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FM WARSAW
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 462
OF 301345Z AUGUST 88

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YOUR TELNO 383: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

1. FEKECZ, HEAD OF DEPT IV IN MFA, ASKED H OF C TO CALL TODAY 30 AUGUST. FEKECZ GAVE THORPE POLISH RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSALS FOR THE PROGRAMME FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT (WARSAW TELNOS 434-5).

2. FEKECZ DESCRIBED THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME:

SUNDAY 16 OCTOBER

ARRIVAL, FORMAL GREETING
PRIVATE SUPPER.

MONDAY 17 OCTOBER - PROGRAMME IN WARSAW A.M.

LAY WREATH AT TOMB OF UNKNOWN WARRIOR
TOUR CITY
PRIVATE PROGRAMME (TO INCLUDE VISIT TO HALA MIROWSKA AND LAYING WREATH AT FR POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE, BOTH OF WHICH COULD BE ACCOMMODATED IN COURSE OF TOUR)
DISCUSSIONS WITH POLISH PRIME MINISTER
LUNCH WITH POLISH PRIME MINISTER

P.M DISCUSSIONS WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI
CALL ON CARDINAL GLEMP
TV INTERVIEW
DINNER IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S HONOUR GIVEN BY JARUZELSKI WITH EXCHANGE OF TOASTS.

TUESDAY 18 OCTOBER - PROGRAMME IN GDANSK

ARRIVAL AT GDANSK AIRPORT, BY HELICOPTER TO WESTERPLATTE
WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY AT WESTERPLATTE
RETURN TO CENTRE OF GDANSK, EITHER BY ROAD OR BY WATER
VISIT DLUGI TARG
LUNCH GIVEN BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN PRIME MINISTER'S HONOUR
PRESS CONFERENCE

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FREE TIME FOR PRIVATE PROGRAMME UNTIL DEPARTURE AT HOUR
OF PRIME MINISTER'S CHOOSING.

3. FEKECZ SAID THAT IN CONSTRUCTURING THIS PROGRAMME POLES HAD
TAKEN ACCOUNT OF PRIME MINISTER'S WISHES AS EXPRESSED IN OUR DRAFT,
BUT TRIED TO REALIZE THE SEPARATE ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAMME
IN CLEARLY DEFINED BLOCKS. THEY HAD NOTED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER
DID NOT WISH TO MEET THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL (NO MEETING INCLUDED).
ON ACCOMMODATION, THEY WOULD FALL IN WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S
WISHES. FEKECZ STRESSED THAT THEY WERE MORE THAN WILLING TO
ACCOMMODATE HER, AND IN ANY CASE WOULD ARRANGE ACCOMMODATION FOR
THE ACCOMPANYING PARTY.

4. FEKECZ ASKED WHETHER THE PRIME MINISTER STILL WISHED TO VISIT
THE BRITISH COUNCIL OFFICES, AND WHETHER SHE WOULD BE WILLING TO
TAKE PART IN THE UNVEILING OF A MONUMENT IN SKARYSZEWSKI PARK
TO A BRITISH AIR CREW WHO DIED DURING THE WARSAW UPRISING.
THORPE REPLIED THAT WE HAD, PROVISIONALLY AND SUBJECT TO THE
PRIME MINISTER'S WISHES, SET ASIDE TIME FOR A VISIT TO THE BRITISH
COUNCIL IN OUR DRAFT PROGRAMME, FOR THE AFTERNOON OF 17 OCTOBER.
HE WAS UNCERTAIN IF A DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN ON THE MEMORIAL,
BUT TIME WAS A MAJOR PROBLEM.

5. OTHER THAN THE ABOVE POINTS, THORPE MADE NO COMMENT ON FEKECZ'S
PROPOSALS BUT SAID HE WOULD REPORT AND ASK FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

6. SEE MY TWO IFTS.

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MIPT: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

1. THE MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POLISH DRAFT AND THAT IN WARSAW TELNO 435 ARE:

- (A) TALKS WITH JARUZELSKI TAKE PLACE AFTER AND NOT BEFORE TALKS WITH THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER.
- (B) THERE ARE TALKS AS WELL AS A WORKING LUNCH WITH THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER.
- (C) THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME IN WARSAW IS SHIFTED TO THE MORNING OF 17 OCTOBER.
- (D) CALL ON GLEMP IS SHIFTED FROM A.M 18 OCTOBER TO P.M 17 OCTOBER.
- (E) TV INTERVIEW IS SHIFTED TO 17 OCTOBER.
- (F) ALL 18 OCTOBER IS GIVEN OVER TO GDANSK.
- (G) WESTERPLATTE BECOMES THE FIRST NOT THE LAST POINT OF THE GDANSK PROGRAMME.
- (H) LUNCH WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN GDANSK REPLACES LUNCH WITH WAKESA AND SOLIDARITY LEADERS.
- (I) THE PRESS CONFERENCE TAKES PLACE AFTER LUNCH ON 18 OCTOBER.

✓ 2. THE POLES HAVE IMPLICITLY ACCEPTED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER MAY LAY FLOWERS AT THE SHIPYARD WORKERS MEMORIAL WITH WALESA: THEY HAVE ALSO RAISED NO OBJECTION TO A MEETING WITH WALESA IN GDANSK. THEY HAVE ALSO GIVEN REASONABLE TIME FOR THESE EVENTS, AND INDEED FOR THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME IN WARSAW. THERE ARE SOME AWKWARD ASPECTS TO THEIR PROPOSALS, IN PARTICULAR THAT THE TV INTERVIEW SHOULD TAKE PLACE LATE ON 17 OCTOBER AND NOT AFTER THE MEETING WITH WALESA ON 18 OCTOBER, AND THAT THE PRESS CONFERENCE

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SHOULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE WALESA MEETING. THE WARSAW PROGRAMME ALSO MEANS THAT A MEETING WITH INDEPENDENT FIGURES WOULD BE THE PRIME MINISTER'S FIRST MEETING IN WARSAW, ON THE MORNING OF 17 OCTOBER, BEFORE DISCUSSIONS WITH POLISH OFFICIALS.

3. ON BALANCE, THE POLISH RESPONSE IS A POSITIVE ONE. I CONSIDER THAT WITH SOME ADJUSTMENT TO THE GDANSK LEG, IT WOULD MEET OUR DESIDERATA. I SET OUT A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE IN MIFT.

4. THE EPISCOPATE HAS CONFIRMED THAT CARDINAL GLEMP WILL BE IN ROME DURING THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT. WE NEED TO CONSIDER WHETHER A MEETING WITH CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE AN ADEQUATE SUBSTITUTE, OR WHETHER THIS ASPECT COULD BE OMITTED ALTOGETHER. ON BALANCE I THINK A MEETING WOULD BE WORTHWHILE, *IN ORDER* TO GIVE THE PRIME MINISTER THE BEST POSSIBLE EXPOSURE TO POLISH INDEPENDENT OPINION. I SUGGEST THAT WE EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING WITH ARCHBISHOP BRONISLAW DABROWSKI, THE SECRETARY TO THE EPISCOPATE, AND CLOSE ADVISER TO GLEMP.

5. THE DRAFT IN MIFT ALSO INCLUDES A FINAL SESSION OF TALKS WITH JARUZELSKI, AFTER THE MEETING WITH WALESA BUT BEFORE THE TV INTERVIEW. I THINK THIS WOULD BE POLITICALLY USEFUL, AND ENABLE THE PRIME MINISTER TO SAY IN PUBLIC THAT SHE HAD CONVEYED CERTAIN OF WALESA'S POINTS TO JARUZELSKI.

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MY 2 IPTS: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

1. A DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH PROGRAMME COULD BE AS FOLLOWS:

16 OCTOBER ARRIVAL , PRIVATE SUPPER WITH MEMBERS OF EMBASSY STAFF

17 OCTOBER 0900 LAY WREATH AT TOMB OF UNKNOWN WARRIOR

0930 TOUR WARSAW TAKING IN OLD TOWN, FR POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE, HALA MIROWSKA (WALKABOUT), BRITISH COUNCIL

1130 MEETING AT RESIDENCE WITH INDEPENDENTS

1230 DISCUSSIONS WITH POLISH PRIME MINISTER

1300 LUNCH WITH PRIME MINISTER

1430 DISCUSSIONS WITH JARUZELSKI

1800 MEETING WITH ARCHBISHOP DABROWSKI

2000 DINNER GIVEN BY JARUZELSKI.

18 OCTOBER 0800 FLY TO GDANSK

0900 HELICOPTER TO WESTERPLATTE, LAY WREATH

1000 RETURN BY CAR OR BY WATER (IF WEATHER GOOD) TO CENTRE. (WATER ROUTE COULD GO THROUGH SHIPYARDS BUT WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME.) WALKABOUT IN DLUGI TARG.

1200 LUNCH GIVEN BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES

1330 MEETING WITH WALESIA AND SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP

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1500 LAY FLOWERS AT SHIPYARD WORKERS MEMORIAL
(OPTIMUM TIME, SINCE MANY PEOPLE RETURNING
HOME FROM WORK).

1600 FINAL SESSION OF TALKS WITH JARUZELSKI

1700 TV INTERVIEW FOLLOWED BY PRESS CONFERENCE.

DEPARTURE.

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POLAND: P.M.'s Visit March 1988