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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 515 OF 17TH AUGUST

FOR INFO ROUTINE WARSAW

FOR INFO SAVING WASHINGTON PARIS BONN AND UKDEL NATO.

MIPT: SOVIET POLISH CRIMEAN SUMMIT.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KANIA/JARUZELSKI VISIT IN SOVIET EYES WAS UNDERLINED BY THE INCLUSION OF GROMYKO, CHERNENKO AND RUSAKOV (A HBDTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY) WITH BREZHNEV IN THE TALKS. FOR TALKS WITH HIS OTHER CRIMEAN VISITORS, BREZHNEV HAS ONLY HAD ONE OTHER POLITBURO MEMBER PRESENT.

2. ALTHOUGH THE TALKS ARE RKORDED AS TAKING PLACE IN "AN ATMOSPHERE OF FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP AND COMRADELY UNDERSTANDING" SOME PLAIN SPEAKING NO DOUBT TOOK PLACE. IT ~~MADE~~ NOT HAVE BEEN EASY TO AGREE THE FORM OF THE COMMUNIQUE. THE EVENING PAPERS ON 15 AUGUST REPORTED THE DEPARTURE OF THE POLISH PARTY BUT CONFINED THEMSELVES TO SAYING THAT AN AGREED COMMUNIQUE WOULD BE PUBLISHED. IN THE EVENT THE TEXT (SUMMARISED IN MIPT) WAS DIFFERENT IN FORM FROM THAT RECORDING THE OTHER CRIMEAN SUMMITS THIS YEAR. IT WAS DIVIDED CLEARLY INTO A POLISH STATEMENT LISTING THOSE RESULTS OF THE NINTH PZPR CONGRESS MOST WELCOME TO THE SOVIET UNION FOLLOWED BY A FRANK ADMISSIONTOFGPOLAND'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, AND A QUALIFIED SOVIET ENDORSEMENT OF THE POLISH PARTY'S POSITION.

3. THE POLISH LEADERS EVIDENTLY TRIED TO REASSURE THE RUSSIANS ABOUT THEIR CONGRESS AND TO PERSUADE THEM THAT THE PZPR WAS WORKING ON THE RIGHT LINES. THERE WAS NO MENTION OF "RENEWAL" OR OF SOLIDARNOST IN THE COMMUNIQUE AND THE POLES WERE SAID TO HAVE EMPHASISED ALL THE RIGHT THINGS FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW SUCH AS THE NEED OT PRESERVE AND STRENGTHEN MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES IN THE WORK OF THE PARTY. THE ASSURANCES THE POLES WERE ABLE TO GIVE THE RUSSIANS HOWEVER MUST HAVE HAD A DEPRESSINGLY FAMILIAR RING AND BREZHNEV'S RECORDED REACTION TO THE POLISH EXPOSITION WAS MERELY TO STATE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS FOLLOWING THE SITUATION CAREFULLY. THE SOVIET POSITION IN RELATION TO POLAND WAS CONSISTENTLY "INTERNATIONALIST". HE LIMITED HIS APPROVAL TO THOSE CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD STRENGHTEN THE PZPR AND SOCIALISM AND TO THOSE POLISH FORCES WHO WERE WORKING FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM, THE RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS. BREZHNEV IS ALSO RECORDED AS HAVING MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE STILL REGARDED THE POLISH SITUATION AS A THREAT TO WARSAW PACT SOLIDARITY AND HENCE TO POLAND'S DEVELOPEMENT AS AN INDVPEMMENT STATE.

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4. MY OVERALL IMPRESSION IS THAT THE SOVIET POSITION HAS NOT ALTERED SINCE THE AMBASSADOR SENT HIS DESPATCH OF 23 JULY AND THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST RESIGNED TO HAVING TO WATCH DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY, ADVISING THE POLISH PARTY TO DEAL FIRMLY WITH OPPOSITION AND GIVING SOME AID ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY HOW FAR THE ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS REPORTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE ARE NEW BUT THEY SEEM DESIGNED MORE TO COPE WITH IMMEDIATE DIFFICULTIES THAN TO BE PART OF A LONG-TERM PROGRAMME TO RESOLVE POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. SOVIET AGREEMENT TO POSTPONE REPAYMENT OF POLISH DEBTS WILL GIVE THE POLES SOME TEMPORARY RESPITE, AS WILL SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS TO GET LIGHT INDUSTRIES GOING AGAIN.

5. THE POLISH LEADERS CAN CONGRATULATE THEMSELVES ON GETTING QUALIFIED APPROVAL FOR THE OUTCOME OF THEIR CONGRESS AND SOME ECONOMIC HELP, BUT BREZHNEV HAS LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THEY ARE ON PROBATION AND WILL BE JUDGED BY RESULTS RATHER THAN PROMISES.

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BROOKE TURNER

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FM MOSCOW 170840Z AUG 81

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 514 OF 17 AUGUST

INFO WARSAW

SAVING FOR INFO WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO

SOVIET/POLISH CRIMEAN SUMMIT.

1. BREZHNEV MET KANIA AND JARUZELSKI IN THE CRIMEA ON 14 AUGUST.

GROMYKO CHERNIENKO AND BREZHNEV'S AID, BLATOV, WERE ALSO PRESENT. THE MAIN POINTS OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON 15 AUGUST WERE AS FOLLOWS (COMMENT IN MIFT).

2. KANIA AND JARUZELSKI GAVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROBLEMS ON WHICH

THE PZPR WAS WORKING IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF THE NINTH CONGRESS. THEY EMPHASISED THAT THE CONGRESS HAD DECLARED ITSELF IN FAVOUR OF MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING THE MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ACTIVITY, THE CONSOLIDATION OF ITS LEADING ROLE IN SOCIETY, STRENGTHENING THE SOCIALIST STATE AND THE STABILISATION OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION. THE PARTY HAD SHOWN ITS INITIATIVE IN WORKING OUT A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME FOR OVERCOMING THE CRISIS WHICH WAS CONFIRMED BY THE SECOND PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON 11 AUGUST. THE PROGRAMME WAS RECEIVING EVER BROADER SUPPORT FROM MILLIONS OF WORKERS. BUT THE SITUATION IN POLAND REMAINED "VERY COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT", AS A RESULT NOT ONLY OF PREVIOUS MISTAKES BUT ALSO OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES BY FORCES INIMICAL TO SOCIALISM. THE RECENT STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS, AS WELL AS MANY INCIDENTS OF ANTI-STATE AND ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA, WERE CREATING A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THE STATE, ITS INDEPENDENCE AND THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. IN THESE CONDITIONS THE PZPR AND THE POLISH GOVERNMENT SAW THEIR PRINCIPAL TASK AS THAT OF UNITING ALL FORCES IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SALVATION, AVERTING A PROFOUND CRISIS ESTABLISHING NORMAL FUNCTIONING OF THE WHOLE ECONOMY, HALTING MANIFESTATIONS OF ANARCHY IN A DECISIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE THREAT OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION. ALL THIS WOULD GUARANTEE POLAND'S SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHEN HER AS A FIRM LINK IN THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH.

3. BREZHNEV EMPHASISED THAT SOVIET COMMUNISTS WERE FOLLOWING EVENTS IN POLAND WITH "SERIOUS ATTENTION". THE SOVIET UNION HAD ADOPTED A CONSISTENT INTERNATIONALIST STANCE WITH REGARD TO SOCIALIS POLAND AND HOPED THAT POLISH COMMUNISTS AND THE WHOLE POLISH PEOPLE WOULD SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENT "THE DECISION OF THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS AIMED AT STRENGTHENING

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THE PZPR AS A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY AND CONSOLIDATING THE POSITION OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRY". IT WAS NOT ACCIDENTAL THAT EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND HAD CHOSEN ANTI-SOVIETISM AS THEIR WEAPON. THEY WERE TRYING TO "DIG A TRENCH" BETWEEN POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION AND HER OTHER ALLIES, AND THUS UNDERMINE THE BASIS OF PEACEFUL AND SECURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT POLISH STATE.

4. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING WERE AGREED THAT SOVIET/POLISH FRIENDSHIP WHICH HAD BEEN TEMPERED IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS A GREAT ASSET FOR BOTH COUNTRIES. THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST POLAND WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION, JUST AS THE MIGHT AND HIGH INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE SOVIET UNION ANSWERED THE INTERESTS OF PEOPLE'S POLAND. THIS FRIENDSHIP WAS BEING CONFIRMED AGAIN IN POLAND'S HOUR OF TRIAL. THE CPSE AND ALL SOVIET PEOPLE WERE IN TRUE SOLIDARITY WITH THE PZPR AND "THOSE FORCES OF THE POLISH PEOPLE WHO WERE TRYING TO FRUSTRATE THE DESIGNS OF THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM...."

5. PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPING BROAD ALL-ROUND BILATERAL CO-OPERATION WERE DISCUSSED. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD GIVE POLAND "CONSIDERABLE MATERIAL HELP". A DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN TO DEFER REPAYMENT OF POLAND'S DEBTS TO THE SOVIET UNION TO THE FOLLOWING FIVE YEAR PERIOD, TO MAKE ADDITIONAL DELIVERIES OF RAW MATERIALS FOR LIGHT INDUSTRY, AND ALSO SOME CONSUMER GOODS. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD FACILITATE A FULLER USE OF POLAND'S INDUSTRIAL POTENTIAL. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED "SINCERE GRATITUDE" FOR THIS FRATERNAL ASSISTANCE.

6. BOTH SIDES UNDERLINED THAT SOVIET/POLISH FRIENDSHIP WAS ONE OF THE CORNERSTONES OF THE PRESENT BALANCE OF FORCES IN EUROPE. BOTH COUNTRIES WOULD CONTINUE TO DO ALL THAT WAS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH - THE BULWARK OF SCURITY AND PEACE IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD. THE FORCES OF WORLD IMPERIALISM, TRYING TO HALT THE COURSE OF SOCIALIST PROGRESS, WERE PURSUING A DANGEROUS POLICY OF MILITARISATION, AND EXACERBATING THE THREAT TO PEACE THROUGH THEIR ACTIONS. THERE WERE OBVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY TO ASSESS THE U.S. CONGRESS'S RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN POLAND. THE SOVIET UNION FULLY SUPPORTED POLAND'S POSITION ON THIS QUESTION.

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SIMILAR ACTS OF INTERFERENCE WOULD BRING NEW COMPLICATIONS INTO THE PRESENT TENSE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. IMPERIALISM WAS TRYING TO FORCE ON MANKIND A CONTINUOUS INCREASE OF TENSION, AND AN UNRESTRAINED ARMS RACE WHICH WAS AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF ALL PEOPLE. BOTH PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED THEIR MUTUAL READINESS TO DEVELOP FURTHER SOVIET/POLISH CO-OPERATION AND TO IMPLEMENT A JOINT PEACE-LOVING PRINCIPLED POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

7. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF "FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP AND COMRADELY MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING".

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