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FM WARSAW 230725Z SEP

TO PRIORITY F C O

TELNO 660 OF 23RD SEPTEMBER 1981

INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK: ROUTINE MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON

INFO SAVING: EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, PARIS, BONN, SOFIA,  
BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, UKREP BRUSSELS  
AND MODUK.

*ms*

POLAND:

1. THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT ARE CONTINUING THEIR ATTEMPTS TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE MASS OF SOLIDARITY MEMBERS AND THEIR LEADERS. ARTICLES HAVE APPEARED IN THE PRESS OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS DENOUNCING SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP'S REACTION TO THE POLITBURO STATEMENT (OUR TELNO 652). SOLIDARITY IS CRITICISED AS BEING NO LONGER REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WORKER FOUNDERS AND DEPARTING FROM THE SPIRIT OF THE GDANSK AGREEMENTS. THE PARTY HAS ALSO ISSUED A WARNING THAT PARTY MEMBERS WHO BELONG TO SOLIDARITY MUST NOW CAREFULLY CONSIDER THEIR LOYALTIES. THOSE WHO PUT THE INTERESTS OF SOLIDARITY BEFORE THOSE OF THE PARTY WILL BE DISCIPLINED.
2. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER RAKOWSKI HAS ADDED AN APOCALYPTICAL NOTE TO THE PROCEEDINGS IN A GLOOMY INTERVIEW ON 21 SEPTEMBER. HE CLAIMED THAT SOLIDARITY HAD NOW KILLED OFF THE CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP AND CONSENSUS AND BURIED IT AT THEIR FIRST CONGRESS.
3. THERE IS OF COURSE A GOOD DEAL OF THEATRE AND MANOEUVRING ON BOTH SIDES. BUT AS FAR AS WE CAN JUDGE THE AUTHORITIES DO NOT APPEAR TO INTEND TO MAKE AN OPEN CHALLENGE TO SOLIDARITY BEFORE THE START OF THE CONGRESS, EXCEPT POSSIBLY IN THE FIELD OF WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT. THEREAFTER, THEY ARE TRYING TO PUT A TWO-WAY BET ON THE OUTCOME. IF THE CONGRESS UNEXPECTEDLY VEERS IN A MODERATE DIRECTION AND IS PREPARED TO PICK UP THE OLIVE BRANCH OFFERED THEM LAST WEEK BY KANIA, THE LEADERSHIP MAY HOPE TO PRESENT THE SOVIET UNION WITH A FURTHER FAIT-ACCOMPLI OF CONTINUED COOPERATION BETWEEN BOTH PARTIES. I SEE THAT MR CZYREK IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE SEEMS TO HAVE SOME HOPE THAT THIS MAY STILL BE POSSIBLE. (UKMIS TEL. NO 878) I AM SURE THAT THE CHURCH WILL BE WORKING IN THIS DIRECTION. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONGRESS CONTINUES ALONG THE LINES OF THE FIRST SESSION, THE AUTHORITIES MUST HOPE THAT THEIR CAREFUL PROPAGANDA AIMED AT PORTRAYING SOLIDARITY AS UNREPRESENTATIVE AND POLITICALLY ADVENTURIST, WILL GIVE THEM A BETTER CHANCE OF TAKING REPRESSIVE ACTION WITH A DEGREE OF SOCIAL CONCENT.

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5. IT IS VERY HARD TO JUDGE WHETHER SOME OF THE GRASS-ROOTS IN SOLIDARITY ARE NOW GETTING FED UP WITH THE MILITANTS AND WOULD BACK FIRMER ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT. MY IMPRESSION IS THAT IN THIS CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY, MOST POLES STILL BLAME THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE MESS THEY ARE IN AND NOT SOLIDARITY.

6. I WAS TOLD THAT AT THE LAST MEETING OF SOLIDARITY, WALESA GOT SO FURIOUS WITH KURON THAT HE SAID THAT HE WOULD RATHER SEE THE WHOLE OF KOR IN PRISON THAN TEMPT A SOVIET INTERVENTION. THE GOVERNMENT MUST HOPE TO WORK ON THIS MOOD AMONG THE MODERATES BUT MAY UNDERESTIMATE GRASS-ROOT MILITANCY.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES.

JAMES

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]  
[THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED]

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST]

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