

PS  
PS/MR RIFKIND  
PS/PUS  
SIR J BULLARD  
~~LORD BRIDGES~~ MR EVANS.  
MR WRIGHT  
MR ~~EVANS~~ J.C. THOMAS  
MR GILLMORE  
MR GOODISON  
HD/EESD (ALLOCATED)  
HD/TRED  
HD/UND  
HD/DEF D  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/WED  
HD/ECD (E)  
HD/PLANNING STAFF  
HD/ERD  
HD/NEWS D  
HD/CONS D  
HD/CONS EM UNIT

No.10 DOWNING STREET  
ASSESSMENT STAFF, CABINET OFFICE  
D I O CABINET OFFICE

MR FRANKLIN }  
MR CAINES } OT/ D O T  
MR CORLEY }  
MR POWNALL }

MR HANCOCK }  
MISS LAMBERT } CABINET OFFICE

**ADVANCE COPY**

**IMMEDIATE**

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

*Read in file.*

FM WARSAW 191130Z OCT 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO TEL NO 979 OF 19 OCT 82  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO AND PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN  
AND MOSCOW.

*[Handwritten signature]*

CALL ON THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. I CALLED ON MR OLSZOWSKI THIS MORNING AND WE TALKED FOR NEARLY AN HOUR. HE INVITED ME TO OPEN.
2. I SAID THAT I WAS MAKING MY INITIAL CALL ON HIM IN DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. HE WOULD BE AWARE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD STATED THEIR VIEWS ON THE RECENT LEGISLATION IN POLAND ABOLISHING SOLIDARITY. I HAD WATCHED EVENTS IN POLAND CLOSELY OVER THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF AND UNTIL RECENTLY THE THEME HAD BEEN THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE. EVEN UNDER MARTIAL LAW THERE HAD BEEN TALK OF DIALOGUE, RECONCILIATION, ODNOWA. WERE THESE DEAD? I FOUND IT HARD TO SEE HOW THE DISSOLUTION OF A TRADE UNION WHICH HAD COMPRISED TEN MILLION POLES WOULD LEAD TO DIALOGUE. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT STATED THAT CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARITY WERE UNACCEPTABLE. BUT THEY HAD NOT AS FAR AS I WAS AWARE CONTESTED THAT THE MOVEMENT

STATED THAT CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARITY WERE UNACCEPTABLE. BUT THEY HAD NOT AS FAR AS I WAS AWARE CONTESTED THAT THE MOVEMENT HAD THE SUPPORT OF THE BULK OF THE WORKERS IN POLAND. HE HAD TALKED TO ME WITH OPTIMISM ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A DIALOGUE WITH SOLIDARITY SHORTLY BEFORE MARTIAL LAW.

3. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATIONS WERE INTERLINKED. I SHOULD BE INTERESTED TO HAVE HIS VIEWS ON HOW THE POLISH GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THEY WOULD ACHIEVE THE ECONOMIC REFORMS NECESSARY FOR THE WELL-BEING OF THE COUNTRY WITH THE PROPOSED NEW TRADE UNION STRUCTURE.

4. AS AMBASSADOR I NATURALLY HOPED THAT EVENTS WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE A RETURN TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH POLAND. IN THE PAST BRITAIN'S RELATIONS WITH POLAND HAD BEEN GOOD, LESS COMPLICATED THAN THE FRENCH, LESS TAINTED THAN THE GERMANS. WE HAD FOUGHT SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE POLES IN THE LAST WAR. BUT THERE WERE GREAT IMPEDIMENTS AT PRESENT TO AN IMPROVEMENT.

5. FINALLY, I ASKED HIM WHETHER WE COULD EXPECT TO SEE AN EARLY END TO MARTIAL LAW AND WHAT HIS OWN VIEW WAS ON THE EVOLUTION OF EVENTS IN POLAND.

6. MR OLSZOWSKI HAD IN HIS HAND THE STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 8 OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN AND SAID THAT HE WANTED ME TO KNOW THAT HE REJECTED IT UTTERLY. AS A POLISH CITIZEN, AS A POLISH POLITICAL LEADER, HE FOUND IT OBJECTIONABLE. BY WHAT RIGHT DID BRITAIN TELL POLAND HOW TO MANAGE ITS OWN AFFAIRS? POLAND WAS NOT A MEMBER OF NATO AND HAD NO INTENTION OF BECOMING A MEMBER OF NATO. AS FOR SOLIDARITY, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD WORDS OF CRITICISM FOR THE POLISH REGIME (A WORD WHICH HE FOUND INSULTING) BUT NO WORD OF CRITICISM FOR THE MILITANTS OF SOLIDARITY WHO HAD DISRUPTED THE CIVIL POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT. THERE WERE MANY OCCASIONS WHEN THE HAND HELD OUT BY THE GOVERNMENT TO SOLIDARITY HAD BEEN REJECTED. HE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE REACTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR IF CIVIL WAR HAD BROKEN OUT AND LEADERS LIKE HIMSELF HAD BEEN DESTROYED. (IN PARENTHESIS, HE REMARKED THAT IN 1939 POLAND HAD BEEN LEFT BY HER ALLIES TO HER OWN FATE. I REPLIED THAT BRITAIN HAD NEVERTHELESS GONE TO WAR FOR POLAND AT A TIME WHEN SHE WAS NOT WELL PREPARED. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS SO).

7. AS FOR TRADE UNION LEGISLATION, THE GOVERNMENT HAD DISSOLVED ALL TRADE UNIONS. IN TIME THE NEW TRADE UNIONS WOULD GROW UP AND WOULD BE ALLOWED TO WORK DEMOCRATICALLY. THEY WOULD NOT BE MANAGED BY THE GOVERNMENT NOR WOULD THEY BE MANAGED FROM BRUSSELS.

8. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WAS DIFFICULT. THE WESTERN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS HURT POLISH SOCIETY AND THIS WAS BECOMING MORE AND MORE UNDERSTOOD BY THE POLES. THE WEST WAS NOT COMPLICATING THE LIFE OF THE GOVERNMENT SO MUCH AS THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE. BUT RECENT MONTHS SHOWED THAT THE TRENDS WERE IMPROVING. IT WAS A PARADOX THAT POLAND HAD BEEN A SOCIETY MOST OPEN TO THE WEST AND WAS NOW THE SUBJECT OF ITS MOST SEVERE ATTACKS. IF THE WEST CONTINUED THE ISOLATION OF POLAND, POLAND WOULD LOOK FOR OTHER PARTNERS. HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS AND TOOK LIMITED PLEASURE IN EXERCISING HIS RESPONSIBILITIES AT THE PRESENT TIME.

9. AS REGARDS MARTIAL LAW, ITS PURPOSE HAD BEEN TO SAVE THE COUNTRY FROM RUIN. THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO PARTICULAR ENTHUSIASM FOR MARTIAL LAW, BUT THEY WOULD MAINTAIN IT AS LONG AS IT WAS NECESSARY IRRESPECTIVE OF STATEMENTS FROM THE WEST. IT WAS, HOWEVER, THEIR INTENTION TO TRY AND ABOLISH IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THIS HAD BEEN COMPLICATED BY THE RIOTS OF AUGUST 31 AND THE MORE RECENT RIOTS. BUT THERE WAS NOT MUCH WEIGHT BEHIND THE RECENT RIOTING.

10. I SAID THAT MR OLSZOWSKI HAD SPOKEN BLUNTLY AND SO WOULD I. KHRUSHCHEV HAD ONCE SAID "THIS IS OUR PORRIDGE NOT YOUR PORRIDGE. STICK TO YOUR OWN PORRIDGE". THIS WAS A TYPICALLY PRIMITIVE SOVIET REACTION BUT IT HAD NEVER BEEN HISTORICALLY A POLISH REACTION. INDEED IF IT HAD BEEN, POLAND WOULD NOT EXIST. IT WAS SIMPLISTIC TO THINK THAT EVENTS IN POLAND COULD BE ISOLATED FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE. THERE WAS SUCH A THING AS PUBLIC OPINION AND THE WEST HAD FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE GROWTH OF A MORE PLURISTIC EXPERIMENT IN POLAND. THIS HAD BEEN EXTINGUISHED AS SOLIDARITY HAS BEEN EXTINGUISHED. WHETHER THE POLISH AUTHORITIES LIKED IT OR NOT, THIS WAS AN OBSTACLE TO MORE NORMAL RELATIONS. BUT I HAD NO WISH TO POLEMICISE AND I WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW HOW MR OLSZOWSKI NOW SAW THE FUTURE.

11. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S PORRIDGE DICTUM WAS TOO SIMPLISTIC AND THAT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WERE INTER-RELATED. BUT THERE WERE LIMITS WHICH SHOULD NOT BE TRANSGRESSED BY GOVERNMENTS. POLAND DID NOT TELL BRITAIN HOW TO RUN HER AFFAIRS. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD NEED ANOTHER OCCASION TO GIVE ME A FULL PICTURE OF HOW HE SAW THE FUTURE BUT BRIEFLY THE SITUATION WOULD NORMALISE, IT WOULD BECOME PEACEFUL. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WOULD DEVELOP A DIALOGUE BECAUSE THIS WAS NECESSARY. MODERNISATION WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE ECONOMY. THEY WOULD PURSUE FURTHER LEGISLATION TO INTRODUCE GREATER SELF-MANAGEMENT, BETTER LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT, THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEASANT FARMS BASED ON THE FAMILY, A LIVELY DIALOGUE WITH THE CHURCH, CROWNED BY THE VISIT OF THE

A LIVELY DIALOGUE WITH THE CHURCH, CROWNED BY THE VISIT OF THE POPE.

12. MR OLSZOWSKI WAS POLITE, ASKING AFTER MY HEALTH WHEN I ARRIVED. IT WAS A FAIRLY DISAGREEABLE CALL. BUT THEN I HAD NOT EXPECTED IT TO BE ANYTHING ELSE. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY DETERMINED TO MARK THE GOVERNMENT'S DISPLEASURE AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE STATEMENT AND I FOUND HIS REMARKS ON THE FUTURE PERFUNCTORY. I THINK HIS REMARKS BEAR OUT OUR VIEW THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ARE NOW DETERMINED TO GRIND AWAY AT THEIR OWN POLICIES WITHOUT MUCH CONCERN FOR REPERCUSSIONS ELSEWHERE. I HAD THE FEELING AT TIMES THAT I WAS TALKING TO AN INTELLIGENT SOVIET MINISTER.

JAMES

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