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TO PRIORITY F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 43 OF 27TH JANUARY

FOR INFO ROUTINE WARSAW WASHINGTON PARIS BONN AND UKDEL NATO.  
INFO SAVING BUDAPEST BUCHAREST PRAGUE SOFIA EAST BERLIN  
BELGRADE AND HELSINKI.

POLAND.

1. THE DETERIORATION OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCENE IN POLAND HAS BEEN REFLECTED HERE IN INCREASED PRESS ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUAL POLISH DISSIDENTS (NOTABLY MOCZULSKI, KURON AND MICHNIK) AND MORE RECENTLY IN A SHARPER TONE ABOUT SOLIDARITY ITSELF.

2. THE WEEKEND PRESS REPORTED REGULARLY AND IN SHARP TERMS ON THE LATEST FREE SATURDAY CALLED BY SOLIDARITY. ON 23 JANUARY PRAVDA SAID THAT THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP WAS "NOT AT ALL INTERESTED IN NORMALISATION OF THE SITUATION" AND ON 24 JANUARY IT ACCUSED SOLIDARITY'S LEADERS OF DIRECTING EVENTS TOWARDS "PREMEDITATED CONFRONTATION WITH THE ORGANS OF PEOPLE'S POWER". AT THE SAME TIME THE PUBLIC LINE IS STILL TO SUGGEST THAT MOST POLES REALISE THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF FURTHER ECONOMIC DISRUPTION AND THAT REALITY WILL EXERCISE A STEADYING INFLUENCE.

3. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP MUST NOW BE ACUTELY AWARE OF THE RISK THAT THE DISINTEGRATION OF AUTHORITY COULD GO SO FAR AS TO DEPRIVE THE PARTY OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL. THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST GOING IN ARE NO LESS POTENT THAN BEFORE, BUT PATIENCE WITH, IF NOT FAITH IN, KANIA, MUST BE DECLINING. I SHOULD THINK THE SOVIET LEADERS ARE STILL HOPING THAT THEY CAN BRING THE SITUATION UNDER CONTROL AND THEY CAN AVOID DIRECT INTERVENTION; THEY ARE DOUBTLESS IMPRESSING UPON KANIA WITH EVEN GREATER URGENCY THE NEED SOON TO REASSERT THE PARTY'S AUTHORITY. THEY MAY INDEED IMPEL HIM TO CONSIDER JUST THE KIND OF ACTION, EG SELECTIVE ARRESTS, WHICH

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WOULD PRESIPITATE THE CRISIS THE RUSSIANS HOPE TO AVOID. IN SHORT, I AGREE WITH HM AMBASSADOR WARSAW THAT THE RISK OF SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION HAS INCREASED. IT WOULD BE LIKE THEM TO BREW IT UP SLOWLY AND LAUNCH IT WITHOUT WARNING, BUT ON BALANCE, I STILL DO NOT THINK IT IMMINENT, UNLESS PRECIPITATED BY A SUDDEN CRISIS.

FCO PASS SAVING BUDAPEST BUCHAREST PRAGUE SOFIA EAST BERLIN  
BELGRADE AND HELSINKI.

KEEBLE

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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