

POLAND: ADVANCE COPIES

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MR BULLARD  
MR FERGUSSON  
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MR P H MOBERLY

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FM WARSAW 041200Z FEB  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 84 OF 4 FEB  
AND TO IMMEDIATE CABINET OFFICE ( ASSESSMENT STAFF)

INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW EAST BERLIN PRAGUE PARIS BONN WASHINGTON  
UKDEL NATO MODUK

SAVING TO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST BELGRADE HELSINKI  
STOCKHOLM UKMIS NEW YORK UKDEL BRUSSELS

M I P T

*no*

**POLISH SITUATION**

1. THOUGH I WOULD NOT WISH TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF IT AT THIS STAGE, IT IS WORTH OBSERVING THAT KANIA'S SPEECH TO THE PRE-CONGRESS COMMISSION HAS BEEN ACCORDED FAR LESS PUBLICITY THAN THAT OF OLSZOWSKI. MONDAY'S TELEVISION NEWS CARRIED A 7 OR 8 MINUTE PRECIS OF OLSZOWSKI'S REMARKS AND MENTIONED BRIEFLY THAT KANIA HAD ALSO SPOKEN; TUESDAY'S TELEVISION SIMPLY COMMENTED THAT THE CONTEXT OF KANIA'S SPEECH WOULD BE AVAILABLE IN THE PAPERS OF 4 FEBRUARY. THERE MAY BE SOME SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FACT THAT KANIA'S NOTABLY MORE MODERATE APPROACH TO SOLIDARITY AND THE QUESTIONS OF PARTY REFORM HAS RECEIVED MUCH LESS ATTENTION.

2. IT APPEARS FROM PARA 4 OF MIPT THAT OLSZOWSKI'S HARD LINE ON PARTY REFORM HAS NEVERTHELESS RUN INTO OPPOSITION AT THE PRE-CONGRESS COMMISSION.

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3. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE LIMITING THE PAYMENT OF WAGES TO STRIKERS TO 50% OF THEIR DAILY PAY AND THEN ONLY IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THE STRIKE HAS BEEN CALLED BY AN OFFICIAL UNION AT A WEEK'S NOTICE, SEEMS LIKELY TO BE TAKEN AS

PROVOCATION BY SOLIDARITY. THE DECREE CUTS ACROSS THE GDANSK AGREEMENT, WHICH STATES THAT WORKERS WILL NOT BE PENALISED FOR STRIKING. THAT PARTICULAR PROVISION HAS ALWAYS BEEN REGARDED AS TEMPORARY, BUT IT HAS BEEN HITHERTO AGREED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE UNIONS THAT ITS AMENDMENT SHOULD BE ENCOMPASSED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DRAFT LAW ON TRADE UNIONS.

4. IN BIELSKO BIALA, THE VOIVODA AND HIS DEPUTIES HAVE NOW TENDERED THEIR RESIGNATIONS. THIS APPEARS TO BE A MAJOR VICTORY FOR THE SOLIDARITY STRIKERS IN THE REGION, BUT IT DOES NOTHING TO ENHANCE THE GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY. NOR IS THE GOVERNMENT'S IMAGE IMPROVED BY THE FACT THAT THE DISPUTES AT JELENIA GORA, RZESZOW AND LODZ UNIVERSITY STILL REMAIN UNRESOLVED. SOLIDARITY IN THE WROCLAW REGION HAVE ALSO ANNOUNCED THEIR READINESS TO CALL A STRIKE SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT NOT ACCEDE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE RZESZOW STRIKERS FOR THE LEGALISATION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY.

5. THERE HAS BEEN AS YET NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF A SEJM SESSION WHICH IS STILL EXPECTED FOR THE END OF THE WEEK. RUMOURS CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S POSITION MAY BE CHALLENGED THERE. MFA VICE-MINISTER WIEJACZ ALSO TOLD ME YESTERDAY THAT THERE WOULD BE A CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON 6 AND 7 FEBRUARY. A CHANGE OF FIRST SECRETARY SEEMS RATHER MOST LIKELY NOW THAN IT DID ON FEB 2 WHEN I SENT MY TELNO 75. WITH A FORTHCOMING MEETING OF WARSAW PACT PARTY HEADS SHORTLY DUE IN MOSCOW AT THE TIME OF THE CPSU CONGRESS THE PZPR MIGHT FEEL THAT THE TIME WAS RIGHT FOR A CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP. THIS ARGUMENT, TO JUDGE FROM THE DISCUSSION DESCRIBED IN PARA 4 OF MIPT HAS EVIDENTLY NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED. NEVERTHELESS, KANIA WILL HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN DEFENDING HIS POSITION AGAINST THE CRITICISM OF THE CZECH, EAST GERMAN AND PRESUMABLY SOVIET LEADERSHIPS: THE SUBSTITUTION OF KANIA BY OLSZOWSKI MIGHT SERVE TO DEFER FOR A BIT LONGER THE INCREASING PRESSURE FOR OUTSIDE INTERVENTION.

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6. SOLIDARITY SAY THAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO OVERTURN THE GOVERNMENT, BUT IN FACT THEY ARE MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERN. IN MY TEL NO 25 I REPORTED A SOLIDARITY ADVISER I MET AS BEING NERVOUS AND GLOOMY. ANOTHER I MET ON FEB 3 STRUCK ME AS CHEERFUL, FATALISTIC AND FANATICAL, AND HOPEFUL THAT THE WEST WOULD, AS HE PUT IT, SUPPORT POLAND, BY WHICH HE MEANT THREATEN THE USSR WITH WAR IF THEY INTERVENE.

FCO PLEASE PASS ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES.

PRIDHAM

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FM WARSAW 041200Z FEB 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 83 OF 4 FEB

AND TO IMMEDIATE CABINET OFFICE (ASSESSMENT STAFF)

*See list of commel  
attached.*

INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW EAST BERLIN PRAGUE PARIS BONN  
WASHINGTON UKDEL NATO MODUK

SAVING TO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST BELGRADE HELSINKI STOCKHOLM  
UKMIS NEW YORK UKDEL BRUSSELS

MY TELNO 81 : POLISH SITUATION

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1. KANIA'S SPEECH AT THE PRE-CONGRESS COMMISSION HAS  
FINALLY BEEN PUBLISHED, BUT WITHOUT THE ATTENTION ON TV  
GIVEN TO OLSZOWSKI'S.

2. FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS:

- (I) THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IS SIGNIFICANTLY WORSE THAN  
IT WAS A MONTH AGO, DUE IN LARGE PART TO THE AFFECT OF STRIKES.
- (II) OUR MAIN TASK IS THEREFORE TO SET THE ECONOMY TO RIGHTS.
- (III) THE PARTY'S ROLE MAKES IT RESPONSIBLE FOR GETTING  
POLAND WOUT OF THE CRISIS BY REBUILDING SOCIALISM. BUT  
WE MUST REALISE THAT WE HAVE ANARCHIST ELEMENTS TO CONTEND  
WITH AND THAT THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS ACTING BEYOND ITS  
STATUTES.
- (IV) TOGETHER WITH THE PEASANT PARTY WE MUST FORM THE  
CONDITIONS FOR GENUINE PEASANT SELF-GOVERNMENT.
- (V) THE SITUATION IN THE PARTY IS THE KEY TO THE WAY OUT  
OF THIS CRISIS. THE PARTY MUST BE CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE.  
IT MUST HELP THE BRANCH UNIONS DEVELOP LINKS WITH THE  
WORKING-CLASS. SOLIDARITY IS ALSO IMPORTANT AS A MASS  
MOVEMENT BUT MUST NOT DEVELOP INTO AN OPPOSITION PARTY.
- (VI) THERE ARE ALSO THOSE IN THE PARTY WHO DO NOT REALISE  
THAT THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED AND THAT WE MUST ADAPT TO IT.  
WE SHOULD WORK WITH SOLIDARITY TO MAKE IT A PROPERLY  
SOCIALIST ORGANISATION.

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3. KANIA'S SPEECH INCLUDES TOUCHES OF FIRMNESS - ESPECIALLY IN ITS OPPOSITION TO RURAL SOLIDARITY IN (IV) AND ITS REMARKS ABOUT THE ROLE OF SOLIDARITY IN (V). BUT COMPARED TO OLSZOWSKI, THE LINE TAKEN IS CONCILIATORY. HE LEAVES OPEN THE THREE QUESTIONS REFERRED TO BY OLSZOWSKI IN PARA 3 OF MY TUR. AND HE STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ODNOWA AND THE NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH.

4. YESTERDAY, MEANWHILE, THERE WAS A MEETING OF WORKING GROUP NUMBER 1 OF THE PRE-CONGRESS COMMISSION ( SEE HARRISON'S LETTER TO FACEY OF 29 DECEMBER) , TO CONSIDER CHANGES IN THE PARTY STATUTES. THE TERSE PRESS REPORT INDICATED THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION WAS NECESSARY.

5. SEE M I F T

FCO PLEASE PASS ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES.

PRIDHAM

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

POLAND SPECIAL STANDARD

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CSCE UNIT  
NAD  
SED  
WED  
ECD (E)  
ESID  
TRED  
ERD  
SEC D  
OLA  
CABINET OFFICE

COPIES TO

PS/S OF S }  
MR DICK } DOT  
MR POWNALL }  
PS/CHANCELLOR }  
SIR K COUZENS } TREASURY  
MISS BAKER }  
MR P J BULL BANK OF ENGLAND  
MR COTTERILL ECGD  
MR WOOLGAR D/EMPLOYMENT  
CAXTON HOUSE TOTHILL STREET

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