

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO POLAND

The Poles will accept 3/4 November for your visit. But they want to impose conditions. The principal one is that you should not place flowers at the Shipyard Workers' Memorial in Gdansk (the memorial to the clash between strikers and the Polish army in which several strikers were killed). They are also trying to restrict other aspects of the 'unofficial' programme, but I doubt this is a serious problem if we remain firm.

There is no doubt that the flower-laying at the Shipyard Memorial is a very sensitive point for the Polish authorities. No other senior official visitor has even been to Gdansk, let alone laid a wreath at the memorial. It is frankly amazing that they were ever prepared to contemplate your doing it. The nearest comparison would be General Jaruzelski on a visit to the UK going to lay a wreath at the gates of Wapping. On the other hand it is a very important symbolic gesture: Solidarity know about it and there is a risk that our backing down will become public knowledge: and it is always a bad idea to give in to this sort of pressure.

What is not clear is what the Poles would do if we go ahead with the plan to lay flowers. At the extreme they might cancel the whole visit, but I think this is very unlikely. They have a stake in it going ahead. More likely they would cancel the projected meeting with Jaruzelski in Gdansk: but this was only an afterthought - the main meeting is the previous day - and might not matter much. The atmosphere of the visit would probably be cooler than otherwise.

It seems to me that the most important objectives in order of priority are:

- to have a meeting with Walesa and his Solidarity colleagues;

- to hold the meeting in Gdansk;
- to acknowledge the Shipyard Memorial by visiting it. ✓  
Ideally you should lay flowers but you could stop short of this; *women do lay flowers.*
- to have the remainder of the 'unofficial' programme we are seeking i.e. visit to Father Popieluszko's grave, meeting with Cardinal Glemp etc.

If we get satisfaction on all the other aspects of the programme, we might in the last resort agree to drop the idea of placing flowers.

I should like, if you agree, to instruct our Ambassador to go back to the Poles on Monday and say:

- you are very grateful for their agreement to the dates 3/4 November. You consider this a highly important visit and are determined it should be a success;
- you understood that a programme was already agreed and quite widely known. Attempts to change it now will inevitably assume a political dimension which would not help the visit;
- you are glad that it is firmly established that you are going to Gdansk. Your unofficial programme there includes a meeting with Walesa and colleagues over lunch at Saint Brygida's church. The Memorial is nearby and it would cause a lot comment if you failed to acknowledge it in some way;
- but as you assured General Jaruzelski earlier, you do not intend in any way to interfere in Poland's internal evolution or do anything demonstrative which would not be in keeping with the dignity of such a visit, and you hope that the Polish side accept your assurances on this.  
(That would leave you flexibility to decide at the last

moment precisely what you do at the memorial.)

*I want to lay  
flowers - English  
flowers*

- but the Ambassador has discretion in the last resort to agree that you will not formally lay flowers there provided that it is explicitly expected that you will visit the Memorial and that we are satisfied on all other points.

Agree?

*C.D.P.*

C. D. POWELL

7 October 1988

*ms*

MJ2CVT

PRIME MINISTER

## VISIT TO POLAND

We have got our way over your visit to Poland in the sense that the Poles now accept that you will lunch with Walesa and the Solidarity leadership in Gdansk, and lay flowers at the Shipyard's Workers' memorial. The point they have asked in return is that you should return from Gdansk to London through Warsaw for a final, brief meeting with General Jaruselski and a press conference. This would mean extending your visit to Poland by a couple of hours or so. But would still get you back to London by a reasonable time on the Friday night.

I think it would be generous to fall in with this proposal now that we have got our way in everything else.

Agree?

C D  
C. D. POWELL

13 October 1988

SLHBAX



292247

bc: PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 October 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

I have seen Warsaw telegram numbers 585 and 586 giving the latest developments over the Prime Minister's visit to Poland. They are generally speaking very satisfactory.

My comments are:

- we should agree to the initial meeting with Rakowski;
- we should try to see the representatives of independent opinion on the first evening;
- we should acquiesce in the meeting with the Consultative Council if all other points are settled satisfactorily. But only half-an-hour should be set aside for it;
- the time between the end of talks with Jaruzelski and dinner is too tight. The Prime Minister will wish to change;
- we shall indeed need the extra half-hour for the private programme in Gdansk;
- the Prime Minister will be prepared to return to Warsaw after Gdansk for a final meeting with Jaruzelski;
- we shall need to use the VC10 for the Warsaw-Gdansk-Warsaw journey, to have access to our communications;
- we shall need to allow longer for the Polish TV interview, press conference and subsequent interviews with British TV and radio, including preparation and make-up. A more realistic timing might be 1715-1750  
Polish TV: 1800-1830 press conference: 1830-1915  
British TV and radio: 1930 depart for airport: 1945 depart;

- of the No. 10 staff, both Private Secretaries, both Press Officers, one Duty Clerk and one Garden Room Girl will need to travel to Gdansk.

I hope this covers the outstanding points.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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015145  
MDADAN 3182

cc DC

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FM WARSAW  
TO DESKRY 131100Z FCO  
TELNO 586  
OF 131025Z OCTOBER 88

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MIPT • PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

FOLLOWING IS PROGRAMME:

WEDNESDAY 2 NOVEMBER

1715 ARRIVAL  
CEREMONIAL GREETING.

17.40 LEAVE WITH PRIME MINISTER RAKOWSKI TO OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT  
(APPROX) GUEST HOUSE AT PARKOWA. LAMPKA WINA.

1800 OFFICIAL MEETING OF TWO PRIME MINISTERS.

1830 TO AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

1900 CALL ON CARDINAL GLEMP AT HIS RESIDENCE. RETURN TO  
AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

2000 MEETING WITH INDEPENDENTS.

2100 PRIVATE SUPPER.

THURSDAY 3 NOVEMBER

0830 ARRIVE TOMB OF UNKNOWN SOLDIER.  
LAY WREATH.

0850 TO COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

0900 MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER RAKOWSKI.

1000 VISIT ROYAL CASTLE.

1045 LEAVE FOR HALA MIROWSKA.

1055 VISIT HALA MIROWSKA.

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1130 TO BRITISH COUNCIL.  
1135 VISIT BRITISH COUNCIL.  
1150 LEAVE BRITISH COUNCIL.  
1200 ARRIVE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.  
FREE TIME.  
1230 LUNCH GIVEN BY RAKOWSKI.  
1400 PRIVATE PROGRAMME (FATHER POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE: MEETING WITH  
NON-SOLIDARITY OPPOSITION)  
1545 MEETING CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL.  
1630 TALKS WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI.  
1930 CONCLUDE TALKS.  
2000 DINNER BY GENERAL JARUZELSKI.

FRIDAY 4 NOVEMBER

0745 WREATH-LAYING AT MEMORIAL TO RAF AIRMEN AT  
SKARYSZEWSKI PARK.  
0830 DEPART AIRPORT FOR GDANSK.  
0930 ARRIVE GDANSK.  
CEREMONIAL GREETING BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES.  
0940 BY ROAD TO WESTERPLATTE.  
1015 ARRIVE WESTERPLATTE.  
JOINT WREATH-LAYING.  
1045 LEAVE WESTERPLATTE BY NAVAL VESSEL FOR GREENGATE.  
1115 ARRIVE DLUGI TARG.  
1150 TO RATUSZ TO MEET CITY AUTHORITIES.

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1230 LEAVE RATUSZ.  
1245 PRIVATE PROGRAMME (MEETING WITH WALESIA. LUCH WITH  
SOLIDARITY)  
1445 LAY FLOWERS.  
1500 DEPART FOR AIRPORT.  
1530 SPECIAL PLANF TO WARSAW.  
1615 ARRIVE WARSAW.  
TO AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.  
1645 CALL ON GENERAL JARUZELSKI FOR FINAL ROUND OF TALKS.  
1700 RETURN TO AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.  
TELFVISION INTERVIEW.  
1730 TO INTERPRESS.  
1745- PRESS CONFERENCE.  
1830  
1830 LEAVE FOR AIRPORT.  
1845 DEPART.

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FM WARSAW  
TO DESKRY 131030Z FCO  
TELNO 585  
OF 131030Z OCTOBER 88

cc DC  
**ADVANCE COPY**

MY TELNO 575: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

1. AT A FURTHER MEETING WITH KULSKI ON 12 OCTOBER, THE POLES PUT FORWARD A REVISED PROGRAMME (SEE MIFT, WHICH HAS BEEN AMPLIFIED TO INCLUDE THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME WHICH WE WILL ARRANGE).
2. THE POLES HAVE NOW ACCEPTED, TACTILY BUT UNMISTAKEABLY, OUR WISHES FOR THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME IN GDANSK (LUNCH WITH WALESKA, MEETING WITH SOLIDARITY, FLOWER-LAYING AT THE SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL).
3. OTHER IMPORTANT FACTORS ARE:
  - (A) THEY HAVE RETAINED A FINAL SESSION WITH JARUZELSKI BUT HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THIS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN WARSAW, WITH THE PRIME MINISTER FLYING BACK HERE AFTER CONCLUSION OF THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME IN GDANSK. THE TV INTERVIEW AND PRESS CONFERENCE WOULD THEN TAKE PLACE IN WARSAW BETWEEN THE SESSION WITH JARUZELSKI, WHICH WOULD BE BRIEF, AND FINAL DEPARTURE.
  - (B) AN INITIAL HALF-HOUR WITH RAKOWSKI FROM 6 TO 6.30 PM ON THE DAY OF ARRIVAL. THE POLES ATTACH PRESENTATIONAL IMPORTANCE TO GETTING THIS OUT OF THE WAY BEFORE ANY MEETING WITH GLEMP OR NON-OFFICIAL FIGURES.
  - (C) THEY HAVE MAINTAINED THE REQUEST FOR A MEETING WITH SOME MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL.

COMMENT

4. IT IS WHOLLY SATISFACTORY THAT THE POLES HAVE ACCEPTED OUR ARGUMENTS ON THE GDANSK PROGRAMME. BUT TO BE ON THE SAFE SIDE WE WILL NEED TO SQUEEZE AN EXTRA HALF HOUR FOR THIS, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE LESS IMPORTANT EVENTS BETWEEN WESTERPLATTE AND THE HALF-HOUR IN GDANSK TOWN HALL. THE PROGRAMME IN MIFT ASSUMES THIS HAS BEEN DONE.

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5. IF THE PRIME MINISTER IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE EXTRA TRAVEL INVOLVED IN RETURNING VIA WARSAW, WE NOW ALSO HAVE THE SORT OF CONCLUSION TO THE VISIT AT WHICH WE HAVE BEEN AIMING. IF HOWEVER SHE WISHES TO RETURN TO THE UK DIRECT FROM GDANSK, WE MIGHT HAVE A PROBLEM. WE WOULD CERTAINLY LOSE THE FINAL MEETING WITH JARUZELSKI

BUT THE POLES MAY ATTACH CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THE PRIME MINISTER CONCLUDING HER VISIT IN WARSAW. (FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THIS WAS KULSKI'S HOPE THAT JARUZELSKI MIGHT SEE HER OFF).

6. THE THIRTY MINUTES TALK WITH RAKOWSKI ON THE FIRST EVENING IS CLEARLY OF REAL OPTICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE POLES. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ACCEPT.

7. WE HAVE HITHERTO RESISTED THE POLISH PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING WITH THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL. THEY KNOW THAT IT IS STILL AN OPEN MATTER FOR US. BUT NOW THAT THE POLES HAVE YIELDED ON THE ISSUES THAT REALLY COUNT FOR US, I THINK WE COULD AFFORD TO FALL IN WITH THEIR SUGGESTION ON THIS. THERE ARE TWO DRAWBACKS. FIRST, THE MEETING CUTS INTO TIME THAT COULD MORE USEFULLY BE SPENT ELSEWHERE. SECOND, THE POLES NO DOUBT WISH TO USE THE MEETING TO BOOST THE PRESTIGE OF THE COUNCIL, AN UNREPRESENTATIVE BODY WHICH PLAYS NO REAL ROLE AND MAY WITHER AWAY IF THE ROUND TABLE TALKS GO WELL.

8. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD MEET IMPORTANT REPRESENTATIVES OF INDEPENDENT OPINION. SUCH A MEETING COULD BE FITTED IN. THE BEST TIME WOULD BE ON THE DAY OF ARRIVAL, BETWEEN THE CALL ON GLEMP AND THE BRIEFING SUPPER. (OTHER ALTERNATIVES ARE BEFORE DEPARTURE FROM THE RESIDENCE FOR THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER ON 3 NOVEMBER AND TO GDANSK ON THE MORNING OF 4 NOVEMBER). AS IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE POLES MAY INCLUDE SOME INDEPENDENT CENTRISTS IN THE GROUP (WE HAVE SUGGESTED A MAXIMUM OF SIX) FROM THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL, THERE MIGHT BE LESS NEED FOR A FULL-LENGTH SEPARATE MEETING WITH CENTRIST OPINION. BEFORE CONFIRMING ACCEPTANCE OF THE MEETING WITH THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL WE WOULD ENSURE THAT THE POLES ACQUIESCE, IN THE WARSAW PROGRAMME FOR PRIVATE MEETINGS.

9. AS TO APPEARING TO BUILD UP THE PRESTIGE OF THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL I TAKE A ROBUST VIEW THAT THE BALANCE OF THE PROGRAMME AS A WHOLE WILL BE AN EFFECTIVE COUNTER. AND AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND TV INTERVIEW THE PRIME MINISTER WILL HAVE AMPLE

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OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CLEAR WHICH OF THE VIEWS SHE HAS HEARD SHE VALUES. ACCORDINGLY, WHILE WE COULD MAINTAIN OUR OPPOSITION TO A MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL, I AM NO LONGER SURE THAT THIS WOULD BE COST-EFFECTIVE. THERE IS ALSO A NEED TO START THE DETAILED PLANNING.

10. WILL THE HALF HOUR SET ASIDE FOR THE TV INTERVIEW BE LONG ENOUGH?

RECOMMENDATIONS

11. I RECOMMEND AS FAR AS THE POLES ARE CONCERNED THAT WE SHOULD TELL THEM THE PROGRAMME IS ACCEPTABLE, SUBJECT TO:

- (A) GETTING THE EXTRA HALF HOUR IN GDANSK (PARA 4 ABOVE):
- (B) THE PRIME MINISTER'S DECISION ON WHETHER OR NOT TO RETURN VIA WARSAW (PARA 5 ABOVE):
- (C) CONFIRMATION THAT THE WARSAW PRIVATE PROGRAMME IS ACCEPTABLE (PARA 8 ABOVE).

12. GRATEFUL TO KNOW WHETHER IF THE PRIME MINISTER RETURNS FROM GDANSK TO WARSAW THIS WILL AFFECT AVAILABILITY OF THE VC 10 FOR THE WARSAW/GDANSK/WARSAW LEG. THE POLES MAY OFFER A POLISH AIRCRAFT FOR THE INTERNAL FLIGHTS. WHETHER OR NOT THE VC 10 IS USED, IT MIGHT MAKE SENSE FOR MOST OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY, INCLUDING THE BULK OF THE PRIVATE OFFICE, TO REMAIN IN WARSAW.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 575  
OF 101600Z OCTOBER 88

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YOUR TELNO 457 : PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

1. I WAS MOST GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS IN TUR. I TOOK ACTION ON 10 OCTOBER ACCORDINGLY WITH KULSKI, VICE-MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. I GAVE HIM A COPY OF MY SPEAKING NOTE WHICH DREW HEAVILY ON LINE IN PARA 2.2 OF TUR. I EMPHASISED THAT MY INSTRUCTIONS CAME DIRECTLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER. SHE HAD ASSURED GENERAL JARUZELSKI THAT SHE DID NOT WISH TO INTERFERE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SHE WOULD BE MOST SURPRISED IF THIS ASSURANCE WERE NOT ACCEPTED.
2. KULSKI UNDERTOOK TO CONVEY MY MESSAGE TO THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. HE REGRETTED THE CONTINUED DIVERGENCE IN OUR APPROACHES TO THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME. HE DETECTED NO SIGN WHATEVER OF HOPE THAT IF WE INSISTED ON THE FLOWER-LAYING CEREMONY AT THE SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL THE FINAL MEETING WITH JARUZELSKI COULD TAKE PLACE. KULSKI ALSO REVERTED TO HIS EARLIER PROPOSAL THAT LUNCH IN GDANSK SHOULD BE WITH THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND NOT WITH THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP.
3. I EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WOULD LOOK AGAIN AT THE QUESTION OF THE FINAL MEETING WITH JARUZELSKI. THIS WOULD SET THE SEAL ON THE VISIT WHICH I WAS SURE WOULD BY THEN HAVE DEMONSTRATED ITS SUCCESS. I RE-EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE THE PRIME MINISTER ATTACHED TO THE LUNCH WITH SOLIDARITY.
4. I ALSO RAISED WITH KULSKI THE QUESTION OF A CALL ON CARDINAL GLEMP. THE CHANGED DATES FOR THE VISIT HAD RE-OPENED THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRIMATE. BUT WE KNEW THAT GLEMP WAS LEAVING POLAND FOR AUSTRALIA EARLY IN THE MORNING OF 3 NOVEMBER. THE ONLY POSSIBLE OCCASION FOR A MEETING WAS THEREFORE AFTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S ARRIVAL ON 2 NOVEMBER. I HOPED THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WOULD RAISE NO OBJECTION TO WHAT WAS A SEMI-OFFICIAL ENGAGEMENT BUT ONE WHICH COULD NOT TAKE PLACE AT MY RESIDENCE. KULSKI SAID THIS PROPOSAL CHANGED THE QUALITY OF THE FIRST DAY OF THE VISIT. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW A VISIT AT THE INVITATION OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES COULD BEGIN

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WITH SUCH A PUBLIC NON-OFFICIAL ENGAGEMENT. WE MUST NOW RECONSIDER THE WHOLE PROGRAMME FROM THE BEGINNING, LOOKING AT ALL ELEMENTS. PERHAPS A DIFFERENT SEQUENCE OF ENGAGEMENTS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. I SAID THAT THE PRECISE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS WAS LESS IMPORTANT THAN ENSURING THAT THE ELEMENTS REGARDED BY THE PRIME MINISTER AS ESSENTIAL WERE INCLUDED IN THEIR APPROPRIATE PLACE.

5. KULSKI CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE WOULD CONSULT HIS AUTHORITIES. HE HOPED FOR A FURTHER MEETING ON 12 OR 13 OCTOBER.

## COMMENT

6. NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS REQUIRED. WE HAVE GIVEN THE POLES SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT BUT I SEE LITTLE HOPE OF PRESERVING THE FINAL MEETING WITH JARUZELSKI IN GDANSK. IRONICALLY, THIS WILL GIVE MORE TIME FOR THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME.

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SIR J FRETWELL

ADDITIONAL 4

NO 10 DOWNING ST

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cpc

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

9 October 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

We need to get instructions to HM Ambassador Warsaw, for a further discussion with the Polish authorities tomorrow of the programme for the Prime Minister's visit to Poland.

I enclose a draft telegram of instructions which you will wish to discuss with the Private Secretary. Subject to that, I should be grateful if it could be despatched this afternoon. I can be contacted through the No.10 switchboard if required.

C. D. POWELL

The Resident Clerk,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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*Me Pm  
cc/c*

TELEGRAM

To: Warsaw

Immediate Deskby 0917082

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Following for Ambassador from Charles Powell

Your telegrams nos. 567 and 568: Prime Minister's visit.

Thank you for these telegrams which I have discussed with the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister takes the view that it is foolish of the Poles to try to make an issue of laying flowers at the Shipyard Workers' Memorial in Gdansk. She wants to lay flowers: other considerations apart, it is a perfectly natural thing for a woman to do. It would not equate to a formal wreath-laying ceremony like that envisaged at Westerplatte. She has already assured General Jaruzelski that she will not use her visit to Gdansk to interfere in Poland's internal evolution, and that assurance should be accepted. The Poles should also be reminded if necessary that when the Prime Minister went to the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev put no obstacles of any sort in the way of her programme. At the very end of the day, the most important thing is to go to Gdansk and to meet the Solidarity leadership there. The issue of laying flowers should not be allowed to wreck that. But there is no reason why, if handled skilfully, it should do so. The Prime Minister is very grateful for the way in which you have conducted the negotiations so far. I suggest that tomorrow you speak to Kulski as follows:

- the Prime Minister is very grateful for the Polish government's agreement to the dates of 3 and 4 November, even though they were not their first choice. She appreciates their willingness to be helpful and is looking forward to the visit which she regards as highly important. She is determined that it should be a success;



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- her understanding is that the programme is already by and large agreed and the main details of it quite widely known. Attempts to change it now will inevitably assume a political dimension which they need not and should not have;
- the visit to Gdansk - both the official and the unofficial aspects - is an important part of the programme which she believes will command great attention and, if handled sensitively, have a very wide and positive impact. She is particularly looking forward to the joint wreath-laying ceremony at Westerplatte, and thinks it would add to the significance of the occasion if she and General Jaruzelski were to meet again immediately after it;
- the unofficial programme in Gdansk also has its place. The Prime Minister wishes to lunch privately with Walesa and his colleagues at St. Brygida's church. The Shipyard Workers' Memorial is near, and it would cause infinitely more comment if she failed to visit and acknowledge it briefly than if she does so;
- it is not of course her intention to conduct any sort of formal wreath-laying ceremony or suggest it is on a par with the earlier ceremony at Westerplatte. She only wants to do what is natural: and the fact is women lay flowers at graves and memorials;
- moreover, the Poles already have her assurance that she does not intend in any way to interfere in Poland's internal evolution or do anything which would be incompatible with the dignity of an official visit. She would be most surprised if the Polish authorities were not to accept her assurance;
- your instructions come direct from the Prime Minister and you hope that they will be conveyed to the highest levels of the Polish leadership.

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You will want to report the Polish reaction, but should not give ground on this point. If we lose the second meeting with Jaruzelski, so be it.

As regards the further points in your telegram no. 568:

- I do not think it matters when the Prime Minister places flowers at Father Popieluszko's grave as long as she does so at some point during her visit;
- we shall certainly need to squeeze some of the private programme into the evening of 2 November;
- the Prime Minister will want to see Cardinal Glemp if at all possible;
- I agree that we should try to reduce the time spent at the Royal Castle. But this is not a vital issue;
- I also agree that we should try to advance the meeting with Rakowski to 1230;
- we should, as you say, cut the time spent getting to and from Westerplatte as much as possible. A helicopter is an option we would consider (I hope Polish helicopters are not like Polish jokes).
- the meeting with Walesa followed by lunch with the Solidarity leadership is an indispensable part of the programme.

I recognise this does not give you much room for negotiation. But the elements which must be preserved are the Gdansk meeting and lunch with Walesa et al. and the Shipyard Workers' Memorial, plus the visit to Father Popieluszko's grave. You have flexibility on all other points provided they help secure these.

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176765  
MOADAN 2572

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FM WARSAW  
TO DESKBY 071600Z FCO  
TELNO 567  
OF 071410Z OCTOBER 88

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YOUR TELNO 452 : PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

SUMMARY

1. POLES ACCEPT VISIT ON 3/4 NOVEMBER. RENEWED APPEAL TO WITHDRAW PROPOSAL TO LAY FLOWERS AT SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL IN GDANSK. FURTHER PROGRAMME DIFFICULTIES.

DETAIL

2. I CALLED ON KULSKI, VICE-MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ON 7 OCTOBER TO DELIVER THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE (TUR) TO GENERAL JARUZELSKI. KULSKI SAID THAT THE DATES OF 16-19 NOVEMBER, PROPOSED BY JARUZELSKI, REMAINED BEST FOR THE POLISH SIDE. BUT TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT AND HER REASONS FOR AVOIDING FURTHER DELAY, THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WERE NOW ABLE TO CONVEY THEIR AGREEMENT, IN PRINCIPLE, TO 3-4 NOVEMBER.

3. KULSKI SAID THAT FOR THE POLISH SIDE THE FLOWER LAYING CEREMONY PROPOSED FOR THE SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL IN GDANSK WAS BECOMING THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN THE PROGRAMME STILL TO BE RESOLVED. THE MEMORIAL RECORDED AN INTERNAL POLISH DRAMA. NOW THAT THE FINAL STAGE OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION HAD BEGUN WITH THE ROUND TABLE TALKS AND THE CRYSTALLISATION OF AN ANTI-CRISIS PACT, IT BELONGED INCREASINGLY TO HISTORY. THE PRIME MINISTER'S PROPOSAL WAS NOT IN HARMONY WITH THE EFFORTS EITHER OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES NOR OF THE CHURCH NOR OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION. KULSKI ASKED ME TO CONVEY TO THE PRIME MINISTER THE POLISH VIEW THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO GIVE UP THIS POLITICAL GESTURE. WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT THE 1970 EVENTS INVOLVED A CONFRONTATION WITH THE ARMY, FROM WHICH SOME OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CAME. IT WAS UNIMAGINABLE THAT ANY FURTHER MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND JARUZELSKI COULD BE ARRANGED IN GDANSK IF THE PRIME MINISTER INSISTED ON PROCEEDING WITH THE FLOWER-LAYING CEREMONY.

4. KULSKI SAID THAT THE OTHER REQUESTS ON THE PROGRAMME, PUT

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MDADAN 2572

TO ME ON 23 SEPTEMBER (MY TELNO 534) WERE OF LESSER IMPORTANCE. HE SAW NO PROBLEM ON THE VISIT TO HALA MIROWSKA SEMICOLON A DECISION ON SKARESZEWSKI PARK WAS UP TO US, BUT THE POLISH SIDE WOULD LIKE THE PRIME MINISTER TO DO IT.

5. IN REPLY I SAID THAT WE HAD BEEN CONCENTRATING ON FIXING DATES FOR THE VISIT AND I HAD NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS ON THE PROGRAMME POINTS RAISED. HOWEVER, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, I BELIEVED THE POLISH SIDE UNDERSTOOD THE PRIME MINISTER'S APPROACH AS SET OUT IN HER TWO LETTERS TO JARUZELSKI. SHE WISHED TO ACQUAINT HERSELF WITH THE PROBLEMS NOT ONLY OF THE PRESENT BUT ALSO OF THOSE OF THE RECENT PAST WHICH BORE SO CLEARLY ON THE FUTURE. THERE COULD BE NO BLANK SPOTS. PART OF THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME IN WARSAW INVOLVED LAYING FLOWERS ON FATHER POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE. THE FLOWER-LAYING AT GDANSK WAS PART OF THE SAME APPROACH. IT WAS IN NO WAY INTENDED TO COMPLICATE THE PROCESS OF INTERNAL EVOLUTION. BUT I KNEW THE PRIME MINISTER ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IT. I TOLD KULSKI I WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS AND OTHER POINTS OF DIFFICULTY WHICH HE HAD RAISED.

6. SEE MY MIPT FOR REPORT OF THESE AND MY COMMENT.

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TO DESKBY 071600Z FCO  
TELNO 568  
OF 071455Z OCTOBER 88

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MIPT: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

1. AFTER DISCUSSION REPORTED IN MIPT ON DATES AND SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL, KULSKI AND HEAD OF PROTOCOL, CZYZYCKI, DESCRIBED PROGRAMME AS NOW ENVISAGED BY THE POLISH SIDE.

2. FOLLOWING IS POLISH PROPOSAL:

2 NOVEMBER  
LATE AFTERNOON

ARRIVAL. FORMAL GREETING CEREMONY. GLASS OF WINE WITH POLISH PRIME MINISTER AT AIRPORT.

EVENING

FREE.

3 NOVEMBER

09.00  
09.25  
10.20

LAY WREATH AT TOMB OF UNKNOWN SOLDIER.  
MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER RAKOWSKI  
VISIT ROYAL CASTLE - SEE FILM ON DESTRUCTION AND REBUILDING OF WARSAW. TOUR SELECTED ROOMS.  
LEAVE CASTLE.  
VISIT HALA MIROWSKA.  
VISIT BRITISH COUNCIL.  
RETURN TO RESIDENCE.

TIME FOR PRIVATE PROGRAMME

13.00  
14.30  
-16.30

LUNCH GIVEN PRIME MINISTER RAKOWSKI.  
VISIT MEMORIAL TO BRITISH AIRMEN IN SKARYSZEWSKI PARK - POSSIBLE MEETING WITH CARDINAL GLEMP.

16.30 - 19.30  
20.00

MEETING WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI.  
DINNER BY JARUZELSKI IN PRIME MINISTER'S HONOUR.

4 NOVEMBER

09.00  
09.45

BEFORE BREAKFAST, TIME FOR PRIVATE PROGRAMME.  
LEAVE BY AIR FOR GDANSK.  
ARRIVE GDANSK. TO WESTERPLATTE - THERE ARE TWO POSSIBILITIES, EITHER BY ROAD DIRECT WHICH GIVES

ARRIVAL OF 10.45, OR BY ROAD TO SOPOT (A SEASIDE RESORT NORTH OF GDANSK) AND THEN BY NAVAL VESSEL, GIVING ARRIVAL OF 11.15.

WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY AT WESTERPLATTE RETURN BY WATER TO GDANSK.

WALK-ABOUT IN DLUGI TARG.

TO HELVELIUS HOTEL FOR SHORT BREAK.

12.45 OR 13.00

TO TOWN HALL FOR MEETING WITH AUTHORITIES FOLLOWED BY LUNCH.

PRIVATE PROGRAMME.

TV INTERVIEW AND PRESS CONFERENCE.

DEPART FROM GDANSK AIRPORT.

3. REPEATING THAT I HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON THE PROGRAMME AUTHORISING ME TO MAKE NEW POINTS OF WHICH THE POLISH SIDE WERE NOT ALREADY AWARE, I MADE CLEAR THAT THE PROGRAMME AS DESCRIBED POSED SOME SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES FOR US AND REPRESENTED A CONSIDERABLE DEPARTURE FROM THE PROGRAMME CONVEYED TO US ON 15 SEPTEMBER (MY TELNO 534). WE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) FATHER POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE: THE POLISH SIDE SAID THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD VISIT FATHER POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE FORMAL OFFICIAL PROGRAMME (IE ON THE MORNING OF 3 NOV).

THIS IS INSPITE OF THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL (MY TELNO 505) WHICH PLACED THIS EVENT BEFORE THE WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY AT THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER. IT SHOULD THEREFORE TAKE PLACE ON THE MORNING OF 4 NOV, BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR GDANSK.

(B) WARSAW PRIVATE PROGRAMME: THE POLISH SIDE SEEMED CONFUSED AS TO WHETHER MEETING WITHIN THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME COULD TAKE PLACE ON THE EVENING OF 2 NOVEMBER BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME. BUT IN THE END KULSKI SEEMED TO AGREE THAT SUCH MEETINGS IN THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME COULD TAKE PLACE THAT EVENING PROVIDED THEY TAKE PLACE IN THE RESIDENCE. (SEE FOR INSTANCE PARAGRAPH 4 OF MY TELNO 515.)

(C) CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL: A MEETING WITH THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL IS CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM THE PROGRAMME FOR 3 NOVEMBER BUT KULSKI EMPHASISED THAT THE POLES HOPED IT WOULD TAKE PLACE PERHAPS IN THE AFTERNOON AFTER THE MEETING WITH GLEMP. HE ARGUED THAT

THERE WAS PLENTY OF TIME AND OFFERED TO MOVE LUNCH FORWARD BY HALF AN HOUR TO PERMIT THIS. I MADE CLEAR THAT WE HAD NOT RELAXED OUR OBJECTION TO THIS PROPOSAL AND RETAINED THE RIGHT TO HOLD A PRIVATE MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF INDEPENDENT OPINION WHICH MIGHT INCLUDE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL. THE QUESTION WAS LEFT OPEN.

(D) LUNCH IN GDANSK: THIS WAS OSTENSIBLY KULSKI'S PERSONAL PROPOSAL, MADE DURING THE COURSE OF OUR MEETING. WE POINTED OUT THAT LUNCH HAD ALWAYS BEEN PLANNED FOR THE MEETING WITH SOLIDARITY AND THAT THIS WAS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME IN GDANSK. I SAID THAT THE PROPOSAL FOR THE GDANSK PROGRAMME AS A WHOLE, PARTICULARLY BEARING IN MIND THE REQUEST TO WITHDRAW THE FLOWER LAYING CEREMONY AT THE SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL, WOULD BE SEEN AS A CONSIDERABLE REARRANGEMENT OF THIS PART OF THE VISIT. MANY OF THOSE INVOLVED IN GDANSK IN THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME WERE ALREADY AWARE OF OUR PLANS AND IT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION TO GO BACK ON THEM. I ASKED THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO UNDERSTAND THAT OUR CONCEPT OF THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE WHOLE, ADDING TO THE VISIT'S IMPORTANCE.

4. AT THIS POINT KULSKI HAD TO LEAVE. WE AGREED PROVISIONALLY TO MEET AGAIN ON MONDAY 10 OCTOBER AT 11.15 LOCAL TIME.

#### COMMENT

5. WHILE ACCEPTING OUR DATES IN PRINCIPLE (AN IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION) THE POLES HAVE CONTINUED THE EFFORT BEGUN AT MY LAST MEETING WITH KULSKI ON 23 SEPTEMBER (MY TELNO 534) TO REDUCE THE SCALE OF THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME AND GAIN GREATER CONTROL OF THE VISIT AS A WHOLE. WITHIN THIS THE SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL IS CLEARLY BECOMING THE TEST. THE FINAL MEETING WITH JARUZELSKI DEPENDS ON US CONCEDED THIS POINT. BUT THE NEW PROGRAMME FOR GDANSK IN PARTICULAR PRESENTS US WITH FURTHER PROBLEMS.

6. I THINK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS NEED TO BE URGENTLY CONSIDERED:

#### WARSAW PROGRAMME

(I) FATHER POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE - IS THERE ANY OBJECTION TO VISITING THIS ON THE MORNING OF 4 NOVEMBER? NO POINT OF PRINCIPLE SEEMS AT ISSUE PROVIDING THE TIMING OF OTHER EVENTS PERMITS IT. IT WOULD BE

A USEFUL CONCESSION TO THE POLES, COSTING US NOTHING.

(II) ROYAL CASTLE: AFTER EARLIER PROMISES THAT THE VISIT HERE WOULD LAST A MAXIMUM 35 MINUTES, WE ARE NOW FACED WITH A MORE EXTENSIVE TOUR. THE SHORTER VISIT WAS LIKELY TO OVER-RUN BUT THE PRESENT POLISH PROPOSAL SEEMS MUCH TOO LONG. I THINK WE SHOULD TRY TO REDUCE IT. THE ARCHIVES EXHIBITION WILL HAVE CLOSED BY NOVEMBER.

(III) MEETING WITH RAKOWSKI: RAKOWSKI DESERVES MORE THAN 50 MINUTES EVEN THOUGH INTERPRETATION SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY SINCE HE SPEAKS GOOD ENGLISH. A KEY PLAYER IN CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, I THINK THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD ENJOY TALKING TO HIM AND FIND IT VALUABLE. WE SHOULD ARGUE FOR MORE TIME AT THE EXPENSES OF THE ROYAL CASTLE.

(IV) RAKOWSKI LUNCH - THIS SHOULD BE ADVANCED TO 12.30 TO GIVE MORE TIME FOR THE AFTERNOON PRIVATE PROGRAMME.

(V) SKARYSZEWSKI PARK. I AWAIT INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS (YOUR TELNO 434, PARAGRAPH 4). BUT I RECOMMEND THAT WE SHOULD EXPLOIT THE POLISH OFFER AND SEND A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY AND THAT THE TIME FROM SAY 14.30 TO 16.30 IS UTILISED FOR THE PRIVATE PROGRAMME. TWO MEETINGS COULD BE FITTED IN: A CALL ON GLEMP (OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE) AND A MEETING WITH OTHER NON-ESTABLISHMENT FIGURES.

#### GDANSK PROGRAMME

(I) THE TIME TAKEN TO GET WESTERPLATTE IS FAR MORE THAN ANTICIPATED. WE COULD CONSIDER INSISTING FLYING THERE BY HELICOPTER. AT ANY RATE THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE ROUTE SHOULD BE USED.

(II) LUNCH: I RECOMMEND THAT WE SHOULD STICK FRIMLY TO OUR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL, NAMELY A PRIVATE MEETING WITH WALESZA FOLLOWED BY LUNCH WITH SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP, BOTH EVENTS TO TAKE PLACE AT ST BRYGIDA'S CHURCH.

(III) SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL: THE POLES HAVE BEEN FOOLISH TO TRY AND BLACKMAIL US OUT OF THIS PROPOSAL. THERE IS LITTLE ROOM FOR COMPROMISE AND SINCE SOLIDARITY AND WALESZA HIMSELF ARE AWARE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S WISH I DO NOT CONSIDER WE SHOULD GO BACK ON IT, EVEN TO OBTAIN THE FINAL ROUND OF TALKS WITH JARUZELSKI. WE COULD ASK FOR A FURTHER MEETING WITH RAKOWSKI INSTEAD, ALTHOUGH THE POLES MAY TAKE THE SAME ATTITUDE.



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7. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR EARLIEST POSSIBLE INSTRUCTIONS ON ALL POINTS. IF THESE CANNOT REACH ME BY 1100Z ON 10 OCTOBER, THEN I SHALL SEEK POSTPONEMENT OF MY MEETING WITH KULSKI. IT WOULD IN ANY CASE BE EXTREMELY HELPFUL TO HAVE SOME ROOM FOR NEGOTIATION, IF THE INSTRUCTIONS CAN ALLOW FOR THIS.

8. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL ALSO FOR PROPOSED DATES FOR A RECONNAISSANCE VISIT. THE POLES ARE ANXIOUS TO SET THIS UP.

9. WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO YET.

BARRETT

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