

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WARSAW 051050Z MAR 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 334 OF 5TH MAR 82

PRIORITY INFO WASHINGTON , PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKDEL
MADRID, UKMIS GENEVA.SAVING TO EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, SOFIA , BUCHAREST, BELGRADE
HELSINKI , STOCKHOLM, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKMIS NEW YORK.MY TEL NO 285 : POLAND.

1. GENERAL JARUZELSKI HAS NOW BEEN RUNNING THIS COUNTRY UNDER
MARTIAL LAW FOR NEARLY 3 MONTHS. HE HAS BEEN UNUSUALLY VISIBLE
OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS AND THIS MAY BE A GOOD MOMENT TO SEE WHERE
HE HAS GOT TO .

INTERNAL SITUATION.

2. POLAND IS QUIET. THERE HAVE BEEN NO REPORTED INCIDENTS OF ANY SORT
FOR THE PAST THREE WEEKS.

3. SOLIDARITY CONTINUES TO PRODUCE AND DISTRIBUTE ILLEGAL PAMPHLETS
SOME OF REASONABLE QUALITY. ONE OF ITS MAIN LEADERS STILL AT
LARGE , BUJAK, HAS ADVISED IN A RECENT ARTICLE AGAINST ANY MORE
SPORADIC SIT-IN STRIKES OR OTHER ISOLATED ACTS OF OPPOSITION. HE
WOULD PREFER ACTION ON A NATIONAL SCALE, POSSIBLY IN THE SHAPE OF
A SYMBOLIC SHORT STRIKE IN THE SPRING. WE HAVE NO AUTHORITATIVE
EVIDENCE OF WHAT IF ANYTHING SOLIDARITY IS PLANNING OR INDEED HOW IT
IS NOW ORGANISED.

MARTIAL LAW.

4. MANY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE MARTIAL LAW RESTRICTIONS HAVE NOW BEEN
LIFTED. POLES - AND DIPLOMATS- CAN TRAVEL FREELY AROUND THE
COUNTRY EXCEPT IN THE BORDER ZONES. THEY CAN ALSO VISIT OTHER
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ON INVITATION OR , IN GROUPS, VISIT THE WEST
FOR A RESTRICTED NUMBER OF SPECIAL OCCASIONS (E.G. CULTURAL AND
SPORTING) . TELEPHONE CALLS INSIDE POLAND CONTINUE TO BE MADE
THROUGH THE OPERATOR BUT RE-INTRODUCTION OF STD AND INTERNATIONAL
CALLS IS "ENVISAGED". THE CURFEW REMAINS, EXCEPT FOR TAXI-DRIVERS,
FROM 11 PM TO 5 AM IN WARSAW AND MOST OF THE COUNTRY BUT FROM 10 PM
IN SOME CITIES, NOTABLY GDANSK. THERE ARE FEW SOLDIERS OR MILICJA
ON THE STREETS AND IN WARSAW AT LEAST THERE ARE PRACTICALLY NO
ROAD CHECKS INSIDE TOWN. OUTSIDE THE TOWNS THE SYSTEM OF PERMANENT

CONFIDENTIAL

HIGHWAY CONTROL CHECK-POINTS IS IN PLACE AND ACTIVE. PETROL, ON LIMITED RATION, IS ON SALE. CINEMAS, THEATRES AND CONCERT HALLS ARE WORKING NORMALLY. MOST RESTAURANTS REMAIN CLOSED EXCEPT IN HOTELS. LIMITED EXTERNAL FLIGHTS BY SOME WESTERN AIRLINES HAVE RESUMED. MOST NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, IN WARSAW AND IN THE PROVINCES, ARE BACK. WE HAVE TWO TV CHANNELS AND PROVINCIAL RADIO STATIONS ARE WORKING AGAIN. FAMILY CELEBRATIONS NO LONGER REQUIRE PERMISSION.

5. THE POLITICAL ASPECTS, "THE VERY ESSENCE" (GENERAL KISZCZAK), OF MARTIAL LAW ARE STILL INTACT, HOWEVER. MILITARY COURTS OPERATING MILITARY LAW, SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS IN CIVIL COURTS, CENSORSHIP AND INTERNMENT ARE RETAINED. STRIKES ARE BANNED AND LARGE PUBLIC GATHERINGS ARE ILLEGAL. AND THE AUTHORITIES RETAIN THE RIGHT, AND HAVE THE ABILITY, TO RE-INTRODUCE SELECTIVE MARTIAL LAW RESTRICTIONS IF TROUBLE ARISES.

6. SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL, THE "VERIFICATION" CAMPAIGN CARRIES ON, ALTHOUGH ITS EFFECTS ARE LESS PRONOUNCED AS THE NUMBERS OF UNVERIFIED PROFESSIONALS GETS SMALLER.

DETAINEES

7. UP TO 3 MARCH 6,711 POLES HAD BEEN INTERNED. 2771 HAVE BEEN RELEASED AND 3940 ARE STILL IN INTERNMENT CAMPS. FURTHER RELEASES ARE PROMISED. THE PHYSICAL CONDITIONS IN THE CAMPS, ACCORDING TO ICRC TEAMS WHO HAVE VISITED 21 CAMPS, ARE REASONABLE. THE INTERNEES REMAIN FOR THE MOST PART UNREPENTANT AND HOSTILE. A CONDITION OF THEIR RELEASE SEEMS TO BE THAT THEY MUST AGREE TO SIGN PLEDGES OF LOYALTY TO THE STATE AND ASSURANCES NOT TO TAKE PART IN ANTI-STATE ACTIVITY. IT HAS NOW BEEN PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT THE AUTHORITIES WILL CONSIDER GIVING PERMANENT EMMIGRATION DOCUMENTS FOR THOSE INTERNEES WISHING TO LEAVE POLAND.

8. MILITARY COURTS CONTINUE TO HAND OUT SENTENCES VARYING FROM 10 TO 2 AND A HALF YEARS IMPRISONMENT MOSTLY ON SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS FOUND GUILTY OF ORGANISING STRIKES AFTER 13 DECEMBER.

RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE.

9. THE REGIME HAS MADE LITTLE IF ANY PROGRESS ON RESUMING GENUINE DIALOGUE WITH POLISH SOCIETY. THEY NOW SEEM TO HAVE GIVEN UP ALL HOPE OF PERSUADING WALESA TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH A CHURCH REPRESENTATIVE RECENTLY TOLD WEHNER THAT WALESA WAS NOW READY TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH AND THE STATE. THE CHURCH ITSELF HAS BEEN VERY QUIET OVER THE LAST 3 OR 4 WEEKS. THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE BISHOPS COUNCIL CAME OUT STRONGLY AGAINST MARTIAL LAW. THE CHURCH IS SAID TO BE IN FREQUENT CONTACT WITH THE GOVERNMENT BUT NO RESULTS ARE APPARENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

/10. EFFORTS

CONFIDENTIAL

10. EFFORTS TO BOOST THE PRESTIGE OF LOCAL COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL SALVATION, WHICH HAVE BEEN RENAMED COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL RE-BIRTH, CONTINUE. THE SEJM, MEETING ON 26-27 FEBRUARY FOR A MAINLY ROUTINE SESSION, ENDORSED THE GENERAL CONCEPT OF A FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND THE SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL REBIRTH WHICH WERE ALSO BLESSED IN PRINCIPLE BY THE VII PLENUM AND BY THE JOINT POLISH/RUSSIAN COMMUNIQUE FROM MOSCOW. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OZDOWSKI CHAIRED A NATIONAL GATHERING OF LAY CATHOLICS.

THE PARTY.

11. THE LONG-AWAITED AND MUCH-POSTPONED VII PLENUM HELD ON 24-25 FEBRUARY SOUGHT WITH ONLY MARGINAL SUCCESS TO BREATHE NEW LIFE INTO THE SQUABBLING AND UNPOPULAR POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY. JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH AT THE PLENUM REASSERTED HIS CREDENTIALS AS THE GUARDIAN OF ORTHODOX MARXIST/LENINIST THINKING. IF THERE WAS ANY OPPOSITION TO HIM, NONE APPEARED. ALOOF AND AUSTERE, HE DOMINATED THE PROCEEDINGS. HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW GAVE HIM FURTHER RESPECTABILITY EVEN IF THERE WAS NO GREAT MEETING OF MINDS. PZPR ACTIVISTS WILL NOW BE DISCUSSING THE DRAFT IDEOLOGICAL DECLARATION WHICH WILL BE FURTHER DEBATED AT THE NEXT PLENUM.

THE ECONOMY.

12. THE DOMINANT THEME ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT HAS BEEN THE NEED FOR THE POLISH ECONOMY TO CORRECT ITS "OVER DEPENDENCE ON THE WEST" BY STRENGTHENING ITS LINKS WITH POLAND'S CMEA PARTNERS. THE PREVIOUS LEADERS ARE BLAMED FOR ALLOWING POLAND TO BECOME SO VULNERABLE TO WESTERN ECONOMIC PRESSURE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLICLY VOICED ITS EXPECTATION OF SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC AID FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER CMEA COUNTRIES. MEANWHILE, MORE GOODS ARE APPEARING IN THE SHOPS IN WARSAW AND QUEUES SEEM SHORTER THIS PROBABLY HAS MORE TO DO WITH THE RECENT RETAIL PRICE INCREASES WHICH HAVE STRETCHED FAMILY BUDGETS, THAN WITH MARKEDLY INCREASED PRODUCTION.

CONCLUSION.

13. THERE IS AN INCREASING AIR OF PERMANENCE ABOUT JARUZELSKI. WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE ARMY, HIS CONTROL OVER THE GOVERNMENT, HIS NEW RESPECTABILITY AS FIRST SECRETARY AND WITH MOSCOW'S BLESSING, HE IS NOW MORE OBVIOUSLY IN CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 13 DECEMBER. BUT NONE OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN AROUND SINCE DECEMBER OR MUCH EARLIER HAS BEEN SOLVED OR HAS GONE AWAY. HIS CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY RESTS ON THE ARMY AND IS BACKED BY THE BAYONET AND THE TRUNCHEON, EVEN IF THERE ARE LESS OF THEM AROUND.

CONFIDENTIAL

HE HAS NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN ATTRACTING ANY SORT OF GENERAL POPULAR SUPPORT NOR IN ESTABLISHING ANY POLITICAL ORGANISATION OR STRUCTURE TO REPLACE SOLIDARITY. AS FOR THE THREE WESTERN CONDITIONS, MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN LIFTED TO THE EXTENT THAT A VISITOR WOULD NOTICE VERY FEW DAYTIME RESTRICTIONS, BUT THE "TEETH" PROVISIONS REMAIN: THE DETAINEES ARE STILL IN CAMPS IN MUCH THE SAME NUMBERS BUT THESE WILL PROBABLY DECLINE AS MORE RELEASES ARE MADE AND OTHERS GO ABROAD INTO FORCED EMIGRATION: AND THERE IS NO DIALGUE.

MELHUI SH

POLAND SPECIAL
STANDARD

EESD
CSCE UNIT
NAD
SED
WED
ECD (E)
ESID
FED
CAD
SAD

UND
TRED
ERD
SEC D
OLA
CONS D
CONS EM UNIT
CABINET OFFICE

ADDITIONAL DISTR.
POLAND SPECIAL

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST]

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL