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FM WARSAW 231220Z OCT

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 731 OF 23RD OCTOBER 1981

INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW, WASHINGTON AND UKDEL NATO.

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

POLISH SITUATION.

1. THE TV AND PRESS AGAIN GIVE PROMINENCE TO THE CONTINUAL INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL UNREST THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE WROCLAW INCIDENT PERSIST. HUNGER MARCHES HAVE RE-APPEARED IN THE PROVINCES.
2. THE TWO-DAY MEETING OF THE SOLIDARITY NATIONAL COMMISSION BEGAN YESTERDAY. A NUMBER OF VOCAL RADICALS PUT FORWARD THE VIEW THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE PARTY AT THE IV PLENUM CONSTITUTED A DIRECT ATTACK ON SOLIDARITY AND SHOULD BE MET AS SUCH. RULEWSKI, GWIAZDA AND OTHERS DEMANDED COMPLETE REMOVAL OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL SYSTEM. DISCUSSION ALSO CENTRED ON THE TYPE OF PROTEST ACTION THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST OFFICIAL SEIZING OF UNION LITERATURE ETC. WALESA TOOK THE LINE THAT THE UNION SHOULD NOT AIM TO OVERTHROW THE PRESENT SYSTEM AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PARTS OF SOCIETY. THERE WAS FURTHER STORMY DISCUSSION ON THE RESULTS OF THE GOVERNMENT/SOLIDARITY TALKS AND ON FOOD SUPPLIES. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL CONTROL OVER INDIVIDUAL TRADE UNIONISTS WAS ALSO RAISED. NO DECISIONS WERE TAKEN YESTERDAY HOWEVER, AND THE MEETING WILL RESUME TODAY. WALESA IS LIKELY TO HAVE A DIFFICULT RIDE.
3. JARUZELSKI YESTERDAY MET GIEYSZTOR, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCE ( AND A WIDELY RESPECTED SCHOLAR OF INTERNATIONAL REPUTE). THIS MEETING WAS MADE THE LEAD STORY ON YESTERDAY EVENING'S TELEVISION NEWS AND WAS FOLLOWED BY EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF STRIKES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE MESSAGE APPEARS TO BE THAT JARUZELSKI IS ATTEMPTING TO CONDUCT A POLICY OF CONCILIATION WITH ALL SECTIONS OF SOCIETY (GIEYSZTOR REPRESENTS THE INTELLIGENTSIA), WHILE SOLIDARITY IS CAUSING CHAOS AND DISORDER.

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4. WE HAVE THE FEELING HERE IN WARSAW THAT THE SITUATION NOW RISKS GETTING OUT OF HAND AGAIN AND THAT TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR THE GOVERNMENT. A STATE OF EMERGENCY ONCE AGAIN BECOMES A POSSIBILITY, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THIS CAN BE PUT INTO EFFECT BEFORE THE NEXT PLENUM WHICH WE LEARNT FROM A SENIOR MFA CONTACT TODAY IS APPARENTLY FIXED FOR TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY OF NEXT WEEK. WITH DAILY CONFRONTATIONS IN THE PROVINCES ANOTHER INCIDENT OF THE BYDGOSZCZ TYPE CANNOT BE RULED OUT. SOLIDARITY WOULD THEN FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CONTROL THEIR MEMBERSHIP, AND THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE COMPELLED TO USE FORCE. A SOLIDARITY MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFIDED YESTERDAY HIS BELIEF THAT THE PARTY HARD-LINERS WERE PUSHING JARUZELSKI TO THAT EXTREME. OF COURSE, IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT THE POLES WILL ONCE AGAIN FIND SOME WAY OF MUDDLING THROUGH. BUT THE SITUATION IS NOW MORE DELICATE AND TENSE THAN IT HAS BEEN FOR SOME TIME.

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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