

# CONFIDENTIAL

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FM WASHINGTON 250110Z FEB 81

TO PRIORITY F C O

VTELEGRAM NUMBER 665 OF 24 FEBRUARY

INFO MODUK, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN.

M.I.P.T.: BREZHNEV'S SPEECH.

1. WHEN I SAW EAGLEBURGER THIS MORNING I ASKED WHETHER THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD FORMED ANY VIEW ON THE BREZHNEV SPEECH. HE SAID HE COULD OFFER ONLY A VERY PRELIMINARY PERSONAL REACTION: IT WOULD TAKE TIME FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO PULL TOGETHER THEIR STUDIES OF THE TEXT. HE THOUGHT THAT BREZHNEV HAD ADOPTED A CLEVER APPROACH WHICH COULD CREATE PROBLEMS FOR THE UNITED STATES WITH SOME OF ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES. BREZHNEV WAS PRESENTING AN APPEARANCE OF BEING CONCILIATORY AT A TIME WHEN US POLICY HAD AN APPEARANCE OF HARDNESS. THIS WOULD NOT BE EASY TO HANDLE. HE THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL TO AVOID TOO MUCH PUBLIC REACTION AND IN GENERAL TO RESPOND CAUTIOUSLY. HE HOPED THERE MIGHT BE AN EARLY MEETING IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL AT WHICH THE ALLIES COULD BEGIN TO SORT OUT THEIR IDEAS ON POINTS RAISED IN THE SPEECH. THE ONE THING WHICH HE SAW AS DEFINITELY RULED OUT FROM THE START WAS BREZHNEV'S SUGGESTION OF A MORATORIUM ON TNF DEPLOYMENT.

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TELEGRAM NUMBER 664 OF 24 FEBRUARY

INFO MODUK, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN.

MOSCOW TELNOS 62 AND 63 TO F C O; BREZHNEV'S SPEECH.

1. THE FOREIGN POLICY CONTENT OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE 26TH PARTY CONGRESS IS PROMINENTLY REPORTED IN TODAY'S EAST COAST PRESS. PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY BRADY IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN VIEWS THE SUMMIT QUESTION QUOTE WITH INTEREST UNQUOTE AND PLANS TO DISCUSS IT FURTHER IN THE NEAR FUTURE WITH HIS OWN ADVISERS AND U.S. ALLIES. HAIG IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES IS QUOTE VERY INTERESTED UNQUOTE IN THE BREZHNEV PROPOSAL FOR AN ACTIVE DIALOGUE INCLUDING A POSSIBLE SUMMIT. SPEAKING WITH REPORTERS AFTER A MEETING WITH FRANCOIS PONCET, HAIG IS QUOTED AS SAYING QUOTE THERE WERE SOME NEW AND REMARKABLE INNOVATIONS IN THAT SPEECH... WE NEED TO STUDY THIS VERY VERY CAREFULLY UNQUOTE.

2. COMMENTING ON THIS THE NEW YORK TIMES SAYS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S INITIAL REACTION SEEMS TO SIGNAL A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER HIGH LEVEL TALKS WITH THE RUSSIANS DESPITE THE HARSH WORDS AND ABRASIVE ATTITUDE OVER THE PAST MONTH. ON THE OTHER HAND AN EDITORIAL IN THE BALTIMORE SUN SUGGESTS BREZHNEV MUST KNOW THAT THE PRESIDENT IS UNLIKELY TO ACCEPT A SUMMIT UNTIL HE HAS SETTLED ON A NEW U.S. ARMS CONTROL POSITION WHICH MAY TAKE MONTHS, OR UNTIL AN ALTERED STRATEGIC WEAPONS AGREEMENT REACHES THE SIGNING STAGE WHICH MAY TAKE A YEAR OR TWO OR MORE.

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FROM MOSCOW 241545Z FEB 81

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 94 OF 24TH OF FEB 81

TO PRIORITY WASHINGTON ROUTINE INF UKDEL NATO , WARSAW.

POLAND.

1. BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS ON POLAND ( BRIEFLY SUMMARISED IN MY TELNO 91 ) IN HIS REPORT TO THE CONGRESS WERE FIRM RATHER THAN ALARMIST BUT STOPPED SHORT OF IMPLYING THAT THE SITUATION HAS BEEN BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL OR EVEN THAT IT WILL BE . HE FAILED SPECIFICALLY TO ENDORSE THE CURRENT POLISH LEADERSHIP. BREZHNEV CLAIMED THAT IN POLAND THE OPPONENTS OF SOCIALISM, SUPPORTED BY EXTERNAL FORCES, WERE ATTEMPTING TO CHANNEL EVENTS INTO A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY COURSE, BY STIRRING UP ANARCHY. AS HAD BEEN NOTED AT THE RECENT PZPR PLENUM, THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST STATE WERE THREATENED. THE " POLISH COMRADES" WERE NOW WORKING ON OVERCOMING THE CRISIS BY INCREASING THE PARTY'S FIGHTING EFFICIENCY, STRENGTHENING ITS LINKS WITH THE WORKERS AND WORKING OUT A CONCRETE PROGRAMME OF IMPROVEMENT. LAST DECEMBER'S WARSAW PACT MEETING HAD RENDERED SOCIALIST POLAND IMPORTANT POLITICAL SUPPORT BY SHOWING THAT POLISH COMMUNISTS AND WORKERS COULD FIRMLY RELY ON THEIR FRIENDS AND ALLIES: " WE WILL NOT ABANDON SOCIALIST, FRIENDLY POLAND IN ITS HOUR OF NEED AND WILL STICK UP FOR IT ". BREZHNEV CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT EVENTS HAD SHOWN HOW IMPORTANT IT WAS FOR THE PARTY, FOR STRENGTHENING ITS LEADING ROLE, TO HEED THE VOICE OF THE MASSES, COMBAT BUREAUCRACY AND LIBERTARIANISM, DEVELOP SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND "FOLLOW A BALANCED AND REALISTIC POLICY IN FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS ".

2. THE RUSSIANS MUST BE RELIEVED THAT THE NEW POLISH PRIME MINISTER HAS MANAGED TO ACHIEVE AT LEAST A LULL - ALL THE MORE SO BECAUSE THEY WOULD OBVIOUSLY PREFER THAT THIS WEEK'S CONGRESS SHOULD NOT BE MARRED BY UNREST IN POLAND. BUT THE POLITICAL SITUATION THERE REMAINS THOROUGHLY UNSATISFACTORY FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW AND THE RUSSIANS WILL BE LOOKING TO JARUZELSKI TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF RECOVERING GROUND FROM SOLIDARITY , NOT MERELY TO HALT WHAT THEY HAVE SEEN SO FAR AS A SLIDE INTO CHAOS.

3. AN ARTICLE IN IZVESTIA OF 21 FEBRUARY BY THE PAPER'S WARSAW CORRESPONDENT , DRUZENKO , ILLUSTRATED THE POINT . HE WARNED THAT DESPITE POSITIVE REACTIONS TO JARUZELSKI'S CALL FOR 90 DAYS OF CALM TRANQUILITY AND ORDER HAD STILL NOT BEEN RESTORED. "THE POLISH COMMUNISTS HAVE NO ILLUSIONS. THEY KNOW THAT EVEN IF THE NORMAL RHYTHM OF PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL LIFE IS RESTORED, ELEMENTS HOSTILE TO SOCIALISM WILL NOT GIVE UP THEIR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES"

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4. THERE MAY NOT BE A FORMAL WARSAW PACT MEETING TO DISCUSS POLAND THIS WEEK, BUT THERE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS IN MOSCOW FOR THE CONGRESS. I WOULD EXPECT KANIA TO BE THE RECIPIENT OF A GOOD DEAL OF GRATUITOUS ADVICE ABOUT THE NEED TO ENFORCE THE AUTHORITY OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT AND HE MAY FEEL CONSTRAINED TO GIVE - AND THEN TO IMPLEMENT - ASSURANCES OF POLISH GOOD INTENTIONS IN THIS RESPECT. ONCE THE CONGRESS IS OVER THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP ARE IN ONE RESPECT FREER TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. ON THE OTHER HAND BREZHNEV'S MAKING A STRONGER PITCH THAN HAD BEEN EXPECTED FOR A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND AS LONG AS HE HAS ANY HOPE OF SUCCEEDING IN THIS, THE DISINCENTIVE TO INTERVENTION , IN THE ABSENCE OF A FURTHER SERIOUS DECLINE IN THE POLISH GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY , REMAINS STRONG .

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