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TELNO 669 OF 25TH SEPTEMBER 1981
AND TO PRIORITY WELLINGTON (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)
INFO ROUTINE: MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN, BUDAPEST, PRAGUE, PARIS,
BONN, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO AND MODUK

INFO SAVING: SOFIA, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM,
UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKREP BRUSSELS.

THE FORTHCOMING SOLIDARITY CONGRESS.

1. I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT LIKE TO HAVE SOME THOUGHTS, INEVITABLY SPECULATIVE, ON THE WAY THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESENT POLISH SITUATION MIGHT DEVELOP.
2. THERE ARE VARIOUS PRESSURES ON SOLIDARITY TO BEHAVE MODERATELY AT THE NEXT CONGRESS: THE SOVIET MESSAGES, THE MODERATION OF THE POLISH LEADERSHIP, THE CHURCH (INCLUDING POSSIBLY SOME INTERVENTION BY THE POPE), A PART OF ITS OWN MEMBERSHIP. UNDERLYING THE PRESENT CRISIS, A DIALOGUE STILL CONTINUES BETWEEN THE SEJM AND SOLIDARITY AND IT WAS THIS THAT PRODUCED THE COMPROMISE ON WORKER SELF-MANAGEMENT. BUT ALREADY ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARITY ARE DENOUNCING THE COMPROMISE, AND IT IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN THAT IF SOLIDARITY'S LEADERSHIP WERE TO SEEK ENDORSEMENT FOR THEIR MODERATE POSITION ON THE FLOOR OF THE CONGRESS, THEY WOULD WIN THE DAY. THE SOCIAL FORCES WHICH NOW MARCH UNDER THE BANNER OF SOLIDARITY STRETCH FROM THOSE WHO WISH TO OVERTHROW THE SYSTEM AND ITS ALLIANCES TO THOSE WHO WISH TO EFFECT DEEP CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FABRIC OF POLAND. BUT EVEN IF THE MODERATES LIKE WALESZA ARE MORE OR LESS ACCEPTABLE TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IN ITS PRESENT STATE OF WEAKNESS, THEY REMAIN ANATHEMA TO THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS THUS SURPRISING THAT GENERAL JARUZELSKI SHOULD HAVE YESTERDAY MADE A SPEECH IN WHICH HE FULLY RECOGNISED THE STRENGTH OF "THIS GREAT MOVEMENT" WHILE CONDEMNING EXTREMISTS LIKE KOR. THIS TYPE OF STUDIOUSLY MODERATE LANGUAGE MUST MAKE THE RUSSIANS LIVID.
3. CAN THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ACT AGAINST SOLIDARITY OR ELEMENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY? WOULD THEY BE ABLE, FOR EXAMPLE, TO ROUND UP KOR AND PUT THEM BEHIND BARS? WHEN THIS QUESTION WAS RAISED YESTERDAY AMONG THE NATO AMBASSADORS, THE GENERAL CONCLUSION WAS THAT SOLIDARITY WOULD COME OUT ON A GENERAL STRIKE. EVEN IF SOLIDARITY BEHAVES MODERATELY AND PRODUCES RESOLUTIONS WHICH ARE NOT TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT, HOW LONG CAN A DIALOGUE

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CONTINUE? I CANNOT GIVE ANY CLEAR ANSWER TO THIS BUT I WOULD AGREE WITH THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JIC THAT ANOTHER CRISIS WOULD SEEM INEVITABLE BEFORE LONG - THE SOCIAL FORCES INVOLVED ARE TOO DISPARATE AND VOLATILE TO PERMIT ANY SITUATION OF STABILITY IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. AND THE LEADERSHIP OF SOLIDARITY KNOW THAT THEIR MOVEMENT CAN ONLY REMAIN UNITED SO LONG AS IT ADVANCES.

4. YET I AM DRAWN TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST DO SOMETHING MORE TO SATISFY THE SOVIET UNION. SO FAR THEY HAVE REALLY DONE VERY LITTLE. JARUZELSKI'S STATEMENT YESTERDAY THAT THE ARMY WOULD BE USED TO PROTECT ORDER IN THE COUNTRY AND THE MORE VISIBLE PRESENCE OF ARMED SOLDIERS ON THE MAIN STREETS OF THE CENTRAL PART OF WARSAW, WITH HELMETS ON THEIR HEADS AND CARRYING GUNS (BUT NOT IN KOMBAT UNIFORM), MAY BE INTENDED AS A LOW-KEY SHOW OF DETERMINATION. BUT I DOUBT WHETHER IT WILL MAKE MUCH IMPRESSION ON THE MILITANTS IN SOLIDARITY. I THINK THEREFORE THAT SOME FURTHER ACTION BY THE PARTY IS PROBABLY NECESSARY, AND THE ONLY ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE THAT IT SEEMS TO HAVE IS TO CHANGE ITS LEADERSHIP. YET KANIA AND JARUZELSKI UNDOUBTEDLY ENJOY SOME DEGREE OF GRUDGING POPULAR SUPPORT. IF A HARDER - LINE LEADERSHIP TAKE OVER, CAN THEY HOPE TO ACHIEVE ANY BETTER RESULTS WITH SOLIDARITY? I CAN ONLY SEE AN AGGRAVATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION WITH PRESUMABLY A GREATER PRESSURE FOR AN APPEAL FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. WE SIMPLY DO NOT KNOW IF THAT IS THE SCENARIO WHICH THE RUSSIANS ARE NOW BEGINNING TO ENGINEER SEMI COLON OR WHETHER THEY WISH TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF SUCH A SCENARIO IN ORDER TO PUT THE WIND UP THE POLES.

5. EACH TIME A POLISH CRISIS HAS REACHED A PEAK IN THE PAST, IT HAS SUBSIDED INTO SOME MESSY FORM OF COMPROMISE. WE MUST HOPE THAT THE SAME WILL HAPPEN AGAIN AFTER THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS. BUT THE PITCH OF CRITICISM HAS NOW GROWN TO A POINT WHERE IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE SOVIET UNION CAN LIVE WITH THE POLITICAL PRETENSIONS OF SOLIDARITY EVEN IF A WEAK POLISH GOVERNMENT CAN. THEY ARE USING EVERY PRESSURE TO MAKE THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AND PARTY DO THEIR REPRESSIVE WORK FOR THEM AND I AM SURE THIS IS THEIR PREFERRED SOLUTION. THEIR APPALLING DILEMMA IS THAT NO POLISH GOVERNMENT IS OR WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO DO SO BY ITSELF AND HAS NO OTHER COURSE BUT THAT OF ACCOMMODATION. CHANGES IN THE LEADERSHIP MAY THEREFORE BUY TIME BUT NOT MUCH ELSE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

JAMES

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