

IMMEDIATE

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POLAND: ADVANCE COPIES

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PS/LPS

PS/LORD TREFGARNE
PS/PUS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
SIR A ACLAND (2)
MR GILLMORE

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ASSESSMENT STAFF
CABINET OFFICE
DIO CABINET OFFICE

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FM WARSAW 071640Z JAN 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 056 OF 7TH JANUARY 1982

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

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

POLISH SITUATION:

1. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WIEJACZ ASKED ME TO CALL THIS AFTERNOON TO HAND OVER A LETTER FROM GENERAL JARUZELSKI FOR ONWARD TRANSMISSION TO THE PRIME MINISTER. (THE ORIGINAL, IN POLISH, WILL COME BY NEXT BAG AND OUR TRANSLATION IS IN MIFT).

2. WIEJACZ EXPLAINED THAT, IN ADDITION TO REPLYING TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT (WHOM WE KNEW HAD WRITTEN TO JARUZELSKI) AND PRESIDENT REAGAN (ABOUT WHICH WE HAD HEARD NOTHING AT THIS END), GENERAL JARUZELSKI HAD TAKEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEND ADDITIONAL LETTERS TO THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF SOME TEN COUNTRIES WITH WHOM POLAND HAD

~~THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF SOME TEN COUNTRIES WITH WHOM POLAND HAD PARTICULARLY CLOSE RELATIONS. I KNOW THAT THE AMBASSADORS OF GERMANY, FRANCE, BELGIUM AND CANADA CALLED AT THE MFA TODAY. WIEJACZ THEN TOOK ME QUICKLY THROUGH THE LETTER WHICH MADE MANY OF THE SAME POINTS AS IN JARUZELSKI'S MEETING WITH EC HEADS OF MISSION ON 4 JANUARY (MY TELEGRAM NO 12).~~

3. I ASKED HIM WHETHER HE COULD PICK UP DEVELOPMENTS FROM WHERE JARUZELSKI HAD LEFT OFF AND TELL ME SOMETHING ABOUT THE FUTURE. HE SAID THE PROCESS OF NORMALISATION WAS CONTINUING. ZYCIE WARSZAWY WOULD APPEAR ON MONDAY AS WOULD A NEW PAPER RZECZPOSPOLITA, WHICH WOULD BE A GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN. TELEXES SHOULD BE RESTORED TO EMBASSIES NEXT WEEK AND HE HOPED TELEPHONES WOULD START RINGING AGAIN SOON. TALKS WITH THE CHURCH WENT ON ALL THE TIME AND THERE WAS NOW MORE ACTIVITY WITH SOLIDARITY LEADERS. BRUNNE, THE FORMER SOLIDARITY SPOKESMAN, HAD RETURNED TO POLAND AND HAD HAD TALKS YESTERDAY WITH MINISTER CIOSEK. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION, HE CONFIRMED THAT BRUNNE WOULD NOW BE RETURNING TO SCIENTIFIC WORK. WIEJACZ COULD NOT NAME ANY SOLIDARITY LEADERS CURRENTLY CO-OPERATING WITH THE GOVERNMENT BUT SAID HE KNEW THERE WERE SOME FORMER NATIONAL COMMISSION MEMBERS. NON-PARTY MEMBERS OF THE SEJM LED BY SZCZEPANSKI WERE CURRENTLY DISCUSSING NEW INITIATIVES WHICH MIGHT INVOLVE ALL POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAD MET YESTERDAY AND WAS CONTINUING ITS SESSION TODAY. IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD HE DREW MY ATTENTION TO TUESDAY'S RECORD DAILY PRODUCTION OF COAL, WHICH AMOUNTED TO 623,000 TONS.

4. WIEJACZ THEN EXPRESSED HIS OWN AND POLISH OFFICIAL DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE TEN ON 4 JANUARY AND IN PARTICULAR FOR ITS CALL FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE CSCE. HE OBJECTED, BOTH BECAUSE IT WOULD BE DEVOTED TO POLAND AND BECAUSE OF THE SUGGESTION THAT IT SHOULD BE AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. I REPLIED THAT HE OUGHT NOT TO BE SURPRISED AT THE TEN'S COMMUNIQUE, WHICH FOLLOWED UP AND STRENGTHENED THE DEMARCHE WHICH I HAD MADE ON BEHALF OF THE TEN TO CZYREK ON 22 DECEMBER. WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, REPRESENTING WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION, WERE NATURALLY CONCERNED AT THE VIOLATIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT WHICH WERE STILL OCCURRING IN THIS COUNTRY. WIEJACZ DID NOT DENY THIS BUT PROTESTED THAT THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW WAS ONLY TEMPORARY. I ASKED WHEN "TEMPORARY" BECAME "SEMI-PERMANENT". WIEJACZ THEN SAID THERE WAS NO POINT IN INTERNATIONALISING THE POLISH PROBLEM, TO WHICH I REPLIED THAT, AS HE WELL KNEW, THE PROBLEM WAS ALREADY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPHERE.

5. WIEJACZ THEN WENT ON TO COMPLAIN ABOUT BBC COVERAGE ON MUCH THE SAME LINES AS KLACZYNSKI YESTERDAY (OUR TELEGRAM NO 40). I REPLIED THAT THE ANSWER SURELY WAS TO LIFT RESTRICTIONS ON JOURNALISTS AND WIEJACZ SAID THAT THEY WERE PLANNING TO DO THIS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND PROBABLY EARLY NEXT WEEK. I THEN MENTIONED THE JAMMING OF BBC POLISH LANGUAGE BROADCASTS AND THE PROTEST THAT HAD BEEN MADE TO STANISZEWSKI IN LONDON. WIEJACZ SAID HE HAD HAD NO REPORT FROM THE AMBASSADOR, BUT THE BBC WAS BEING VERY PROVOCATIVE. I REPLIED THAT JAMMING WAS HARDLY A CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE.

6. WIEJACZ CONCLUDED BY ASKING WHAT I THOUGHT WOULD EMERGE FROM THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING ON 11 JANUARY. I SAID I HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS BUT THE BEST WAY FOR THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO SECURE UNDERSTANDING FROM THE WEST WOULD BE TO MAKE SOME SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS ON THE THREE MAIN POINTS WHICH CAUSED US CONCERN, MARTIAL LAW, THE DETAINEES AND THE RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE. WIEJACZ PROTESTED THAT THE DEVELOPMENTS HE HAD INDICATED IN PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE WERE SURELY ENOUGH TO CONVINCe THE WEST THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WERE DOING ALL THEY COULD ON THESE THREE POINTS. I SAID I DOUBTED IT.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

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