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DESKBY 020100Z

FROM FCO 011128Z APR 81

TO IMMEDIATE PEKING

TELEGRAM NUMBER 175 OF 1 APRIL 1981.

AND TO PRIORITY WARSAW MOSCOW WASHINGTON UKDEL NATO BONN PARIS AND
THE HAGUE

AND SAVING TO EAST BERLIN PRAGUE SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST BELGRADE
HELSINKI STOCKHOLM UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKREP BRUSSELS.

FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY.

POLAND. ms

1. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN WARSAW TELNOS 237 AND 238 OF 31 MARCH, AND
THE DRAFT CIG ASSESSMENT OF THE SAME DATE WHICH WAS TELEGRAPHED
TO YOU AND WHICH WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE JIC TOMORROW. MEANWHILE
OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IS SET OUT BELOW.

2. THE THREAT OF A GENERAL STRIKE HAS RECEDED, BUT THE ROOTS OF
THE PROBLEM REMAIN. IN PARTICULAR:

I. SOME MEMBERS OF THE SOLIDARITY EXECUTIVE ARE CRITICAL
OF THE COMPROMISE OVER THE BYDGOSZCZ INCIDENT. THE STRIKE
HAVING BEEN CALLED OFF BY WALESZA AND GWIAZDA ON TELEVISION,
THE HARD-LINERS HAD LITTLE OPTION BUT TO ENDORSE THE DECISION.
BUT THEY MAY BE THE MORE DETERMINED TO HOLD OUT FOR MORE NEXT TIME.

II. THE FACT THAT BYDGOSZCZ BROUGHT THE COUNTRY TO THE VERGE OF A
GENERAL STRIKE SHOWS HOW EASY IT WILL BE FOR EXTREMISTS ON EITHER
SIDE TO PROVOKE A "NEXT TIME" IF THEY SO WISH.

III. THERE IS SCOPE FOR DISAGREEMENT ABOUT THE INTERPRETATION OF
THE BYDGOSZCZ SETTLEMENT. SOME PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN REFERRED FOR
FURTHER DISCUSSION BY COMMISSIONS, WHILE OTHER ISSUES APPEAR TO BE
TREATED ON LITTLE MORE THAN BEST ENDEAVOURS BASIS.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT TO BRING TO TRIAL AND TO PUNISH
IF THEY ARE FOUND GUILTY THOSE ACCOUSED OF USING VIOLENCE AT
BYDGOSZCZ WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT TO THE SATISFACTION
OF BOTH SIDES.

3. THESE POINTS MUST BE SEEN AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF CONTINUING
ECONOMIC CRISIS AND OF WHAT ARE IN EFFECT REGULAR REMINDERS BY
THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS CLOSEST ALLIES OF THE POSSIBILITY OF
INTERVENTION.

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4. THE DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON 29 MARCH THAT AN EXTRAORDINARY PARTY CONGRESS SHOULD MEET BY 20 JULY WAS UNEXPECTED, AND SEEMS TO HAVE RESULTED FROM PRESSURE BY THE REFORMISTS. IT IS A VICTORY WHICH MAY PROVE COSTLY. THE PROCESS OF ELECTING DELEGATES IS MORE LIKELY TO ACCENTUATE THAN TO PAPER OVER POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT WITHIN THE PARTY, AND THERE IS A PROSPECT OF AN UNRULY CONGRESS WITH A REFORMIST MAJORITY. GIVEN THE AUTHORITY WHICH DECISIONS OF A PARTY CONGRESS ARE ACCORDED IN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM, THE RUSSIANS MUST BE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED TO AVOID SUCH AN OUTCOME. THEIR ATTITUDE TO EVENTS IN POLAND WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE SEEM WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE TOLERABLE WILL BE THE LESS PREDICTABLE AS A RESULT.

CARRINGTON

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