

POLAND : ADVANCE COPIES

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Prime Minister to see.

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CONFIDENTIAL

FM WARSAW 291555Z JAN 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 184 OF 29TH JANUARY 1982

INFO PRIORITY : WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN AND HOLY SEE.

INFO SAVING: EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, ISOFIA, BELGRADE, BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST, UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, HELSINKI AND STOCKHOLM

MY TEL NO 111: POLAND: THE CHURCH.

N.P.G. Mitchell

Duty Clerk  
29/1/82

1. ARCHBISHOP GLEMP, ACCOMPANIED BY CARDINAL MACHARSKI, WILL BE TRAVELLING TO ROME NEXT WEEK FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE POPE. IT MAY BE TIMELY TO ASSESS WHERE THE CHURCH NOW STANDS.

2. IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY GENUINE POLITICAL PROGRESS IN POLAND OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS, THE CHURCH HAS BEEN LEFT NO ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE BETWEEN THE HARDENING REQUIREMENTS OF JARUZELSKI AND THE INCREASINGLY TOUGH DEMANDS OF SOLIDARITY LEADERS. JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH TO THE SEJM ON 25 JANUARY HELD OUT NO HOPE FOR RECONCILIATION WITH SOLIDARITY WHICH WAS BARELY MENTIONED EXCEPT IN A PEJORATIVE SENSE, OR FOR ANY RESUMPTION OF THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE. FOR THEIR PART SOLIDARITY LEADERS, WITH WHOM GLEMP SPENT SIX HOURS OVER THE WEEKEND, ARE, SO GLEMP TOLD THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, BECOMING MORE RADICAL AND MORE DIFFICULT. GLEMP'S COMMENT TO SENATOR PRESSLER THAT WALESA WAS

SO GLEMP TOLD THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, BECOMING MORE RADICAL AND MORE DIFFICULT. GLEMP'S COMMENT TO SENATOR PRESSLER THAT WALESA WAS TRYING TO BRING THE PARTY TO ITS KNEES, WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY LEAKED TO THE AMERICAN PRESS, HAS NOT BEEN DENIED BY THE CHURCH HERE. THERE IS NO GIVE ON EITHER SIDE AND GLEMP IS SAID TO BE INCREASINGLY DEPRESSED AND FED UP WITH BOTH GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY.

3. FRUSTRATED ON THIS FRONT, THE CHURCH HAS BEEN CONCENTRATING ON ALLEVIATING THE CONTINUING REPRESSIVE EFFECTS OF MARTIAL LAW ON THE CATHOLIC FLOCK AND PARTICULARLY ON THE DETAINEES. THE STRONGLY WORDED PASTORAL LETTER EXTOLLING FREEDOM AND CRITICISING MARTIAL LAW WAS PUBLISHED LAST WEEK. IT WAS THEN READ OUT IN CHURCHES ON SUNDAY BUT ITS CUTTING EDGE WAS BLUNTED BY THE SERMON DELIVERED IN WARSAW BY THE PRIMATE WHICH PRAISED MODERATION AND WHICH SPECIFICALLY SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF SETTING UP LOCAL COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL SALVATION WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF LAY CATHOLICS. THIS SERMON WAS PICKED UP AND RE-BROADCAST BY WARSAW RADIO AND WAS QUOTED WITH APPROVAL BY PAP AND IN MONDAY'S PRESS.

4. THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT CONCESSION BY THE CHURCH, SINCE, AS WE HAVE BEEN REPORTING OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS, THE GOVERNMENT CLEARLY SETS MUCH STORE BY THE FORMATION OF THESE LOCAL COMMITTEES. THEY LOOK AS IF THEY MAY BE PAVING THE WAY FOR THE REVIVAL OF THE CONCEPT OF A FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING UNDER A DIFFERENT NAME. THEY COULD ALSO BE USED AS A MEANS OF EXCLUDING ANY FUTURE "POLITICAL" TRADE UNION, THUS CONSIGNING AN EVENTUAL SUCCESSOR TO SOLIDARITY TO A PURELY INDUSTRIAL ROLE. THE PARTICIPATION OF LAY CATHOLICS WITH THE CHURCH'S BLESSING IN SUCH COMMITTEES REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT VICTORY FOR THE GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN TOLD THAT GLEMP HAS NOT TOTALLY REJECTED IDEAS PUT TO HIM FOR THE FORMATION OF SOME KIND OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY FOR WHICH LAY CATHOLIC PARTICIPATION IN A LOCAL POLITICAL FORM MIGHT BE A FORE-RUNNER.

5. GLEMP IS RUMOURED TO HAVE CLAIMED THAT HE MADE THIS CONCESSION AS PART OF A BARGAIN WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN RETURN FOR JARUZELSKI'S AGREEMENT TO ANNOUNCE SOME SUBSTANTIVE RELAXATIONS OF MARTIAL LAW IN HIS SPEECH TO THE SEJM. HE IS NOW SAID TO BE FURIOUS THAT JARUZELSKI DID NOT STICK TO THE DEAL. WHETHER THIS IS TRUE OR NOT, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT MANY POLES ARE DISAPPOINTED WITH GLEMP'S SUNDAY SERMON.

6. IN THIS LATEST EXCHANGE GLEMP SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN OUT-MANOEUVRED. THERE IS CONSEQUENTLY LOCAL TALK OF THE POPE'S DISPLEASURE WITH GLEMP, WHICH IS SAID TO ACCOUNT FOR THE LATTER'S SUDDEN

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SURE WITH GLEMP, WHICH IS SAID TO ACCOUNT FOR THE LATTER'S SUDDEN  
CALL TO ROME. IN FACT THE ITALIAN EMBASSY TELL US THAT GLEMP'S VISIT,  
IF NOT THE ACTUAL DATES, HAS BEEN PLANNED FOR SOME TIME. THE POPE  
WILL CLEARLY WISH TO HAVE A FIRST HAND BRIEFING FROM THE POLISH  
PRIMATE AND, WHEN GLEMP RETURNS TO WARSAW, HE WILL BE ABLE TO RENEW  
HIS DIFFICULT NEGOTIATING ROLE WITH THE BOZW AO

WTRTRENTH OF

THE POPE'S DIRECT SUPPORT.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSES

MELHUI SH

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