

*Bland*

POLAND ADVANCE COPIES <sup>30</sup> *x28*

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PS/PUS  
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~~MR EVANS~~ *S.C. THOMAS*  
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MR CAINES  
MR CORLEY  
MR POWNALL  
} OT/D O T

MR HANCOCK  
MISS LAMBERT } CABINET OFFICE

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**ADVANCE COPY**

**IMMEDIATE**

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WARSAW 010902Z OCT 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO TEL NO 904 OF 1 OCTOBER 82  
INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKMIS GENEVA.  
SAVING TO EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, PARIS, BONN, MODUK,  
SOFIA, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, UKMIS NEW YORK,  
UKREP BRUSSELS

PRIMATE'S VIEW ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN POLAND.

1. THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TOLD ME IN CONFIDENCE YESTERDAY EVENING THAT HE HAD JUST SEEN ARCHBISHOP GLEMP. (THE ARCHBISHOP IS PLANNING TO VISIT THE US LATER THIS MONTH AND MEEHAN WAS ABOUT TO GO ON LEAVE.)

2. HE SAID THAT THE ARCHBISHOP, NORMALLY LOW KEY, WAS IN A GREAT STEW ABOUT THE PROPOSED MOVE TO DE-LEGALISE SOLIDARITY. GLEMP SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT WERE BLUNDERING BADLY AND THAT HE DID NOT EXCLUDE A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN POLAND IF SOLIDARITY WAS ABOLISHED. MEEHAN JUDGED THAT THE CHURCH WAS IN CONTACT WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND WAS DOING ITS UTMOST TO DISSUADE THEM FROM GOING AHEAD WITH PLANS TO DE-LEGALISE. ARCHBISHOP GLEMP SAID THAT HE HOPED TO SEE JARUZELSKI BEFORE HE LEFT FOR ROME ON OCTOBER 7 TO ATTEND THE CANONISATION CEREMONIES FOR FATHER KOLBE, THE POLISH MARTYR. BUT GLEMP HAD DOUBTS ABOUT GOING AWAY AT THIS TIME AND ESPECIALLY TO THE UNITED STATES. MEEHAN SAID THAT THE ONLY TIME HE HAS SEEN GLEMP SO DISTURBED WAS JUST PRIOR TO THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW.

3. COMMENT.

3. COMMENT.

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IT IS NOT CLEAR TO ME FROM MY TALK WITH MEEHAN WHETHER THE ARCHBISHOP WAS THINKING OF A DRAMATIC TURN OF EVENTS SHORTLY IF THE GOVERNMENT PERSISTS IN THEIR ACTION ON SOLIDARITY OR IF HE THOUGHT A DANGEROUS SITUATION WOULD DEVELOP IN THE FACTORIES WORK PLACES AS THE IMPLICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT ACTION SANK IN. I HAVE BEEN TOLD BY A GOOD POLISH SOURCE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CONDUCTED POLLS AND THAT THEY BELIEVE THAT OVER 20% OF THE WORK FORCE WILL RALLY TO SOME NEW SYSTEM. BUT THE MAIN DANGER IN THE EYES OF THE CHURCH SEEMS TO BE THE YOUNGER WORKERS AND THE YOUNGER TECHNOCRAT CADRES. AT ALL EVENTS, THE ARCHBISHOP'S VIEW MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY SINCE HE IS LACONIC RATHER THAN ALARMIST AND HIS SOURCES OF INFORMATION ARE PROBABLY BETTER OR AS GOOD AS ANYONE'S IN POLAND.

4. FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVINGS ADDRESSEES.

JAMES

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