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VIEWS OF THE POLISH PRIMATE

1. I CALLED ON THE PRIMATE WHO RECEIVED ME ALONE. I ASKED FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE SITUATION. HE SAID IT WAS BAD. THE GOVERNMENT WERE UNDER HEAVY EXTERNAL PRESSURE. THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION WAS LIMITED. I ASKED WHETHER THEY WOULD HAVE TAKEN THE SAME KIND OF ACTION IF THEY HAD NOT BEEN SUBJECTED TO SUCH HEAVY SOVIET PRESSURE. WAS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY OF THIS ADMINISTRATION GOING FOR A MORE ACCOMMODATING, POLISH SOLUTION? HE DID NOT THINK SO. THEY WERE TOO MUCH UNDER ORDERS. THEY COULD HAVE FOUND PEOPLE IN SOLIDARITY TO TALK TO IF THEY HAD REALLY TRIED.

2. AS FOR THE NEW TRADE UNION LEGISLATION, IT GAVE THE GOVERNMENT AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO MANIPULATE THE WORK FORCE. THEY WOULD GET THEIR PEOPLE INTO POSITIONS OF POWER. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE MASS OF POLISH WORKERS TO BOYCOTT THE INSTITUTION FOR LONG, IT WAS ILLUSORY TO THINK THEY COULD CHANGE IT FROM INSIDE. HE WAS QUITE FIRM ON THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF BOYCOTT. THE GOVERNMENT WAS TOO STRONG AND THE PEOPLE WERE WEARY. SOLIDARITY HOWEVER WAS NOT DEAD : IT WAS A FORCE AMONG THE PEOPLE. BUT IT WOULD HAVE TO FIND SOME NEW FORM. THE PEOPLE WOULD HAVE TO RESIST AND WAIT ON EVENTS. BUT HE WAS AGAINST STREET DEMONSTRATIONS. THEY MERELY OPENED UP THE ORGANISATION TO THE GOVERNMENT AND TO THE SECURITY FORCES. SOLIDARITY HAD TO PLAY A LONGER GAME.

3. ON THE CHURCH, IT WAS TRUE THAT JARUZELSKI HAD MADE SOME CONCILIATORY GESTURES BUT THE GOVERNMENT'S IDEA WAS TO TAME (AND DIVIDE) THE CHURCH BY CONCESSIONS. THE GOVERNMENT WANTED THE POPE'S VISIT TO WORK TO THEIR BENEFIT. NO AGREEMENT HAD YET BEEN REACHED ON THE DATE OF THE VISIT OR ON ITS DURATION OR PROGRAMME. HE MURMURED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IN JULY.

4. I ASKED HIM ABOUT THE PEOPLE AROUND JARUZELSKI. HE SAID THAT RAKOWSKI WAS A BAD INFLUENCE AND HAD TOO MUCH POWER OVER JARUZELSKI. HE KNEW THAT THERE WERE THOSE WHO THOUGHT HE WAS A LIBERAL FORCE, AND THAT THERE WAS OPPOSITION TO HIM IN SOME QUARTERS OF THE PARTY ON THIS ACCOUNT. BUT THIS WAS NOT HIS VIEW. HE BELIEVED THAT THERE WAS ALSO A GROUP OF SOVIET ADVISERS WHO WERE IMPORTANT. BUT HE ADMITTED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO KNOW EXACTLY WHERE THE POWER LAY. HE DID NOT THINK JARUZELSKI A STRONG MAN. HE WOULD NOT EXCLUDE CHANGES AT THE HIGHER LEVELS. IN GENERAL, THE POLISH PEOPLE MUST FOR THE MOMENT WAIT ON THE EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENTS.

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5. I ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE WEST COULD DO ANYTHING MORE. HE SAID THAT WE COULD PERHAPS HELP WITH THE CHURCH'S IDEAS ON AGRICULTURAL AID TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR. HE COULD NOT BE SURE ABOUT THE EFFECT OF SANCTIONS. THERE WAS A DANGER THAT THEY DROVE POLAND TO THE EAST. HE THOUGHT THE IDEAS OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WERE NOT HELPFUL. ON THE OTHER HAND, SOME SANCTIONS MIGHT AFFECT THE PRODUCTION OF ARMS. BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE DID NOT BECOME SHUT IN ON ITSELF. CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND CONTACTS WITH THE WEST WERE VITAL. AID WAS ALSO IMPORTANT. I SAID THAT BRITAIN WAS PLAYING ITS PART IN PROVIDING GENEROUS HELP. HE SAID HE WAS AWARE OF THIS. THE CHURCH WERE DOING THE MAJOR PART OF THE DISTRIBUTION AND THIS WAS WORKING WELL.

6. I ASKED WHETHER HE HAD MUCH TROUBLE INSIDE THE CHURCH. HE SAID SOME OF THE YOUNG PRIESTS WERE MILITANT. HE UNDERSTOOD THIS: THEY SHARED THE LIFE AND PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE. BUT THIS WAS NOT MUCH OF A PROBLEM.

7. I LEFT SAYING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WERE FOLLOWING EVENTS IN POLAND WITH CLOSE INTEREST. OUR PEOPLE HAD SYMPATHY FOR THE TRIBULATIONS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND GREAT ADMIRATION FOR THEIR FORTITUDE.

8. ARCHBISHOP GLEMP SPOKE FREELY ON THIS OCCASION. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF THIS ACCOUNT COULD BE TREATED WITH DISCRETION. MY IMPRESSION IS THAT HE IS NOW TAKING A LONG VIEW OF EVENTS HERE AND DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION WILL LOOSEN OR CHANGE MUCH FOR THE BETTER IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS. I AM NOT SURE HOW MUCH HE REALLY KNOWS ABOUT THE EXTENT OF SOVIET INFLUENCE. ON RAKOWSKI, IT IS DIFFICULT TO AVOID THE FEELING THAT THE CHURCH PREFERENCES A STRAIGHT-FORWARD COMMUNIST TO AN OILY LIBERAL-MINDED COMMUNIST.

JAMES

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