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INFO ROUTINE: BUDAPEST, EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, PARIS, BONN AND
MODUK.

INFO SAVING: SOFIA, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM,
UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKREP BRUSSELS.

SOVIET STATEMENT ON POLAND. *ms*

HEREWITH THE FULL TEXT OF THE SOVIET STATEMENT ON POLAND ISSUED
BY PAP TODAY:

THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PUWP CC STANISLAW KANIA AND THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI RECEIVED
THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR BORIS ARISTOV WHO ON BEHALF OF THE SUPREME
PARTY AND STATE AUTHORITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION STATED THE
FOLLOWING:

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ARE COMPELLED TO DRAW THE ATTENTION
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY AND
OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO THE GROWING OF ANTI-SOVIETISM IN
POLAND AND TO SUCH AN INTENSIFICATION OF IT WHICH HAS REACHED
DANGEROUS LIMITS.

FACTS INDICATE THAT AN ACUTE AND UNCHECKED CAMPAIGN IS BEING
WAGED OPENLY, WIDELY AND WITH IMPUNITY IN THE COUNTRY AGAINST THE
SOVIET UNION, ITS FOREIGN AND HOME POLICIES AND THAT IT AMOUNTS
NOT TO SPORADIC IRRESPONSIBLE HOOLIGAN EXCESSES BUT TO
CO-ORDINATED ACTIONS BY THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM OF A CLEARLY
DEFINED POLITICAL LINE. ITS MAIN OBJECTIVE IS TO VILIFY AND
CAST ASPERSIONS ON THE WORLDS FIRST SOCIALIST STATE AND ON THE
VERY IDEA OF SOCIALISM, TO ENKINDLE AMONG POLES HOSTILITY AND
HATRED OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE, TO BREAK THE
BONDS OF THE BROTHERLY FRIENDSHIP LINKING OUR NATIONS AND AS A
RESULT TO WREST POLAND OUT OF THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH, AND TO
LIQUIDATE SOCIALISM IN POLAND HERSELF.

ANTI-SOVIETISM PERMEATES EVER MORE DEEPLY VARIOUS FIELDS OF THE
SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING IDEOLOGY, CULTURE,
EDUCATION. FLAGRANTLY FALSIFIED IS THE HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. THE RABID PROPAGANDA AGAINST THE SOVIET
UNION EMANATES FROM THE PAGES OF VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS, FROM
MOVIE SCREENS, FROM THEATRES AND STAGES. IT OPENLY SOUNDS IN

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PUBLIC ENUNCIATIONS - BEFORE MASS AUDIENCES - BY THE RINGLEADER OF THE KOR, THE CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT POLAND, BY THE SOLIDARITY.

THE FIRST ROUND OF THE CONGRESS OF THAT TRADE UNION HAS BECOME IN EFFECT A PERMANENT TRIBUNE FROM WHICH SLANDERS AND INSULTS SOUNDED AGAINST OUR STATE. THE SO-CALLED MESSAGE TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE ADOPTED IN GDANSK HAS BECOME A REVOLTING PROVOCATION, THE ANTI-SOVIET FORCES CARRY ON INSULTING THE MEMORY OF THE SOVIET SOLDIERS OF WHOM HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS GAVE THEIR LIFE FOR THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE POLISH NATION. THEY DESECRATE THEIR GRAVES. THREATS HAVE STARTED APPEARING AGAINST SOLDIERS OF THE UNITS OF THE SOVIET ARMY STANDING GUARD TO THE WESTERN BORDERS OF THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH OF WHICH THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC IS ALSO PART.

THE ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES STRIVE TO CREATE IN POLAND AN ATMOSPHERE OF EXTREME NATIONALISM, GIVING IT A CLEARLY ANTI-SOVIET CHARACTER. THE SCALE, INTENSITY AND DEGREE OF THE HOSTILITY OF THE PRESENT ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN IN POLAND TAKE ON FEATURES OF THE ANTI-SOVIET HYSTERIA ENKINDLED IN SOME OF THE IMPERIALIST STATES.

THAT CANNOT BUT GIVE GROUNDS TO OUR QUESTION WHY THE POLISH OFFICIAL AUTHORITIES HAVE NOT TAKEN ANY RESOLUTE STEPS SO FAR TO CUT SHORT THE HOSTILE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE USSR WITH WHICH PEOPLE'S POLAND IS LINKED BY RELATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIED COMMITMENTS. SUCH AN ATTITUDE IS EVEN INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PPR. INTO WHICH THE PRINCIPLE OF STRENGTHENING THE FRIENDSHIP WITH THE USSR WAS WRITTEN. WE KNOW OF NOT A SINGLE CASE IN WHICH THE INITIATORS OF THE ANTI-SOVIET PROVOCATIONS WOULD MEET WITH A HARSH REACTION ON THE PART OF THE AUTHORITIES AND WOULD BE PUNISHED MORE, THEY EASILY AVAIL THEMSELVES OF STATE-OWNED PREMISES TO HOLD THEIR MEETINGS, ARE GIVEN ACCESS TO MASS MEDIA AND HAVE TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT AT THEIR DISPOSAL ALTHOUGH IT IS KNOWN WELL IN ADVANCE FOR WHAT PURPOSE THESE MEANS WILL BE USED.

TIME AND AGAIN WE HAVE DRAWN THE ATTENTION OF THE PUWP LEADERSHIP AND THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO THE MOUNTING WAVE OF ANTI-SOVIETISM IN POLAND. WE SPOKE ABOUT IT DURING MEETINGS, IN MOSCOW LAST MARCH AND WARSAW LAST APRIL. WITH GREAT SINCERITY WE WROTE ABOUT THIS IN THE LETTER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF 5 JUNE, AND WE ALSO DISCUSSED THIS DURING THE MEETING IN THE CRIMEA LAST AUGUST.

WE DO NOT HIDE THAT ALL THIS EVOKES DEEP INDIGNATION OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND LOCAL PARTY ORGANISATIONS RECEIVE A CONSTANT STREAM OF LETTERS IN WHICH SOVIET COMMUNISTS

AND PEOPLE OF NO PARTY AFFILIATION EXPRESS THEIR ASTONISHMENT AT THE IMPUNITY OF THE ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA CONDUCTED IN THE NEIGHBOURLY FRIENDLY SOCIALIST STATE. THE SOVIET PEOPLE, WHICH HAS MADE VAST SACRIFICES TO LIBERATE POLAND FROM FACIST BONDAGE, WHICH HAS SELFLESSLY HELPED AND CONTINUES TO HELP YOUR COUNTRY TODAY, HAS THE FULL MORAL RIGHT TO DEMAND THAT AN END BE PUT TO THE ANTI-SOVIET IMPUDENCE IN POLAND.

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FEEL THAT FURTHER LENIENCY SHOWN TO ANY MANIFESTATION OF ANTI-SOVIETISM DOES IMMENSE HARM TO POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS AND IS IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO POLAND'S ALLIED OBLIGATIONS AND THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE POLISH NATION.

WE EXPECT THAT THE PUWP LEADERSHIP AND THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY TAKE DETERMINED AND RADICAL STEPS IN ORDER TO CUT SHORT THE MALICIOUS ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA AND ACTIONS HOSTILE TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION.
END.

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TELNO 654 OF 18TH SEPTEMBER 1981

INFO PRIORITY: MOSCOW, WASHINGTON AND UKDEL NATO

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UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKREP BRUSSELS.

OUR TELNO 653: SOVIET STATEMENT ON POLAND.

1. COUCHED IN UNPRECEDENTLY BLUNT AND THREATENING LANGUAGE, THIS MESSAGE IS THE STRONGEST INDICATION SEEN HERE THAT THE PATIENCE OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND IS NOW ON THE POINT OF EXHAUSTION. THERE HAVE BEEN NO RECENT SPECIFIC ANTI-SOVIET INCIDENTS AS SUCH WHICH COULD JUSTIFY SUCH AN ALTIMATUM. THE PRESS HAS REPORTED FURTHER ISOLATED DESECRATION OF SOVIET WAR MEMORIALS AND THIS WEEK THE EDITOR OF A SOLIDARITY BULLETIN IN SOUTH WEST POLAND WAS ARRESTED FOR ARTICLES IN RUSSIAN CALLING ON SOVIET TROOPS TO RISE AGAINST THEIR OFFICERS. THE GENERAL THRUST OF THE SOVIET NOTE, HOWEVER, INDICATES THAT IT IS THE WHOLE RANGE OF SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE PROVOKED THE ONSLAUGHT.

2. THE DELIVERY OF THIS NOTE LAST FRIDAY BY AMBASSADOR ARISTOV EXPLAINS THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES DELIBERATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE EARLIER THIS WEEK. IT ALSO CASTS A NEW LIGHT ON THE POLITBURO'S OWN MESSAGE YESTERDAY WHICH AT THE TIME APPEARED GENERAL AND TENTATIVE. BUT, WHEN NOW ASSESSED AGAINST THE SOVIET NOTE, COULD ALMOST BE INTERPRETED AS AN ACT OF DEFIANCE TOWARDS MOSCOW. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND PARTY HAVE ACCUSED THE POLISH LEADERSHIP OF MANIFESTLY FAILING TO KEEP ITS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER AND HAVE LET IT BE KNOWN THAT THEY EXPECT TO SEE ACTION. AND ALL THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS DONE IS TO ISSUE A GENERAL WARNING TO SOLIDARITY COUPLED WITH AN APPEAL FOR BETTER BEHAVIOUR. THE FACT THDT THE POLITBURO CHOSE TO PUBLISH THE SOVIET NOTE AFTER ITS OWN COMMUNIQUE SUGGESTS THAT THEY MAY HAVE WISHED TO REASSURE THE POLES AND SOLIDARITY THAT THEY WERE NOT ACTING UNDER DIRECT ORDERS FROM MOSCOW AND TO INDICATE THE CONSTRAINSTS UNDER WHICH THEY ARE NOW WORKING.

3. HM AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW IS BETTER PLACED THAN I TO COMMENT ON SOVIET MOTIVES FOR THIS MESSAGE. AS SEEN FROM HERE, IT IS UNLIKELY EITHER TO FORCE THE GOVERNMENT INTO TAKING DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST SOLIDARITY OR TO DETER SOLIDARITY FROM FURTHER CONFRONTATIONAL ACTIVITIES. THE GOVERNMENT MAY STILL HAVE SOME

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MORE MOVES PLANNED FOR THE WEEKEND BUT SO FAR THEY HAVE NOT ATTEMPTED TO CHALLENGE SOLIDARITY ON SPECIFIC POINTS OR TO MAKE ANY ATTEMPT TO HEAD OFF THE SECOND SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SCHEDULED FOR THE END OF NEXT WEEK. FOR THEIR PART SOLIDARITY REFLECTING THE ATTITUDE OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF POLES, NO LONGER SEEM TO BE BOTHERED BY THE THREAT OF SOVIET INTERVENTION. THEY HAVE CONVINCED THEMSELVES THAT, SINCE IT HAS NOT HAPPENED UP TILL NOW, IT WILL PROBABLY NOT HAPPEN AT ALL, AND, IF IT DOES, POLAND WILL BE ACTING OUT ITS HISTORIC DESTINY.

4. THE DELIVERY OF THIS NOTE AND ITS PUBLICATION HERE MARK A NEW STAGE IN THE POLISH CRISIS. I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT IT PRESAGES A SOVIET INTERVENTION IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS BUT, IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, IT MAKES NO IMPACT ON THE LOCAL SITUATION, THE SOVIET UNION IS LEFT WITH VERY FEW CARDS TO PLAY SHORT OF DIRECT ACTION.

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