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TO ROUTINE F C O

TELNO 613 OF 3RD SEPTEMBER 1981.

AND TO ROUTINE MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON.

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

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CONVERSATION WITH POLISH VICE-PREMIER RAKOWSKI.

1. I WAS ABLE TO ARRANGE A HALF HOUR CALL ON VICE PREMIER RAKOWSKI TODAY BEFORE HE LEFT FOR THE RESUMED CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENARY MEETING. WE DISCUSSED THE GENERAL SITUATION AND THE CURRENT POSITIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PARTY, SOLIDARITY AND THE CHURCH.

2. HE WAS IN A PESSIMISTIC MOOD. THE POLITICAL SITUATION WAS DANGEROUS HE SAID, THE ECONOMY DISASTROUS AND DECLINING. PROSPECTS WERE BLEAK. THERE WAS GROWING IMPATIENCE AMONGST CERTAIN PEOPLE IN THE GOVERNMENT WHO WERE TIRED OF THE CONTINUING CRISIS AND ANXIOUS FOR AN EARLY FIRM SOLUTION. ATTITUDES WERE HARDENING. THE PARTY WAS STRONGER AFTER ITS CONGRESS AND TENDING TO UNITE AGAINST SOLIDARITY, ALTHOUGH THE CONGRESS RESULTS HAD HAD NO OTHER NOTICEABLE EFFECT ON THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY.

3. SOLIDARITY WAS WEAK, WITH ITS LEADERSHIP DIVIDED. WALESA HAD LOST THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PRAESIDIUM WHEN HE REMAINED SILENT IN THE FACE OF EXTREMIST ARGUMENTS ON THE NIGHT OF 6 AUGUST (THE OCCASION OF THE MAJOR ROW WITH THE GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATING TEAM). IT SEEMED LIKELY THAT EVEN IF HE WERE ELECTED CHAIRMAN BY THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS HE WOULD BE LITTLE MORE THAN A FIGURE-HEAD, RAPIDLY LOSING CREDIBILITY AND SUPPORT. RAKOWSKI HIMSELF HAD BEEN SENT COPIES OF LETTERS ADDRESSED TO WALESA BY MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY COMPLAINING OF EXTREMIST TENDENCIES WITHIN THE UNION AND ASKING WHAT ITS AIMS REALLY WERE. HE BELIEVED THERE WAS A REAL POSSIBILITY OF MANY MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY LEAVING THE MOVEMENT TO BECOME PASSIVE BY-STANDERS THROUGH DISILLUSIONMENT OVER THE DIRECTION IT WAS TAKING. MEANWHILE MANY OF THE SOLIDARITY LEADERS WERE CARELESS OR RECKLESS ABOUT THE THREAT OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE. SOME WERE CONVINCED THE AMERICANS WOULD NOT ALLOW IT. A SOLIDARITY LEADER FROM WROCLAW HAD CLAIMED ON TELEVISION THE PREVIOUS EVENING THAT SOLIDARITY'S MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT WAS TO HAVE ESTABLISHED A FREE TRADE UNION IN A TOTALITARIAN STATE. RAKOWSKI INTENDED TO COMMENT IN A TELEVISION BROADCAST ON FRIDAY THAT SUCH PEOPLE DID NOT KNOW WHAT A TOTALITARIAN STATE REALLY WAS.

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4. THE CHURCH WOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY A MODERATING ROLE BUT GLEMP DID NOT YET HAVE THE WEIGHT OF WYSZYNSKI AND WAS BUSY TRYING TO ESTABLISH HIS CREDENTIALS AND MAKE HIS NAME.

5. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, RAKOWSKI AGREED THAT A POSSIBLE SCENARIO COULD BE A MODERATE OUTCOME FROM THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS WHICH WOULD REINFORCE WALESA'S LEADERSHIP AND SHAKE OFF THE EXTREMIST INFLUENCES AS HAD HAPPENED AT THE PARTY CONGRESS. BUT HE DID NOT RATE THIS POSSIBILITY HIGHLY ON PRESENT INDICATIONS. IT IS LIKELY THAT HIS VIEWS REFLECTED THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT POSITION AND PARTY LINE BUT HE APPEARED SINCERE AND DEEPLY CONCERNED. HE WAS LOOKING LESS TIRED AFTER HIS BRIEF HOLIDAY BUT SAID HE WAS UNDER DOCTORS ORDERS TO TAKE THINGS MORE EASILY AFTER INITIAL SYMPTOMS OF POTENTIAL HEART TROUBLE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES.

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