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FM WARSAW 191610Z JAN 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 133 OF 19TH JANUARY 1982

INFO ROUTINE: WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND UKDEL NATO
INFO SAVING: EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BELGRADE, SOFIA, BUCHAREST,
BUDAPEST, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, PARIS, BONN, UKMIS NEW YORK,
UKREP BRUSSELS AND MODUK

POLAND : THE CHURCH.

1. THERE WAS A MEETING YESTERDAY OF THE JOINT CHURCH/STATE COMMISSION. THE PAP REPORT SAID THAT THE MAIN THEME FOR THE MEETING WAS THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND AND THE SEARCH FOR WAYS OUT OF THE CRISIS. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON THE URGENT NEED FOR POLITICAL SOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD LEAD TO REAL AND LASTING UNDERSTANDING AND NATIONAL UNITY. IT WAS AGREED THAT COOPERATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE WOULD MAKE AN EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SPEEDING THE END OF MARTIAL LAW. IN THIS CONTEXT THE FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS WAS DISCUSSED AND THE BASIS OF OPERATION OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.
2. THE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES INFORMED THE CHURCH ABOUT THE MEASURES THAT JARUZELSKI WOULD ANNOUNCE TO THE SJM NEXT WEEK WHICH WOULD BE AIMED AT "LIMITING THE IMPOSITION" OF MARTIAL LAW. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT IN ITS CURRENT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT SITUATION THE COUNTRY NEEDED ECONOMIC HELP RATHER THAN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, WHICH HINDERED THE OVERCOMING OF THE CRISIS SIGNIFICANTLY AND FRUSTRATED A RETURN TO THE FULL REALISATION OF THE PROCESS OF ODNOWA IN THE SPIRIT OF THE SOCIAL AGREEMENTS.
3. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EPISCOPATE EXPRESSED THEIR DISQUIET AT INCIDENTS WHICH SEEMED TO HAVE OCCURRED BECAUSE OF SPITE TOWARDS CITIZENS AND WHICH WEAKENED PEOPLES TRUST (IN THE AUTHORITIES). THE GOVERNMENT SAID THAT THIS HAD NOT BEEN THE INTENTION OF THE AUTHORITIES. FINALLY THEY DISCUSSED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH ORGANISATIONS AND OF CARITAS.
4. MEMBER OF CHANCERY WAS TOLD TODAY BY A CHURCH PRESS SPOKESMAN THAT THE PAP REPORT CONSTITUTED AN AGREED COMMUNIQUE. HE COULD NOT ADD ANYTHING TO IT. BUT IT WAS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE MEETING HAD CONCENTRATED ALMOST ENTIRELY ON MATTERS WHICH WERE NOT DIRECTLY THE CONCERN OF THE CHURCH. THE CHURCH'S AIM AT THE MEETING HAD BEEN TO CONVINCING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE WITH ALL SECTIONS OF SOCIETY. WHEN HARRISON ASKED WHETHER THE CHURCH THOUGHT THAT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY WAS

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LIKELY IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THE SPOKEMAN SAID THAT THE CHURCH CONTINUED TO HOPE SO. BUT HE GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY.

5. THE CHURCH HAS ENDORSED THE GOVERNMENT'S PLEA FOR MORE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. THIS IS LARGELY A COSMETIC CONCESSION IN THAT THE CHURCH HAS ALWAYS BELIEVED AND STATED THAT THE WEST SHOULD CONTINUE HUMANITARIAN AID. IN RETURN, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALLOWED INTO THE COMMUNIQUE A PHRASE ABOUT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IT HAS ALSO TOLD THE CHURCH WHAT JAURUZELSKI INTENDS TO ANNOUNCE AT THE SEJM NEXT MONDAY. THE CHURCH IS THUS CONTINUING ITS POLICY OF FIRM PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF ITS POSITION (GLEMP'S SERMON ON SUNDAY) AND REALISTIC DIALOGUE WITH THE GOVERNMENT (ESTERDAY'S MEETING).

6. A MEETING OF DIOCESAN BISHOPS IS TAKING PLACE IN WARSAW TODAY. THIS IS AN EXTRAORDINARY AND UNOFFICIAL MEETING WHICH DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A FULL EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE. IT IS EXPECTED TO LAUNCH AN APPEAL FOR HUMANITARIAN AID.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 111 OF 14 JANUARY

INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN AND HOLY SEE

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

OUR TEL NO 983: POLAND: THE CHURCH

1. THERE IS CLEARLY A GREAT DEAL OF TALKING, AND POSSIBLY EVEN NEGOTIATING, GOING ON AT PRESENT BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE AUTHORITIES. THE WEEKEND MEETING BETWEEN ARCHBISHOP GLEMP AND GENERAL JARUZELSKI HAS BEEN THE HIGHEST RANKING AND MOST VISIBLE OF THESE ACTIVITIES BUT WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THERE ARE OTHERS. THIS MAY THEREFORE BE A GOOD MOMENT TO REVIEW THE CHURCH'S ROLE IN THE POLISH CRISIS.

2. THE MAIN SECULAR AIM OF THE CHURCH IN POLAND NOW, AS IT HAS BEEN OVER THE YEARS AND PARTICULARLY SINCE WORLD WAR II, IS TO SEEK TO ESTABLISH THE MOST FAVOURABLE POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE CATHOLIC FLOCK CAN WORSHIP FREELY. THIS AIM BROUGHT THE CHURCH INTO DIRECT CONFLICT OF VARYING INTENSITY WITH THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES IN THE 50S, 60S AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, THE 70S. FROM AUGUST 1980 THE CONFRONTATIONAL ASPECT DWINDLED AWAY. MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, HOWEVER, THE CHURCH SIDED WITH SOLIDARITY IN ITS CLASHES WITH THE GOVERNMENT, SINCE SOLIDARITY'S 10 MILLION MEMBERS REPRESENTED THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

3. SINCE THE EVENTS OF 12/13 DECEMBER THE CHURCH FINDS ITSELF IN SOMETHING OF A DILENMA. IT HAS NO PROBLEM OVER ITS SHORT TERM OBJECTIVE WHICH IS TO ALLEVIATE AS FAR AS POSSIBLE THE SUFFERING CAUSED BY MARTIAL LAW TO THE POLISH PEOPLE. TO THIS END IT HAS SOUGHT TO HELP THE INTERNEES AND THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DISMISSED FROM THEIR JOBS. IT HAS SET UP SEPARATE COMMISSIONS TO LOOK AFTER THE TWO GROUPS AND HAS ACHIEVED SOME SUCCESS. THE CALCULATION OF ITS MEDIUM AND LONGER TERM OBJECTIVES HAS HOWEVER BEEN MORE COMPLICATED. THE WORST OUTCOME FOR THE CHURCH WOULD BE INTERVENTION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF A SOVIET TAKE OVER IN ANY OTHER FORM. THIS WOULD INEVITABLY BRING MAJOR CONFRONTATION WITH AN IMPLACABLE FOE. SLIGHTLY BETTER, BUT NOT MUCH, WOULD BE THE REVERSION OF POLAND TO AN ORTHODOX SOCIALIST STATE SINCE THIS WOULD INVOLVE THE KIND OF PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH WHICH OCCURRED HERE IN THE 50S AND 60S. THE CHURCH, LIKE MOST OTHER ELEMENTS OF POLISH SOCIETY, MUST THEREFORE HOPE FOR AS MUCH FREEDOM AND TOLERANCE AS CAN BE RETAINED FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ODNOWA.

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4. AT THE SAME TIME THE CHURCH HAS ITS OWN INTERNAL PROBLEMS. AN UNUSUAL FEATURE OF THE PAST MONTH HAS BEEN THE PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF DISHARMONY WITHIN THE NORMALLY TIGHTLY DISCIPLINED POLISH CHURCH. IN THE FIRST WEEK MANY BISHOPS AND PRIESTS IN PRIVATE, AND A NUMBER OF LAY CATHOLIC ADVISERS IN PUBLIC, CRITICISED GLEMP'S MODERATE REACTION TO THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW. THERE ARE STILL MUTTERINGS OF DISCONTENT, REFLECTING THE GAP BETWEEN THE PARISH PRIEST, CONCERNED WITH THE IMPACT OF MARTIAL LAW ON THE PERSONAL LIFE OF HIS PARISHIONERS, AND THE CHURCH HIERARCHY, TREADING A DELICATE DIPLOMATIC TIGHTROPE. WYSZYNSKI WOULD NOT HAVE PERMITTED SUCH DISARRAY; BUT GLEMP HAS ONLY BEEN PRIMATE FOR SIX MONTHS.

5. THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES, ANXIOUS TO FIND SOMEONE TO TALK TO IN THEIR QUEST FOR A POLITICAL BRIDGE TO A NEW SORT OF POLAND, ARE CLEARLY TRYING TO ENMESH THE CHURCH IN SOME FORM OF NEGOTIATION. JARUZELSKI NEEDS THE RESPECTABILITY THAT ONLY THE CHURCH CAN CONFER. FOR ITS PART THE CHURCH WILL BE SEEKING TO AVOID ANY MOVE WHICH WOULD COMMIT ITS SUPPORT TO A SPECIFIC PROCESS. TO PROMISE UNEQUIVOCAL, OR EVEN HEAVILY QUALIFIED, SUPPORT FOR THE REGIME WOULD PREJUDICE THE CHURCH IN THE EYES OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

6. ALL THESE CONSIDERATIONS HELP TO EXPLAIN THE VARIOUS SHIFTS OF EMPHASIS AND EVEN APPARENT INCONSISTENCIES IN THE CHURCH'S ACTIVITY SINCE 13 DECEMBER. GLEMP'S IMMEDIATE REACTION TO THE MILITARY TAKE OVER WAS TO COUNSEL MODERATION IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID BLOODSHED. HIS SERMON ON 13 DECEMBER OFFENDED MANY OF HIS BISHOPS AND HIS PRIESTS SO THAT HIS SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC MESSAGES WERE MORE CAREFULLY BALANCED. A PERIOD OF INTENSE NEGOTIATION ENSUED, WITH THE CHURCH SEEKING TO GET SOLIDARITY AND THE AUTHORITIES TALKING TOGETHER. BUT THE PRECONDITIONS LAID DOWN BY BOTH SIDES PROVED TOO MUCH. THE CONTINUING SEVERITY OF MARTIAL LAW RESTRICTIONS THEN FORCED GLEMP INTO HIS STRONG EPIPHANY SERMON WHICH RE-ESTABLISHED HIS CREDENTIALS WITH SOCIETY AND EMPHASISED TO JARUZELSKI WHERE THE CHURCH STOOD. IT ALSO COUNTER BALANCED THE CONCESSION THAT GLEMP MADE IN MEETING JARUZELSKI OVER THE WEEKEND WITHOUT WALESA.

7. ARCHBISHOP GLEMP IS A SUBTLE OPERATOR WHO WILL NOW PLAY A CAREFUL POLITICAL GAME IN THE HOPE THAT EVENTUALLY IT WILL LEAD POLAND OUT OF MARTIAL LAW. THERE DOES NOT SEEM TO BE ANY MAJOR INITIATIVE HE CAN TAKE AND SO HE IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO RESTATE THE CHURCH'S OBJECTIVES FIRMLY. THE CHURCH WILL PURSUE A CAUTIOUS LINE, TAKING GREAT CARE NOT TO CONFER ANY RESPECTABILITY ON THE AUTHORITIES' ACTIONS. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HOWEVER, THE CHURCH IS UNLIKELY TO ENDORSE ANY REAFFIRMATION BY THE EXTREME SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP OF THE STRONG STAND WHICH THEY WERE TAKING BEFORE 13 DECEMBER. THE ATTITUDE OF THE POLISH CHURCH OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL BE DICTATED BY ITS DILCULATION OF ITS LONG TERM AQMS. THIS CROWDED PERIOD OF CURRENT EVENTS REPRESENTS ONLY A VERY SHORT MOMENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN POLAND.

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8. IF THE ABOVE ASSESSMENT IS CORRECT, THERE IS ONE IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCE FOR THE WEST. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED OUR HOPE THAT THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES WILL RESUME THEIR DIALOGUE NOT JUST WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE BUT WITH THE MAIN REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE - THE CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY. IT MAY HOWEVER BE A MISTAKE CONSTANTLY TO EQUATE THE CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY OR TO LINK THEM TOO CLOSELY. GLEMP HAS NOW DECIDED, FOR INSTANCE, TO GO IT ALONE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH JARUZELSKI. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT HE EITHER WANTS, OR CAN AFFORD, TO ABANDON THE MODERATE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP AND PARTICULARLY WALESA. BUT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT, AT SOME STAGE PROBABLY NOT UNTIL THE RELEASE OF ALL INTERNEES AND THE RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE, HE MAY CALCULATE THAT THE CHURCH'S RELIGIOUS AND PASTORAL PRIORITIES NECESSITATE THE CHURCH PUTTING PRESSURE ON SOLIDARITY TO DITCH ITS MORE EXTREMIST ADVISERS SUCH AS KURON.

FCO PLEASE PASS - SAVING ADDRESSEES.

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TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NO. 003 OF 14 JAN 82
INFO PRIORITY WARSAW

POLAND

1. I DISCUSSED POLAND BRIEFLY WITH THE SOSTITUTO THIS MORNING. HE TOLD ME HE THOUGHT THAT WE WERE AT THE END OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF CONTROL BY THE SOVIET UNION. THE VATICAN HAD NO DOUBT THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS BEHIND ALL THAT HAD HAPPENED SINCE 13 DECEMBER. MONSIGNOR MARTINEZ WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE THOUGHT PHASE TWO WOULD BE MARKED BY SOME FORM OF POPULAR REACTION. TEN MILLION POLES WERE NOT GOING TO FORGET THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOLIDARITY IN A MONTH.
2. MONSIGNOR SILVESTRINI HAS TOLD MY BELGIAN COLLEAGUE IN HIS CAPACITY AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENCY THAT THE VATICAN CONTINUE TO REGARD THE POLISH SITUATION AS VERY SERIOUS. IN THE LIGHT OF IT THEY WOULD LIKE THE DATE OF THE MADRID CSCE REVIEW MEETING TO BE ADVANCED AND POLAND TO BE ON THE AGENDA.
3. NICHOLS OF THE TIMES TOLD ME THAT HE HAD LEARNED FROM A SOLIDARITY MEMBER WHO WAS IN PARIS ON 13 DECEMBER THAT THE CHURCH COULD NOT RISK ITS PRESTIGE FOR VERY LONG IN SUPPORTING JARUZELSKI. HE THOUGHT THAT AFTER THE INITIAL SHOCK RESISTANCE WOULD BECOME MORE DETERMINED AND WOULD SPREAD. HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT WERE TRYING TO LIMIT CONTACT ON THE FACTORY FLOOR BY ISOLATING WORK GROUPS AND CONSTRUCTING FENCES AND DIVISIONS WITHIN INDUSTRIAL AREAS.

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MR FERGUSSON
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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 60 OF 7 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO.
INFO SAVING SOFIA, PRAGUE, BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, EAST BERLIN
AND BELGRADE

POLAND: THE CHURCH

1. AT A SPECIAL EPIPHANY SERVICE IN ST JOHN'S CATHEDRAL YESTERDAY EVENING, 6 JANUARY, ARCHBISHOP GLEMP DELIVERED A SERMON WHICH MARKS AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TO MARTIAL LAW AND THE MILITARY REGIME. THE GERMAN EMBASSY HAD AN OFFICER THERE, TO WHOM WE OWE THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION.
2. THE PRIMATE CONDEMNED IN A VERY DIRECT FASHION THE INTERNMENTS AND THE PRESSURE BEING EXERCISED BY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT ON THE POLISH PEOPLE. HE REFERRED TO HIS 13 DECEMBER SERMON WHEN HE CALLED ON POLES TO AVOID BLOODSHED. HE SAID THAT SINCE THEN SOME MINERS HAD DIED BUT THERE HAD BEEN OTHER DEATHS INDIRECTLY CAUSED BY MARTIAL LAW AS PEOPLE HAD DIED IN HOSPITAL BECAUSE OF INJURIES. THERE WAS NOW GROWING IMPATIENCE IN THE COUNTRY AT THE OPPRESSION

LAW AS PEOPLE HAD DIED IN HOSPITAL BECAUSE OF INJURIES.
THERE WAS NOW GROWING IMPATIENCE IN THE COUNTRY AT THE OPPRESSION
OF MARTIAL LAW. EVERYONE AWAITED A RETURN TO NORMALISATION AND
PEACE. IN WARSAW A STATE OF WAR WAS NO NEW THING.

3. HE THEN WENT ON TO DESCRIBE A VISIT HE HAD PAID TO THE
WOMEN'S INTERNMENT CAMP AT OLSZYNKA GROCHOWSKA. HE HAD ARRIVED
UNANNOUNCED AND BEEN RECEIVED POLITELY. HE HAD VISITED ALL THE
CELLS, HEARD CONFESSIONS AND CELEBRATED MASS. HE HAD BEEN STRUCK
BY THE HOSTILITY ON THE PART OF THE CAMP GUARDS AND THE MIXED FEAR
AND SCORN SHOWN BY THE INTERNEES. THIS RELATIONSHIP WAS NOW
EXTENDING THROUGHOUT SOCIETY. NOT ALL INTERNMENT CAMPS WERE
AS GOOD AS THIS ONE. MUCH DEPENDED ON THE HUMANITY OF THE
COMMANDANT AND THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE GUARDS. IN SOME CAMPS.
PRIESTS WERE FORBIDDEN TO VISIT AND RULES WERE VERY HARSH.
A COMMITTEE OF MIXED PRIESTS AND LAYMENT HAD BEEN SET UP IN WARSAW,
AND ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY, TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF
DETAINEES AND TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR THEIR INTERNMENT.

4. THE PRIMATE SAID HE HAD BEEN ASKED ABOUT THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE
TO THE PIECES OF PAPER WHICH SOLIDARITY MEMBERS WERE BEING FORCED
TO SIGN BEFORE BEING RELEASED. THESE COMMITTED SIGNATORIES TO
SUPPORT THE REGIME AND TO LEAVE SOLIDARITY. INTERNEES WERE BEING
TOLD THAT, IF THEY DID NOT SIGN, THEY WOULD NOT GET ANY WORK
AND THEIR FAMILIES MIGHT SUFFER. GLEMP SAID IT WAS A VALID
PRECEPT UNDER POLISH CIVIL LAW THAT DECLARATIONS MADE UNDER
DURESS WERE NOT BINDING. HE CONCLUDED WITH A REMINDER THAT
WYSZYNSKI IN JANUARY LAST YEAR HAD SAID THAT THOUGH THE ROAD
TO RENEWAL MIGHT BE HARD AND LONG, THE JOURNEY HAD BEGUN.

5. IT LOOKS AS IF THE PRIMATE HAS NOW DECIDED THAT HE MUST
VOICE SOME OF THE IMPORTANT DOUBTS AND CRITICISMS WHICH WE
KNOW HIS BISHOPS AND PARISH PRIESTS HAVE BEEN URGING ON HIM
FOR SOME TIME. WHILE CAREFUL TO CONTINUE THE MESSAGE THAT
BLOOD MUST NOT BE SPILLED, THIS SERMON PUTS THE CHURCH MORE
FIRMLY INTO THE RANKS OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT
(OUR TELNO 976).

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES

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