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FM WARSAW 151655Z JAN 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 122 OF 15TH JANUARY 1982

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

INFO SAVING: EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, MODUK, SOFIA,
BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKREP
BRUSSELS.

POLISH SITUATION.

1. THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE CLEARLY CONCERNED AT THE HARDENING OF WESTERN DISPLEASURE. THEY ARE ALSO APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE PROBABILITY OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. THERE IS INCREASING EVIDENCE THAT GENERAL JARUZELSKI AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE CONCENTRATING THEIR ATTENTION, AS WE SUGGESTED THEY SHOULD, ON THE THREE ISSUES ON WHICH WE HAVE SAID WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE PROGRESS, THE ABOLITION OF MARTIAL LAW, THE RELEASE OF THE DETAINEES, AND THE RESUMPTION OF A DIALOGUE. THESE THREE POINTS ARE NOW WRYLY KNOWN IN THE POLISH MFA AS "THE TRIANGLE."

2. WE HAVE REPORTED IN OUR DAILY SITREPS THE CONTINUING RELAXATION OF SOME OF THE MINOR RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY MARTIAL LAW, SUCH AS THE RESUMPTION OF LOCAL TELEPHONE COMMUNICATIONS AND OF EMBASSY TELEXES, THE LIFTING OF CENSORSHIP ON FOREIGN JOURNALISTS AND THE REOPENING OF CINEMAS AND THEATRES. AS THE DEFENCE ATTACHE HAS REPORTED, MOST MILITARY UNITS AROUND WARSAW HAVE DISPERSED AND THERE ARE FAR FEWER ROAD BLOCKS AND UNIFORMED PERSONNEL ON THE STREETS. MORE CONCESSIONS ARE LIKELY TO COME. OUR OFFICIAL CONTACTS HAVE TOLD US THAT JARUZELSKI WILL MAKE AN IMPORTANT SPEECH AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE SEJM ON 20 JANUARY AND HE MAY WELL THEN ANNOUNCE SOME MORE SUBSTANTIVE RELAXATIONS.

3. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE APPARENT PROGRESS ON THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES, WHOSE NUMBERS ARE STILL QUOTED AT AROUND THE 5,000 LEVEL.

4. ON THE RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE, THE AUTHORITIES WOULD POINT TO THE WEEKEND MEETING BETWEEN JARUZELSKI AND GLEMP WHICH HAS BEEN HERALDED AS THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF SUCH MEETINGS. THERE HAVE BEEN FEW SIGNS OF ANY SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH SOLIDARITY, LARGELY, IT SEEMS, BECAUSE WALESIA IS STILL REFUSING TO TALK TO THE AUTHORITIES WITHOUT HIS PRESIDUM AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISERS. HE IS ALSO NOW SAID TO BE INSISTING THAT A PRECONDITION FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE THE AUTHORITIES' ACCEPTANCE OF THE SANCTITY OF THE GDANSK AGREEMENTS. FURTHER DEMILITARISATION MEASURES HAVE TAKEN PLACE, INCLUDING A MEETING OF THE POLITBURO (WHICH DID NOT SEEM TO DISCUSS ANYTHING SUBSTANTIVE). THERE IS ALSO TALK OF A CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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/ MEETING

MEETING IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE SEJM WILL MEET ON 28 JANUARY FOR AN IMPORTANT DEBATE. THERE HAVE BEEN MEETINGS BETWEEN THE PZPR, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE PEASANTS PARTY. AND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY LOCAL MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL SALVATION LOOK LIKE AN ATTEMPT TO WORK UP SOME GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT FOR A RESURRECTION OF THE CONCEPT OF A FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

5. WESTERN PRESSURE HAS UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN SECURING SOME OF THESE RELATIVELY MINOR RELAXATIONS. WE MUST NOW BE CAREFUL, HOWEVER, TO ENSURE THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES DO NOT TURN THE TABLES ON US BY CLAIMING, HOWEVER SPURIOUSLY, THAT THE THREE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN MET.

6. THIS WOULD NOT, IN A PURELY COSMETIC SENSE, BE TOTALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE. THERE NOW SEEMS TO BE A GOOD CHANCE THAT, POSSIBLY AT THE NEXT SEJM SESSION, THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES WILL OSTENTATIVELY LIFT MARTIAL LAW, REPLACING IT BY SOMETHING ELSE, "A STATE OF ALERT" PERHAPS, WHICH WILL RETAIN MOST OF THE NASTY RESTRICTIONS WHILE RESCINDING THE OTHERS. IT MIGHT NOT BE TAKING TOO MUCH OF A RISK TO RELAX THE ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS OF MARTIAL LAW WHILE MAINTAINING THE POLITICAL ONES, PARTICULARLY THOSE BEARING ON CIVIL LIBERTY, THE SUSPENSION OF SOLIDARITY, LARGE GATHERINGS AND OTHER POLITICAL ACTIVITY. JARUZELSKI MIGHT TRY TO GIVE FURTHER DUBIOUS RESPECTABILITY TO SUCH A MOVE BY MAKING THE SEJM RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NEW MEASURES. THE AUTHORITIES MAY ALSO BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT SOME SORT OF DIALOGUE HAS BEEN REOPENED WITH THE CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY. THEY WILL ALSO SEEK TO PROVE THAT POLITICAL POWER IS PROGRESSIVELY BEING HANDED BACK TO CIVILIAN BODIES, SUCH AS THE SEJM AND THE PARTY. IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO BLUR THE ISSUE ON THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES BUT A LARGE NUMBER OF THEM COULD PROBABLY BE RELEASED NOW WITHOUT DANGER AND EVEN THOSE WHO MIGHT STILL BE DANGEROUS COULD BE SHIFTED TO SOME FORM OF HOUSE CONFINEMENT.

6. THERE IS NO FIRM EVIDENCE SO FAR THAT THIS IS WHAT THE POLES ARE TRYING TO ACHIEVE. NEXT WEEK'S SEJM SESSION WILL, I THINK, SHOW US WHICH WAY THEIR MINDS ARE TURNING.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

MELHUISE

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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