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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/c  
cc/D.C.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 September 1988

~~Dear Charles,~~Prime Minister's visit to Poland

///

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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FM WARSAW  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
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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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FM WARSAW  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 463  
OF 301420Z AUGUST 88

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

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bc - PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

11 August 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

Thank you for your letter of 9 August about the programme for the Prime Minister's visit to Poland in the wake of General Jaruzelski's agreement to inclusion of Gdansk.

We have wrung a major concession out of the Poles and should now build further on that by negotiating firmly on the arrangements for the Gdansk visit. The Prime Minister would be content to lay a wreath jointly with General Jaruzelski at the Westerplatte memorial provided we get satisfaction on other points. She agrees that we should seek to avoid speeches at that ceremony. As regards the visit to the shipyard memorial, we should certainly continue to press for the Prime Minister to lay a wreath with Walesa escorting her to the site. Were the Poles to suggest that Jaruzelski attend as well as Walesa, that would merit consideration. Another alternative would be for the Prime Minister to go alone. But let us press hard for our preferred option before considering fallbacks.

The Prime Minister is not prepared to extend her visit until 19 October to attend the ceremony at Father Popieluszko's church. She needs to be back in London. This, of course, underlines the importance of obtaining the greatest possible impact from the visit to Gdansk.

As regards the walkabout, the Prime Minister would want us to make it absolutely clear to the Poles that she would wish to have access to ordinary people going about their daily business without any attempt at pre-selection. Anything less would inevitably be noticed by the Western media and be damaging to the Polish Government's reputation. Let us see how the Poles react to this.

Lyn Parker, Esq.  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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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 short visit*

- 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/mb30x

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

C D Powell Esq  
PS/No 10 Downing Street

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DG-2CUX

Re APC



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*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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