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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 772 OF 6 DECEMBER

INFO WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, WARSAW, MODUK, BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST,  
SOFIA, PRAGUE, EAST BERLIN, BONN, PARIS, HELSINKI, BELGRADE.

M.I.P.T. : WARSAW PACT MEETING.

1. THERE ARE THREE PRINCIPAL CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN :-
  - (A) THE SOVIET UNION HAS DECIDED AT THIS STAGE TO TRY TO RESOLVE ITS POLISH PROBLEM BY MAXIMUM POLITICAL PRESSURE RATHER THAN IMMEDIATE MILITARY INTERVENTION;
  - (B) THE POLES ARE ON PROBATION, AND
  - (C) THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO HOPE IT CAN LIMIT THE DAMAGE TO ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND DEVELOP A CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNERSHIP ON SOVIET TERMS WITH THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION.
  
2. THE LAST POINT WAS MADE EXPLICIT IN THE STATEMENT'S DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE U.S.A., AND ITS SPIRIT INFORMED THE FIRST PART. IT WAS ALSO IMPLICIT IN THE ABSENCE OF ALLEGATIONS OF WESTERN INVOLVEMENT IN DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE, INCIDENTALLY, NOT PURSUED THAT THEME WITH MUCH VIGOUR FOR THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS.
  
3. WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES HERE ARE ALREADY CLAIMING THE MEETING WAS CALLED TO DISCUSS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

3. WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES HERE ARE ALREADY CLAIMING THE MEETING WAS CALLED TO DISCUSS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN GENERAL, NOT ONE PARTICULAR ISSUE, BUT THERE IS CLEARLY NO ROOM FOR DOUBT THAT POLAND WAS THE MAIN SUBJECT. KANIA MAY HAVE HAD A HARD TIME REASSURING BREZHNEV AND THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS OF THE POLISH PARTY'S ABILITY AND WILL TO RE-ESTABLISH CONTROL. HE CERTAINLY LOOKED SOMEWHAT AT BAY ON TELEVISION. AT THE SAME TIME, HE MUST PRESUMABLY HOPE THAT THE POLISH PUBLIC WILL UNDERSTAND WHAT IS MEANT BY THE REFERENCE TO "FRATERNAL SOLA RITY AND SUPPORT" AND THE STATEMENT "POLAND HAS BEEN, IS AND WILL REMAIN A SOCIALIST STATE, A FIRM LINK IN THE COMMON FAMILY OF THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM".

4. THE POLES HAVE BEEN GIVEN A BREATHING SPACE, BUT THE RUSSIANS HAVE GIVEN THEM A STRONG PUBLIC WARNING OF THE NECESSITY OF OVERCOMING THEIR "DIFFICULTIES" IN A MANNER ACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER EASTERN EUROPEANS (AND THE KREMLIN IN PARTICULAR). IN SO DOING, THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET POLITBURO HAVE MADE A DEMONSTRATIVE SHOW OF COMMON RESOLUTION AND HAVE LINED UP ALL THEIR WARSAW PACT ALLIES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN A DISPLAY OF UNITY WHICH RECALLS 1968 TOO OBVIOUSLY FOR ANYONE BUT THE INCURABLE OPTIMIST TO CONCLUDE THAT THE THREAT OF A SOVIET INVASION HAS BEEN REMOVED.

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FM MOSCOW 060940Z DEC 80

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 771 OF 6 DECEMBER

INFO WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MODUK, BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST,  
SOFIA, PRAGUE, WARSAW, EAST BERLIN, PARIS, BONN, BELGRADE,  
HELSINKI.

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WARSAW PACT MEETING.

1. A WARSAW PACT MEETING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL WAS HELD IN  
MOSCOW ON 5 DECEMBER ATTENDED BY THE GENERAL OR FIRST  
SECRETARIES OF ALL SEVEN COUNTRIES. SIX COUNTRIES SENT THEIR  
PRIME MINISTERS, WHILE HUNGARY WAS REPRESENTED BY A DEPUTY  
PRIME MINISTER. THERE WERE THREE DEFENCE MINISTERS (SOVIET  
UNION, POLAND AND GDR), AND THE SAME THREE COUNTRIES SENT THEIR  
MINISTERS FOR STATE SECURITY/INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THERE WERE  
FOREIGN MINISTERS FROM BULGARIA, POLAND, ROMANIA AND THE  
SOVIET UNION. ON THE SOVIET SIDE THE MEETING WAS ALSO  
ATTENDED BY SUSLOV, AND ON THE CZECH BY BILAK.

2. THE STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER THE MEETING DESCRIBED IT AS  
BEING HELD IN "AN ATMOSPHERE OF COMRADELY MUTUAL UNDER-  
STANDING AND UNIFORM VIEWS". MAIN POINTS WERE AS FOLLOWS:-

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

## INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

THE PARTICIPANTS ENDORSED THE ASSESSMENTS AND PROPOSALS OF THE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING IN MAY 1987. THEY NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE ACTIVISATION OF CONTACTS BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS; THE CONTINUATION OF THE DIALOGUE ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND THE WORK OF THE UNGA ON ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS, ALL OF WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR INTENTION TO HELP IMPROVE THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE: PROMOTE PEACE, DETENTE, INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND THE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS. THEY ENDORSED THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEM, AND PARTICULARLY CO-OPERATION WITH "PROGRESSIVE, DEMOCRATIC", ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES". THEY "EXPRESSED READINESS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IF THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION DISPLAYS THE SAME APPROACH". THEY WELCOMED THE OPENING OF THE MADRID MEETING AND EXPRESSED HOPES FOR ITS SUCCESSFUL CONTINUATION BUT WARNED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION REMAINED TENSE, NOTING THE "INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS NATURE" OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE EXISTENCE OF SEATS OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND TENSION IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD.

## SOCIALIST WORLD.

THE SITUATION CALLED FOR "HIGHER VIGILANCE IN RESPECT TO AGGRESSIVE ASPIRATIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST FORCES, THE ATTEMPTS BY REACTION TO DAMAGE THE POSITIONS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, DEVELOPING STATES AND NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENTS". PARTICIPANTS DECLARED THEIR RESOLVE "TO CONTINUE TO CONSOLIDATE THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ON THE BASIS OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND EQUAL MUTUALLY-ADVANTAGEOUS CO-OPERATION." THE PARTICIPANTS EXCHANGED INFORMATION ON SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION IN THEIR COUNTRIES AND ENDORSED THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AND PLAN COORDINATION IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION AND "THE RAISING OF THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THEIR PEOPLES".

## POLAND

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY INFORMED THE MEETING PARTICIPANTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY INFORMED THE MEETING PARTICIPANTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE 11TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY. THE MEETING PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED THE CONFIDENCE THAT COMMUNISTS, THE WORKING CLASS, THE WORKING PEOPLE OF FRATERNAL POLAND WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND WILL ASSURE THE COUNTRY'S FURTHER DEVELOPMENT ALONG THE SOCIALIST PATH. IT WAS REITERATED THAT SOCIALIST POLAND, THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY AND THE POLISH PEOPLE CAN FIRMLY COUNT ON THE FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT OF COUNTRIES MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY STRESSED THAT POLAND HAS BEEN, IS AND WILL REMAIN A SOCIALIST STATE, A FIRM LINK IN THE COMMON FAMILY OF THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM."

3. PLEASE SEE M.I.F.T.

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