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TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1974 OF 21 DECEMBER

AND TO MOSCOW PARIS BONN BELGRADE BUCHAREST BUDAPEST PRAGUE SOFIA  
EAST BERLIN ROME THE HAGUE LUXEMBOURG BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN ATHENS  
DUBLIN AKNARA LISBON OSLO OTTAWA REYKJAVIK UKDEL NATO STOCKHOLM  
HELSINKI VIENNA BERNE MADRID CANBERRA WELLINGTON PEKING TOKYO  
NEW DELHI ISLAMABAD TEL AVIV CAIRO PRETORIA/CAPETOWN BRASILIA  
BUENOS AIRES MEXICO CITY STRASBOURG UKDEL MADRID UKMIS NEW YORK  
UKMIS GENEVA KATHMANDU

POLAND

DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW

1. ON THE NIGHT OF 12/13 DECEMBER THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER,  
GENERAL JARUZELSKI, DECLARED MARTIAL LAW AND ANNOUNCED THAT A  
'MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION' HAD ASSUMED RESPONSIBI-  
LITY FOR GOVERNING POLAND. MILITARY OFFICERS HAVE BEEN  
APPOINTED TO OVERSEE CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT: THE BORDERS  
HAVE BEEN SEALED: TELEX AND TELEPHONE LINKS HAVE BEEN CUT:  
CIVIL LIBERTIES SUSPENDED: AND A BAN IMPOSED ON STRIKES.

2. IN ANNOUNCING THE MEASURES JARUZELSKI STRESSED THAT THEY  
WOULD BE OF SHORT DURATION AND WOULD BE RESCINDED WHEN CALM AND  
ORDER WERE RESTORED. HE SAID THAT THE ESSENTIALS OF THE POLISH  
RENEWAL OF THE PAST 17 MONTHS WOULD BE SAFEGUARDED AND CLAIMED  
THAT, IN DUE COURSE, REFORM WOULD CONTINUE.

EXPLANATION TO WESTERN GOVERNMENTS

3. IN EXPLAINING THESE MEASURES TO WESTERN GOVERNMENTS, THE  
POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE CLAIMED THAT THE SITUATION HAD BECOME  
SO SERIOUS THAT THEY HAD HAD NO ALTERNATIVE, AND THAT A  
DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW WAS THE LEAST VIOLENT OF A NUMBER OF  
ALTERNATIVES. THEY HAVE REITERATED JARUZELSKI'S CLAIM THAT THE

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MEASURES WILL BE SHORT-LIVED, THAT THERE WILL BE NO RETURN TO THE POLICIES PREVAILING BEFORE AUGUST 1980, AND THAT, AS SOON AS THE INTERNAL SITUATION HAS STABILISED, MARTIAL LAW WILL BE RESCINDED AND CIVIL LIBERTIES RESTORED. THEY HAVE APPEALED TO WESTERN GOVERNMENTS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND HAVE ASKED THEM TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

SOVIET ATTITUDE

4. THE SOVIET UNION HAS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR JARUZELSKI, BUT COMMENT HAS BEEN KEPT COMPARATIVELY LOW KEY AND FACTUAL, WITH CONSIDERABLE STRESS ON THE FACT THAT THESE DEVELOPMENTS MUST BE SEEN AS POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIR. AT PRESENT THE RUSSIANS ARE CLEARLY TRYING TO SUGGEST THAT THEY ARE NOT INVOLVED AND CANNOT BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE: BUT IT MUST BE ASSUMED THAT THEY KNOW WHAT JARUZELSKI INTENDED TO DO, AND AGREED WITH IT. SOVIET FORCES ARE AT A HIGH STATE OF READINESS BUT THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS TO SUGGEST THAT SOVIET INTERVENTION IS IMMINENT. HOWEVER, IF THE POLISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES ARE UNABLE TO CONTROL THE SITUATION, SOVIET INTERVENTION IS LIKELY.

POLISH POPULAR REACTION

5. THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW WAS CARRIED OUT WITH CONSIDERABLE EFFICIENCY AND ACHIEVED A LARGE MEASURE OF SURPRISE. THE AUTHORITIES WERE ABLE TO DETAIN MANY OF SOLIDARITY'S LEADERS, INCLUDING LECH WALESZA, WHO WE BELIEVE IS UNDER HOUSE ARREST IN A SUBURB OF WARSAW. SHOCKED BY DEVELOPMENTS AND DEPRIVED OF LEADERSHIP, SOLIDARITY'S REACTION HAS TAKEN TIME TO DEVELOP. HOWEVER, IN THE LAST FEW DAYS THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS OF WIDESPREAD STRIKES AND SIT-INS (PERHAPS AFFECTING AS MANY AS 200 PLANTS), AND THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE ADMITTED THAT 7 PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN A CLASH BETWEEN MINERS AND SECURITY FORCES AT A MINE IN KATOWICE IN SOUTHERN POLAND.

6. THERE HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN OTHER VIOLENT INCIDENTS (THE AUTHORITIES HAVE ADMITTED THAT SEVERAL HUNDRED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN INJURED, MANY OF WHOM THEY CLAIM ARE POLICE), AND STRIKES AND SIT-INS ARE CONTINUING. THE POSITION IN THE MINING REGION OF SILESIA IS GIVING THE POLISH AUTHORITIES PARTICULAR TROUBLE: REPORTS SUGGEST THAT UP TO 20 MINES ARE OCCUPIED BY MINERS WHO

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HAVE TAKEN THEIR FAMILIES INTO THE MINES WITH THEM. WE ALSO KNOW OF A LARGE DEMONSTRATION IN WARSAW ON 17 DECEMBER WHICH POLICE BROKE UP WITH TRUNCHEONS AND TEAR GAS. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE SET UP HASTILY CONSTRUCTED DETENTION CAMPS BUT WE DO NOT KNOW HOW MANY, NOR THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE INTERNED IN THEM.

CURRENT POSITION

7. IT IS DIFFICULT TO GIVE AN OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE POSITION AT THE END OF THE FIRST WEEK OF MARTIAL LAW BECAUSE RELIABLE INFORMATION IS SCARCE. WESTERN EMBASSIES ARE RESTRICTED TO WARSAW AND INTERNAL COMMUNICATION IN POLAND REMAINS CUT. HOWEVER, IT APPEARS THAT, WHILE WARSAW IS FOR THE MOST PART CALM AND TIGHTLY CONTROLLED BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES, ACTIVE RESISTANCE ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY IN SILESIA AND ON THE COAST, IS CONTINUING. IT ALSO SEEMS LIKELY THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE PASSIVE RESISTANCE, AND THAT FEW INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ARE WORKING NORMALLY.

THE WESTERN POSITION

8. IMMEDIATE WESTERN REACTIONS TO THE CRISIS, WHICH WERE CLOSELY CO-ORDINATED IN THE TEN AND NATO, WERE TO MARK OUR CONCERN AT THE SUSPENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF TRADE UNIONISTS, BUT TO AVOID ACTING IN A WAY WHICH MIGHT COMPLICATE THE SITUATION. OUR MAJOR INTERESTS ARE THAT: THE CRISIS SHOULD BE KEPT UNDER CONTROL: THAT POLAND SHOULD SOLVE ITS OWN PROBLEM WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE: AND THAT THE DEMOCRATIC GAINS OF THE LAST 17 MONTHS SHOULD NOT BE PERMANENTLY LOST EVEN IF THEY ARE TEMPORARILY HALTED OR REVERSED.

9. WE REMAIN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH OUR PARTNERS AND OUR ATTITUDE WILL BE DETERMINED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND, INCLUDING THE FATE OF SOLIDARITY, THE DEGREE OF POPULAR RESISTANCE, THE USE OF FORCE BY THE AUTHORITIES, AND BY OUR ASSESSMENT OF JARUZELSKI'S INTENTIONS. THE LATTER ARE NOT EASY TO JUDGE. WE MAY BE WITNESSING THE START OF THE EXTINCTION OF THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL BEGUN IN AUGUST 1980, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT JARUZELSKI MAY BE AT LEAST PARTLY SINCERE IN HIS REFERENCES TO RETURNING TO THE PATH OF REFORM AND RENEWAL. HOWEVER, IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER EVENTS WILL PERMIT THIS AT LEAST IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AND

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MONTHS, WHATEVER JARUZELSKI MAY INTEND. THE DEATHS AND CASUALTIES OF THE LAST FEW DAYS ARE LIKELY TO LEAVE A BITTER LEGACY AND TO PREJUDICE STILL FURTHER THE PROSPECTS FOR ANY RESUMPTION OF A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND SOLIDARITY. THE GULF BETWEEN RULERS AND RULED, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE PRESENT CRISIS, IS LIKELY TO GROW EVEN WIDER.

LINE TO TAKE

10. ALTHOUGH YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOREGOING IN TALKING TO RELIABLE CONTACTS, YOU SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY CAREFUL IN EXPLAINING HMG'S POLICY TO STICK CLOSELY TO THE PUBLIC LINE TAKEN BY MINISTERS. THIS WILL BE ADJUSTED AS NECESSARY TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF DEVELOPMENTS. IN THIS CONNECTION YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THE STATEMENT BY ME IN THE LORDS AND BY THE LPS IN THE COMMONS ON 14 DECEMBER (VS 295/81): ON THE STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE TEN OF 15 DECEMBER (RETRACT NO 62515): THE FCO PRESS SPOKESMAN OF 14, 15, 16, 17 DECEMBER (NOT TO ALL): AND MY SPEECH IN STRASBOURG ON 17 DECEMBER.

11. ON THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND, YOU SHOULD BE GUIDED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF 15 DECEMBER (RETRACT NO 62515).

12. IF YOU ARE ASKED ABOUT COMMUNITY FOOD AID, YOU MAY SAY THAT MINISTERS OF THE TEN HAVE DECIDED THAT DECISIONS ALREADY TAKEN AND ANNOUNCED SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED. NO NEW DECISIONS FALL TO BE TAKEN FOR THE TIME BEING.

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