

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WARSAW 021400Z NOV

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 754 OF 2ND NOVEMBER 1981

INFO IMMEDIATE BONN, PARIS, WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW

INFO SAVING: EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, UKDEL NATO, MODUK,  
SOFIA, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE AND HELSINKI.

TALK WITH MR RAKOWSKI, VICE PREMIER.

1. I CALLED TODAY ON MR RAKOWSKI AND ASKED FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION. I SAID THAT I HAD STUDIED GENERAL JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH (MY TELEGRAM NO 720) AND WAS IMPRESSED BY THE SUGGESTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE BROADENING OF THE GOVERNMENTAL BASE AND THE SETTING UP OF TWO ADVISORY COUNCILS. THESE SUGGESTIONS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY HARDER WORDS FOR SOLIDARITY. IT SEEMED TO ME AND I FELT SURE THIS WAS ALSO THE VIEW OF MY GOVERNMENT THAT ALL EFFORTS TO REACH UNDERSTANDING IN POLAND ON THE BASIS OF A BROAD CONSENSUS AT THE PRESENT TIME WERE TO BE ENCOURAGED. DID THE GOVERNMENT STILL BELIEVE THAT THERE WAS A CHANCE OF REACHING UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARITY? THIS WAS SURELY CRUCIAL AT A TIME WHEN THE POLISH ECONOMY WAS IN SUCH A BAD WAY.

2. MR RAKOWSKI SAID THAT IT WAS TRUE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WERE STRETCHING OUT A HAND TO MODERATE ELEMENTS IN THE COUNTRY WHILE CRITICISING EXTREMISTS IN SOLIDARITY. HE HOPED THAT SOMETHING WOULD COME OF THE COUNCILS PROPOSED BY GENERAL JARUZELSKI. IT WOULD DEPEND TO SOME EXTENT ON THE ATTITUDE OF SOLIDARITY. SOLIDARITY WERE PROPAGANDISING THEIR OWN IDEA OF A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL BUT THEY WISHED TO SET UP A VETO ON WHO SHOULD BELONG TO IT. ( I QUESTIONED THIS AND SAID THAT I THOUGHT SOLIDARITY'S IDEAS WERE GETTING CLOSER TO THOSE OF THE GOVT.) HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT PREPARED TO DEAL EXCLUSIVELY WITH SOLIDARITY AS A UNIQUE POLITICAL FORCE. SOLIDARITY HAD NO MONOPOLY OF POWER AND THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ALLOW ANY CLAIM TO SUCH MONOPOLY. I SUGGESTED THAT WALESA WAS A MODERATE MAN AND THAT BUSINESS COULD BE DONE WITH HIM. RAKOWSKI SAID THAT HE NO LONGER KNEW WHERE WALESA REALLY STOOD. HE WAS SAYING ONE THING TO ONE STRIKE COMMITTEE, ANOTHER THING TO ANOTHER AND THEN GOING BACK ON WHAT HE SAID TO BOTH. THIS CREATED AN ATMOSPHERE OF INCONSISTENCY AND CONFUSION. THE TROUBLE WITH SOLIDARITY WAS THAT IT HAD BEEN BORN IN PROTEST AND EVEN THE MODERATES COULD NOT MOVE TO ANYTHING CONSTRUCTIVE FOR FEAR OF LOSING THEIR HOLD OVER THE MOMENTUM OF THE MOVEMENT. NEGATION WAS A PART NOW OF THIS MOMENTUM. I SAID THAT ONE ASPECT OF SOLIDARITY WAS THAT THE ORDINARY POLISH WORKING MAN WAS FED UP WITH SHORTAGES AND HAD NO PARTICULAR TIE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OR PARTY. RAKOWSKI SAID THAT THE COMPOSITION OF SOLIDARITY WAS VERY COMPLICATED. BUT THE ORDINARY WORKER WAS NOT SO EXTREME AS PEOPLE MADE OUT. THE REAL TROUBLE RECENTLY HAD COME FROM THE YOUNG INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

CONFIDENTIAL

IN SILESIA WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN VERY FAVOURED UNDER GIEREK AND NOW HAD MUCH LESS MONEY THAN BEFORE. THEY WERE A SORT OF DISCONTENTED LOWER MIDDLE CLASS. THE GOVERNMENT HAD CONDUCTED A POLL RECENTLY. IT HAD BEEN ALONG SIMILAR LINES TO A GALLUP POLL. IT SHOWED THAT 67% OF THE PEOPLE INTERVIEWED WERE AGAINST STRIKES. 23% WERE FOR AND 10% DID NOT KNOW. THERE WAS A SILENT MAJORITY IN POLAND WHO WERE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CRITICAL OF SOLIDARITY.

3. RAKOWSKI SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT THE IDEA OF THESE COUNCILS WOULD NOT BE REJECTED BY SOLIDARITY BUT HE WAS NOT CONFIDENT ABOUT THIS. IF THEY WERE REJECTED, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE TO CONSIDER SOME FORM OF ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION. THIS WOULD FALL SHORT OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY. BUT THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT NECESSARILY EXCLUDE RECOURSE TO A STATE OF EMERGENCY IF THE SITUATION DETERIORATED AND THERE WAS NO RESPONSE FROM SOLIDARITY. I SAID THAT SURELY A STATE OF EMERGENCY WOULD ONLY MAKE CONFRONTATION INEVITABLE. HE SAID THAT HE WAS NOT SO SURE. THE AUTHORITIES HAD MORE POWER THAN WAS SUPPOSED AND NOT ALL THE PEOPLE WOULD BE AGAINST ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT. OF COURSE IF THINGS GOT MUCH WORSE AND THE GOVERNMENT TOOK NO ACTION, THERE WAS NO SAYING WHERE THEY WOULD END. POLAND COULD CEASE TO EXIST - AS SHE HAD IN THE PAST. I SAID THAT POLAND HAD SURELY NEVER CEASED TO EXIST, EVEN UNDER OCCUPATIONS. HE SAID THAT THIS WAS SO BUT THAT SHE HAD BECOME A GRAND DUCHY OF RUSSIA. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT SLAND BY IF THERE WAS A SITUATION CLOSE TO CIVIL WAR IN POLAND. BUT HE VERY MUCH HOPED AND BELIEVED THAT THIS EXTREME SITUATION COULD BE AVOIDED. DESPITE HIS PESSIMISM, HE HAD FAITH IN THE POSSIBILITY THAT IT COULD.

4. RAKOWSKI IS WELL KNOWN FOR HIS APOCALYPTIC STATEMENTS. HE REMAINS SOMETHING OF A JOURNALIST AT HEART AND ENJOYS FREE - WHEELING. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT HIS MAIN AIM IN THIS TALK WAS TO SHOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT WERE BEING REASONABLE BUT THAT SOLIDARITY WAS COMPOSED OF DISCREDITABLE ELEMENTS AS WELL AS MODERATES AND THAT THESE WERE GAINING THE UPPER HAND. HE SAID AT ONE POINT THAT WHILE THE PARTY WOULD LOOK AFTER ITS EXTREMISTS, SOLIDARITY

CONFIDENTIAL

WAS NOT ABLE TO DEAL WITH THEIRS. I THINK I LEFT HIM IN NO DOUBT ABOUT OUR CONCERN FOR A MODERATE APPROACH, THOUGH I THINK HE WAS UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD DO MUCH MORE WITHOUT A CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE FROM SOLIDARITY.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

JAMES

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST]

POLAND SPECIAL

STANDARD

EESD

CSCE UNIT

CONS D

CONS EM UNIT

NAD

SED

WED

ECD(E)

ESID

TRED

ERD

SECURITY D

OLA

CABINET OFFICE

COPIES TO:

PS/S OF S )  
MR DICK ) DOT  
MR POWNALL )

PS/CHANCELLOR )  
SIR K COUZENS ) TREASURY  
MISS BAKER )  
MR HAWTIN )  
MR MOUNTFIELD )

MR P J BULL - BANK OF ENGLAND

MR G BREACH ECGD

-3-

CONFIDENTIAL