincerely Dayant Roller

His Excellency Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamed

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

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With warm regards,

Ours ever

The Hon. R. J. L. Hawke, A.C., M.P.



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### 10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SWIA 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1990

1/ear Srian.

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With warm regards,

( Jayaul

The Right Honourable Brian Mulroney



ali M

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Jours svicerely Dayant Ralita



ale M

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With warm regards,

Town swienly

(again) habler

His Excellency Professor Anibal Cavaco Silva



Celi ff

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THE PRIME MINISTER

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Ours snewells Ours against all the

His Excellency Constantinos Mitsotakis



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With warm regards,

Jours svicety

(again Shaliter

The Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher FRS MP has informed The Queen that she does not intend to contest the second ballot of the election for leadership of the Conservative Party and intends to resign as Prime Minister as soon as a new leader of the Conservative Party has been elected. The Prime Minister will seek an Audience of The Queen later this morning to convey her decision formally.

The Prime Minister has issued the following statement:

"Having consulted widely among colleagues, I have concluded that the unity of the Party and the prospects of victory in a General Election would be better served if I stood down to enable Cabinet colleagues to enter the ballot for the leadership. I should like to thank all those in Cabinet and outside who have given me such dedicated support".

File

Ref. A090/2785

MR TURNBULL

c Mr Dilling

You asked for a note responding to the argument that a change of Prime Minister should be ratified immediately by a General Election. A draft is attached, which has been approved by Sir Robin Butler.

doisa Rippard

MISS S C PHIPPARD

20 November 1990

In a General Election the electorate votes on a constituency basis for a candidate to represent it as its Member of Parliament in the House of Commons. By its votes the electorate in the country as a whole elects a House of Commons. It does not elect a Government; it does not elect a Prime Minister; it does not elect individual Minister.

The Sovereign then has the duty of finding a Prime Minister who can form a Government which commands a majority in the House of Commons. The leader of the party returning the largest number of Members at a General Election will normally be appointed Prime Minister and invited by the Sovereign to form a Government. Provided that the Government retains the confidence of the House of Commons and can command a majority in the House, the question of the Government resigning, of Parliament being dissolved and a General Election resulting, does not arise unless the Prime Minister recommends a dissolution to the Sovereign.

If a Prime Minister died or offered a personal resignation, the Sovereign would wait until a new leader had been chosen by the Party and invite him or her to form a Government. A change of Prime Minister during the course of a Parliament does not curtail a Government's right to govern or call its electoral legitimacy into question. It did not do so when Mr Macmillan succeeded Sir Anthony Eden, when Lord Home succeeded Mr Macmillan, or when Mr Callaghan succeeded Mr Wilson. This is commonsense especially when as now the governing party has a large overall majority in the House of Commons. It would be a nonsense to identify a Government and its right to govern solely with the person who led it at the time of the previous General Election. To do so would mean that the death in office of a Prime Minister or resignation on health grounds automatically precipitated a General Election.

It would of course be open to the Opposition to table a motion of "no confidence" in the Government following such a change and the Government would stand or fall by the result.

### RESIGNATION ACTION PLAN: 22 NOVEMBER 1990

0730	Prime Minister conveys her decision to AT and PHM
0735	Prime Minister clears press statement
0740	AT informs Palace, agrees statement and time for
	Audience
0740	PHM tells Mr. Hurd and Mr. Major of her decision
0745	AT warns Treasury and Bank
0830-0900	Questions briefing
0900	Cabinet
	Prime Minister informs Cabinet of her decision
	Telephone messages from Private Office to inform
	- Mr. Speaker
	- Mr. Kinnock
	- Mr. Ashdown
	- Mr. Molyneaux
	shortly before statement issued
	Political office informs Mr. Onslow
0930c	Statement issued
1015	Cabinet concludes
1015	Sign personal messages to President Bush,
	President Gorbachev, EC and G7 leaders plus Gulf
	leaders
1030-1240	Speechwriting
[1200	Nominations close]
1235	Depart for Audience
1245	Audience
1300	Return to No. 10.