

IMMEDIATE

POLAND: ADVANCE COPIES 21

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PS/LPS

PS/LORD TREFGARNE  
PS/PUS  
MR BULLARD  
MR FERGUSSON  
SIR A ACLAND  
MR GILLMORE

NO 10 DOWNING ST  
ASSESSMENT STAFF  
CABINET OFFICE  
DIO CABINET OFFICE

HD/EESD (copy collected by Dept.)  
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HD/PLANNING STAFF  
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HD/CONS EM UNIT  
RESIDENT CLERK

Prime Minister

Important. The First deaths.

APC 17/12

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 171700Z

FM WARSAW 171535Z DEC

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 948 OF 17TH DECEMBER 1981

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

FROM MELHUI SH.

POLAND: INTERNAL SITUATION.

1. I CALLED ON DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OLECHOWSKI AT MY REQUEST THIS MORNING. EARLIER AMBASSADOR STANISZEWSKI, ON HIS WAY TO LONDON BY LOT CHARTER FLIGHT, CALLED IN TO COLLECT HIS VISA.

2. OLECHOWSKI SAID THAT THE FIRST THREE DAYS OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY HAD PASSED OFF RELATIVELY PEACEFULLY WITH NO SERIOUS OR CONCERTED RESISTANCE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAD ENCOUNTERED TROUBLE IN ONLY NINE OUT OF THE 49 VOIVODSHIPS AND ONLY 57 FACTORIES HAD PROVED DIFFICULT IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER. THE MOST WORRYING AREA WAS UPPER SILESIA, WITH WROCLAW CLOSE BEHIND. ACCORDING TO HIS LATEST INFORMATION, GDANSK WAS NOW

OR ANOTHER. THE MOST WORRYING AREA WAS UPPER SILESIA, WITH BROGLAN CLOSE BEHIND. ACCORDING TO HIS LATEST INFORMATION, GDANSK WAS NOW QUIET. STRESSING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING CONFIDENTIALLY, AND WITH THE EXPLICIT REQUEST THAT THE INFORMATION SHOULD NOT BE PASSED TO THE PRESS, OLECHOWSKI THEN SAID THAT UNFORTUNATELY THE FIRST BLOODSHED HAD NOW OCCURRED WITH SEVEN DEAD IN A CLASH IN A SILESIAN COAL MINE. HE HAD ONLY LEARNED OF THIS A LITTLE TIME BEFORE THE MEETING AND HAD NO MORE DETAILS. EARLIER, STANISZEWSKI HAD SPOKEN ABOUT "ACCIDENTS" IN SILESIA AND THESE MUST HAVE BEEN THE SAME INCIDENT.

3. BOTH OLECHOWSKI AND STANISZEWSKI SAID THAT THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAD EXPECTED TODAY, 17 DECEMBER, TO BE DIFFICULT. SOLIDARITY WAS TRYING TO ORGANISE DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES AND STANISZEWSKI TALKED ABOUT POSSIBLE MOVEMENT OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INTO WARSAW. WHEN I ASKED STANISZEWSKI ABOUT PEOPLE UNDER ARREST, HE SAID THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAD HAD TO DETAIN A NUMBER. HE NAMED GEREMEK AND JAN JOZEF LIPSKI THE KOR ACTIVIST. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION ABOUT WALESA, STANISZEWSKI SAID THAT HE WAS LIVING WITHIN WARSAW AND WAS HAVING DISCUSSIONS WITH RAKOWSKI AND OTHER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS. STANISZEWSKI STRESSED THAT, WHEN ALL THE PRESENT EXCITEMENT DIED DOWN, THE AUTHORITIES STILL WISHED TO HAVE DEALINGS WITH A DIFFERENT SORT OF SOLIDARITY WHICH THEY HOPED MIGHT BE LED BY WALESA WHOM THEY REGARDED AS A MODERATE, IF WAYWARD, INTERLOCUTOR.

4. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY OF STANISZEWSKI'S CALL TO CONTRAST THE WAY IN WHICH HE WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT HIS MISSION IN LONDON AND THE CURRENT RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON THIS EMBASSY. I MADE THE SAME POINT TO OLECHOWSKI WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE RESTRICTIONS ON OUR MOVEMENTS, THE BAN ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND THE ACTION OF THE POLISH POLICE OUTSIDE THE EMBASSY IN TURNING BACK POLISH VISITORS. OLECHOWSKI MADE NO ATTEMPT TO DEFEND THESE RESTRICTIONS EXCEPT IN TERMS OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY. HE SAID THAT HE HOPED SOME FACILITIES WOULD BE RESTORED TODAY WITH EMBASSIES HAVING ACCESS TO A CENTRAL TELEX EXCHANGE TO WHICH THEY COULD TAKE MESSAGES. I SAID I WOULD PREFER TO USE OUR OWN TELEX MATERIAL, BUT OLECHOWSKI SAID THAT THIS WOULD NOT YET BE POSSIBLE.

5. IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF FCO TEL NO 672, I PRESSED OLECHOWSKI TO PERMIT BA TO BRING IN AIRCRAFT. I ALSO POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS NOT MUCH GOOD LOT FLYING OUT TWO CHARTER PLANES TO LONDON THIS MORNING AT 10.30 AND 10.45 WHEN WE WERE ONLY INFORMED ABOUT 9.00 AM. I MENTIONED SOME OF THE CONCLULAR COMPASSIONATE CASES THAT NEEDED TO BE GOT OUT QUICKLY. IF POLISH AIR SPACE COULD BE USED FOR LOT, I SAW NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD NOT

COMPASSIONATE GRACE  
AIR SPACE COULD BE USED FOR LOT, I SAW NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD  
BE USED FOR DA. I WAS ALSO ABLE TO SEEK AND GAIN OLECHOWSKI'S  
HELP IN GETTING PERMISSION FOR THE QM RUN TODAY (FCO TEL NO 685).

6. I THANKED OLECHOWSKI FOR THE PERMISSION THAT HAD BEEN GIVEN FOR  
OUR CONSULAR TEAM TO VISIT WLOCLAWEK BUT SAID THAT I WAS  
DISAPPOINTED ANOTHER TEAM COULD NOT GO TO GDANSK. OLECHOWSKI SAID  
THAT GDANSK WAS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE BUT, IF IT WAS NOW INDEED  
QUIET AS HE THOUGHT, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET UP THERE SOON. I  
SAID THAT I WAS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE  
KRAKOW/KATOWICE AREA, AND HAD ASKED FOR PERMISSION FOR ANOTHER TEAM  
TO GET DOWN THERE. OLECHOWSKI SAID THAT THIS MIGHT BE DIFFICULT  
FOR A DAY OR TWO BUT HE WOULD SEE WHAT HE COULD DO TO HELP.

7. I ALSO SOUGHT OLECHOWSKI'S HELP IN CASE WE SHOULD NEED TO FLY  
IN FROM LONDON SOME OF OUR STRANDED CHILDREN. HE SAID THERE  
WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY ON THIS. I ALSO MENTIONED THAT WE MIGHT NEED  
SOME REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE EMBASSY AND THAT I HOPED THAT THIS  
WOULD BE LOOKED AT KINDLY, PARTICULARLY AS WE HAD MANAGED TO GET  
A VISA FOR STANISZEWSKI VERY RAPIDLY. I SUBSEQUENTLY SPOKE TO  
LASZCZ, DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL, WHO SAW NO DIFFICULTY OVER THE  
CHILDREN BUT WAS LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT REINFORCEMENTS. WE WILL  
PRESS THIS WHEN WE KNOW YOUR VIEWS. (PARAGRAPH 5 OF YOUR TEL NO  
672).

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8. OLECHOWSKI IS CLER

ALL OF THIS ?

8. OLECHOWSKI IS CLEARLY BEING AS HELPFUL AS HE POSSIBLY CAN BUT  
FINDS HIS HANDS TIED, PROBABLY BY THE MILITARY OVERLORDS IN THE  
MFA. THE MEETING WAS, HOWEVER, IMPORTANT FOR THE FIRST OFFICIAL  
CONFIRMATION BY THE POLES THAT THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW HAD  
IDW CAUSED BLOODSHED WITH A NUMBER OF DEATHS.