



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 September 1990

Dear Charles,

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Helsinki Summit

The Prime Minister wishes to send President Gorbachev a message in advance of his Summit meeting with President Bush in Helsinki on 9 September.

In your letter of 4 September, recording your conversation with General Scowcroft, you mentioned that the Americans saw the main objective of the Summit as keeping the Russians committed to the UN Security Council objectives. I enclose a draft message which complements the American line and encourages President Gorbachev to continue with the Soviet Union's helpful stance.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

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[A: GORBACHEV]

From: Prime Minister
To: President Gorbachev
President of the USSR

I was very pleased to hear that you will be meeting President Bush in Helsinki on 9 September to discuss the invasion of Kuwait. I wanted to write to you in advance of that meeting to share some thoughts on the most important issues facing us.

Since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on 2 August, I have been deeply impressed at the degree of international cohesion and sense of common purpose in addressing the consequences of Iraq's illegal occupation. I very much agree with your comments of 31 August in which you condemned Iraq's behaviour and rejected the annexation of Kuwait. The United Nations, and particularly the five Permanent Members, have worked swiftly and effectively to secure a series of resolutions which have expressed the international community's condemnation of Iraq and our determination to secure Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. I hope that unity of purpose can be maintained.

The Iraqis have been left in no doubt about the determination of us all to see sanctions work. I was grateful to see a copy of the very tough letter you sent to Saddam Hussain on exactly this point. We have gone a long way towards making the sanctions effective. We are doing what we can here to monitor, and bring to the attention of governments and the United Nations, any evidence of sanctions breaking. I hope your government too will feel able to use its influence with other countries to help in this effort. The effective application of sanctions offers the best way of avoiding a further deterioration in the situation. But even if in the end sanctions do not prove sufficiently effective it will still be essential to achieve the objectives set out in the United Nations Resolutions.

Nor can we overlook the economic implications of this crisis. Not only will it have an adverse effect on the world economy, but it will also seriously constrain countries who would much prefer to devote scarce resources to important areas such as ^{Eastern} Europe.

I believe we now face a difficult struggle. As time passes some will be tempted to lessen their vigilance on sanctions or to question the presence of those forces protecting the Gulf states. Others will try to find "compromises" or "a face-saving solution" for Saddam Hussain. This will not do. As you yourself said, Iraq's behaviour goes against universally recognised norms of behaviour and introduces dangerous elements into the region. It is essential that the Iraqis should not gain from their aggression. Douglas Hurd will be visiting Moscow next week. This will be a useful opportunity to discuss how best to proceed.

I believe that in the light of the new policies which you have adopted, we have within our grasp an opportunity to establish a new era in international relations. We must not let it slip.

I wish you every success in your talks with President Bush.