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To: Secretary General

From: ASG for Political Affairs

Subject: The Papal visit to Poland

In retrospect, whatever benefits the Polish régime may have hoped to gain from the Pope's visit by way of "legitimation" of its authority were already acquired by official permission for it to go ahead. Once begun, it became for Jaruzelski a damage limitation exercise. He can have had few illusions that the Pope would refrain from comment on the political situation, or that the people of Poland would not take heart and see their wish for a freer society encouraged. He may well, however, not have bargained for the unambiguous and repeated criticism of the repression of human rights and social and political freedoms; nor for the extent of the fervour and open display of Solidarity sentiments which the Pope stimulated. Nevertheless the Polish Authorities on the whole handled the mainly good humoured crowds of demonstrators without recourse to violence. Their eventual facilitation of the meeting between the Pope and Mr Walesa further testified to a concern to avoid raising temperatures while limiting the political impact of the visit.

2. Clearly the major outcome has been a lifting of the morale of the Polish people by giving them an assurance that they are not alone. This is likely to be translated into renewed determination to resist the régime's efforts to bring Poland back to a more orthodox form of socialism, and a resuscitated attachment to the aspirations of Solidarity with which the Pope openly associated himself. It remains to be seen how long this will last. The underground leadership of Solidarity may have been encouraged to push ahead with plans for more demonstrations and strikes. But, with the visit now over, the Authorities will no longer feel a need to keep the velvet glove over the mailed fist - and will in any case be more than ever conscious of the need to show the Soviet Union that the situation is under control. For its part Moscow will have been confirmed in its fear that a Papal visit would make more difficult the régime's task of restoring orthodox socialism and improving economic performance.

3. From the point of view of Allied policies, little would seem to have changed. It may be argued that the fact that the visit took place, and that the Pope was allowed full rein to express his views, was a measure of relaxation. There is some justification for that view. But so far as concerns the Alliance's three criteria the visit has not of itself brought progress. Martial law remains only suspended, not lifted; there are still numerous political prisoners and detainees; and there is

little in the way of real dialogue with the people. It would therefore be over-hasty to draw policy conclusions at this moment. Against this, the visit has not apparently worsened the prospects for a definite lifting of martial law (possibly, according to the latest rumours, on the occasion of Poland's national day on 22nd July); and the Church-State dialogue may have been given a boost. All in all it seems wiser to suspend judgement for a while and watch how the régime - still under heavy pressure from Moscow - moves in the coming weeks and bearing in mind that the resident Church leader, Archbishop Glemp, does not share the stature or exuberance of the Pope when it comes to taking on Jaruzelski and company.

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