

POLAND:

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 059 OF 7TH JANUARY 1982

INFO IMMEDIATE: UKDEL NATO, PARIS, BONN, WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW.

INFO SAVING: SOFIA, PRAGUE, BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, EAST BERLIN
AND BELGRADE.

POLISH SITUATION.

1. IT IS NOW NEARLY FOUR WEEKS SINCE JARUZELSKI IMPOSED MARTIAL
LAW ON POLAND. WITH NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN BRUSSELS ON
11 JANUARY, IT MAY BE TIMELY TO ATTEMPT AN ASSESSMENT OF THE
CURRENT POSITION.

2. FROM AN INTERNAL SECURITY POINT OF VIEW, POLAND IS NOW QUIET.
EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE NO MEANS OF FIRST-HAND CONFIRMATION, I AM
PREPARED TO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS NO, OR VERY LITTLE, ACTIVE
RESISTANCE IN THE COUNTRY IN THE SHAPE OF DEMONSTRATIONS, STRIKES,
SIT-INS OR OTHER PUBLIC OBJECTION. THERE IS ALMOST CERTAINLY
CLANDESTINE ACTIVITY FROM THOSE OPPOSED TO THE REGIME, NOTABLY
SOLIDARITY, WHICH IN WARSAW AT LEAST IS BEGINNING TO SHOW SIGNS OF
SOME ORGANISATIONAL ABILITY. AND THERE IS ALSO PASSIVE RESISTANCE
IN FACTORIES ETC.

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3. MARTIAL LAW IS STILL WITH US. SOME IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED BUT THEY DO NOT AMOUNT TO MUCH (SHORTER CURFEW HOURS, TRAVEL FOR 30 KMS OUTSIDE WARSAW INSTEAD OF CITY LIMITS, LIMITED TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION WITHIN 10 OUT OF 49 VOIVODSHIPS, SOME INTERNAL FLIGHTS ETC). IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY PROGRESS ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, IT WILL NOT BE EASY NOW TO OFFER ANY SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSIONS IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. LIFT TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS OR RESTORE FULL TELEPHONE LINKS AND SOLIDARITY WILL AT ONCE THREATEN ON A GENERAL FRONT AND NOT IN ISOLATED ACTS OF RESISTANCE. TAKE AWAY ROAD BLOCKS, PATROLLING SOLDIERS, MENACING ARMORED VEHICLES AND TOUGH MILITARY COURTS HANDING OUT SUMMARY JUSTICE AND THE PEOPLE'S ANGER AT THE QUALITY OF THERE LIFE UNDER MARTIAL LAW, AT THE SWINGEING RETAIL PRICE RISES (WITH LITTLE OR NO FUNANCIAL COMPENSATION) AND OF SMALLER RATIONS COULD EASILY SPILL OVER INTO ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS.

4. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS THAT MANY DETAINEES HAVE BEEN RELEASED, THEIR TOTAL NUMBER REMAINS OBSTINATELY AROUND THE 5000 MARK. ON THE WHOLE THEY ARE SAID TO BE WELL-TREATED. BUT THE AUTHORITIES' GROWING FRUSTRATION AT THEIR INABILITY TO PERSUADE ANY OF THE WELL-KNOWN SOLIDARITY DETAINEES TO COLLABORATE WAS SHOWN BY JARUZELSKI'S AND RAKOWSKI'S RECENT REFERENCES TO THE NEED TO KEEP THE SOLIDARITY DETAINEES ISOLATED AND EVEN TO CONTEMPLATE LETTING THEM LEAVE POLAND.

5. ON THE POLITICAL FRONT THERE HAS BEEN MUCH GOVERNMENT-INSPIRED TALK ABOUT THE RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE BUT NO EVIDENCE OF ANY PROGRESS ON THE GROUND. THE CHURCH REFUSES TO BECOME SUBSTANTIVELY INVOLVED WITH THE GOVERNMENT UNLESS SOLIDARITY JOINS IN. WALESA REFUSES TO START TALKING UNLESS HIS PRESIDUM AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISERS ARE RELEASED WITH HIM. NOTHING HAS COME OF THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP'S PRE-CHRISTMAS TALKS WITH THE INTELLECTUALS AND TRYBUNA LUDU OF 6 JANUARY DEVOTED MANY COLUMNS TO A STRONG ATTACK BY RAKOWSKI ON THE INTELLECTUALS. GOVERNMENT LEADERS TELL THE WEST THAT MANY ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARITY ARE READY TO COOPERATE BUT, OF THE ONLY TWO NAMES SO FAR PRODUCED, ONE (GOTOWSKI) CANNOT BE TRACED BY ANY WESTERN EMBASSY HERE AND THE OTHER (BRUNNE) WHO HAS BEEN IN THE US FOR THE PAST FOUR WEEKS, HAS SAID HE WISHES TO REVERT TO HIS FORMER SCIENTIFIC WORK ON RETURN TO POLAND.

6. ON THE CREDIT SIDE, THERE ARE MODEST SIGNS THAT THE MARTIAL COUNCIL IS TRYING TO HAND SOME POWER BACK TO THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON 29 DECEMBER GENERAL SZACHO

COUNCIL IS TRYING TO HAND SOME POWER BACK TO THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON 29 DECEMBER GENERAL SZACILO FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY. HALF OF THE ~~THE~~ ^{THE} INNER DIRECTORATE IS CIVILIAN. THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAVE BEEN MEETING. WE READ MORE ABOUT THE DAILY ACTIVITIES OF INDIVIDUAL MINISTERS IN THE PRESS. THE MARTIAL COUNCIL DECIDED TO ~~SUBMIT IT'S PLANS~~ ^{S ITS PLANS} FOR A TRIBUNAL OF STATE TO THE SEJM INSTEAD OF GOING AHEAD ANYHOW. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS BEEN MEETING YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

7. THE LIST IS SMALL, HOWEVER, AND THE RETURN TO POLITICAL NORMALITY IS SLIGHT. HAVING ACHIEVED THEIR PRIMARY AIMS OF DESTROYING SOLIDARITY, IMPOSING MARTIAL LAW AND STAMPING OUT ACTIVE OPPOSITION IN THE COUNTRY. POLAND'S MILITARY RULERS ARE VISIBLY HAVING DIFFICULTY IN BUILDING UP SOME OTHER FORM OF POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE SYSTEM THEY HAVE PULLED DOWN. I BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE NOW SETTLED FOR THE LONG HAUL. THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO START A GENUINE DIALOGUE WITH EITHER THE CHURCH OR SOLIDARITY OR BOTH TOGETHER BUT ARE INSISTING ON STRICT PRECONDITIONS FOR ANY NEGOTIATIONS. AND IN THE ABSENCE OF TALKS ON THEIR TERMS THE EASIEST AND SAFEST RECIPE IS "SIT TIGHT". THE PRESENT POLISH LEADERSHIP LACKS THE SELF-CONFIDENCE TO LIFT MARTIAL LAW, THE FLEXIBILITY TO TALK MEANINGFULLY WITH THE TWO ORGANISATIONS THAT BEST REPRESENT THE POLISH PEOPLE SEMI COLON AND THE IMAGINATION TO BREAK OUT OF THEIR SELF-IMPOSED SHELL.

8. BUT TH^{EY} STILL CARE ABOUT THE WEST. THEY CONTINUE TO WOO WESTERN EUROPE, WHILE WRITING OFF THE US. AND IT IS IN THIS AREA, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC TALKS THAT SHOULD BE TAKING PLACE THIS MONTH BETWEEN POLAND AND HER GOVERNMENTAL AND PRIVATE CREDITORS, THAT WE HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF EXERTING PRESSURE ON JARUZELSKI AND HIS COLLEAGUES. I VERY MUCH HOPE THEREFORE THAT, IN THE EC AND IN NATO, WE WILL CONTINUE TO URGE THAT WE SHOULD FREEZE ANY CREDITS OR NEW MONEY TO POLAND FOR 1982 SEMI COLON AND THAT WE SHOULD LINK ANY PROGRESS ON RESCHEDULING 1982 DEBTS WITH PROGRESS ON THE THREE VITAL ISSUES OF MARTIAL LAW, THE DETAINEES AND THE RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

PASSED BY G.C.D.I