



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 February 1989

Dear Charles,

Visit by Mr Gorbachev : Address to both
Houses of Parliament

You raised the ~~possibility~~^{hope} of Mr Gorbachev addressing the Houses of Parliament, and asked whether there had been any precedents for this.

In his letter to you of 28 October, (relevant passage attached), Lyn Parker gave the Foreign Secretary's views on this possibility and explained what had happened in 1967 when Kosygin addressed both Houses of Parliament.

As to the Kruschev/Bulganin visit which you mentioned in your letter of 30 October to Lyn Parker, neither of them made a formal address to Parliament. Both, however, spent an afternoon in the Houses of Parliament, where they lunched with the Speaker of the House of Commons, listened to Question Time and a debate in the House of Lords, had tea with the Lord Chancellor and attended a reception given in their honour in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
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cc Sir R Bradshaw Moscow London SW1A 2AH

28 October 1988

See Sir S's comments on the precedents for Parliament.

Dear Charles, R.S. 1/ki

Mr Stagg
Ment as we suggested.

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R.S.
9/ki

Possible Visit by Mr Gorbachev

In your letter of 13 October you suggested that some contingency planning might be done for a visit by Mr Gorbachev. We had in fact been working up ideas for some time. It is too early to shuffle them into any particular order but you may like to look at them as possible ingredients. They include replies to the specific points in your letter.

The first issue to resolve is whether, now that Mr Gorbachev is Head of State, we should raise the level to a State Visit, as some of the press have been suggesting. The Foreign Secretary's advice is that we should not. Quite apart from the practical problems and precedent of fitting such a visit in at short notice, there is no suggestion from the Soviet side that such an escalation might clinch a visit date which could otherwise remain in doubt. Mr Katushev, when he called on the Prime Minister, dropped a clear hint that we should be hearing very shortly what Mr Gorbachev wishes are. More importantly, Sir Geoffrey Howe does not believe that our relations, or Soviet internal reforms, have yet reached a stage where an exchange of State Visits would be appropriate. Until Mr Gorbachev has addressed some of the key issues of legal and human rights reform, and the central issues of the continuing East-West confrontation, it would not be right to send such a strong signal of approval. There is no protocol reason why, even as President, Mr Gorbachev should not still make much the same visit as that which we had all along envisaged.

Talks and Government Hospitality

The core of the visit would be the extensive talks which he would hold with the Prime Minister which we assume would be on the same restricted basis which worked so well in Moscow. Sessions could be held both in Downing Street and Chequers, whose atmosphere Mr Gorbachev so much appreciated in 1984. Sir Geoffrey Howe assumes that the Prime Minister would want

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to give a formal dinner at No 10 plus a private more informal meal, perhaps at Chequers. Some evening entertainment would also be appropriate. It might be good to get away from the usual formula of Covent Garden to something more typical of London theatre. Cats, the Phantom or Les Miserables might fit the bill or in more serious vein, if one is running, a Shakespeare play where interpretation might not be required.

The Palace

We had already envisaged the possibility of Mr Gorbachev being received by The Queen. Now that he is Head of State, it would be appropriate to recommend also that The Queen give a lunch at Buckingham Palace. This would no doubt be very well received. It would no doubt also be appreciated if The Queen could receive the Gorbachevs privately, perhaps for half a hour before lunch. If Mr Gorbachev is received by the Queen, I assume the Guard of Honour ceremony would take place at Buckingham Palace rather than in the FCO courtyard.

Parliament

The Foreign Secretary does not support the idea of an address to members of both Houses of Parliament. In recent times this singular honour has only been accorded to some of our closest friends including Presidents Reagan, Mitterrand and Weizsaecker and King Juan Carlos. In 1967 the then Soviet Prime Minister, Kosygin, did give such an address, but in Sir Geoffrey's view we do not need to regard this as a precedent over 20 years later. Members of Parliament should have plenty of opportunities to hear Mr Gorbachev speak if he takes up all the possibilities open to him. The Foreign Secretary sees no need for a specific occasion on which members of both Houses might meet or hear Gorbachev. It would be for consideration however whether he might not be invited to attend Prime Minister's Question Time.

The City

A Guildhall function is a normal ingredient in a State visit. However there is considerable City interest in commercial and economic relations with the Soviet Union. A strong banking delegation has recently been in London and the head of the State Bank has just been here. Many companies are interested not only in straightforward exporting but in joint ventures, cooperation, and management training. A City occasion would therefore seem highly appropriate. Perhaps a Guildhall or Mansion House lunch could be arranged. Mr Gorbachev might also visit a City institution.

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The Church

The Archbishop of Canterbury was in the Soviet Union for the millennium of christianity this summer. The Gorbachevs have considerably eased the divide between Church and State, and management of this relationship will continue to be an important question as Gorbachev's reforms advance. He could well be interested in exploring how this relationship works in Britain. We could offer him a call on the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace. He would be following in the distant footsteps of Peter the Great who made such a call in 1698.

The Press/Media

It would be for Mr Gorbachev to decide what exposure he would like. But media interest would obviously be intense. We could no doubt expect the media to be ready to offer anything from interviews to panel discussions to question and answer sessions. Mr Gorbachev might be interested to visit the BBC or ITN, including a television news studio to combine an interview with first-hand experience of seeing the process of pulling together the strands of a news analysis programme. He might welcome the chance of some practical experience of freedom of information in action.

The Opposition

Mr Gorbachev will no doubt want to meet opposition leaders, and perhaps the TUC, in the usual way.

Other Possibilities

(a) Mr Gorbachev could perhaps be offered a speech at a university - possibly one with Soviet connections and Soviet students. A visit to the London Business School which we hope will have Soviet students by next spring could also be considered.

(b) An Honorary Degree (perhaps for Mrs Gorbachev as well). These are tricky and universities are jealous of their prerogatives.

(c) A walk about, possibly in a shopping centre or city centre renewal area. This could include a hospital or school.

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(d) A look at the production/processing/distribution/ marketing chain in a key sector for the Soviet economy such as agro-industry where he could look at production at a small agricultural unit leading to factory processing, warehousing and on to the supermarket (perhaps Sainsburys). It might be possible to include the research end of agriculture eg the National college of Agricultural Engineering. Alternatively, a small or medium level business leading through the chain to retailing eg a small manufacturer successfully marketing through Marks and Spencer.

(e) A visit to a science park (perhaps Cambridge). The application of research to industry is another key problem for Soviet reform.

(f) A visit to an inner-city renewal area, currently a British Government priority. This would offer good media coverage and a walkabout even though such renewal programmes are not at the top of Mr Gorbachev's priorities.

(g) A visit to a British perestroika success or an imaginative large-scale project. Jaguar cars, British Telecom or British Aerospace might fit the former description, and the Channel Tunnel (common European home) the latter.

(h) A meeting with business leaders/bankers, perhaps with a speech and questions.

None of these ideas necessarily determines the destination for a substantive visit out of London. In 1984 Mr Gorbachev cut short his visit to Scotland to go back to Moscow for Marshal Ustinov's funeral. Naturally Scotland is keen to have him again. There are good links between the Soviet Union and both Glasgow and Edinburgh. The latter is in the process of being twinned with Kiev, where a major British week is planned in 1990. The Foreign Secretary however wonders whether Wales might not offer a suitable mixture of slimmed-down, revitalised old industry and new investment in advanced modern industry (perhaps a steel mill and a successful outside new investor). Mr Gorbachev would also be able there to look at urban renewal, housing and social facilities and see something of the country. He could travel one way by train and the other perhaps in another success story, the BAe 146, whether of The Queen's flight or one of the two domestic airlines now equipped with it.

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As for Mrs Gorbachev, it would probably be best to consult her once dates are firming up. As a sociologist by training she might be interested in a meeting with British sociologists and a more detailed look at the social aspects of urban renewal including housing, a leisure centre, a job centre, facilities for old people and so on.

So that we can take our planning to the next stage I should welcome an indication of the Prime Minister's reaction to these ideas.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

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SOVIET UNION: Gorbachen PT3

