

POLAND: ADVANCE COPIES

1921

*P. Acland*

PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/FUS  
MR BULLARD  
MR FERGUSSON  
SIR A ACLAND  
MR P H MOBERLY

NO 10 DOWNING ST  
DIO CABINET OFFICE  
ASSESSMENTS STAFF  
CABINET OFFICE

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

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HEAD/EESD  
HEAD/DEFENCE D  
HEAD/FUSD  
HEAD/WED  
HEAD/NEWS D  
HEAD/PLANNING STAFF  
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RESIDENT CLERK

FM WARSAW 191500Z FEB  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 137 OF 19 FEB  
AND TO LAGOS ( FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)

INFO MOSCOW EAST BERLIN PRAGUE PARIS BONN WASHINGTON  
UKDEL NATO MODUK

SAVING TO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST BELGRADE HELSINKI  
STOCKHOLM UWUKMIS NEW YORK UKREP BRUSSELS

MY TELNO 136

1. GENERAL JARUZELSKI STRUCK ME AS A RATHER INTELLECTUAL  
TYPE OF SOLDIER, FULL OF QUIET AUTHORITY. HE CONTINUES  
TO WEAR UNIFORM AND MILITARY ADCS STILL ATTEND HIM.  
THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF COURSE ARE TOTALLY DIFFERENT BUT  
IF HE WERE TO DEVELOP A LITTLE OF THE PILSUDSKI  
TOUCH I DO NOT THINK MOST POLES WOULD OBJECT.

2. THE INTERVIEW DOES NOT LEAD ME TO REVISE MY EARLIER  
ASSESSMENTS THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT DO INTEND TO MAKE  
A BETTER EFFORT THAN THEIR PREDECESSORS TO BUILD A BASIS  
OF CONFIDENCE ON WHICH A SENSIBLE DIALOGUE WITH SOLIDARITY  
CAN PROCEED. BUT THAT THEY ARE ALSO READY, IF THEY JUDGE  
IT NECESSARY, TO ACT WITH GREATER FIRMNESS TO SUPPRESS  
WHAT THEY SEE AS DESTABILISING ACTIVITIES. I CERTAINLY  
DO NOT BELIEVE THAT JARUZELSKI IS WILLING TO CALL IN THE

DO NOT BELIEVE THAT JARUZELSKI IS WILLING TO CALL IN THE  
RUSSIANS.

3. THE GENERAL SAW THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR ALONE EARLIER  
THIS WEEK, FOLLOWED BY THE WARSAW PACT AMBASSADORS  
COLLECTIVELY. HE HAS SINCE SEEN THE US, FRENCH AND  
GERMAN AMBASSADORS AS WELL AS MYSELF INDIVIDUALLY.  
WE ARE TOLD THAT HE WILL NOT SEE ANY MORE WESTERN  
HEADS OF MISSION.

4. MY EC COLLEAGUES AND I ( I HAVE NOT YET HAD AN ACCOUNT  
FROM THE AMERICAN) HAVE NATURALLY SPECULATED ON THE  
REASONS FOR THESE APPROACHES. TO ALL OF US HE WAS VERY  
CORDIAL AND THE GERMAN WAS SURPRISED THAT HE MADE  
NO COMPLAINTS AGAINST ANY KIND OF GERMAN ACTIVITY,  
THOUGH HE SPOKE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST GERMANY.  
TO THE FRENCHMAN HE DWELT MORE ON ECONOMIC AID.  
ONLY TO ME DID HE SPEAK OF DESTABILISING ACTIVITIES  
AND THIS WAS PROBABLY PROMPTED BY MY OWN REMARKS ABOUT  
THE 8TH PLENUM.

5. PARTLY NO DOUBT HE WISHES TO DEMONSTRATE A CERTAIN  
BALANCE AS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST; PARTLY PERHAPS TO  
SHOW HIS PERSONAL AND MORE OPEN STYLE OF GOVERNMENT.  
BUT THE ECONOMIC MOTIVE MUST LOOM VERY LARGE. HE MAY  
THINK THAT IF HIS GOVERNMENT HAS TO USE A MEASURE  
OF FORCE WESTERN AID WILL BE IN JEOPARDY AND THAT  
THEREFORE HE NEEDS TO EXPLAIN HIS GENERALLY PACIFIC  
POLICIES AS CLEARLY AS POSSIBLE; HE DOES NOT WANT,  
JUST BECAUSE HE IS A SOLDIER, TO BE DUBBED A MAN  
OF FORCE.

6. IT WAS NOTICEABLE THAT HE MENTIONED KANIA SEVERAL  
TIMES AND I WOULD JUDGE THAT THESE TWO ARE IN FULL  
ACCORD. THIS LEAVES OLSZOWSKI AND PERHAPS MOCZAR  
WAITING TO SEE HOW THEY GET ON.

FCO PLEASE PASS ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES.

PRIDHAM

BT

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~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

2 ltrs: read in full

CONFIDENTIAL

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YOUR TELNO 83: CALL ON POLISH PRIME MINISTER

1. I CALLED ON THE PRIME MINISTER THIS MORNING AND DSLIVERED MRS THATCHER'S MESSAGE FOR WHICH HE EXPRESSED THANKS AND APPRECIATION. GENERAL JARUZELSKI ALSO SAID THAT MR KANIA HAD TOLD HIM OF THE INTERESTING CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH YOU LAST OCTOBER AND HAD ASKED TO BE REMEMBERED TO YOU. THE FOLLOWING WERE THE MAIN POINTS IN THE CONVERSATION.

FOREIGN POLICY

*ms*

2. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY WOULD BE UNCHANGED. WITH GREATER CALM AT HOME THE POLISH GOVERNMENT LOOKED TO INCREASING ITS ACTIVITY ABROAD. IT WOULD REMAIN DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND STABILITY. IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY, RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART. POLES WOULD ALWAYS REMEMBER THE WARTIME RELATIONSHIP. WE WERE A VALUED PARTNER WITH WHO POLAND WANTED TO EXPAND CONNECTIONS. I SAID THAT WE ENTIRELY AGREED. YOUR VISIT HAD BEEN AN EARNEST OF OUR DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND I HAD JUST SUGGESTED A VISIT TO LONDON BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN MAY OR JUNE. THE MARSHAL OF THE SEJM WAS VISITING LONDON NEXT MONTH (SEE ALSO UNDER ECONOMIC).

## INTERNAL

3. AFTER THE GENERAL'S INITIAL REMARKS I SPOKE ON THE LINES OF PARAGRAPHS 2-5 OF YOU TUR. I SAID THAT HMG HAD FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE REPORTS OF THE RECENT PLENUM AND OF COURSE HIS OWN MAJOR SPEECH TO THE SEJM. OUR DEDUCTION WAS THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP INTENDED TO SEEK A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO ITS PROBLEMS, TO PRESS ON WITH THE RENEWAL AND TO TACKLE THE COUNTRY'S PRESSING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. THAT WAS AN APPROACH WHICH MET WITH OUR UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY. GREAT AS WAS OUR NATURAL INTEREST IN THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN POLAND WE HAD ALWAYS MADE IT CLEAR (NOTABLY YOUR REMARKS TO MR KANIA) THAT THESE WERE MATTERS FOR THE POLES THEMSELVES TO SETTLE IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT ALL OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD ACT SIMILARLY.

4. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT INDEED IT WAS HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO PROCEED BY WAY OF DIALOGUE AND BY ESTABLISHING TRUST BETWEEN THAT GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE. AT A LATER STAGE HE SPOKE FIRMLY OF A SOLUTION BY POLES ALONE TO THEIR PROBLEMS. HE WOULD HAVE TO SAY HOWEVER THAT UNFORTUNATELY THERE WERE SOME GROUPS WHICH WERE ENEMIES OF STABILISATION. AND THESE PEOPLE WERE GETTING ASSISTANCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT FROM CERTAIN CIRCLES IN THE WEST. IT WOULD BE A VERY GOOD THING IF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS COULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY DISAPPROVED OF SUCH ACTIVITIES. AFTER ALL, THE DESTABILISATION OF POLAND COULD ONLY LEAD TO THE DESTABILISATION OF ALL EUROPE.

5. I ASKED IF IT WAS NOT A FACT THAT THERE WERE OBSTRUCTORS<sup>ORS</sup> ON THE GOVERNMENT SIDE WHO COULD NOT COME TO TERMS WITH THE RENEWAL AND WHO PERHAPS ENGENDERED MISTRUST AND THEREFORE IN A SENSE CREATED DIFFICULTIES WITH SOLIDARITY. THE PRIME MINISTER REPLIED FIRST THAT KANIA HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT SLOW-COACHES IN THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT COULD NOT BE COMPARED WITH THE DELIBERATE ENEMIES OF STABILITY. HE WENT ON HOWEVER TO CONCEDE MORE FREELY THAT THERE HAD BEEN CLUMSINESS AND THAT THESE OBSTRUCTORS DID EXIST. " WE HAVE BOOTED A GREAT MANY OUT ALREADY AND WE ARE GOING TO BOOT OUT MORE. SOLIDARITY FOR ITS PART SHOULD FOLLOW OUR EXAMPLE AND GET RID OF ITS OWN EXTREMISTS". I SAID THAT I HAD EXPRESSED TO MY GOVERNMENT MY VIEW THAT IT WAS NECESSARY FOR POLAND'S SALVATION FOR THE MODERATES AND FORWARD-LOOKING MEN ON BOTH SIDES TO PREVAIL OVER THE EXTREMISTS AND OBSTRUCTORS. I INFERRED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THIS A WRONG VIEW. HE INDICATED ASSENT.

6. I ASKED FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS FOR A 90-DAY STRIKE-FREE PERIOD IN THE LIGHT OF REPORTED SETTLEMENTS WITH THE STUDENTS AND WITH FARMERS AT RZESZOW AND AN APPARENTLY POSITIVE REACTION FROM SOLIDARITY. THE PRIME MINISTER SEEMED GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC. THE GOVERNMENT, HE SAID, WILL SEEK TO ELIMINATE ALL CAUSES OF STRIKES, AND IF MAJOR STRIKES OCCUR THEY WILL BE THE WORK OF DESTABILISERS. HE THOUGHT THAT SERIOUS STRIKES COULD NOW BE AVOIDED FOR MORE THAN 90 DAYS. THE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS PART WAS WORKING HARD FOR THE CREATION OF CONFIDENCE THROUGH DIALOGUE.

#### ECONOMIC AND TRADE

7. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT FOR THE LONG TERM ANGLO-POLISH TRADE WAS MUCH VALUED AND HE HOPED IT WOULD NOT DIMINISH TOO MUCH BECAUSE OF CURRENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. NOW, TO USE A MILITARY EXPRESSION, WAS THE TIME TO BUILD BEACH-HEADS, FROM WHICH TO EXPAND IN THE FUTURE. I SAID WE HAD TO ACCEPT THAT TRADE WAS GOING TO DIMINISH IN THE SHORT TERM BUT I INSTANCED MR PARKINSON'S VISIT AND THE RAISING OF THE JOINT COMMISSION TO MINISTERIAL LEVEL AS AN EARNEST OF OUR CONFIDENCE. I HAD FOUND MANY BRITISH BUSINESSMEN NOT UNDULY PESSIMISTIC AND WILLING TO WAIT FOR BETTER TIMES.

BUSINESSMEN NOT UNDULY PESSIMISTIC AND WILLING TO  
WAIT FOR BETTER TIMES.

8. TURNING TO THE ECONOMIC SIDE, THE PRIME MINISTER  
THANKED US FOR OUR RECENT SHORT-TERM AID. POLAND'S  
DIFFICULTIES WERE ACUTE AND HE HOPED WE WOULD SHOW  
STILL MORE UNDERSTANDING AND GENEROSITY AT THE PARIS TALKS.  
FRIENDSHIP IN A TIME OF NEED WAS DOUBLY APPRECIATED.

9. I SAID THAT IT SEEMED GENERALL ACCEPTED ON THE POLISH  
AND WESTERN SIDE THAT SOME KIND OF MULTILATERAL REARRANGEMENT  
OF DEBTS WAS NECESSARY ( HE NODDED ASSENT). WE SHOULD FIND IT  
ESSENTIAL TO HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE  
PLANS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE POLISH ECONOMY.

10. THE PRIME MINISTER TOOK NOTE OF THIS. PLANS WERE BEING  
WORKED OUT AND MUCH HAD ALREADY BEEN PUBLISHED , A FURTHER  
REPORT WOULD BE PUT OUT SHORTLY. THE GOVERNMENT WAS  
DETERMINED ON ECONOMIC REFORM. IT WAS EXTREMELY COMPLEX  
AND DIFFICULT AND ONE OF THE THINGS HOLDING UP  
THE PARTY CONGRESS.

SEE M I F T

FCO PLEASE PASS ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES.

PRIDHAM

BT

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