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FM WARSAW 191615Z FEB 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 281 OF 19TH FEB

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN , UKDEL  
MADRID , HOLY SEE.SAVING TO . UKMIS GENEVA, EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, SOFIA, BUDAPEST,  
BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS,  
HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM.POLAND: THE CHURCH.

1. THE POLISH CHURCH HAS MAINTAINED A LOW PUBLIC PROFILE SINCE GLEMP'S RETURN FROM ROME A WEEK AGO. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE MENTION IN THE PRESS AND FEW COMMENTS FROM GOVERNMENT SOURCES. GLEMP HIMSELF IS NOT SEEING MANY PEOPLE, A DEPARTURE FROM HIS USUAL ACCESSIBILITY TO AMBASSADORS ETC.
2. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR SAW THE PRIMATE ON 16 FEBRUARY AND FOUND HIM DEPRESSED. GLEMP SAID THAT THE SITUATION WAS VERY BAD. THERE HAD BEEN NO PROPER DIALOGUE BETWEEN CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT FOR WEEKS AND THERE WAS NOTHING MUCH HAPPENING NOW. HE NO LONGER SAID- AS HE SEEMS TO HAVE COMMENTED TO BELGIAN AMBASSADOR IN ROME DURING RECENT VISIT-THAT THE CHURCH CONSIDERED JARUZELSKI A MODERATE. GLEMP TOLD NEGWER, HOWEVER, THAT THEY DID CONSIDER JARUZELSKI AS AT HEART A GOOD POLE. GLEMP SAID THAT THE CHURCH DID NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT CURRENT RUMOURS ABOUT PARTY HARD-LINERS PREPARING A MOVE AGAINST THE CHURCH MIGHT BE TRUE. HE ALSO ADMITTED THAT SOME HOT-HEADED PRIESTS MIGHT HAVE GONE A BIT FAR. HE WAS DISMISSIVE OF THE VALUE OF LOCAL COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL SALVATION. AS FOR SOLIDARITY, HE TOLD NEGWER THAT DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND ORGANISING STREET DEMONSTRATIONS WERE NOT THE WAY TO DEFEAT COMMUNISM. HE FINISHED BY SAYING THAT HE COULD NOT FORESEE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT. LIKE MOST OTHER POLES, HE WAS WAITING TO SEE WHAT TH VII PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WOULD REVEAL.
3. IF THIS CONVERSATION GENUINELY REPRESENTS THE PRIMATE'S CURRENT THINKING ., THE ATTITUDE OF THE POLISH CHURCH SEEMS TO HAVE HARDENED CONSIDERABLY OVER THE PAST WEEKS. THIS WOULD NOT BE ALL THAT SURPRISING FOLLOWING GLEMP'S RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH THE POPE IN ROME AND IN THE LIGHT OF CRITICISM WHICH GLEMP INCURRED BEFORE THAT VISIT FOR GIVING TOO MUCH AWAY IN THE CHURCH'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE REGIME ( MY TEL NO 184). ANOTHER POSSIBILITY IS THAT GLEMP

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MAY NOW BE DELIBERATELY TAKING A MORE PESSIMISTIC LINE WITH HIS FOREIGN INTERLOCUTERS SINCE SOME OF HIS EARLIER CONFIDENCES HAVE BEEN BETRAYED. EITHER WAY, HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT HOLD OUT MUCH PROSPECT FOR AN EFFECTIVE CATALYTIC ROLE FOR THE CHURCH IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

4. THIS PESSIMISM FROM THE CHURCH AND THE LACK OF ANY MOVEMENT ON TALKS WITH SOLIDARITY BOTH CONTRIBUTE TO THE CURRENT AIR OF FRUSTRATION AND STAELEMATE IN WARSAW. EVERYONE NOW SEEMS TO BE WAITING FOR THE MUCH DELAYED VII PLENUM BUT MAINLY BECAUSE THERE SEEMS TO BE NOTHING ELSE. THERE IS STILL NO FIRM DATE FOR THIS MEETING, NOR ANY ASSURANCE THAT IT WILL RECORD ANY MARKED PROGRESS. OF ALL THE VARIOUS ACTORS IN THE CURRENT POLISH DRAMA, THE LEAST LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR A STARRING ROLE MUST BE THE PARTY.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

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