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FM WARSAW 281540Z SEP

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELNO 673 OF 28TH SEPTEMBER 1981

AND TO IMMEDIATE WELLINGTON (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)

INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW, WASHINGTON AND UKDEL NATO.

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

↳ [PASSED BY COY]

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS: VISIT OF MR LEN MURRAY AND MR DRAIN.

1. I WAS ABLE TO SEE MR LEN MURRAY AND MR DRAIN ON THEIR WAY THROUGH WARSAW TODAY AFTER THEIR ATTENDANCE AT THE OPENING DAYS OF THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS. I ASKED MR MURRAY FOR HIS IMPRESSIONS.
2. HE SAID THAT SOLIDARITY HAD LOOKED AFTER THEM VERY WELL INDEED. THE CONGRESS HAD BEEN RATHER BETTER ORGANISED THAN HE HAD BEEN LED TO EXPECT, EG FIRM CHAIRMANSHIP AND WITH CONTINUOUS TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH. IT WAS A DIFFICULT TASK TO MANAGE A CONFERENCE OF A THOUSAND DELEGATES.
3. ON WORKER SELF-MANAGEMENT HE THOUGHT THAT THE MODERATE SOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE LEADERSHIP AND AGREED WITH THE SEJM WOULD PROBABLY BE ACCEPTED BY THE CONGRESS. BUT THE LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN CRITICISED FOR REACHING THIS COMPROMISE WITH THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT PROPERLY CONSULTING THE RANK AND FILE AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL. THERE WAS ALSO MUCH CRITICISM OF THE FACT THAT ONLY FOUR MEMBERS OF THE PRAESIDIUM HAD BEEN PRESENT WHEN THE COMPROMISE WORDING WAS AGREED. WALESA WAS ATTACKED FOR HIS ABSENCE BUT SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ILL. MR MURRAY CITED THIS AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE INSISTENCE OF SOLIDARITY MEMBERSHIP ON THE CONTINUING NEED FOR DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES AND FULL CONSULTATION.
4. HE WAS IMPRESSED BY WALESA'S REPUTATION AS A SEASONED AND WILY NEGOTIATOR WITH A LONG EXPERIENCE OF UNION ACTIVITY AND WITH THE ADDED WEIGHT OF HIS CATHOLIC FAITH AND HIS PERSONAL LINKS WITH THE CHURCH. I SAID THAT IT WAS WIDELY ASSUMED THAT WALESA WOULD BE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF SOLIDARITY THOUGH THERE WAS SOME OPPOSITION TO HIM FOR BEING TOO READY TO COMPROMISE. MR MURRAY AGREED THAT WALESA WOULD PROBABLY WIN THE ELECTION BOTH BECAUSE OF HIS POSITION AND PERSONALITY AND BECAUSE THERE WAS NO OBVIOUS RIVAL IN SIGHT.
5. MR MURRAY SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM AT GDANSK WAS NOT ANY ONE ISSUE, SUCH AS SELF-MANAGEMENT, BUT THE DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILING THE VIEW OF MANY PEOPLE IN SOLIDARITY THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT,

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IN WHOM THEY HAD LOST CONFIDENCE, AND SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP'S VIEW THAT A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SOLIDARITY AND THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE MAINTAINED. IF THE MODERATE ELEMENTS WIN THIS ARGUMENT, IT WOULD BE A HOPEFUL SIGN FOR WORKING OUT SOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO A MORE DEMOCRATIC POLAND. ( WE UNDERSTAND THAT MR MURRAY EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRADE UNIONS AND GOVT, IN HIS 'FRATERNAL' SPEECH). BUT HE AGREED THAT THERE WAS A REAL RISK OF INCIDENTS WHICH COULD FLARE UP EITHER BY ACCIDENT OR BY PROVOCATION. THE PROBLEM WAS THAT SOLIDARITY WAS A REAL POLITICAL FORCE, HAVING TO DISGUISE THE FACT IN ORDER TO PROP UP A WEAK GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE PEOPLE HAD LOST FAITH.

6. I ASKED HIM WHETHER HE THOUGHT THERE WAS ANY CHANCE OF SOLIDARITY BREAKING UP. HE SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO HAVE A REASONABLE ORGANISATION AND CHAIN OF COMMAND ALTHOUGH IN A LARGE MOVEMENT OF THIS KIND THERE WOULD INEVITABLY BE SPLINTER GROUPS. HE THOUGHT THAT SOLIDARITY MIGHT THEREFORE FRAY AT THE EDGES, PERHAPS JETTISONING SOME EXTREMIST ELEMENTS, BUT THAT THE CENTRE WOULD HOLD.

7. SOLIDARITY HAD ASKED THE TUC FOR HELP IN THE TRAINING FIELD, PARTICULARLY OVER SAFETY MEASURES IN FACTORIES. MR MURRAY THOUGHT THE TUC MIGHT AGREE TO SEND ONE OR TWO EXPERTS TO POLAND.

8. IN GENERAL I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT MR MURRAY WAS AGREEABLY SURPRISED BY THE SERIOUSNESS AND ORGANISATIONAL STRENGTH OF SOLIDARITY AND BELIEVED THAT WITH A GOOD DEAL OF LUCK AND NO SOVIET INTERVENTION THE PROCESS OF SEEKING MODERATE SOLUTIONS COULD CONTINUE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

JAMES

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