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JDB BNH



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

5 September, 1988.

From the Private Secretary

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

Thank you for your letter about the Prime Minister's visit to Poland. I agree that the Poles are being helpful and the programme is quite close to being in acceptable shape.

As regards the Warsaw part of the programme, I am sure that the Prime Minister would be ready to visit the British Council office. The talks with Messner seem likely to be perfunctory, and it would anyway, as you say, be discourteous to refuse. It is clear that the substantive talks are to be with Jaruzelski. It is a pity about Cardinal Glemp, but I am sure the Prime Minister would be happy to talk to Archbishop Dabrowski. Or would it be possible to see two or three Church leaders, so that she could hear a variety of views?

The programme in Gdansk is more of a problem. I agree that the revised version which you propose is much better than the Polish suggestion, and our Ambassador should be asked to put it forward. But I suspect that Jaruzelski may balk at having the wreath-laying at Westerplatte and a further meeting with the Prime Minister after her session with Walesa. If they cannot accept our revised proposal, the fall-back might be:

- wreath-laying at Westerplatte followed by final session of talks with Jaruzelski
- call on local authorities
- lunchtime meeting with Walesa and Solidarity leadership, including laying flowers at Shipyard Workers' Memorial
- walkabout in Dlugi Targ
- TV interviews and press conference.

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I think this would be better than the Polish version, although the walkabout in Dlugi Targ could be squeezed in before the meeting with Walesa, if this helped the Poles by completing the official part of the programme (except the press conference) before the start of the private part.

On one last small point: I gather there is a small church close to or opposite the gates of the shipyard in Gdansk. The Prime Minister has more than once exchanged letters with the priest there (who I think may be Walesa's confessor). If a visit there could be squeezed into the private programme, I think the Prime Minister would welcome it.

C.D. Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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cc/D.C.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 September 1988

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's visit to Poland

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In your letter of 11 August you asked us to go ahead with negotiations on the programme for the visit, subject to certain conditions. Our Embassy put forward a revised programme and we have now received the Polish response. I enclose copies of Warsaw telnos 462, 463 and 464 which contain respectively the Polish answer, the Embassy's comments and a proposed further revision of the programme.

The Poles have now gone to considerable lengths to accommodate us. As regards the "official" programme we should ideally not have wished to see included a session of talks with Prime Minister Messner, as well as a lunch. But our strong feeling is that we should accept. The proportion of the programme devoted to "private" activities is already high, and it would be discourteous to insist too strongly on seeking to reduce Messner's involvement, since he is, after all, the Prime Minister's formal host.

The Polish proposals for the visit to Gdansk also strike us as broadly acceptable. In particular, they have (at least by implication) accepted the Prime Minister's wish to lay a wreath with Walesa at the Shipyard memorial. However, it would still be worth a shot at further improvement. The Poles have suggested arranging the day's events logically in three blocks:

- (i) the wreath-laying at Westerplatte (which will be attended by Jaruzelski);
- (ii) a lunch offered by the local authorities; and
- (iii) an afternoon free for the Prime Minister's press conference and meeting with Solidarity.

As it stands, there are two drawbacks. First, it would be preferable for the press conference to take place at the end of the visit, so that the Prime Minister would be able to cover in the press briefing her meeting with Walesa. Secondly, the proposed lunch with the local authorities takes

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up valuable time which could be better used, as in our original idea, in lunching with Walesa. In addition, the Ambassador has suggested that as a courtesy to Jaruzelski the Prime Minister should seek a further meeting with him at the end of her visit. While we agree with that idea (it would emphasise the primacy in the Prime Minister's programme of Jaruzelski rather than Messner) we could not very well ask Jaruzelski, having attended the morning wreath-laying at Westerplatte, to kick his heels in Gdansk while the Prime Minister meets Walesa.

All this leads us to the conclusion that we should propose a re-ordering of events as follows:

- (i) a call on the local authorities on arrival in Gdansk;
- (ii) a walkabout in Dlugi Targ;
- (iii) lunch time meeting with Walesa and Solidarity leadership, including laying flowers at shipyard workers' memorial;
- (iv) wreath-laying at Westerplatte followed by final session of talks with Jaruzelski;
- (v) TV interview and press conference.

I should be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister would wish Mr Barrett to argue for a revision of the Gdansk programme on the above lines. It would also be helpful to know whether he could be given discretion to accept, if necessary, the Polish proposals for Gdansk as they stand, eg if Jaruzelski's programme would not permit him to visit Gdansk in the afternoon rather than the morning of 18 October.

We have heard that Cardinal Glemp will not be in Poland at the time of the visit (because of a long-standing engagement in Rome). This is unfortunate since it is important that the Prime Minister should meet a Church leader. Mr Barrett has suggested as an alternative a meeting with the Secretary to the Episcopate, Archbishop Dabrowski, who is a close adviser to Glemp. You may wish the Embassy to explore this. Dabrowski speaks English and would be a good person to talk to.

There is also an unresolved point relating to the visit to the British Council offices which we hope that the Prime Minister will make during the morning of the 17th (see my letter of 12 August). In your reply of the same date you said that the Prime Minister would be ready in principle to open the British Council's new cinema and exhibition hall. In fact the new facilities were opened some time ago and the purpose of the visit would be to demonstrate the Prime

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Minister's support for the Council's activities in Poland. Members of the Embassy staff would also be present - the only occasion when they would be able to see the Prime Minister. The Council hope that the Prime Minister will agree to unveil a plaque to commemorate the visit. This need not take up more than half an hour.

longer

L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/No 10 Downing Street

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