



PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T140190

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

subject cc MASTER
cc OPS

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 June 1990

Dear Mr. President.

I am asking Ambassador Zamyatin to bring you this letter, together with my warm good wishes. We so much enjoyed our visit and the marvellous welcome which we received in the Soviet Union. The visits which we paid to the Ukraine and Armenia were particularly memorable for the genuine warmth and friendliness of the people.

Since then, I have of course continued to follow events in your country very closely. We are all full of admiration for the way you are coping with the tremendous burden of work, so much of which falls on you personally. You have our whole-hearted support in the momentous decisions affecting the Soviet Union's whole future which face you.

We shall be holding our NATO summit in London next week, and shall be considering the best way to meet the sensitivities which the Soviet Union has on the issues of German unification and future arrangements for Europe's security, which you and I discussed in Moscow. Following your advice, I have just met Prime Minister de Mazière and discussed all these matters very fully with him. I believe our NATO meeting will agree on a very positive and constructive statement, which will advance these matters considerably and give a clear signal of our wish to see East and West work together.

Meanwhile, I have just returned from the European Council in Dublin, where we had a full discussion of how we can best

give practical support to your policies. There was some talk about your having sent messages to various heads of government seeking financial help, but no actual texts were produced, so I am not quite clear about your own specific wishes. There is no doubt about the Community's goodwill, and I am sure your Ambassador will have let you have the text of the Council's conclusions. It seemed to me vital, as a first step, that we should discuss these matters with you, and conduct a thorough analysis of your needs. To get the best possible advice, we need to draw on the full range of available expertise, not just from Western Europe but from the international financial institutions. Obviously it would be of no service to the Soviet Union or to you to make proposals for help of a kind which you could not use, or which would simply increase the burden of debt. We shall be discussing all this further at the Economic Summit in Houston and I hope you will find time to let me have your own thoughts before then.

Meanwhile Denis and I send you and Mrs. Gorbachev our warm good wishes - and once again thank you for the very kind gifts of vodka and caviar for Denis and the beautiful red crystal bowl for me. They gave us enormous pleasure.

Warm regards.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Mr. M. S. Gorbachev



FILE

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 June 1990

SOVIET UNION

I enclose the Prime Minister's message to Mr. Gorbachev which I am handing to the Soviet Ambassador early this afternoon, before he returns to Moscow for the meeting of the Central Committee.

(C. D. POWELL)

Stephen Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PRIME MINISTER

MR. GORBACHEV

As I told you, the Soviet Ambassador has asked whether he can have an 'oral message' to take to Mr. Gorbachev when he returns to Moscow on Thursday for the meeting of the Central Committee. He thinks Mr. Gorbachev needs all the help and encouragement he can get in his present situation.

I attach a draft for such a message, which I would like to hand to him tomorrow. Content with the text?

e.d.?

(C. D. POWELL)

26 June 1990

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FOR CF FILE



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 June 1990

Dear Charles,

Message to President Gorbachev

You asked for a message from the Prime Minister to President Gorbachev, which the Soviet Ambassador could take to Moscow when he returns for the Central Committee / meeting on 28 June. I enclose a draft.

James
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)

Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

shall - my self
 be seeing the East
 German Prime Minister
 tomorrow - I will have been
 been at first had low
 he sees the way ahead.

continued to follow
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 country very closely
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 to the other
 problems

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT
 GORBACHEV

I am asking Ambassador Zamyatin to convey to you my warm good wishes as you approach another important stage in your courageous reform programme. It is more important than ever that we should keep in close touch. Historic changes are taking place. Established views of security in Europe are having to be revised. I attach particular importance to our ability to discuss all aspects fully and frankly.

Helpful
 end of
 of us
 view of
 both sides

Here
 has been
 some
 progress
 on German
 unification
 & the
 broader
 stability
 security
 since my
 visit.

I am glad that we have agreed in the 2+4 ^{group} on the need for a final settlement on German unification before the CSCE Summit. But the proposals tabled by Mr Shevardnadze in East Berlin on 22 June show that there is a long way to go before this is achieved. It would be quite wrong to try to impose upon Germany, through the 2+4 framework, a special status in Europe and to limit German sovereignty after unification by delaying the termination of Four Power rights and responsibilities. I am well aware of your views about German membership of NATO. But I am in no doubt that this is not only the most stabilising outcome for Europe, but is compatible with the interests of all concerned including the Soviet Union.

I know that you attach
importance to this meeting and
 These issues will be much in the minds of all the NATO Allies at the Summit in London next week. That meeting will show that NATO is serious about intensifying its political role and adapting its military strategy and structures to the new circumstances of Europe. NATO has always been a defensive Alliance - and now wishes to extend the hand of friendship and cooperation to the

We are working on a draft
 declaration - I believe
 will fully reflect the new
 era in relations between East
 & West. It will also reflect

group
 differences
 individual
 to your
 concerns
 that
 a concern
 to ensure
 that the
 Soviet Union's
 security is never
 again
 threatened
 from
 Germany,
 & I
 would believe
 that differences
 can be worked
 out.

our very firm conviction ~~with~~ a united
Council's membership of NATO ~~for the~~
and the continued presence of the
bases in Europe offers a better guarantee
Soviet Union.
~~for~~ but why for stability in Europe or for
the kind

I believe that the external aspects of unification
can be agreed by November, if we take advantage of the
possibilities of other fora (including CFE and CSCE).
This should go a long way to meet your understandable
concerns. Our officials will need to be creative and to
have flexibility to enable them to forge options for
agreement by Ministers in Paris on 17 July and in Moscow
in September.

I was glad in Moscow to hear your views of
developments within the Soviet Union. We are conscious
of the far-reaching importance of the process of
political and economic reform which you have launched. I
have spoken publicly about our welcome and admiration for
what you have already achieved. On the eve of the
historic Party Congress, you have my continuing
whole-hearted support. As you will be aware, we had a
discussion at the European Council in Dublin of the
Soviet Union's place in the world economy. I argued
strongly that we must discuss this with you, must
establish how our efforts could best support the
structural reforms you intend to introduce, and must draw
on the full range of available expertise, not just from
Western Europe but from the wider world and the
international financial institutions. It would be no
service to the Soviet Union or yourself to give aid of a
kind which the economy could not use successfully and
which would load you with debt to repay in later years.
It seems to me that in practical terms economic reform
and international help need to go hand in hand. We
shall be discussing this again in Houston in July.

~~It is none of us do not want~~
to delay unhelpfully, only to be
the ~~but~~ our ~~aid~~ ~~will~~ ~~really~~ help
~~to be~~ effect will ~~really~~ be effective.
Here will be further discussion &

I am
sure you
understand
all that
you have
the text
of our
conclusions.

in
working
up
specific
reports

min's
own
points

use who want to

or



The Europe Summit is Wenstan, e
I shall let you know the
address.
With every good wish.