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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3916 OF 24 DECEMBER

INFO IMMEDIATE WARSAW MOSCOW UKDEL NATO

ROUTINE PARIS BONN

POLAND

1. THE PRESIDENT APPEARED ON NATION-WIDE TELEVISION TONIGHT (23 DECEMBER). AFTER A BRIEF CHRISTMAS MESSAGE, HE SPOKE ABOUT POLAND. FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS, REPORTED VERBATIM.

QUOTE

AS I SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT, THE FATE OF A PROUD AND ANCIENT NATION HANGS IN THE BALANCE. FOR A THOUSAND YEARS, CHRISTMAS HAS BEEN CELEBRATED IN POLAND, A LAND OF DEEP RELIGIOUS FAITH. BUT THIS CHRISTMAS BRINGS LITTLE JOY TO THE COURAGEOUS POLISH PEOPLE; THEY HAVE BEEN BETRAYED BY THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT. THE MEN WHO RULE THEM AND THEIR TOTALITARIAN ALLIES FEAR THE VERY FREEDOM THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE CHERISH. THEY HAVE ANSWERED THE STORMS OF LIBERTY WITH BRUTE FORCE. WILLINGNESS HAS AFFECTED AND THE SETTING

POLISH PEOPLE CHERISH. THEY HAVE ANSWERED THE STORMS OF LIBERTY WITH BRUTE FORCE, KILLINGS, MASS ARRESTS AND THE SETTING UP OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS. LECH WALESZA AND OTHER SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE IMPRISONED, THEIR FATE UNKNOWN. FACTORIES, MINES, UNIVERSITIES AND HOMES HAVE BEEN ASSAULTED. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT SOLEMN COMMITMENTS TO THE U N CHARTER AND HELSINKI ACCORDS. IT HAS EVEN BROKEN THE GDANSK AGREEMENT OF AUGUST 1980 BY WHICH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED THE BASIC RIGHT OF ITS PEOPLE TO FORM FREE TRADE UNIONS AND TO STRIKE.

THE TRAGIC EVENTS NOW OCCURRING IN POLAND ALMOST TWO YEARS TO THE DAY AFTER THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN HAVE BEEN PRECIPITATED BY PUBLIC AND SECRET PRESSURE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT SOVIET MARSHAL KULAKOV, CHIEF OF THE WARSAW PACT FORCES, AND OTHER SENIOR RED ARMY OFFICERS, WERE IN POLAND WHILE THESE OUTRAGES WERE BEING INITIATED, AND IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT THE MARTIAL LAW PROCLAMATIONS IMPOSED IN DECEMBER BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WERE BEING PRINTED IN THE SOVIET UNION IN SEPTEMBER.

THE TARGET OF THE REPRESSION IS THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT, THAT IN ATTACKING SOLIDARITY ITS ENEMIES ATTACK AN ENTIRE PEOPLE. TEN MILLION OF POLAND'S THIRTY SIX MILLION CITIZENS ARE MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY. TAKEN TOGETHER WITH THEIR FAMILIES THEY ACCOUNT FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE POLISH NATION. BY PERSECUTING SOLIDARITY, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAGES WAR AGAINST ITS OWN PEOPLE.

I URGE THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AND ITS ALLIES TO CONSIDER THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTIONS. HOW CAN THEY POSSIBLY JUSTIFY USING NAKED FORCE TO CRUSH A PEOPLE WHO ASK FOR NOTHING MORE THAT THE RIGHT TO LEAD THEIR OWN LIVES IN FREEDOM AND DIGNITY? BRUTE FORCE MAY INTIMIDATE, BUT IT CANNOT FORM THE BASIS OF AN ENDURING SOCIETY.

THE AILING POLISH ECONOMY CANNOT BE REBUILT WITH TERROR TACTICS. POLAND NEEDS COOPERATION BETWEEN ITS GOVERNMENT AND ITS PEOPLE, NOT MILITARY OPPRESSION. IF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WILL HONOUR THE COMMITMENTS IT HAS MADE TO BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN DOCUMENTS LIKE THE GDANSK AGREEMENT, WE IN AMERICA WILL GLADLY DO OUR SHARE TO HELP THE SHATTERED POLISH ECONOMY JUST AS WE HELPED THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AFTER BOTH WORLD WARS. IT IS IRONIC THAT WE OFFERED, AND POLAND EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ACCEPTING, OUR HELP AFTER WORLD WAR TWO. THE SOVIET UNION INTERVENED THEN AND REFUSED TO ALLOW SUCH HELP TO POLAND. BUT IF THE FORCES OF TYRANNY IN POLAND AND THOSE WHO INCITE THEM FROM WITHOUT DO NOT RELENT, THEY SHOULD PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES.

ALREADY THROUGHOUT THE FREE WORLD CITIZENS HAVE PUBLICLY DEMONSTRATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE. OUR

ALREADY THROUGHOUT THE FREE WORLD CITIZENS HAVE PUBLICLY DEMONSTRATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE. OUR GOVERNMENT, AND THOSE OF OUR ALLIES, HAVE EXPRESSED MORAL REVULSION AT THE POLICE STATE TACTICS OF POLAND'S OPPRESSORS. THE CHURCH HAS ALSO SPOKEN OUT IN SPITE OF THREATS AND INTIMIDATION. BUT OUR REACTION CANNOT STOP THERE. I WANT EMPHATICALLY TO STATE TONIGHT THAT IF THE OUTRAGES IN POLAND DO NOT CEASE, WE CANNOT AND WILL NOT CONDUCT BUSINESS AS USUAL WITH THE PERPETRATORS AND THOSE WHO AID AND ABET THEM. MAKE NO MISTAKE. THEIR CRIME WILL COST THEM DEARLY IN THEIR FUTURE DEALINGS WITH AMERICA AND FREE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE. I DO NOT MAKE THIS STATEMENT LIGHTLY OR WITHOUT SERIOUS REFLECTION. WE HAVE BEEN MEASURED AND DELIBERATE IN OUR REACTION TO THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN POLAND. WE HAVE NOT ACTED IN HASTE. THE STEPS I WILL OUTLINE TONIGHT, AND OTHERS WE MAY TAKE IN THE DAYS AHEAD, ARE FIRM, JUST AND REASONABLE.

IN ORDER TO AID THE SUFFERING POLISH PEOPLE DURING THIS CRITICAL PERIOD, WE WILL CONTINUE THE SHIPMENT OF FOOD THROUGH PRIVATE HUMANITARIAN CHANNELS, BUT ONLY SO LONG AS WE KNOW THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE THEMSELVES RECEIVE THE FOOD. THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRY OF AUSTRIA HAS OPENED HER DOORS TO REFUGEES FROM POLAND. I HAVE THEREFORE DIRECTED THAT AMERICAN ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING SUPPLIES OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS, BE OFFERED TO AID THE AUSTRIANS IN PROVIDING FOR THESE REFUGEES. BUT TO UNDERSCORE OUR FUNDAMENTAL OPPOSITION TO THE REPRESSIVE ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AGAINST ITS OWN PEOPLE, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SUSPENDED ALL GOVERNMENT SPONSORED SHIPMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY PRODUCTS TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. THIS SUSPENSION WILL REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL WE RECEIVE ABSOLUTE ASSURANCES THAT DISTRIBUTION OF THESE PRODUCTS IS MONITORED AND GUARANTEED BY INDEPENDENT AGENCIES. WE MUST BE SURE THAT EVERY BIT OF FOOD PROVIDED BY AMERICA GOES TO THE POLISH PEOPLE, NOT TO THEIR OPPRESSORS.

THE U.S. HAS TAKEN IMMEDIATE ACTION TO SUSPEND MAJOR ELEMENTS OF OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE HALTED THE RENEWAL OF THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK'S LINE OF EXPORT CREDIT INSURANCE TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. WE WILL SUSPEND POLISH CIVIL AVIATION PRIVILEGES IN THE U.S. WE ARE SUSPENDING THE RIGHT OF POLAND'S FISHING FLEET TO OPERATE IN AMERICAN WATERS, AND WE ARE PROPOSING TO OUR ALLIES THE FURTHER RESTRICTION OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY EXPORTS TO POLAND.

THESE ACTIONS ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE POLISH PEOPLE; THEY ARE A WARNING TO THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND THAT FREE MEN WILL NOT AND CANNOT STAND IDLY BY IN THE FACE OF BRUTAL REPRESSION. TO UNDERSCORE THIS POINT I HAVE WRITTEN A LETTER TO GENERAL JARUZELSKI, HEAD OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. IN IT, I OUTLINED THE STEPS WE ARE

UNDERScore THIS POINT I HAVE WRITTEN A LETTER TO GENERAL JARUZELSKI, HEAD OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. IN IT, I OUTLINED THE STEPS WE ARE TAKING AND WARNED OF THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES IF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO USE VIOLENCE AGAINST ITS POPULACE. I HAVE URGED HIM TO FREE THOSE IN ARBITRARY DETENTION, TO LIFT MARTIAL LAW AND TO RESTORE THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED RIGHTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE TO FREE SPEECH AND ASSOCIATION.

THE SOVIET UNION, THROUGH ITS THREATS AND PRESSURES, DESERVES A MAJOR SHARE OF BLAME FOR THE DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. SO I HAVE ALSO SENT A LETTER TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV, URGING HIM TO PERMIT THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND PROVIDED FOR IN THE HELSINKI ACT. IN IT, I INFORMED HIM THAT IF THIS REPRESSION CONTINUES, THE U.S. WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO TAKE FURTHER CONCRETE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES AFFECTING OUR RELATIONSHIP.

UNQUOTE.

2. THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE FREE WORLD STOOD AS ONE WITH OUR POLISH BROTHERS AND SISTERS; THEIR CAUSE WAS OURS. HE URGED AMERICANS TO JOIN HIM IN PLACING LIGHTED CANDLES IN THEIR WINDOWS ON CHRISTMAS EVE TO SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE. HE ADDED:

QUOTE ONCE, EARLIER IN THIS CENTURY, AN EVIL INFLUENCE THREATENED THAT THE LIGHTS WERE GOING OUT ALL OVER THE WORLD. LET THE LIGHT OF MILLIONS OF CANDLES IN AMERICAN HOMES GIVE NOTICE THAT THE LIGHT OF FREEDOM IS NOT GOING TO BE EXTINGUISHED. UNQUOTE.

HENDERSON

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GET THAT OK K