CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 March 1985

Prime Minister
CDP
6/3

Dear Charles,

Visit to Britain by Mr Kadar

The Hungarian Foreign Minister, Mr Varkonyi, will as you know be calling on the Prime Minister at 0930 on 7 March.

Varkonyi has told the Foreign Secretary that Kadar is grateful for the Prime Minister's invitation, and will be happy to pay a two day visit between 31 October and 3 November.

He also raised with Mr Rifkind this afternoon the possibility of Kadar meeting Her Majesty The Queen (my letter of 6 March). Varkonyi did this diffidently, emphasising that Kadar had no great interest in protocol and ceremony. Mr Rifkind replied that we were looking forward to Mr Kadar's visit. He would of course be received at a high level and we would arrange a suitable programme for him. A meeting with The Queen however raised questions of Royal Protocol. In principle, The Queen received only Heads of State and Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Varkonyi immediately said that the Hungarians were not making a formal request, that they were not insistent, and that they left it entirely to us. We think it unlikely that he will return to this point.

In talking to the Press, Varkonyi has indicated that a visit by Kadar to Britain later this year is on the cards. This may mean that we shall need to make a formal announcement before long.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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CCPL (2)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 March 1985

Prime Minister
CDP
6/3

Dear Charles,

Visit to Britain by Mr Kadar

Thank you for your letter of 15 February about whether Mr Kadar could be included in a Palace occasion to enable him to meet The Queen without breaking precedent.

We have, as you suggested, consulted the Palace, and it does not seem possible for Kadar to see The Queen. The Palace say that each of their functions is for a specific purpose or theme, and that they would not normally include a visiting foreign dignitary, whose presence would be unconnected with that theme and would only serve to dilute it. It would not be practicable or welcome to the Palace to include Kadar in some occasion at the Palace already arranged for another purpose.

The numbers of non-Commonwealth Prime Ministers who have met The Queen when visiting Britain are very few: 6 out of 50 since 1972. The strong general rule is that The Queen does not see them. In protocol terms, Kadar is even further outside this very limited circle because he is not a Prime Minister. When Mrs Planinc, the Prime Minister and leading political figure in Yugoslavia, visited Britain in 1983 she had no contact with the Royal Family.

Although the Hungarian Foreign Minister will probably discuss the Kadar visit when he calls on the Prime Minister on 7 March, we think it unlikely that he will raise the question of a meeting with The Queen. So far it is only the Ambassador who has mentioned it informally and been given a discouraging reply. We would, however, plan to explain soon to the Ambassador, again informally, why a meeting will not be possible.

Yours ever,

Len Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

HUNGARY: Relations: Pt 2.

VISIT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND MRS VÁRKONYI OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
5 MARCH 1985

Administrative Plan
(to be read in conjunction with the printed programme)

Tuesday 5 March

Arrival

When the aircraft has landed a Representative of the British Airports Authority will escort the greeting party from the Hounslow Suite to the aircraft steps. The Hungarian Ambassador and Mrs Domokos will board the aircraft and accompany the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mrs Várkonyi to the tarmac. They will be welcomed by the Special Representative of the Secretary of State, Sir Derek Dodson, who will present the following (in order):

Mr Peter Unwin	Her Majesty's Ambassador at Budapest
Brigadier Alan Cowan	Secretary, Government Hospitality
Group Captain Robert Thomson	Escort Officer, Government Hospitality
Mrs Patricia Beale	Escort Officer, Government Hospitality

Transport

Cars are provided by Government Hospitality throughout the visit and seating plans are shown at Appendix I.

Mrs Várkonyi will be accompanied by Mrs Domokos, Miss Süle and Mrs Patricia Beale throughout her programme.

His Excellency Dr Mátyás Domokos, Hungarian Ambassador to London, and Mr Peter Unwin, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Budapest, will accompany His Excellency Mr Várkonyi throughout his programme.

VALAAL

Participation by others in the Minister for Foreign Affairs programme will be as follows:

Tuesday 5 March

Dinner

Host: The Secretary of State and Lady Howe.

The following are also invited:

Mr S Hajnal
Mr A Erdös
Mrs L Ábri
Miss Z Süle
Dr J Kalanovics

Wednesday 6 March

Talks with the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry 0945-1015:

Mr Hajnal
Mr Erdös

Talks with the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs 1030

Mr Hajnal
Mr Erdös
Mrs Ábri
Mr Kalanovics

Theatre party host: Mr and Mrs Malcolm Rifkind
1915 for 1945

Mr Erdös
Mr Hajnal
Mrs Ábri
Miss Süle

Thursday 7 March

Call on the Prime Minister
0945: The Minister for Foreign Affairs will be accompanied by Dr Domokos only

Anne Morrison

(Mrs Anne Morrison)
Protocol Department
273 3585

CAR PLAN

Heathrow Airport to Hyde Park Hotel

Car 1	His Excellency Mr Várkonyi His Excellency Dr Domokos Special Branch Officer
Car 2	Mrs Várkonyi Mrs Domokos Miss Süle Mrs Beale Group Captain Thomson
Car 3	Mr Hajnal Mr Erdös Mrs Ábri Mr Unwin

The above car plan will form the basis of the car allocation throughout the visit. It will be adjusted as necessary by Group Captain Thomson

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Private Secretary/PUS (1)
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JR(31)

bcPC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

15 February 1985

VISIT TO BRITAIN BY KADAR

Thank you for your letter of 14 February about the potentially difficult problem of whether Kadar should be received by The Queen if he comes to Britain later this year.

The Prime Minister agrees that this is a very delicate matter and is concerned by the risk that Kadar may feel snubbed and decide not to come if he is not received by The Queen. Before reaching a decision on the matter, the Prime Minister would like more thought to be given to the possibility of, for instance, including Kadar in some Palace occasion such as a reception or luncheon, or any other means to enable him to meet The Queen without breaking precedent.

I should be grateful if you could consider this further and perhaps discuss it informally with the Palace and subsequently let me have a further recommendation for the Prime Minister.

(C. D. POWELL)

C.R. Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SWAH

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 February 1985

Prime Minister
Agree that it would not be right for the Queen to see Kadar?
CDP 14/2.

I think this is very difficult. He may not come. Would it be possible to invite him in some Palace capacity?

Dear Charles,

Visit to Britain by Kadar

The Prime Minister has invited Kadar to visit Britain as the guest of the British Government. We have proposed dates in late October/early November to the Hungarians, and hope to have a reply shortly. The Hungarian Ambassador has asked, on a "personal basis", whether Kadar will have an audience with The Queen. This is a potentially difficult problem, and the Foreign Secretary would like the Prime Minister to be aware of how we propose to respond.

Kadar is the First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and does not hold any State or Government function apart from membership of the Presidential Council. There are no precedents for a visit to the UK by an East European Party leader in this position.

The Queen normally receives only Heads of State and Commonwealth Prime Ministers and very occasionally a foreign Prime Minister, if she is about to visit his country (eg Portugal). This is not an invariable rule. In 1956 The Queen saw the Soviet Prime Minister Bulganin, and Khruschev, who was then General Secretary of the CPSU. But we were then in the post-Stalinist honeymoon, before the invasion of Hungary. On visits to the West since then Kadar has been received by some Presidents, but their position is not comparable to that of a constitutional monarch.

In our view a visit by Kadar to Britain must be seen as a political one, for talks between leaders of different systems, and placed in the context of East/West relations. Kadar himself is still regarded by many Hungarians as the person who betrayed the 1956 Revolution and handed the country back to the Russians. The internal repression that followed 1956 was severe. Kadar has gradually climbed back to a position of some esteem and popularity in Hungary but he is nevertheless a controversial figure and the sight of him being received at Buckingham Palace would, we think, suggest that too much had been forgotten and forgiven. The dates are likely to coincide with the anniversary of the Soviet action in 1956. In these circumstances it would be wrong to contemplate involving The Queen, even if the protocol aspect could be overcome.

.../The

The Hungarians are, of course, well aware that Ceausescu visited Britain in 1978 for a State Visit. The difference of treatment may well rankle, although Ceausescu was of course a head of state and Kadar is not. We therefore think it would be wise to let the Hungarians know at an early stage that since Mr Kadar will be the guest of the Prime Minister and the British Government and is not a Head of State, the question of an audience with The Queen would not be appropriate in protocol terms. If the Prime Minister agrees we propose to speak accordingly to the Hungarians, before the idea gets any more steam behind it.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing Street