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Prime Minister
I think your speech
can be said to have
divine blessing!

073554
MDADAN 5206

Agree to send a
message of thanks?

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FM HOLY SEE
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TELNO 062
OF 311555Z OCTOBER 88
INFO IMMEDIATE WARSAW

YOUR TELNO 23: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

SUMMARY

1. POPE VERY GRATEFUL FOR PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE. CHURCH/STATE RELATIONS ARE AT A DELICATE STAGE. POPE CONSIDERS POLITICAL REFORM A PREREQUISITE FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS. IN SHORT-TERM FAILURE TO HOLD ROUND TABLE WOULD BE DISASTROUS.

DETAIL

2. ARCHBISHOP COLASSUONO, WHO HAS SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR RELATIONS WITH POLAND IN THE ABSENCE OF A RESIDENT PAPAL NUNCIO, SAW ME THIS MORNING. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FATHER BOLONEK, A POLISH PRIEST WHO HAS BEEN A SPECIAL ADVISER ON POLISH AFFAIRS IN THE VATICAN FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS.

3. COLASSUONO EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS SEEING ME AT THE POPE'S REQUEST. THE POPE WAS VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE AND ESPECIALLY APPRECIATED HER STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE FULL RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND. BECAUSE OF THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE BEFORE THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT, COLASSUONO SAID HE HAD BEEN ASKED TO RESPOND ORALLY TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED: BUT HE EXPLAINED THAT IN THE POPE'S VIEW CARDINAL GLEMP WAS PARTICULARLY WELL PLACED TO ADVISE ON QUESTIONS B), C) AND D) IN PARA 1 OF YOUR TUR AND THAT IT WAS FORTUNATE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WAS SEEING THE CARDINAL TOWARDS THE START OF HER VISIT. GLEMP HAS MET JARUZELSKI WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS.

CHURCH/STATE RELATIONS

4. COLASSUONO SAID THAT THESE HAD REACHED A DELICATE STAGE. A GROUP OF POLISH BISHOPS WAS HOLDING REGULAR MEETINGS WITH THE AUTHORITIES TO PREPARE A DRAFT LAW WHICH WOULD SET OUT THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE CHURCH WOULD OPERATE IN FUTURE. THIS WOULD COVER SUCH TOPICS AS THE RECOGNITION OF THE CHURCH'S

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LEGAL STATUS, THE ESTABLISHMENT AND FREE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC ORGANISATIONS, EG FOR CHARITABLE PURPOSES, AND ACCESS BY CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES TO THE MEDIA. REASONABLE PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ANF THE AUTHORITIES SEEMED READY TO ACCEPT MANY OF THE CHURCH'S REQUIREMENTS, EVEN THAT CATHOLIC NEWSPAPERS AND WEEKLY MAGAZINES SHOULD BE PUBLISHED WITHOUT PRIOR CENSORSHIP. HOWEVER THE AUTHORITIES WERE STILL HESITANT ABOUT AGREEING TO THE FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION FOR CATHOLIC ORGANISATIONS. COLASSUONO SAID THAT FURTHER PROGRESS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY DEPEND ON HOW THE OVERALL POLITICAL SITUATION DEVELOPED.

5. AS FOR THE CHURCH'S INFLUENCE ON ECONOMIC AND OTHER REFORMS, COLASSUONO SAID THAT THIS WOULD MAINLY BE CHANNELLED THROUGH CATHOLIC LAYMEN, EG ECONOMISTS AND FROM TIME TO TIME THROUGH COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATIONS BY THE BISHOPS CONFERENCE: THE FIRST STEP HOWEVER MUST BE THE ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS AT WHICH THE CHURCH WOULD BE OBSERVERS ONLY.

PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL REFORM

6. COLASSUONO DESCRIBED THE PRESENT SITUATION AS VERY CONFUSED: THERE WAS A SERIOUS LACK OF CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND THE POLISH PEOPLE. GENERAL JARUZELSKI HAD TOLD HIM LAST JUNE THAT HIS ULTIMATE AIM WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DEMOCRACY IN POLAND. BUT THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN SOME ENCOURAGING SIGNS THERE WAS STILL NO CLEAR FRAMEWORK FOR WORKING TOWARDS THIS END. THE PARTY SEEMD MORE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT REFORM THAN JARUZELSKI HIMSELF. THE POPE FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT POLITICAL REFORMS WERE ESSENTIAL IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE ECONOMIC SITUATION. THE POPE HAD CONSISTENTLY TAKEN THE LINE THAT THE PRESENT POLITICAL SYSTEM HAD BEEN IMPOSED: HIS LONG-TERM AIM WAS THE RETURN OF SOVEREIGNTY TO THE POLISH NATION AND PEOPLE. COLASSUONO SAID THAT THE POPE WAS UNDER NO ILLUSION THAT THIS COULD TAKE PLACE QUICKLY, BUT A PROPER DIALOGUE WAS ESSENTIAL. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE CATHOLIC OPPOSITION IN POLAND PREFERRED A STEP BY STEP APPROACH AND WAS NOT PRESSING NOW FOR THE FREE ESTABLISHMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES: THEY REALISED THAT THIS COULD LEAD TO CHAOS AND WANTED TO SET UP POLITICAL CLUBS FIRST OF ALL WHERE POLITICAL DISCUSSION COULD START. COLASSUONO SEEMED PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE PROPSECTS FOR THE PROPOSED ROUND TABLE AND BELIEVED THAT THE REFUSAL OF THE AUTHORITIES TO ACCEPT TWO SOLIDARITY MEMBERS AS REPRESENTATIVES AT IT WAS SIMPLY AN EXCUSE FOR DELAY. COLASSUONO WAS ALSO VERY CONCERNED AT THE PROSPECT THAT THE LENIN SHIPYARD AT GDANSK MIGHT BE CLOSED AT

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THIS JUNCTURE AND FEARED THAT, IF THIS HAPPENED WITH NO ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT, MANY OF THE WORKERS WOULD TRY TO STIR UP TROUBLE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY: WHATEVER HAPPENED, THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REBIRTH OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC ON 11 NOVEMBER MIGHT WELL BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MAJOR DEMONSTRATIONS.

WALESA

7. IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION, COLASSUONO SAID THAT WALESA COULD NOT BE REGARDED AS THE LEADER OF SOLIDARITY AS A WHOLE BUT ONLY OF A MODERATE GROUP WITHIN IT. HE WAS CLOSE TO THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE. IT WAS HIS INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION WHICH MEANT THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAD TO TAKE HIM SERIOUSLY. BUT EVEN SO IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT JARUZELSKI WOULD REGARD HIM AS A VALID NEGOTIATOR.

COMMENT

8. COLASSUONO'S COMMENTS CONTAINED LITTLE IF ANYTHING THAT IS NEW OR SURPRISING. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY ACCURATELY REFLECT THE POPE'S OWN VIEWS, THOUGH IT IS A PITY THAT THE VATICAN COULD NOT REACT WITH A MORE STRUCTURED RESPONSE TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE. COLASSUONO'S EMPHASIS ON CARDINAL GLEMP'S ABILITY TO GIVE THE BEST BRIEFING ON THREE OF THE QUESTIONS POSED BY THE PRIME MINISTER PROBABLY REFLECTS THE VATICAN'S WISH NOT TO INTERFERE TOO MUCH IN MATTERS WITHIN HIS RESPONSIBILITY. COLASSUONO EXPLAINED THAT THE VATICAN DID NOT HAVE THE MEANS TO WARN HIM CONFIDENTIALLY IN ADVANCE OF WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT ASK HIM.

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From the Private Secretary

26 October 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND: CONSULTATION WITH
THE POPE

Thank you for your letter of 26 October enclosing a draft message from the Prime Minister to the Pope about her forthcoming visit to Poland.

I think that the Prime Minister will be content to send a message but in a slight different form. I should be grateful if the telegram enclosed with your letter could be amended as follows:-

"I shall be paying an official visit to Poland from 2-4 November in the course of which I shall be meeting General Jaruzelski and other members of the Polish Government. I shall see His Eminence Cardinal Glemp on the first evening. I shall also be meeting Lech Walesa and his colleagues in the Solidarity leadership in Gdansk.

I shall be very grateful for Your Holiness' advice, based on your great experience and unique position, on the handling of my various discussions. I am determined to stand up for all those who rely on us to give them hope that one day their full human rights will be restored. It is on the question of how I can most effectively do this that I should particularly welcome Your Holiness' wise counsel."

Charles Powell

Stephen Wall Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 October 1988

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's Visit to Poland: Consultation with the Pope

Thank you for your letter of 22 October. The Foreign Secretary agrees that there would be every advantage in seeking the Pope's views on the situation in Poland, and on how the Prime Minister might encourage those in the forefront of the moves for reform. But, in assessing how best to carry forward any suggestions from the Vatican, it would be wise to bear in mind that the Pope's perspective is likely to be fairly subjective, and not necessarily in tune with the views of those whom he wishes to help. We know, for example, that his pronouncements have on occasion caused embarrassment to the Roman Catholic Church in Poland who have a difficult path to treat in their relations with the authorities.

/ I attach a draft message to the Pope. The best channel of communication is the British Embassy to the Holy See in Rome. The Ambassador himself is currently in the UK, but will be back in post by Monday 31 October.

Jans.
Stephe Wall
(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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OUT TELEGRAM

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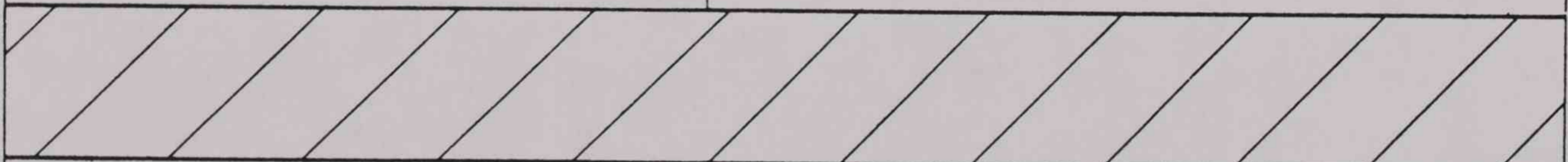
PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

1. The Prime Minister would like to seek, in advance of her visit to Poland (2-4 November), the Pope's views on the situation there and how best she might encourage those seeking greater freedom. Grateful if you would deliver immediately the following message. There will be no (no) signed original. When handing over the message please say that the sort of questions which interest the Prime Minister are:-

- a) Church/State relations, and how far the Church can help promote reform,
- b) how far the opposition can/should promote acceptance of necessary economic reforms,
- c) how important is trades union pluralism,
- d) Poland's ability to sustain a very rapid transition towards greater democracy, including who could provide credible and experienced leadership in such conditions.

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You should suggest that, if the Pope wished, the reply to the Prime Minister's message might take the form of an oral briefing (eg. by Cardinal Casaroli or Archbishop Cassidy) of Mr Broadley when he has returned to post on Monday 31 October.

2. To: His Holiness Pope John Paul II
From: The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher FRS MP

As Sir Geoffrey Howe mentioned when he met Your Holiness in Maputo, I shall shortly be visiting Poland. I am keen to use the visit, which will now be from 2 to 4 November, to promote economic and political reforms in Poland and to encourage respect for Human Rights, and my programme will include meetings with the Government as well as with opposition figures such as Lech Walesa. *I shall of course be seeing Cardinal Glemp*
In preparing for my visit, *it would be a tremendous help* ~~I should be most interested~~ to have ^{views} ~~any views which~~ Your Holiness ~~might wish to express~~ on the present situation in Poland or on how best I might encourage those in the forefront of moves for liberalisation.

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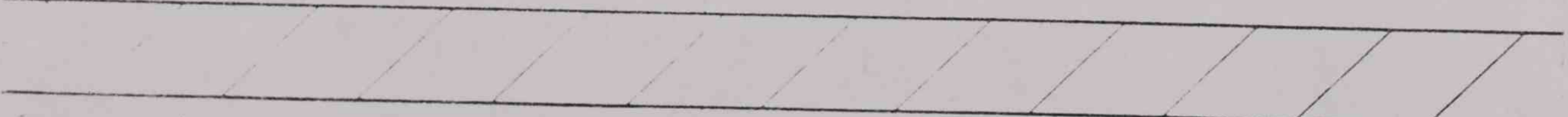
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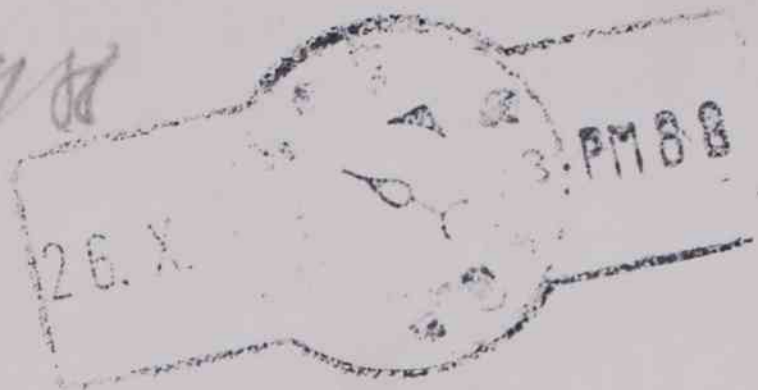
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POCAHONTS PMS Visit March 1988



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10 DOWNING STREET
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From the Private Secretary

22 October 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO POLAND:
CONSULTATION WITH THE POPE

The Prime Minister thinks that she ought to seek the Pope's views on the situation in Poland and how she can help and encourage those seeking greater freedom there, in advance of her visit. I imagine this is probably best done through a message and, if you agree, would be grateful for a very early draft. But I suppose there may also be other possible channels such as Cardinal Hume or our Ambassador to the Vatican. I should be grateful to know what you think.

CHARLES POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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