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PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO POLAND

I attach a rather full letter dealing with your visit to Poland. I do not think you need bother to go through it all, as I know your mind on most of the points. But there are two matters on which it would be helpful to have your decision:

(i) Dates

You have agreed to go to Poland for Monday 30 and Tuesday 31 May. As always, it would enable us to construct the fullest possible programme if you were prepared to go out there the evening before, i.e. Sunday 29 May leaving at about 1600 hours. We would not envisage any formal programme that evening, only a briefing supper with the Ambassador. But it would enable you to go straight into the programme the next morning.

Agree to this?

Yes

(ii) Visits outside Warsaw

At the moment, we are thinking in terms of a visit entirely confined to Warsaw. It comprises essential protocol engagements such as wreath-layings, official dinners and talks with Jaruzelski. There is a television interview, a walk-about in Warsaw (including a covered market), a meeting with Cardinal Glemp, a meeting with Walesa, and a visit to Father Popieluszko's grave.

The question is whether, in addition to this, you should visit Gdansk. The Foreign Office are rather against this for a number of reasons. It would be time-consuming: it is 45 minutes' flight from Warsaw. You would have to meet representatives of the Gdansk authorities if you were also intending to meet Walesa

there instead of in Warsaw. You might have to sacrifice bits of the Warsaw programme. The Poles would not like it. On the other hand, it seems to me that it would have very considerable symbolism. You would be able to lay flowers at the Shipyard Workers' Memorial and do a walkabout. You might fly there on the afternoon of the second day and then return direct to London from Gdansk. It would be an opportunity to break new ground in terms of Western visits, which seems to me one important reason for going there at all.

Agree that I should pursue this possibility further with the Foreign Office?

Yes

There is one further aspect which I should mention. We are beginning to get rumours that President Reagan is planning to visit Poland on his way to or from the Moscow Summit. There is of course no date as yet for that Summit, but late May or early June is commonly spoken of. In that case, your visit and his might fall very close together. We would need to consider in those circumstances whether we should postpone your visit to maximise the impact. The only conclusion for the time being is, I think, that we should not say anything public about the dates of your visit, so that any subsequent postponement did not look as though you have been bumped by President Reagan.

We had better find out, C.D.T. I am quite happy to postpone it. mt

Charles Powell

1 February 1988



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DSRAEQ

cc PC

Mrs. Richards

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 February 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

Thank you for your comprehensive letter of 1 February about the arrangements for the Prime Minister's visit to Poland. My reply goes through your points in the same order.

Dates

The Prime Minister would be prepared to travel to Warsaw on the evening of Sunday 29 May, getting there in time for an informal briefing supper with the Ambassador.

Announcement of the Visit

The draft text enclosed with your letter will do nicely. But I understand there is a possibility that President Reagan may decide to visit Poland on his way to or from the Moscow Summit. If that Summit were to be in late May or early June, as seems likely, there is obviously a risk that his visit and the Prime Minister's will fall very close together. In those circumstances, we might well prefer to postpone the Prime Minister's visit. But we would not want it to look publicly as though she had been pushed off her dates by President Reagan. This points to avoiding any public announcement of the dates for as long as possible, together with efforts to establish from the Americans whether the President does indeed intend to visit Poland at about that time.

Programme

The programme set out in variant 1 enclosed with your letter is very much on the right lines. I can confirm that the Prime Minister would not want to go to Krakow. Nor would she want to spend time travelling to and from Nieborow Palace for talks with Jaruzelski. She is, however, very much attracted by the idea of a visit to Gdansk. She believes this would have considerable symbolism and would break new ground in terms of high level Western visitors. She accepts that she would have to meet representatives of the local authorities as well as Walesa and his colleagues. She would also want to lay flowers at the Shipyard Workers' Memorial and visit Gdansk old town. The best time for her to do this would be on the

afternoon of the second day, which would require some adjustment to the remainder of the programme. If she made an early start on 31 May, it would be possible to fit in the visit to St Stanislaw Kostka's Church and the British Council Cinema and Exhibition Hall in the morning, as well as the call on Cardinal Glemp and the talks with Messner. I see the difficulty about holding the Press Conference before the Prime Minister has met Walesa. But I do not think this is insuperable. She could, for instance, give a further small Press Conference in Gdansk after seeing him there; and anyway she can brief British correspondents about the meeting on her aircraft.

The Prime Minister would therefore like the possibility of adding Gdansk to the programme to be explored with the Polish authorities.

Programme for Mr Thatcher

Mr Thatcher will not accompany the Prime Minister on this visit. The delegation will comprise myself, Nigel Wicks, Bernard Ingham, Michael Bates, two Duty Clerks and two Garden Room ladies.

Accommodation

The Prime Minister would, I am sure, be happy to stay with the Ambassador if this is acceptable to the Polish authorities.

Other Points

There are a number of further points in Annex C to your letter. The answers are, in order:

- Talks with Jaruzelski. I think that the Prime Minister would find three hours more than enough. Perhaps a first session of two hours and a further half hour before dinner might be the best arrangement.
- Talks with Prime Minister Messner. 45 minutes would probably be enough for this.
- Meeting with Walesa. This depends on whether the Prime Minister sees him in Gdansk or Warsaw.
- Meeting with representatives of moderate independent opinion. This should be fitted in if possible.
- Meeting with Cardinal Glemp. The Prime Minister would be perfectly happy to call on the Cardinal.
- Wreath-laying. I am sure the Prime Minister would be happy to lay wreaths at both memorials in Warsaw.
- Walkabout. This is a very important part of the programme for the Prime Minister, both in Warsaw and Gdansk. She will indeed wish to have personal contact

with the Polish public and a visit to the covered market seems to offer the best opportunity. The Prime Minister would not want to tour the Royal Castle.

- British Council Cinema and Exhibition Hall. The Prime Minister would be happy to open these.
- Meeting with Embassy Staff. In such a compressed programme, it will be difficult to find time for this. It is probably best to invite them to the British Council Cinema Opening.
- TV Interview. I agree with what is proposed.
- Interpreter. We should try to find a high quality interpreter to accompany the Prime Minister.
- Journalists. The Number 10 Press Office will make the necessary arrangements.

C D POWELL

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 February 1988

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's visit to Poland

We need to start discussing arrangements for this visit with the Polish authorities. I should be grateful for your guidance on the following.

Dates

The Poles have accepted 30/31 May (my letter of 29 December). The programme will be crowded, even if the Prime Minister spends the whole time in Warsaw (see below). It would help greatly if the Prime Minister were able to arrive in Warsaw on the evening of 29 May. I assume, if she can agree to do this, that she would not want to have any engagements that evening, except for an official arrival ceremony (as short as possible) and perhaps a quiet briefing supper with the Ambassador, Mr Barder, and senior staff of the Embassy.

Announcement of Visit

Ideally this should be made some two or three weeks before the visit takes place. (There has as you know already been some fairly accurate press speculation about when the visit is likely to be). I enclose a draft text (Annex A). If you are content, we will clear this with the Poles, and tell them that we will be in touch with them again nearer the time (of course in consultation with the No 10 Press Office) to agree a date for release, and that we would envisage this being in early May.

Programme

I enclose two possible variants (Annex B). Variant 1 assumes that the Prime Minister will be able to arrive in Warsaw on the evening of 29 May, and that she would stay in Warsaw throughout. Variant 2 assumes arrival on the morning of 30 May. It includes, for illustrative purposes, a visit to Gdansk on the way home, to see Walesa there rather than in Warsaw.

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A visit to Gdansk would need careful consideration. We see two disadvantages in it. First, the Prime Minister would have to be ready to meet representatives of the Gdansk authorities, and to hold a short session of official talks with them (the Polish authorities would insist on this).

Second, it would considerably complicate the programme. In theory the Prime Minister could travel Warsaw/Gdansk/Warsaw by air (45 minutes in each direction) say during the second half of 30 May, though this would rule out a walkabout in Warsaw and/or other activities, and would perhaps not be a sensible use of time. Alternatively she could, as shown in Variant 2, go there on the way home. But since the press conference should preferably take place in Warsaw, it would then have to take place before her meeting with Walesa, which we think undesirable.

The Polish authorities can in any case be expected to try hard to ride us off the idea of a visit to Gdansk, if we put it forward. They will be likely to argue that Walesa has no official position, that he should travel to see the Prime Minister rather than vice versa, and that they have already agreed to a meeting with Walesa in Warsaw. None of this of course need prevent us from trying to get a visit to Gdansk agreed, if the Prime Minister wishes to go. But I suggest, if she does, that we should make clear from the outset that apart from a meeting with Walesa and others from Solidarity, she would wish to lay flowers at the Shipyard Workers' Memorial, and perhaps visit Gdansk old town, as in Variant 2.

If the Prime Minister decides against a visit to Gdansk, the Polish authorities may propose a visit to Krakow (which is attractive, and the usual destination for VIP guests, but like Gdansk is about 45 minutes from Warsaw by air). A visit there would take at least half a day, and be entirely touristic. Unless the Prime Minister is specially keen, we would advise against it. We also assume that she would rather not spend time travelling to and from the Nieborow Palace outside Warsaw, by helicopter or otherwise. (The Poles may well suggest Nieborow as the venue for talks with Jaruzelski. It is about 100 km from Warsaw. Vice-President Bush's talks with Jaruzelski were held there).



Programme for Mr Thatcher

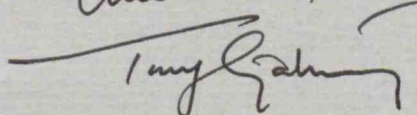
We should be grateful to know whether Mr Thatcher will accompany the Prime Minister. We have indicated, in both Variants 1 and 2, those activities which Mr Thatcher might wish to take part in. In addition, he could perhaps pay calls on Poles engaged in promoting the private sector, and in the organisation of joint ventures. He might visit the memorial in a Warsaw church to RAF personnel and others who died in the 1944 operation to drop supplies to the insurgents of the Warsaw uprising. He could also visit the Embassy to meet the staff in their offices. (The building is undergoing major reconstruction, and working conditions are extremely difficult for them).

Accommodation

Mr and Mrs Barder hope that the Prime Minister will stay with them. In addition to the Prime Minister and Mr Thatcher (who we understand would share a room) they could accommodate three others. The rest of the party will probably stay at a government hotel, close to the Ambassador's house. The Poles may press for the Prime Minister to be accommodated there as well. I imagine that, even if the Prime Minister would prefer to stay with the Ambassador, you would not wish us to resist this sort of pressure strongly, if the Poles seem to attach real importance to it.

Other points

I attach an Annex (Annex C) covering other points on the programme on which you will wish to see our comments, or which raise questions on which we should be grateful for your guidance.

Yours ever,


(A C Galsworthy)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
 10 Downing Street

DRAFT PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP, has accepted an invitation from the Polish Government to visit Poland from May 1988.

NOTES FOR EDITORS

1. This will be the first visit by a British Prime Minister to Poland. The then Polish Prime Minister, Mr Piotr Jaroszewicz, visited Britain in 1976.
2. The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP, visited Poland in April 1985. The Polish Foreign Minister, Professor Marian Orzechowski, visited the United Kingdom from 6-10 December 1987 and called on the Prime Minister.
3. The most recent British Ministerial visit to Poland was by Mr Robert Atkins, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Department of Trade and Industry, in January 1988.

DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

("(DT)" indicates events in which Mr Denis Thatcher might also participate if he accompanies the Prime Minister).

Variant 1 (Arrival on 29 May)

Sunday 29 May

p.m. Arrival. Formal greeting by Polish Prime Minister (Messner) (DT)

Briefing supper with HM Ambassador and senior Embassy staff (DT)

Monday 30 May

a.m. Lay wreaths: Tomb of Unknown Warrior and Ghetto Memorial (DT)

Talks with Jaruzelski

p.m. Lunch by Messner (DT)

Visit to Hala Mirowska market/old town square (DT)

Meeting with moderate independents (DT)

TV interview recorded

Formal dinner in Prime Minister's honour given by Jaruzelski (DT)

Tuesday 31 May

a.m. Call on Cardinal Glemp (DT)

Talks with Messner

p.m. Meeting and lunch at Residence with Walesa and other leading Solidarity figures (DT)

Open British Council Cinema and Exhibition Hall (DT)

Visit St Stanislaw Kostka's Church, lay flowers on Father Popieluszko's grave (DT)

Press conference (DT)

To Airport

Formal farewell by Prime Minister (Messner) (DT)

/Variant 2 (Arrival on 30 May)

Variant 2 (Arrival on 30 May)

Monday 30 May

a.m. Arrival. Formal greeting by Polish Prime Minister (Messner) (DT)

Lay wreaths: Tomb of Unknown Warrior and Ghetto Memorial (DT)

Talks with Messner

p.m. Lunch by Messner (DT)

Talks with Jaruzelski

TV interview recorded

Formal dinner given in Prime Minister's honour by Jaruzelski (DT)

Tuesday 31 May

a.m. Meeting with moderate independents (?breakfast) (DT)

Call on Cardinal Glemp (?DT)

Open British Council Cinema and Exhibition Hall (DT)

Visit St Stanislaw Kostka's Church, lay flowers on Father Popieluszko's grave (DT)

Press conference (DT)

p.m. To Airport. Formal farewell by Messner. Depart for Gdansk (DT)

Lunch on aircraft

Brief arrival ceremony at Gdansk (DT)

Call on Gdansk Voivod/Party Secretary

Meeting with Walesa and other leading Solidarity figures (DT)

Lay flowers at Shipyard Workers' Memorial (DT)

Visit Gdansk old town (DT)

Depart



Annex C

Prime Minister's Visit to Poland: Points on the Programme

1. Talks with Jaruzelski. We assume the Prime Minister will not want more than three hours discussion with Jaruzelski, at most. The Poles may want this to be divided into two sessions.
2. Prime Minister Messner. The invitation to the Prime Minister will be "in the name of the highest Polish authorities". But Messner will have to be involved, as the Prime Minister's formal opposite number. There will have to be a separate meeting with him, say of an hour, though if you agree we will aim for less. We suggest the Poles be told that the Prime Minister would like this meeting to concentrate mainly on economic subjects.
3. Meeting with Walesa. We assume that, if the Prime Minister sees Walesa in Warsaw, she would wish this to be in relaxed surroundings and to include say half a dozen senior Solidarity figures (whom we would leave it to Walesa to propose). A good formula, in Mr Barder's view, might be a short meeting with Walesa only (say half an hour: interpretation will be needed, and anything less would seem perfunctory) followed by a meal to which the others would be invited. This would give status and ceremony to the occasion.
4. Meeting with representatives of moderate independent opinion. This category includes lay Catholics, former Solidarity members and sympathisers, and independent members of Jaruzelski's Consultative Council. They represent a vital strand of opinion: neither Jaruzelski nor Solidarity can achieve much without them. It will not be easy to make time for a meeting with them. But we assume the Prime Minister would wish this to be included (and will be content for Mr Barder to choose a representative selection of preferably English-speaking individuals).
5. Meeting with Cardinal Glemp. We assume that, in accordance with normal practice, the Prime Minister will call on the Cardinal, rather than vice versa. (We shall need to make arrangements for this meeting, and for the meeting with Walesa, at a fairly early stage, and of course well before dates for the visit have been announced).



6. Wreath-laying. It is normal for foreign visitors to lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior (which contains the body of a soldier killed in the Polish-Soviet war of 1920). 1988 is the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, for which there is to be a major commemoration in April. It would seem fitting, not take much more time, and strike a good note if the Prime Minister were also to lay a wreath at the Ghetto Memorial. The two memorials are close together .

7. Walkabout. The Poles are likely to press for a visit to the old town square in Warsaw, and perhaps a tour of the Royal Castle. The latter would be time-consuming, and Mr Barder recommends against it. But we assume the Prime Minister will wish to be seen by and have some personal contact with the Polish public. A visit to the Hala Mirowska, a covered market with first floor galleries and open stalls, would provide this (subject to acceptable security arrangements). A very short visit to the old town could perhaps also be included, though there would be more foreign tourists there than ordinary Poles.

8. British Council Cinema and Exhibition Hall. The Council operates in Poland as the British Institute. It occupies a prominent site in central Warsaw, separate from the Embassy. It has a large budget (just over £1 m in 1988/9) and an extensive programme of academic and other exchanges. It plays a major role in building contacts with the Polish people. 1988 is the 50th anniversary of the Council's work in Poland. Mr Barder recommends strongly, and we agree, that the Prime Minister should open the new Cinema and Exhibition Hall. This need not take more than half an hour. Mr Barder hopes the Prime Minister would be willing to unveil a plaque. A suggested text is enclosed (Annex D).

9. Meeting with Embassy staff. Neither of the enclosed programme variants includes this. It may be impossible to find time for it. But Mr Barder hopes very much that, if say a half-hour reception for Embassy and British Council staff could be fitted in either at his house or at the Embassy, the Prime Minister would be willing to attend. An alternative would be to invite staff to the British Council cinema opening, if the Prime Minister agrees to undertake that.

10. TV Interview. A live interview would need to take place in the early evening, in order to catch the best audience. This might be difficult to fit in: live



transmission would also present major problems over verifying the accuracy of the interpretation. We recommend that the interview be recorded, with several Polish journalists rather than just one, and broadcast as part of an extended early evening TV news on 30 May.

11. Interpreter. The Poles can be relied on to provide a first class interpreter for official discussions and meals. Our own interpreters in Polish, during recent Ministerial visits to London, have unfortunately not been fully satisfactory. We could try to find a high quality interpreter to accompany the Prime Minister. But an alternative would be to rely on the interpreter provided by the Poles for official events, and on a Polish speaking member of our Embassy (of whom there are several of high but not professional standard) for unofficial meetings, eg with Walesa. In this case, a fluent Polish speaker from the Embassy would also need to be present at all official talks (to correct any bowdlerising by the Polish official interpreter of what the Prime Minister said). Would the Prime Minister be content with this?

12. Journalists We expect that a fairly large party of British journalists will wish to accompany the Prime Minister. Mr Barder assumes that, as soon as the main lines of the programme are clear, the No 10 Press Office will arrange a reconnaissance visit to Warsaw, so that appropriate arrangements can be made.

13. Return Hospitality. There is no Polish tradition of return meals by visiting Prime Ministers or Heads of State.

SUGGESTED WORDING FOR BRITISH COUNCIL PLAQUE

THESE ROOMS WERE OPENED BY THE PRIME MINISTER,
THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER FRS MP, ON
(DATE) TO MARK THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
BRITISH COUNCIL IN POLAND