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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

16 September 1988

Dear Charles

Prime Minister's Visit to Poland

I enclose Warsaw telnos 505 and 506, which report the Poles' latest proposals for the programme.

I hope you will find these satisfactory. The Poles have now met nearly all our wishes. We recommend that the Prime Minister should accept the visit to the Royal Castle. It would last only 35 minutes and would have considerable symbolic value to the Poles. The film referred to lasts 17 minutes. We have asked the Embassy to check that the commentary accompanying it is acceptable.

If there is time, and if the Prime Minister agrees, she could also visit the nearby Church of St Anne's which commemorates the 200 airmen (British, Polish and South African) killed while airlifting supplies to the Polish resistances in the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. A very brief visit there would act as a reminder of the wartime alliance, and be particularly appreciated by the Polish community in the UK.

Your letter of 14 September confirmed that the Prime Minister will arrive in Warsaw at 1715 on 16 October. The Embassy will if necessary be able to arrange a private meeting that evening, as well as one on the afternoon of 17 October. But you will note from paragraph 2 (D) of Warsaw's telno 506 that the Embassy is having difficulties in fixing a call on the Church. Both Cardinal Glemp and the two other senior Churchmen in Warsaw will be in Rome during the Prime Minister's visit. The Embassy are considering the problem and will recommend a solution.

I hope you will agree that the Gdansk programme now seems very satisfactory. The Poles have in effect proposed the fall-back suggested in your letter of 5 September. The Embassy is pursuing the question of a call on Father Jankowski. The meeting with Walesa may now take place at his church, St Brygida's.

Yours ever

Bob Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
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FM WARSAW
TO DESKBY 151000Z FCO
TELNO 506
OF 150840Z SEPTEMBER 88

MIPT : PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

1. THE POLES HAVE NOW GONE A CONSIDERABLE WAY TO ACCOMMODATE OUR WISHES.

2. WARSAW : MAIN POINTS TO NOTE ON WARSAW PROGRAMME ARE

(A) REMOVAL OF VISIT TO FATHER POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE FROM PART OF TOUR OF WARSAW TO SEPARATE EVENT. IF ANYTHING, THIS IS AN IMPROVEMENT PRESENTATIONALLY.

(B) VISIT TO ROYAL CASTLE : THE PRIME MINISTER HAS EARLIER SAID THAT SHE DOES NOT WISH TO VISIT THE ROYAL CASTLE. POLES STRESS THAT VISIT WOULD NOT BE OF A TOURIST NATURE SINCE THE ROYAL CASTLE IS A HISTORIC SYMBOL OF THE SURVIVAL OF THE POLISH NATION. THE ROYAL CASTLE WAS DESTROYED DELIBERATELY BY THE NAZIS. THE VISIT COULD BE LIMITED TO TWO CHIEF COMPONENTS. THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD SEE THE EXTREMELY GOOD FILM ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION AND REBUILDING OF WARSAW, AND SHE COULD VISIT BRIEFLY THE SMALL BUT HIGH QUALITY EXHIBITION OF BRITISH DOCUMENTS ON ANGLO/POLISH HISTORY FROM THE PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE CURRENTLY ON SHOW IN THE CASTLE. THESE INCLUDE WARTIME ITEMS, INCLUDING CONTACTS BETWEEN CHURCHILL AND THE POLES, THAT SHE MIGHT BE INTERESTED TO SEE.

(C) THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER ARE ADVANCED AND COULD TAKE UP RATHER MORE TIME THAN WE HAD ENVISAGED.

(D) ONLY ONE PERIOD FOR PRIVATE MEETINGS IS ALLOWED. SINCE IT NOW LOOKS DOUBTFUL IF ANY SENIOR FIGURE FROM THE CHURCH HIERARCHY WILL BE AVAILABLE TO SEE THE PRIME MINISTER, IT MAY TURN OUT THAT WE HAVE ONLY ONE PRIVATE MEETING TO ARRANGE THIS DAY WITH THE INDEPENDENTS. THERE SHOULD IN ANY CASE BE TIME (ONE AND A HALF TO ONE AND THREE QUARTER HOURS) FOR TWO MEETINGS IF A CHURCH MEETING PROVED POSSIBLE.

3. GDANSK : THE POLES HAVE MORE OR LESS PROPOSED THE VARIANT OF THE GDANSK PROGRAMME DESCRIBED IN PARA 5 OF FCO TELNO 400. THE ONLY VARIATION IS THAT THE WALKABOUT IN DLUGI TARG TAKES PLACE

PAGE 1
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BEFORE RATHER THAN AFTER LUNCH. PROVIDED JARUZELSKI AGREES TO THE FINAL ROUND TALKS, THIS PROGRAMME NOW SEEMS VERY SATISFACTORY.

4. ON BALANCE, I CONSIDER THE POLISH PROPOSALS PROVIDE A GOOD PROGRAMME WHICH INCLUDES ALL THE ELEMENTS FOR WHICH HAVE ASKED. THE ONLY REAL QUERY IS OVER THE PROPOSED VISIT TO THE ROYAL CASTLE. I BELIEVE THAT THE POLES WOULD BE UPSET IF THE PRIME MINISTER WERE TO REJECT THIS, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE EXHIBITION FORTUITOUSLY NOW THERE WOULD GIVE THE VISIT A FLAVOUR OF BRITISH HISTORY TO GO WITH THE DOSE OF POLISH PATRIOTISM. MOREOVER, THE PROGRAMME NOW HAS SUFFICIENT TIME TO ACCOMMODATE THE CASTLE VISIT WITHOUT LOSING ANY OTHER IMPORTANT COMPONENT. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES I HOPE THE PRIME MINISTER WILL AGREE TO THIS.

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FM WARSAW
TO DESKBY 151000Z FCO
TELNO 505
OF 150815Z SEPTEMBER 88

YOUR TEL 400
PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

1. WE PUT NEW PROGRAMME PROPOSALS, INCORPORATING IDEAS IN PARAS 3 AND 4 OF TUR, TO MFA ON 9 SEPTEMBER. THEY HAVE COME BACK WITH FOLLOWING-PROPOSAL:

16 OCTOBER:

PM ARRIVAL.
CEREMONIAL GREETING.
SYMBOLIC GLASS OF WINE AT AIRPORT WITH POLISH PRIME MINISTER.
TO RESIDENCE FOR PRIVATE SUPPER.

17 OCTOBER:

AM VISIT ST STANISLAW KOSTKA'S CHURCH (FAH^RER
POPIELUSZKO'S GRAVE)
LAY WREATH AT TOMB OF UNKNOWN WARRIOR.
MEETING WITH POLISH PRIME MINISTER (MAX ONE HOUR)
VISIT WARSAW - ROYAL CASTLE.
SEE FILM ABOUT DESTRUCTION AND REBUILDING OF WARSAW
1944 - POST WAR (MAX 35 MINS)
WALK ABOUT IN OLD TOWN, TO HALA MIROWSKA FOR FURTHER
WALK ABOUT.
BRITISH COUNCIL.
1300 LUNCH GIVEN BY POLISH PRIME MINISTER.
1430 PRIVATE PROGRAMME.
1630 TALKS WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI.
2000 DINNER IN PRIME MINISTER'S HONOUR BY JARUZELSKI.

18 OCTOBER:

AM DEPART WARSAW.
ARRIVE GDANSK AIRPORT.
TRAVEL TO WESTERPLATTE BY CAR FOR JOINT WREATH-LAYING
WITH JARUZELSKI.

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WALK ABOUT IN DLUGI TARG.
CALL ON TOWN HALL TO INCLUDE FINAL ROUND OF TALKS WITH
JARUZELSKI.
PRIVATE PROGRAMME TO INCLUDE LUNCH FOLLOWED BY FLOWER-
LAYING CEREMONY AT SHIPYARD WORKERS' MEMORIAL.
TV INTERVIEW AND PRESS CONFERENCE.
DEPARTURE FOR GDANSK AIRPORT.
DEPARTURE CEREMONY. SEEN OFF BY POLISH PRIME MINISTER.

2. HEAD OF MFA PROTOCOL STRESSED THAT PROPOSALS ON GDANSK HAD NOT
YET BEEN FULLY AGREED WITH APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES AND THAT IN
PARTICULAR HE HAD NO RESPONSE YET FROM JARUZELSKI ON THE PROPOSED
FINAL ROUND OF TALKS.

3. SEE MIFT FOR COMMENT.

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10 DOWNING STREET

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From the Private Secretary

16 September 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

Thank you for your letter of 16 September, covering the Poles' latest proposals for the Prime Minister's programme in Poland. I am confident that the Prime Minister will be content with these, and will be prepared to visit the Royal Castle in the light of the further background provided in your letter.

I hope very much that the final session of talks with Jaruzelski will be agreed by the Poles: it is important presentationally.

CHARLES POWELL

R. N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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085