

GRS 450

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FM WARSAW 051540Z NOV

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 769 OF 5TH NOVEMBER 1981

INFO ROUTINE: WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND UKDEL NATO.

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

MEETING BETWEEN JARUZELSKI, GLEMP AND WALESA.

1. JARUZELSKI, GLEMP AND WALESA MET YESTERDAY FOR 2 974'. ONLY VERY SPARSE DETAILS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE POLISH PRESS INDICATING THAT THE 3 MEN DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITIES OF CREATING A FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT THE MEETING SHOULD SERVE AS A PREPARATION FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS WOULD BE AT THE SAME HIGH LEVEL.

2. THIS WAS OBVIOUSLY A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING. IT SHOWS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS RECOGNISED SOME OF THE IMPORTANT POLITICAL REALITIES IN POLAND AND IT MAY REPRESENT THE FIRST STEP TO SOME CONVERGENCE OF THE PRINCIPAL FORCES IN THE COUNTRY IN THE FORM OF A LOOSE COALITION. HOWEVER, EACH OF THE THREE PARTIES IS UNDER CERTAIN CONSTRAINTS. WALESA WENT TO WARSAW AFTER FACING SEVERE CRITICISM FROM SOME ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL COMMISSION WHO ARE MEETING IN GDANSK (MY TEL NO 761) WHILST SOME OF THE COMMISSION WERE REPORTEDLY PREPARED TO GIVE HIM A FREE HAND IN HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH JARUZELSKI OTHERS WISHED TO LIMIT DRASTICALLY HIS FREEDOM OF MANOEUVRE, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THEY DID NOT TRUST HIM. HE WILL HAVE TO GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE TALKS TO THE NATIONAL COMMISSION TODAY AND THIS MAY GIVE US A CLUE AS TO WHAT WENT ON AT THEM. CERTAINLY THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARITY WHO WOULD NOT WISH TO SEE ANY FORM OF LOOSE COALITION WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND WOULD RESIST WHAT THEY SAW AS A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO ENTRENCH THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE.

3. THERE MUST ALSO BE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT AND PARTY WHO WILL WISH AT LEAST TO DILUTE THE COALITION IN A MANNER WHICH IS UNACCEPTABLE TO SOLIDARITY. THEY MAY, FOR EXAMPLE, WORK THROUGH THE BRANCH UNIONS WHO WILL NOT WISH TO BE LEFT OUT OF A COALITION. JARUZELSKI WILL HAVE TO TRY TO STEER A COURSE WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO THESE ELEMENTS. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNISE THAT ANY COALITION IS UNLIKELY TO HAVE MUCH SIGNIFICANCE UNLESS IT IS EFFECTIVELY LIMITED TO THE THREE PARTIES WHO MET YESTERDAY WITH PERHAPS A SMALL ADDITIONAL INDEPENDENT ELEMENT.

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4. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH WILL ALSO BE CRUCIAL. GLEMP IS UNLIKELY TO WANT MEMBERS OF THE EPISCOPATE TO SIT FORMALLY ON A NEW NATIONAL FRONT. BUT THE CHURCH MAY BE ABLE TO CONTEMPLATE THE INCLUSION OF PROMINENT LAY-CATHOLICS IN WHATEVER INSTITUTION IS SET UP.

5. IT MUST BE DISTASTEFUL TO THE SOVIET UNION TO SEE THE THREE MAIN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCES IN POLAND SITTING AROUND THE SAME TABLE. BUT IF JARUZELSKI CAN PERSUADE THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP THAT THE MEETING HAS OPENED UP THE POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVING THE INTERNAL SITUATION HERE, THEY MAY BE PREPARED TO LIVE EVEN WITH THIS DEGREE OF POWER - SHARING FOR A TIME.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

JAMES

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