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PRIME MINISTER

POSSIBLE VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV

I asked for some contingency planning to be done on a programme for Mr. Gorbachev, in case we are faced with a proposal for a visit at short notice. I attach the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's suggestions.

I am sure they are right to say it should not be a State visit. But we should go for some pageantry and there would be many of the same ingredients:

lunch or dinner at Buckingham Palace

Dinner at No.10

Talks here and at Chequers (possibly overnight at Chequers)

Lunch or dinner at the Guildhall.

The Foreign Secretary recommends against an address to both Houses of Parliament. I think there would certainly be sufficient interest to warrant one. The question is whether it would be regarded as distasteful to have the Head of State of an undemocratic country addressing the Mother of Parliaments.

Surely it happened before who in the 70's? not

When it comes to engagements outside London, I think a bit more imagination is needed. Depending on the time of year, an agricultural show might be an idea. Certainly something in the retail/distribution side - Marks & Spencer or Sainsbury's. A new town perhaps. A ceremony at Oxford University. A visit to a great cathedral. A small firm using very high technology.

(He saw this before) One of the judges

Are there any points on which you want to react at this stage?

C.D.P?

London Docklands

Big Agricultural Research Centre (University do see in the Docklands)

No
understands for Mrs.

(C. D. POWELL)

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bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

30 October 1988

POSSIBLE VISIT BY MR. GORBACHEV

Thank you for your letter of 28 October suggesting some of the ideas we shall need to consider once it is confirmed that Mr. Gorbachev will visit the United Kingdom.

I think the Prime Minister would agree that it should not be a State Visit, although we should aim to provide some of the pageantry and other ingredients of such a visit. These might include lunch or dinner at Buckingham Palace, a dinner at No. 10, talks at No. 10 and at Chequers (possibly with an overnight stay at Chequers) and lunch or dinner in the Guildhall. The Prime Minister has not reacted directly to the idea of an address to both Houses of Parliament, beyond inquiring whether we did not agree to something of the sort in the 1950s (presumably the Krushchev/Bulganin visit). You might like to check on this. When it comes to visits outside London much will depend on the time of year. An agricultural show is one possibility which might be pursued, or alternatively a visit to a large agricultural research centre (I believe Unilever have one in the Midlands). The London Docklands Development should certainly be included, as should a visit to a firm making goods for Marks and Spencers and perhaps a small firm working in the field of very high technology. A speech at a university might be rather risky given the way British students seem to behave. The Prime Minister has not commented on the question of a possible visit to Scotland or Wales.

I think it is useful to have got some of these ideas out into the open. We can now hold them in reserve until we have further news of Mr. Gorbachev's intentions.

I am copying this letter to Trevor Woolley in the Cabinet Office.

(C. D. POWELL)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Prime Minister

London SW1A 2AH

I asked for some contingency planning to be done on a programme for Gorbachev.

28 October 1988

cc/c

Dear Charles,

lap

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).

Howls over

L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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SOVIET UNION. Visit by

Pres Gorbachev No. 87



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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 October 1988

POSSIBLE VISIT BY MR. GORBACHEV

We continue to get occasional hints - e.g., Mrs. Gorbachev's recent message - that we could be confronted by a proposal for a visit by Mr. Gorbachev at relatively short notice, perhaps even as early as December. I think it would be worthwhile doing some contingency planning of the programme for a visit, just in case. For instance:

- where would we envisage taking him outside London?
- would we suggest that he speaks to a joint meeting of the two Houses of Parliament?
- what contact would we envisage with the Palace?
- would we want the City to lay on an event at the Guildhall?

Even if an early visit does not materialise, the work would not be wasted: we are still likely to have to field him in the first half of next year. But equally we do not want to be caught short.

1/BF.

CHARLES POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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