

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO POLAND

I attach a letter from the Foreign Office about your visit to Gdansk, on which you have already seen General Jaruzelski's reply.

The FCO suspect that General Jaruzelski wants to take over your visit there in order to inhibit us using it to underline your support for the greater freedom in Poland. I think the FCO's approach is unnecessarily defeatist (you will recall that they advised against trying to get to Gdansk at all). Now we have won Polish agreement that you should go there, we need to negotiate just as firmly for a satisfactory programme.

There are three specific points:

- how we handle your visit to the shipyard memorial in Gdansk. We had originally envisaged that you might lay a wreath there with Walesa. The FCO think that Jaruzelski will try to horn in and insist on going with you, thus excluding Walesa. A visit by Jaruzelski would in itself be an event of some significance, although it would make less impact abroad than a joint wreath laying by you and Walesa. We should try to stick to our original plan. But if the Poles do actually insist on Jaruzelski going instead of Walesa, we might in the last resort propose that you go alone.
- you are due to visit Poland 17/18 October. The FCO have now discovered that 19 October is the fourth anniversary of the death of Father Popieluszko, which will be marked by a major ceremony at his church in Warsaw. They wonder whether you could stay over until the morning of Wednesday 19 October to attend the service, rather than return to London on the evening of 18 October as at present planned. Looking at the

diary it is certainly not impossible: it would mean postponing a lunch with the Daily Express. It would certainly attract a lot of public attention. On the other hand, I am not sure that you would wish to lengthen your visit without incurring the comment that you are too much abroad; and you are to visit the Church anyway on 17 October. Perhaps the answer is to delay a decision on this until we know how the programme in Gdansk will work out. If we can get sufficient impact from your visit there, there would be little additional benefit from staying an extra half day for the Warsaw ceremony.

Yes - but I am not inclined to stay for a third day on a retreat - this is a question

- the Embassy in Warsaw suspect that the Poles will try to arrange that anyone you meet during your walkabouts is hand-picked, as happened in the case of Gorbachev's visit. They ask whether we wish to go ahead with the walkabouts despite this. The press would certainly spot it quickly if you did encounter only stooges.

Yes

One possible way to retaliate would be by stopping the motorcade unexpectedly and just getting out of the car and talking to anyone. My view is that we should certainly not give up on the walkabouts but say frankly to the Poles that you will want to have access to ordinary people going about their daily business without any attempt at pre-selection.

Content with the above suggestions for how to handle this?

C.D.P.

Charles Powell

10 August 1988

MJ2CPW



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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 August 1988

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's visit to Poland

In my letter of 5 August, I promised to let you have advice on the way forward following General Jaruzelski's reply to the Prime Minister's letter of 14 July. WITH COPY TO PM BOX

As you know the General's letter made no mention of our own proposals for the Gdansk visit, but assumed that the Prime Minister and the General would jointly lay a wreath at the monument to the victims of Westerplatte. In handing over a copy of the letter to our Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw on 4 August, a senior MFA official said that it was taken for granted that the Prime Minister would wish to see Walesa and lay flowers at the shipyard memorial. However, he laid considerable stress on the statement in the Prime Minister's letter that she would not wish to cause the General any embarrassment.

A joint wreath laying at the Westerplatte memorial presents no difficulties in principle. Westerplatte is a spit of land near Gdansk where the first shots were fired in World War II. The monument, built in 1966, is unexceptionable, and many foreign dignitaries including the Pope have laid wreaths there. The only problem is that Jaruzelski might wish to exploit the occasion to make a speech including references to alleged West German revanchism and the post-war territorial order in Europe with which the Prime Minister would not wish to be associated. Unless the Prime Minister wishes to use the occasion to make specific points of her own, we could simply insist that in British practice a solemn wreath-laying is not an occasion for speech-making.

Jaruzelski's presence in Gdansk may however complicate the arrangements for the rest of the Prime Minister's programme there. Indeed one of the General's motives may have been to inhibit the Prime Minister's activities. He will not of course be involved in any way in the Prime Minister's call on Walesa, but he may wish to accompany her when she lays flowers at the shipyard memorial. Our original plan was that she should be accompanied on this occasion by Walesa.

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There seem to be three possible ways of dealing with this problem if it arises:

- (i) We can seek agreement to go ahead with our original plan. A joint appearance by Walesa and the Prime Minister would certainly be popular with the Polish public, but the Polish authorities might claim that it would be an "embarrassment" to Jaruzelski of the kind the Prime Minister has promised to avoid.
- (ii) Both Jaruzelski and Walesa might attend. This must be a very remote possibility, since the two men have never met and the scars of 1980-81 still run deep - though it is just conceivable that the General might choose to make a symbolic gesture on this occasion for his own domestic purposes.
- (iii) We agree that the Prime Minister and Jaruzelski visit the memorial together. This would still be an event of some significance, since so far as we know the General has never laid flowers there before.

or you
go ahead
alone.
CP

Of these options (iii) seems the least attractive, but it may be necessary to accept it if Jaruzelski insists on hosting the event. In that case the Prime Minister might like to consider a further gesture to compensate for Walesa's absence from the shipyard memorial ceremony.

October 19, the day after the Prime Minister is scheduled to leave Poland, is the 4th anniversary of the death of Father Popieluszko. This occasion is always marked by a major ceremony at his church, St Stanislaw Koska's in Warsaw. If the Prime Minister were able to stay over until say mid-morning on 19 October, she could visit the church with Walesa. This would have considerable symbolism and attract exceptional publicity. Even if the Prime Minister could not attend the main commemorative mass, her visit would draw considerable crowds. The Poles have already agreed to a visit to the church (and cannot therefore now claim it would be unacceptable), but a visit on 19 October would have much greater impact. A return to Warsaw after Gdansk would have the additional advantage of allowing the Prime Minister to host a return dinner for Jaruzelski and give her TV interview and press conference after the trip to Gdansk.

We believe that the best way forward now would be for the Embassy in Warsaw to open negotiations with the Poles with a view to achieving option (i) above, with (ii) as a possible bonus if offered and (iii) as an acceptable alternative if the

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Prime Minister's diary would additionally permit a visit to St Stanislaw Kostka's on 19 October. I would be grateful to know if the Prime Minister would be content for us to proceed on this basis.

On a separate matter, you will be aware from coverage of the Gorbachev visit that the Poles will try to ensure that any people the Prime Minister meets on a walkabout will be hand-picked (though ordinary Poles are likely to make much more effort to see the Prime Minister than to see Gorbachev). Perhaps you could confirm that despite this the Prime Minister would still like to include such an element in her programme in both Warsaw and Gdansk.

Yours ever,

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

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From the Private Secretary

25 July 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

I was telephoned this morning by Hella Pick of The Guardian, who said that she had just come back from Warsaw where she had seen one of General Jaruzelski's assistants (his speech writer, with a name like Gorlitski). He had told her about the Prime Minister's letter to General Jaruzelski on the question of a visit to Gdansk. The burden of his message had been that it would be very difficult for the Polish Government to accept that a visit lasting only two days should be divided as to one day in Warsaw and one day in Gdansk. If the visit was a bit longer and involved a visit to another town outside Warsaw, that might be different. But as proposed at present, it would give the impression that we thought Poland had two competing capitals: Warsaw and Gdansk.

I do not know how authoritative this is. But it seems to me important to try to get across to the Polish authorities before they give us a definitive reply that we do not envisage a full day in Gdansk. Rather a visit there would be a tail piece to a day and a half (and two nights) in Warsaw. I suppose it might also be worth establishing whether we could visit anywhere else briefly on the way from Warsaw to Gdansk. I should be grateful if you could follow this up urgently.

Incidentally, Heller Pick said that she had promised her Polish contact that she would not publish anything about the Prime Minister's letter, which he had described as "a very nice one". We shall see.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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