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LNMDAN 3130 WAHPAN 1000
CONFIDENTIAL
DD 011000Z FCOLN
FM WARSA TO FCOLN
010915Z NOV
GRS 412

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WARSAW
TO DESKBY 011000Z NOV FCO
TELNO 646
OF 010915Z NOVEMBER 88

*Not the right message
- but we will do a*

*In my country
we have clear*

*ways of expressing
political freedom - through
different parties in Parliament where
there is a Government and a*

MY TELNDS 642 AND MY TELNO DF 311600Z OCTOBER
PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: CLOSURE OF LENIN SHIPYARD

1. THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON 31 OCTOBER OF THE CLOSURE OF THE SHIPYARD IS CAREFULLY TIMED. IT CATCHES THE POLISH WORKFORCE DISPERSED FOR THE 1 NOVEMBER HOLIDAY. MORE IMPORTANTLY, ITS TIMING IN RELATION TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT HAS NO DOUBT BEEN CAREFULLY, PROBABLY CYNICALLY, CALCULATED IN ORDER TO:

*Praxis
Opposition
All Polish
can be
checked
in public
and different
views articulated*

- (A) PUT THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE SPOT BY TRYING TO MAKE HER CHOOSE BETWEEN SUPPORTING ECONOMIC RATIONALITY AND SUPPORTING SOLIDARITY:
- (B) TO CUT OFF SOLIDARITY FROM ITS BIRTHPLACE, STILL A SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE SYMBOLIC AND PRACTICAL STRENGTH TO THE MOVEMENT.

2. I CANNOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THERE WILL BE A THREAT OR DEMONSTRATION IN GDANSK THAT COULD CALL IN QUESTION AT LEAST THAT PART OF THE VISIT. THIS IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE BECAUSE THE SHIPYARD WORKERS MEMORIAL IS RIGHT OUTSIDE THE LENIN SHIPYARD GATES. IF SO, WE SHALL HAVE TO DEAL WITH THIS IN LIGHT OF CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE TIME. MEANWHILE, WE ARE TRYING TO FIND OUT THROUGH OUR CONTACTS WHETHER ANY DEMONSTRATION, SIT-IN ETC IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE DURING THE VISIT.

*Government
has to carry
majority in
Parliament for
its policies
and economic
direction.*

3. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CLOSURE OF THE SHIPYARD, A KNOWN BUT BY NO MEANS THE WORST LOSS-MAKER IN POLISH INDUSTRY, IS NO DOUBT ALSO AN ATTEMPT TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND SOLIDARITY. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP MAY MAKE MUCH OF WHAT THEY WILL PORTRAY AS A NECESSARY AND BRAVE ATTEMPT TO COME TO GRIPS WITH ECONOMIC REALITIES.

4. THE MATTER WILL CERTAINLY AFFECT ALSO THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH SOLIDARITY AND MAY DIMINATE THE MEDIA EVENTS. IN THIS SITUATION THE PRIME MINISTER MAY WISH TO GO FOR THE HIGH GROUND AT AN EARLIER STAGE. THIS COULD BE DONE BY INCLUDING SOMETHING ON THE FOLLOWING LINES AS A LAST MINUTE ADDITION TO HER SPEECH AT JARUZELSKI'S DINNER:

*It is where
there is no*

BEGINS:

AS YOUR GUEST IT IS NOT FOR ME TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE SPECIFIC DECISION TO CLOSE THE LENIN SHIPYARD IN GDANSK. HOWEVER IT IS

*Political freedom
that the task is
of ~~open~~ political
talk to the
people. However because*

there is no forum for open debate, then
only ~~course~~ ^{method} of political expression is through strikes)

So the economic condition of any enterprise is really
not economic but political. And everyone
knows it. Yes every country can, will & does

get economic difficulties - but we can cope with them
as we have in restructuring the steel industry & dealing with
our shipbuilding industry - through redundancy pay - some for
a few thousand pounds to $0.000/30,000$ per man. And

then payments accompanied by a lot of measures to
help set up new enterprises, provide new training, help find other
jobs.

CLEAR TO ME THAT IT IS THE SORT OF DECISION WHICH WILL WORK ONLY IF IT IS UNDERSTOOD AND SUPPORTED BY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE. THIS IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF THOSE AFFECTED BELIEVE THAT ECONOMIC DECISIONS ARE ACCOMPANIED BY POLITICAL REFORMS WHICH GIVE THEM A FULL OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS AND TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.

ENDS

BARRETT

YYYY

ADVANCE	7	
PS		1
PS/MRS CHALKER		1
PS/MR WALDEGRAVE		1
HD/EED		1
HD/SOVIET DEPT		1
HD/PROTOCL DEPT		1
HD/NEWS DEPT		1
MAIN	46	
LIMITED		6
EED		6
SOVIET DEPT		5
PROTOCOL DEPT		7
NEWS DEPT		9
PS		7
PS/MRS CHALKER		1
PS/MR WALDEGRAVE		1
PS/PUS		1
PS/SIR J FRETWELL		1
MR RATFORD		2
WAHPAN 1000		

PS/NO 10 DWNG ST.