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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

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

VISIT OF LORD TREFGARNE:

1. LORD TREFGARNE HAS COMPLETED A VERY FULL AND I BELIEVE VERY SUCCESSFUL TWO-DAY VISIT TO POLAND. AS WELL AS HIS OFFICIAL TALKS WITH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HE HAS SEEN THE PARTY (OLSZOWSKI), SOLIDARITY (WALESA) AND THE CHURCH (GLEMP).
2. TWO MAIN THEMES HAVE DOMINATED THE TALKS: THE PROJECTED FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND THE POLISH ECONOMIC SITUATION. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE THREE MAIN FORCES IN POLAND HAVE WIDELY DIFFERING VIEWS OF THE FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. OLSZOWSKI SAID THAT HE BELIEVED IN A DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN WHICH ALL THE PARTNERS WOULD HAVE AN EQUAL SHARE AND WHICH HE HOPED WOULD COME INTO BEING EARLY THIS MONTH OR BY CHRISTMAS AT THE LATEST. WALESA SAID THAT SOLIDARITY COULD NOT ENTER THE FRONT AS JUST ONE OF SEVERAL PARTIES TO IT AND WITH THE SAME STATUS AS ALL THE OTHERS. THIS WOULD BE TO REPEAT THE MISTAKES OF THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR ERA. SOLIDARITY'S CONCEPT OF A FRONT WAS BASED ON TRIPARTITE CONSULTATION AT ALL LEVELS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT, SOLIDARITY AND THE CHURCH. SOLIDARITY WAS PREPARED TO WAIT UNTIL IT GOT THE SORT OF FRONT IT WANTED. THE GOVERNMENT WANTED A FRONT IN ORDER NOT TO LOSE NEXT YEAR'S REGIONAL ELECTIONS WHILST SOLIDARITY BELIEVED IT SHOULD LEAD THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE CRISIS AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE EVOLUTION OF NEW POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES. ARCHBISHOP GLEMP ENDORSED THE IDEA OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING BUT WAS PREPARED TO TAKE THE LONG VIEW. HE EMPHASISED THE WEAKNESS OF THE PARTY AND ITS LACK OF FOLLOWING.
3. SPEAKING ABOUT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, WALESA SEEMED CURIOUSLY RELAXED ABOUT THE URGENCY OF ECONOMIC REFORM. SOLIDARITY WAS CLEAR IN ITS AIMS - GENUINE SELF - MANAGEMENT AND A SENSIBLE ECONOMIC SYSTEM WITH SOME ASPECTS OF A MARKET ECONOMY. WALESA WANTED ALL

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WESTERN HELP TO BE MADE PUBLIC SO THAT SOLIDARITY COULD QUESTION THE GOVERNMENT AS TO WHERE IT HAD GONE AND HOW IT WAS USED. HIS GENERAL MESSAGE WAS THAT THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION MUST GO ON AND THAT SOLIDARITY MUST SEEK GOOD SOLUTIONS AND NOT GET THINGS WRONG UNDER PRESSURE OF TIME. OLSZOWSKI SAID THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WAS THE MOST WORRYING FEATURE OF THE POLISH CRISIS. PROVIDED THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED, THERE WAS HOPE FOR A WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS. DEMOCRACY WAS ALL VERY WELL DURING AN ECONOMIC BOOM. BUT GIVEN THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES THERE MUST BE SOME LIMITS TO THE ODNOWA.

4. LORD TREFGARNE'S TALKS WITH DOBROSIELSKI ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS WERE OPEN AND FRANK RATHER THAN REVEALING. COMMENTING ON THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL STATEMENT DOBROSIELSKI SAID HE HOPED THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITMENT CONTAINED IN IT WOULD HAVE AN EFFECT ON ECONOMIC DECISIONS. HE EXPRESSED SOME DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE UK CONTRIBUTION BUT SEEMED RELIEVED TO HEAR OUR FIRM COMMITMENT TO RESCHEDULING. BOTH SIDES PRONOUNCED THEMSELVES SATISFIED WITH THE STATE OF ANGLO/POLISH RELATIONS AND THE LEVEL AND FREQUENCY OF MINISTERIAL CONTACTS. DOBROSIELSKI ATTEMPTED TO SOUND A WARNING ON RECENT VISA REFUSALS WHICH LORD TREFGARNE ANSWERED IN ROBUST TERMS.

3. WE ARE SENDING FULL RECORDS OF THE MEETINGS BY BAG.

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JAMES

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