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FM WARSAW 191950Z DEC 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 977 OF 19TH DECEMBER 1981

AND TO IMMEDIATE: WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW
AND MODUK

FROM MELHUI SH.

MIPT: POLAND INTERNAL SITUATION.

1. MY 3 IPTS HAVE SOUGHT TO PORTRAY THIS REGIME AS RUTHLESS, REPRESSIVE AND IN CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY SEMI COLON WITH A DEPRESSINGLY ORTHODOX VIEW OF POLAND'S FUTURE, IN WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC AND PLURALISTIC AIMS OF SOLIDARITY WILL HAVE NO PLACE SEMI COLON AND WITH LIMITED FREEDOM OF MANOEUVRE.

2. OUGHT WE TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT? AND, IF SO, IS THERE REALLY ANYTHING WE CAN DO? I BELIEVE THAT THIS WEEK HAS WITNESSED ENOUGH NASTINESS IN POLAND, WITH THE DEATHS, INJURIES AND MASS ROUND-UPS AND INTERNMENTS, TO WARRANT A VIGOROUS DENUNCIATION. THIS WOULD OF COURSE BE INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL POLISH POLITICS BUT, IF THE CONCEPTS OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, THE RULE OF LAW AND BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS REALLY MEAN ANYTHING IN THE WEST, I THINK WE HAVE NO OPTION BUT TO DENOUNCE THEIR DELIBERATE AND CALLOUS SUPPRESSION HERE. IF THIS PERIOD OF MARTIAL LAW WAS SLIKELY TO BE ONLY TEMPORARY, THERE MIGHT BE A CASE FOR HOLDING BACK CRITICISM BUT I DO NOT THINK THAT WILL BE THE CASE. AND HOW LONG DOES A "TEMPORARY" STATE OF EMERGENCY HAVE TO LAST BEFORE WE SHOULD EXERCISE AN OPINION?

3. I WOULD ALSO RECOMMEND THAT WE NOW CONSIDER REOPENING WITH OUR EC ALLIES THE WHOLE QUESTION OF IMPOSING A BAN ON THE SUPPLY OF FREE OR SUBSIDISED FOOD EXPORTS TO POLAND UNTIL SUCH TIME AS MARTIAL LAW IS LIFTED AND ALL THE HARSH RULES ACCOMPANYING MARTIAL LAW ARE WAIVED. I WOULD LIKE TO GO FURTHER AND SEE A BAN ON ALL BRITISH EXPORT CREDITS UNDERWRITING BRITISH EXPORTS TO POLAND UNTIL THE SAME CONDITIONS ARE MET. THIS WOULD NOT BE A GREAT SACRIFICE IN PRACTICAL TERMS, SINCE WE HAVE NOT PROMISED ANY NEW MONEY FOR 1982. IT WOULD HOWEVER BE AN IMPORTANT WAY OF REGISTERING OUR GOVERNMENTAL CONCERN AT THE VERY UNPLEASANT THINGS THAT ARE HAPPENING HERE AT THE MOMENT.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 976 OF 19TH DECEMBER 1981

INFO IMMEDIATE: WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO,
UKDEL MADRID, MODUK

FROM MELHISH.

MIPT: POLAND INTERNAL SITUATION.

1. JARUZELSKI'S FREEDOM OF MANOEUVRE OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS IS SEVERELY LIMITED. HE WILL BE ASSAILED ON EVERY SIDE.

THE OPPOSITION

2. EVEN IF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRY SETTLES DOWN TO A COLD, HARD WINTER UNDER THE NEW MILITARY REGIME, THERE IS BOUND TO BE SOME ORGANISED RESISTANCE. SOLIDARITY IS ALREADY GOING UNDERGROUND, APPOINTING SECOND-ECHELON LEADERS, DISTRIBUTING PAMPHLETS, ORGANISING DEMONSTRATIONS, SIT-INS AND OTHER FORMS OF STRIKE ACTION AND GENERALLY OPPOSING THE AUTHORITIES IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE. THIS WILL CONTINUE AT FACTORY LEVEL FOR SOME TIME. EVEN WHERE THERE IS NO ACTIVE SOLIDARITY BRANCH, FEW WORKERS WILL WORK FLAT OUT FOR REGIME THAT PROMISES THEM NOTHING AND THREATENS THEM A LOT. SOLIDARITY ALREADY HAS ITS FIRST MARTYRS AND MORE MAY FOLLOW. I DO NOT THINK THAT A LEADERLESS, DISPIRITED SOLIDARITY CAN TOPPLE THE MILITARY REGIME, BUT IT CAN CAUSE SERIOUS ECONOMIC DAMAGE.

3. THE CHURCH IS THE ONLY INSTITUTION, APART FROM THE REGIME, THAT WILL BE ALLOWED TO FUNCTION AT ALL FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. IT IS THEREFORE BOUND TO BE A FOCUS FOR OPPOSITION SEMI COLON SOME CHURCHES HAV ALREADY BECOME INFORMATION CENTRES FOR SOLIDARITY. THE BISHOPS HAVE CLEARLY TAKEN A HARDLINE AGAINST THE MILITARY TAKEOVER, AND INDIVIDUAL PRIESTS ARE LIKELY TO BE EVEN MORE MILITANT. IT IS CLEAR (SEE TODAY'S SITREP) THAT THE CHURCH MAY BE PREPARED TO MODERATE ITS OPPOSITION. BUT IT WILL NOT SUPPORT JARUZELSKI.

4. THE ECONOMY

ONE OF THE REGIME'S MOST PRESSING - AND MOST FORMIDABLE - TASKS IS TO KEEP THE POPULATION FED AND WARM. THIS REQUIRES A SPEEDY RETURN TO NORMAL WORKING, AND PROBABLY EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF FOOD AND KEY RAWMATERIALS. DESPITE THE OPTIMISTIC TONE OF

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STATE PRONOUNCEMENTS, THERE IS LITTLE SIGN SO FAR THAT SUPPLIES OF FOOD, ALREADY POOR, ARE IMPROVING. EGGS, POTATOES, BREAD AND MILK ARE VERY SCARCE AT THE MOMENT. OFFICIAL STOCKS OF FOOD WERE SAID, BEFORE MARTIAL LAW, TO BE ONLY A FRACTION OF THOSE A YEAR BEFORE. ALTHOUGH THIS WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY AN EXAGGERATION, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT FOOD IN STORE CAN KEEP THE COUNTRY GOING FOR MORE THAN A FEW WEEKS, EVEN ASSUMING SUBSTANTIAL RESERVES BUILT UP BY INDIVIDUALS OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS. OTHER CMEA COUNTRIES HAVE PLEDGED FURTHER FOOD DELIVERIES TO POLAND FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY, BUT THE MILITARY REGIME HERE WILL HAVE TO RESORT TO FORCED COLLECTION OF FOOD FROM FARMERS OR ELSE COME FORWARD WITH OTHER ENCOURAGEMENTS TO THEM TO COOPERATE, VOLUNTARILY, TO AVOID ACUTE SHORTAGES OF FOOD IN THE COMING WEEKS. AS A SOP TO A COLD AND HUNGRY POPULATION I EXPECT TO SEE A SUDDEN RUSH OF CHRISTMAS GOODIES IN THE SHOPS NEXT WEEK (CITRUS FRUITS, EXTRA BUTTER, MORE SUGAR, JAM AND PERHAPS SWEETS) BUT THIS WILL NOT GO ON INTO THE NEW YEAR.

5. THE POWER SITUATION ALSO LOOKS CRITICAL. VERY COLD WEATHER OVER THE PAST WEEK (WITH TEMPERATURES IN WARSAW DOWN TO -18 DEGREES C) HAS LED TO FREQUENT POWER CUTS. POWER STATIONS MUST BE RUNNING DOWN LIMITED COAL STOCKS, AND WE DO NOT KNOW HOW MANY MINES ARE OPERATING NORMALLY. THE RESTORATION OF NORMAL WORKING IN THE MINES IS A KEY FACTOR, AND THE EVENTS OF THE LAST WEEK GIVE LITTLE ENCOURAGEMENT THAT THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED QUICKLY.

6. THE EXTERNAL FINANCIAL SITUATION MUST ALSO BE OF MAJOR CONCERN TO THE GOVERNMENT. EVEN IF WE ASSUME THAT THE AUTHORITIES MANAGE TO PUT TOGETHER THE HARD CURRENCY TO MEET THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO WESTERN COMMERCIAL BANK (BY USING PRIVATE HOLDINGS OF HARD CURRENCY IN BANK ACCOUNTS HERE, BY GETTING HELP FROM THE SOVIET UNION OR BY OBTAINING A NEW LOAN FROM THE WESTERN BANKS) THE INABILITY TO RAISE NEW CREDITS FOR WESTERN IMPORTS FOR SOME TIME TO COME WILL POSE VERY LARGE PROBLEMS IN THE EFFORT TO RESTORE NORMAL WORKING TO POLISH INDUSTRY. THERE IS ALSO THE QUESTION OF THE 1982 RESCHEDULING OF GOVERNMENT-BACKED DEBTS. BEFORE MARTIAL LAW THE POLES WERE SEEKING TO LINK RESCHEDULING TO THE PROVISION OF NEW CREDITS. THERE HAS BEEN NO INDICATION SO FAR AS TO HOW THE AUTHORITIES HERE INTEND TO APPROACH THIS PROBLEM.

7. IN THE FEW PRONOUNCEMENTS WHICH HAVE APPEARED ON THE ECONOMY, THIS FAR, THE AUTHORITIES HAVE IMPLIED THAT THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW WILL BE LINKED INTER ALIA TO THE RESTORATION OF THE NORMAL FUNCTIONING OF THE ECONOMY. FOR THE REASONS ABOVE THIS COULD CLEARLY TAKE SOME CONSIDERABLE TIME. JARUZELSKI HAS ALSO SAID THAT THE AUTHORITIES DO NOT INTEND TO RETURN TO THE OLD SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM, AND THAT ECONOMIC REFORM BASED ON SELF-MANAGEMENT (BUT SUBJECT TO OVERRIDING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES) WILL BE INTRODUCED ALONG THE LINES LAID DOWN BY THE SEJM. WHILST THERE IS NO REASON TO QUESTION THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES' DESIRE TO BRING

ABOUT MAJOR CHANGES IN THE OLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM, THEIR ABILITY TO DO SO, AND AT THE SAME TIME TO RESTORE NORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN THE CURRENT HIGHLY ABNORMAL CONDITIONS, MUST BE QUESTIONABLE.

THE SOVIET UNION

8. IF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES HERE CONTINUE ALONG THE PATH THEY HAVE ALREADY MAPPED OUT, THEY SHOULD ENCOUNTER LITTLE OPPOSITION FROM THE SOVIET UNION. INDEED, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER CMEA COUNTRIES, DELIGHTED TO SEE JARUZELSKI UNDERTAKE AND CARRY OFF SUCCESSFULLY THE TASK THEY MIGHT HAVE HAD TO DO THEMSELVES, WILL ENTHUSIASTICALLY HELP POLAND WITH EXTRA FOOD SUPPLIES, CONTINUED IMBALANCES IN THEIR BILATERAL TRADE AND EVEN PERHAPS SOME HARD CURRENCY GIFTS. BUT JARUZELSKI WILL HAVE TO MAKE HIS FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS CONSTANTLY AWARE THAT MOSCOW WILL BE WATCHING HIS EVERY MOVE.

THE WEST

9. THE POLISH PEOPLE CARE DEEPLY ABOUT WESTERN REACTIONS JUDGING

FROM THIS WEEK'S POLISH PRESS (WHAT IS LEFT OF IT), SO DO THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES. INDEED THEY SHOULD, WITH AN ECONOMY THAT HAS BECOME DEPENDENT ON WESTERN IMPORTS PAID FOR BY WESTERN CREDITS, WITH AN AGRICULTURE THAT DEPENDS ON US GRAIN AND OTHER WESTERN IMPORTS, WITH A FINANCIAL SECTOR MISERABLY IN DEBT TO THE WEST AND WITH A POPULATION THAT HAS INNUMERABLE LINKS WITH THE WEST. IF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE WEST FORCED WESTERN GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, THE STRAIN ON POLAND'S ALREADY-CREAKING ECONOMY WOULD BE ENORMOUS.

10. MIPT EXAMINES POSSIBLE WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT REACT.

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TO IMMEDIATE MODUK

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AND TO IMMEDIATE HQBAOR, HQRAFG, FCO AND UKDEL NATO

FROM BRIDEFAT. MODUK FOR DIS, DI3(ARMY), BAOR FOR G INT AND SY, RAFG FOR CIO.

WARSAW REMAINED QUIET TODAY WITH FEWER TROOPS AND APCs BUT MORE MO IN EVIDENCE. DISCIPLINE REMAINS HIGH HOWEVER FRMA BELIEVES THAT THERE IS EVIDENCE OF FATIGUE AND ILL HEALTH DUE TO THE SEVERE WEATHER TODAY IS WARMER, ABOUT -7C, WITH STEADY SNOW. MORALE REMAINS HIGH BUT RUMOURS PERSIST THAT THIS IS NOT SO TRUE IN AREAS SUCH AS SILESIA WHERE TROOPS HAVE BEEN DRAWN INTO MORE DIRECT CONFLICT WITH STRIKERS.

TOURS OF INDUSTRIAL AREAS THIS MORNING DISCOVERED FEW SIGNS OF ACTIVITY. SOME LIGHT INDUSTRY BUILDINGS WERE VIRTUALLY UNLIT NOTABLY UNITRA ELECTRONICS AND PEZETEL AIRCRAFT. VERY TENTATIVELY, ACTIVITY WAS NOT MORE THAN HALF NORMAL.

NEW BMP SIGHTINGS TODAY INCLUDED TURRET 1041 IN ASSOC WITH STAR 660 BEARING 5 DIV TAC SIGN. WE NOW HAVE 10 SERIES (PROBABLY 5 DIV) 16, 18 AND 19 SERIES (PROBABLY 16 DIV) AND 30 SERIES (DIV UNKNOWN). CAN YOU CONFIRM / ENLIGHTEN?

WE BELIEVE WARSAW CITADEL SERIAL 006 (EC 0007 9066) IS DISTRICT OPS CENTRE. IN IT ARE 4 PRS R400 (NORMALLY ONE) 2 X HAWKEYE AND USUAL HIGH STEP AND COIN GRASS. NEW PR R400 ALSO SEEN IN WARSAW 55 (DC 993853) ORIENTATIONS. 160 AND 320.

SWISS MA GAVE ME INFO FROM THEIR ELINT AND OTHER SOURCES AS FOLLOWS. 4 X SOVIET LANDING CRAFT WITH TROOPS HAVE BEEN IN SWINOSCIE (VV 5178) SINCE 15 DEC. POLISH NAVY PATROLLING COAST IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH SOVIET AND GDR NAVIES. COMAND NET ACTIVITY IS HIGH IN SOVIET FORCES AROUND POLAND MENTIONING SPECIFICALLY HQ NGF, 48 MRD, 8 GUARDS AND U/I SPECIAL STAFF ASSOC

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WITH 16 AIRBORNE. SCECH AND GDR TROOP LEAVE IS CANCELLED.
SOME TROOP MOVES NOTED IN CZECH BUT NONE IN GDR.

WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE REPORTS OF MULTI-ENGINE TURBOPROP
MOVEMENTS AT WARSAW OKECIE AIRPORT AT NIGHT. USAA REPORTS THAT
KRAKOW AIRPORT IS ALSO ACTIVE MOST NIGHTS. CANNOT BE CERTAIN AS NO
SIGHTINGS YET BUT ALL LISTENERS CLAIM THAT THEY HEARD CUBS.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 975 OF 19TH DECEMBER 1981

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

FROM MELHUIH. ms

MIPT :

POLAND : INTERNAL SITUATION.

1. LIKE MOST MILITARY TAKE-OVERS, JARUZELSKI'S ASSUMPTION OF POWER THIS WEEK WAS DESIGNED MORE TO GET RID OF WHAT HE DID NOT LIKE THAN TO ESTABLISH WHAT HE DOES LIKE. HE AND HIS MILITARY COLLEAGUES IN THE MARTIAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL REDEMPTION MUST HOWEVER NOW BE GIVING SOME THOUGHT TO WHAT OUGHT EVENTUALLY TO SUCCEED THE PRE-13 DECEMBER SET-UP. IN A HIGHLY SPECULATIVE WAY I WOULD LIKE TO HAZARD A GUESS ABOUT THEIR INTENTIONS.

2. JARUZELSKI IS A POLISH PATRIOT AND A MILITARY MAN. THIS COMBINATION, AND THE FAILURE OF HIS PATIENT AND BRAVE ATTEMPTS TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND WITH WALESA AND SOLIDARITY SEEM BOUND TO PUSH HIM TOWARDS A CLEAR AND SIMPLE PLAN FOR THE FUTURE. I BELIEVE HE INTENDS TO CONTINUE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND MILITARY RULE UNTIL SUCH TIME AS HE THINKS A RETURN TO CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT WILL STICK. WHEN THAT MOMENT COMES (SEE PARAGRAPH 3 BELOW), HE WILL ESTABLISH A NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND POLITBURO (APPOINTED AND EVEN "ELECTED" BY A RIGGED PARTY CONGRESS) AND A NEW COUNCIL OF STATE AND MINISTERS, LIBERALLY SPRINKLED WITH MILITARY FIGURES. REAL POWER WILL REMAIN WITH THE MILITARY FOR A LONG TIME. HE WILL DUB THIS NEW REGIME A CONTINUATION OF THE ODNOWA BUT IT WILL BE A VERY DIFFERENT ODNOWA BASED ON DISCIPLINE, CONFORMITY AND HARD WORK (AS OPPOSED TO WHAT HIS PROPAGANDA MACHINE IS DESCRIBING AS THE OLD ANARCHY). THERE WILL INDEED BE A PLACE FOR SOLIDARITY IN THIS NEW REGIME BUT IT WILL BE "SOLIDARITY" ONLY IN NAME, SINCE ITS ACTIVITIES WILL BE CONFINED TO PURELY TRADE UNION MATTERS. THE GDANSK, SZCZECIN AND JASTRZEBIE AGREEMENTS WILL BE REWRITTEN OR EVEN ANNULLED WITH THE BLAME FOR THEIR FAILURE PINNED EXCLUSIVELY ON SOLIDARITY SEMI COLON AND A NEW AND MORE DRACONIAN TRADE UNION LAW WILL BE PUSHED THROUGH A PUPPET SEJM. IDEALLY JARUZELSKI MIGHT HOPE THAT A CHASTENED WALESA WILL LEAD THIS NEW TRADE UNION. THIS IS MOST UNLIKELY, IN WHICH CASE SOMEONE ELSE WILL DO. ACTIVE RESISTANCE WILL BE SEVERELY PUNISHED. PASSIVE RESISTANCE WILL BE OVERCOME BY THE CARROT OF FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC SWEETENERS AND

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THE STICK OF SANCTIONS AND MORE SUBTLE PRESSURES. THE RESULT WILL BE DEPRESSINGLY FAMILIAR TO EAST EUROPEAN VETERANS, AS POLAND BECOMES AN ORTHODOX "SOCIALIST" STATE, REJOINING THE SOCIALIST CAMP.

3. THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH BEGS THE QUESTION OF THE LIKELY DURATION OF MARTIAL LAW. NOTHING LASTS LONGER THAN THE TEMPORARY AND THIS TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT HAS MANY OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES TO THE RULING CLIQUE. IT IS CLEARCUT AND DECISIVE. IT CONFINES THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND OF IDEAS. FOR THE LONGER TERM IT STIFLES PLURALISM AND PREVENTS DEMOCRACY, BOTH DANGEROUS CONCEPTS. AS A NEGATIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE AGENT, IT HAS FEW EQUALS. AND IT MAKES RUNNING THIS QUARRELSOME AND BLOODY-MINDED COUNTRY VERY MUCH EASIER. IT WILL THEREFORE BE DIFFICULT TO ABANDON AND I EXPECT IT WILL BE WELL INTO 1982 BEFORE IT DISAPPEARS. AND THEN ONLY BY STAGES.

4. MARTIAL LAW WILL LAST LONGER IF THINGS DO NOT GO RIGHT FOR THE REGIME. IN MIFT I WOULD LIKE TO EXAMINE THE VARIOUS CONSTRAINTS LIKELY TO COME INTO PLAY.

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FM WARSAW 191650Z DEC 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 974 OF 19TH DECEMBER 1981

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

FROM MELHUI SH.

POLAND: INTERNAL SITUATION.

1. THIS IS, I THINK, A REASONABLE MOMENT TO TAKE STOCK OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN POLAND AS WELL AS TO OFFER SOME THOUGHTS ON THE INTENTIONS OF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THEIR FUTURE OPTIONS.
2. MR CZYREK (OUR TEL NO 955) CLAIMED YESTERDAY THAT THE COUNTRY WAS NOW AT FULL PEACE AGAIN. THIS CARRIES AN ELEMENT OF WISHFUL THINKING. BUT WARSAW IS QUIET. MUCH OF THE COUNTRYSIDE HAS NOT BEEN AFFECTED AT ALL BY THIS WEEK'S EVENTS. ONLY IN THE TOWNS AND IN THE FACTORIES HAS THERE BEEN ACTIVE OPPOSITION AND MOST OF THIS HAS NOW BEEN ELIMINATED. SOME SIX OR SEVEN LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWNS (GDANSK, KRAKOW, KATOWICE, WROCLAW AND SOME OTHERS) ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO SIMMER WITH OCCASIONAL BURSTS OF VIOLENCE AS FACTORY SHIFTS CHANGE OR INCIDENTS OR PROVOCATION OCCUR. THESE WILL BE PUT DOWN RUTHLESSLY BUT WE HOPE WITH A GREAT DEAL MORE SKILL THAN WAS SHOWN AT THE WUJEK COLLIERY.
3. WE HAVE IN FACT JUST WITNESSED A MILITARY TAKE-OVER OF POLAND PLANNED WELL IN ADVANCE AND EXECUTED EFFICIENTLY AND RUTHLESSLY. IT WAS NOT A MILITARY COUP D-ETAT, SINCE NOMINALLY AT LEAST THE GOVERNMENT IS STILL IN PLACE, BUT IT COMES TO MUCH THE SAME THING. JARUZELSKI HAS COMBINED HIS THREE FORMER JOBS INTO ONE, MILITARY OVERLORD. AND EVERY DAY THERE IS CLEAR EVIDENCE, REPORTED IN OUR TWICE-DAILY SITREPS, OF THE INCREASED MILITARISATION OF THE COUNTRY. I SUSPECT IT WILL NOT BE LONG, FOR EXAMPLE, BEFORE HEADS OF MISSION HERE HAVE TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH THE MILITARY COMMISSARS ABOUT ACCESS TO EMBASSIES, PERMISSION TO LEAVE WARSAW ETC.
4. SOME WESTERN JOURNALISTS HERE ARE DESCRIBING THIS WEEK'S EVENTS AS INVASION BY PROXY. THEY MAINTAIN THAT JARUZELSKI ACTED ON SUNDAY ON THE FIRECT ORDERS OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP (MARSHAL KULIKOV WAS IN WARSAW TWO OR THREE DAYS EARLIER) AND THAT HIS SUBSEQUENT ACTIONS HAVE BEEN MASTER MINDED BY MOSCOW. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT JARUZELSKI, DESPAIRING OF REACHING ANY KIND OF SENSIBLE COMPROMISE WITH SOLIDARITY, AND STUNG INTO ACTION BY SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL COMMISSION'S RASHLY INTRANSIGENT MEETING IN GDANSK, DECIDED HE HAD TO TRY TO RESTORE ORDER IN POLAND BY POLISH MEANS. HE WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE CLEARED HIS LINES WITH MOSCOW, WHO WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN UNHAPPY TO SEE JARUZELSKI DO THEIR JOB FOR THEM.

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5. THE EFFICIENCY OF THIS MILITARY TAKE-OVER HAS BEEN MATCHED BY ITS DISREGARD FOR HUMAN LIFE AND FOR THE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. WE NOW HAVE IN POLAND A CLASSIC REPRESSIVE REGIME. WITHOUT DOUBT 7 POLES HAVE DIED SEMI COLON AND MAYBE OTHERS. ADMITTED CASUALTIES RUN INTO THREE FIGURES SEMI COLON AND COULD REACH FOUR. THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER, IN AN ATTEMPT TO CORRECT EXAGGERATED WESTERN PRESS REPORTS, SPOKE LIGHTLY OF "ONLY" 4000 POLES IN INTERNMENT. MANY TIMES THAT FIGURE HAVE BEEN ROUNDED UP, TAKEN AWAY, QUESTIONED AND RELEASED SEMI COLON AND QUITE A FEW OF THEM WERE DETAINED FOR MUCH LONGER PERIOD. SOME ARE SOLIDARITY OFFICIALS, LIKE GEREMEK, LORD TREFGARNE'S BREAKFAST COMPANION ON 2 DECEMBER AND ONYSZKIEWICZ, A MEMBER OF THE POLISH TEAM TO THE RECENT ANGLO-POLISH ROUND TABLE SEMI COLON BUT OTHERS ARE SYMPATHISERS AND INTELLECTUALS. THE RULE OF LAW AND SUCH RIGHTS AS THE POLISH CONSTITUTION CONFERRED ON POLISH CITIZENS HAVE BEEN SET ON ONE SIDE. THE SEJM HAS BEEN SUSPENDED AND ALL TRADE UNION ACTIVITY HAS BEEN FORBIDDEN. NO-ONE FEELS SAFE. AND NO-ONE HAS ANY REDRESS. THE AVERAGE POLE ON THE MOKOTOW OMNIBUS SUDDENLY FINDS HIMSELF IN A NEW AND NASTY WORLD.

6. SO FAR THE REACTION OF THE WEST HAS BEEN UNDERSTANDABLY CAUTIOUS. WE HAVE REPEATED OVER MANY MONTHS OUR BELIEF THAT THE POLES MUST BE LEFT TO THEMSELVES TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS FREE OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. NOW THAT THE POLES ARE DOING JUST THAT, WE FIND OURSELVES EMASCULATED BY THE LOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF OUR PAST UTTERANCES. I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT, IN CONSIDERING WHAT WE SHOULD DO NEXT, WE SHOULD BOTH RECOGNISE DISPASSIONATELY WHAT KIND OF REGIME HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED HERE AND TRY TO ESTIMATE HOW LONG THE "TEMPORARY" STATE OF EMERGENCY WILL LAST.
(PLEASE SEE MIFT)

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