

GRS 808  
RESTRICTED  
FM WARSAW 271220Z DEC  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 1855 OF 27TH DECEMBER 1981

RESTRICTED

PM Seen

Prime Minister to see

Possibly a significant development?

FOR NEWS DEPARTMENT

Neill Mitchell

Duty Clerk

27/12/81

(Refused to check)

NOT TO BE ATTRIBUTED

THE POLISH ARMY SEEMS TO BE ENCOUNTERING SIGNIFICANT DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS AND AT LEAST ONE SOLDIER HAS BEEN RELIABLY REPORTED EXECUTED FOR DISOBEYING ORDERS. AS MARTIAL LAW ENTERS ITS THIRD WEEK, IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR THE ARMY TO JUGGLE ITS PRIORITIES: MAINTAINING THE MORALE OF TROOPS ON TEDIOUS ROADBLOCK DUTIES IN SUB ZERO TEMPERATURES, CONVINCING CONSCRIPTS OF THE NEED TO SUPPORT ATTEMPTS TO BREAK FACTORY AND MINE STRIKES; PERSUADING THE GENERAL STAFF THAT THE NEW MILITARY COUNCIL IS ACTING IN BOTH THE ARMY'S AND THE NATION'S BEST INTERESTS; ABOVE ALL, SUSTAINING THE IMPETUS OF MILITARY RULE IN THE FACE OF ACTIVE AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

THE SHOOTING INCIDENT IS IMPORTANT FOR IT LENDS SUPPORT TO THE WIDELY VOICED CONVICTION THAT THE POLISH OFFICER CORPS WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN PERSUADING THEIR TROOPS TO ACT AGAINST THE CIVIL POPULATION. ACCORDING TO A VERY RELIABLE SOURCE A MOTHER HAS BEEN TOLD TO COLLECT THE REMAINS OF HER SON WHO HAD BEEN SHOT FOR DERSEPTION (OR WAS IT SOMETHING ELSE). SOLDIERS ADMITTED TO MILITARY HOSPITAL WITH BULLET WOUNDS OTHER REPORTS OF FRATERNISATION BETWEEN SOME SOLDIERS AND STRIKERS AROUND THE LENIN SHIPYARD IN GDANSK AGAIN GIVE BACKING TO THE IDEA THAT OVER THE LONG TERM DISCIPLINE WILL PROVE A PROBLEM. RELIABLY BELIEVED SOME SOLDIERS POISONED BY SWEETS GIVEN BY PUBLIC. THE LONGER THE TROOPS STAY OUT OF BARRACKS, THE LESS CONVINCED THEY WILL BE THAT ORDINARY POLISH CIVILIANS ARE POTENTIAL ENEMIES. MEANWHILE, A RELIABLE REPORT THAT AT LEAST 18 GENERAL STAFF OFFICERS HAVE BEEN PUT UNDER HOUSE ARREST IN SOUTHERN POLAND SUGGESTS THAT THERE IS NOT UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE RULING MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION. SOLDIERS AT ROADBLOCKS AND ON PATROL SAY THEY ARE CONTINUALLY WATCHED BY OFFICERS AT A DISTANCE WHO ENSURE THEY ENFORCE EVERY ASPECT OF MARTIAL LAW.

THE CENTRAL DILEMMA IS THAT IF THE ARMY IS TO BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR GOVERNMENT AND PARTY THEN IT MUST SIMULTANEOUSLY SHOW ITSELF TO BE BOTH A FORCEFUL GUARANTOR OF SECURITY - AGAINST NOTIONAL "EXTREMISTS" - AND A BENEVOLENT PROVIDER. THIS DUAL ROLE IS PROVING TOO MUCH: THE ARMY HAS BEEN ABLE TO PAVE THE WAY FOR

RESTRICTED

/POLICE



## RESTRICTED

POLICE TO CLEAN UP LABOUR UNREST IN FOR EXAMPLE THE URSUS TRACTOR FACTORY, BUT IT CANNOT FORCE THE WORKERS TO WORK. THE NET IMPRESSION AFTER TWO WEEKS OF MARTIAL LAW IS THAT CIVILIANS, IN WARSAW AT LEAST, ARE DEEPLY DISILLUSSIONED WITH THE MILITARY, WHICH WAS ONCE THE UNBLEMISHED GUARDIAN OF THE NATIONAL SPIRIT

THAT IMPRESSION IS CONTINUOUSLY BUTTRESSED BY A COMBINATION OF RUMOUR AND RELIABLE UNOFFICIAL REPORTING. A SOLIDARITY BULLETIN, WHICH SEEMS TO BE WELL INFORMED, SAYS THAT 2,000 PEOPLE ARE INTERNED OUTSIDE RADM NEAR THE AIRPORT, SOME OF THEM — DESPITE GOVERNMENT DENIALS — HOUSED IN TENTS. THIS IS THE FIRST NEWS TO COME FROM RADM WHICH HAS BEEN SEALED OFF THROUGHOUT THE EMERGENCY. ACCORDING TO THE BULLETIN ANONYMOUSLY DELIVERED ON CHRISTMAS EVE, WHEN CURFEW WAS LIFTED IN THE CAPITAL — AT LEAST 300 PEOPLE ARE ALSO BEING INTERNED IN WROCLAW. THE BULLETIN, PRINTED ON A FAIRLY PRIMITIVE MACHINE, SAID THAT SOME OF THE INTERNEES WERE REGULARLY BEING WOKEN UP AND HAVING FREEZING WATER POURED OVER THEM.

AS LONG AS REPORTS LIKE THAT GAIN CURRENCY, THE ARMY STAND NO CHANCE OF WINNING THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE POLES. SOLIDARITY, AS THE BULLETIN SHOWS, IS STILL ACTIVE IN A SKELETAL FORM, IF AND WHEN TELEPHONES ARE RESTORED AND MOVEMENT FACILITATED, THE CURRENT LEVEL OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN FACTORIES MAY WELL BE TRANSFORMED INTO A MORE ORGANISED STRUGGLE. BUT SOME INTERNEES ALREADY RELEASED SAY CONDITIONS WERE NOT APPALLING AND BY AND LARGE WERE OF THE STANDARD CLAIMED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

CHURCH SOURCES QUOTED IN ONE SOLIDARITY BULLETIN SAY THERE ARE 49 DETENTION CAMPS THEY KNOW OF, AT BIALEKA THEY SAY 60 INTERNEES ARE ON HUNGER STRIKE, DEMANDING THE RIGHT FOR MASS IN DETENTION AND FOR THEIR STATUS TO BE CLARIFIED.

ACCORDING TO ANOTHER CLANDESTINE BULLETIN FOUR PEOPLE WERE SHOT IN RIOTING IN GDANSK LAST WEEK. ONE SINCE DIED. IN WROCLAW ONE PERSON DIED AFTER POLICE RAIDED THE POLYTECHNIC AND THEN FORCED STAFF IN THE DUPLICATING DEPARTMENT TO RUN A POLICE GAUNTLET OF TRUNCHEONS.

IN ONE SILESIA MINE, SECURITY FORCES PUMPED GAS UNDERGROUND, BROUGHT THE UNCONSCIOUS MINERS TO THE SURFACE, THEN AS MINERS RECOVERED THEY WERE FORCED BACK TO WORK AT GUNPOINT OR WERE ARRESTED.

MEANWHILE THE SYSTEMATIC DISMANTLING OF THE SOLIDARITY MACHINE CONTINUES THE PROCESS OF VERIFICATION OF EMPLOYEES AT ALL LEVELS CONTINUES. PEOPLE ARE FORCED TO SIGN DECLARATIONS THAT THEY WILL NOT ENGAGE IN ANTI SOCIALIST ACTIVITY AND THAT THEY WILL RESIGN FROM SOLIDARITY. MANY HAVE REFUSED. AT KURIER POLSKI ONLY TWENTY PER CENT OF JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN RE-EMPLOYED, THE REST SACKED. AMONG THE NEXT TO BE VERIFIED WILL BE TEACHERS.

2  
RESTRICTED

/ ALSO

RESTRICTED

ALSO CLEAR THAT PARTY MEMBERS ARE HANDING IN THEIR COMMUNIST PARTY CARDS IN DROVES IN DISGUST AT THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW. MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY GETS SMALLER AND SMALLER AND ITS FUTURE ROLE IN POLAND IN ITS CURRENT FORM REMAINS DOUBTFUL NOW. HOW LONG WILL MOSCOW ENDURE THIS? OBSERVERS HERE BELIEVE SOME FORM OF SURROGATE PARTY, UNDER A NEW NAME WILL SOON HAVE TO BE FORMED TO RE-ESTABLISH THE IMAGE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAVING A SUPREME ROLE IN POLAND. BUT HOW MANY PEOPLE WILL AGREE TO JOIN? NO ONE HERE BELIEVES SOLIDARITY CAN RE-EMERGE AS THE GOVERNMENT PROMISES IT WILL. IF IT DOES IT WILL NOT BE THE OLD SOLIDARITY BUT A TOKEN STOOGE ORGANISATION.

JAMES

POLAND SPECIAL  
STANDARD

ADDITIONAL DISTN.  
POLAND SPECIAL

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

TRIED  
ERD  
SEC D  
OLA  
CONS D  
CONS EM UNIT  
CABINET OFFICE

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST]

3

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED