

GRS 1200
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DESKBY 221830Z
FM WARSAW 221725Z JAN 82
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 150 OF 22ND JANUARY 1982
AND TO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO
INFO ROUTINE: WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PARIS AND BONN
INFO SAVING: SOFIA, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE,
EAST BERLIN: UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, HELSINKI AND
STOCKHOLM

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Prime Minister

The latest view from

Warsaw.

A-I.C. 25.

FCO TELNO 83: POLAND : NAC MEETING ON 23 JANUARY.

1. AS REQUESTED WE NOW ATTACH UPDATED COMPREHENSIVE SITREP ON
POLISH SITUATION FOR USE OF DELEGATION TO NAC.

INTERNAL SITUATION

2. THE COUNTRY REMAINS OUTWARDLY QUIET. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF ACTIVE OPPOSITION. AUTHORITATIVE ACCOUNTS OF LIFE OUTSIDE WARSAW ARE RARE BUT SUCH GLIMPSES AS WE GET (JOURNALISTS' VISIT TO POZNAN, RECENT WELL-PLACED VISITOR FROM WROCLAW, EMBASSY COMMERCIAL VISIT TO GDANSK) SUGGEST THAT ALTHOUGH FACTORY ATTENDANCE IS HIGH, LITTLE WORK IS BEING DONE. AN ESTIMATE OF 30-40% PRODUCTIVITY SEEMS REASONABLE.

3. MOST AREAS, SOLIDARITY SEEMS TO HAVE RETAINED SOME ORGANISATION BUT IS NOT PARTICULARLY ACTIVE AT THE MOMENT. CLANDESTINE NEWS SHEETS ARE BEING PRODUCED AND A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT LEADERS, INCLUDING THE HEAD OF THE MAZOWSZE BRANCH, BUJAK, ARE STILL IN HIDING. IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED THAT SUCH RESISTANCE TO MARTIAL LAW AS MAY EXIST WILL NOT EMERGE SIGNIFICANTLY UNTIL THE SPRING.

4. THE PARTY CONTINUES TO BE IN DISARRAY. THERE IS STILL NO CONFIRMATION OF A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING ALTHOUGH RUMOURS SUGGEST IT MAY HAPPEN EARLY IN FEBRUARY. AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, MANY PARTY BRANCHES ARE ENGAGED IN PURGING BOTH THE MEMBERSHIP AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP. THERE IS MOST EVIDENCE OF PARTY ACTIVITY IN AREAS WHERE THERE HAS NOT BEEN MUCH PAST HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

MARTIAL LAW

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5. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS OF MARTIAL LAW HAVE BEEN RELAXED, THERE HAS BEEN NO FURTHER SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT FOR OVER A WEEK. THERE ARE FEWER SOLDIERS ON THE STREETS BUT THE ROAD BLOCKS THAT REMAIN ARE ACQUIRING AN AIR OF PERMANENCE. A NEW DEVELOPMENT IS THAT EVERY MAJOR ROAD OUT OF WARSAW HAS NOW BEEN BLOCKED BY A "HIGHWAY CONTROL" SIMILAR TO A FRONTIER POST, AT WHICH VEHICLES ARE BEING STOPPED AND CHECKED. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER OTHER CITIES HAVE BEEN SIMILARLY SEALED OFF. ALTHOUGH TELEPHONES WERE RECONNECTED TWO WEEKS AGO FOR LOCAL CALLS, ALL CONVERSATIONS ARE MONITORED AND MAY BE CUT OFF. THE CURFEW IS STILL FROM 11 PM TO 5 AM IN MOST TOWNS BUT IN GDANSK AND WROCLAW AT LEAST THE HOURS ARE LONGER. PERMISSION HAS STILL TO BE OBTAINED TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE ONE'S TOWN OF RESIDENCE. AND ONLY A FEW PEOPLE ARE ALLOWED TO DRIVE THEIR CARS.

6. NONE OF THE POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS OF MARTIAL LAW HAVE BEEN RELAXED. CIVIL LIBERTIES CONTINUE TO BE SEVERELY RESTRICTED. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT JARUZELSKI MAY ANNOUNCE SOME RELAXATIONS IN HIS SPEECH TO THE SEJM ON 25 JANUARY BUT THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO AMOUNT TO MUCH EVEN IF THEY ARE DRESSED UP AS MAJOR CONCESSIONS.

7. A NATIONWIDE "VERIFICATION" CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN LAUNCHED. OFFICIALS, PROFESSIONALS AND MANY OTHER WORKERS ARE BEING ASKED TO SIGN DOCUMENTS WITH DIFFERENT WORDING BUT CONTAINING THE SAME MESSAGE OF TOTAL DENUNCIATION OF SOLIDARITY. THOSE WHO REFUSE TO SIGN THESE VERIFICATION DOCUMENTS FIND THEMSELVES OUT OF A JOB OR SUBJECT TO OTHER PERSECUTION. THIS PROCESS HAS BEEN EXPLICITLY DISOWNED BY THE PRIMATE WHO POINTED OUT THAT DOCUMENTS SIGNED UNDER DURESS HAVE NO VALIDITY.

DETAINEES

8. SO FAR ONLY A HANDFUL OF DETAINEES HAVE BEEN RELEASED AND THE TOTAL NUMBERS STAY AT ABOUT 5000. THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN CONVICTED OF POLITICAL OFFENCES SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW NOW STANDS AT 155. THEIR CRIMES INCLUDE ORGANISING STRIKES OR OTHER TRADE UNION ACTIVITY AND THEY HAVE BEEN GIVEN JAIL SENTENCES OF MODERATE LENGTH. IT SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT JARUZELSKI MAY ANNOUNCE THE RELEASE OF A NUMBER OF DETAINEES NEXT WEEK.

RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE

2
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9. ALL ATTEMPTS BY JARUZELSKI AND HIS INNER DIRECTORATE COLLEAGUES TO SET UP A GENUINE AND SIGNIFICANT DIALOGUE WITH SOCIETY HAVE FAILED. WALESA HAS CONSISTENTLY REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE EXCEPT ON HIS OWN TERMS, AND THE AUTHORITIES NOW APPEAR TO HAVE ABANDONED ANY HOPE THEY MAY HAVE HAD OF SECURING HIS COLLABORATION. THERE IS A GROWING CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT HIM AS OUT OF TOUCH AND UNREALISTIC. JARUZELSKI HAS MET SOME WORKERS, INCLUDING SOLIDARITY MEMBERS, BUT THE MEETING WAS NOT A SUBSTANTIVE ONE. NO PROMINENT SOLIDARITY LEADERS WERE PRESENT AND THE EXPERIMENT HAS NOT BEEN REPEATED. JARUZELSKI'S PRE-CHRISTMAS MEETING WITH INTELLECTUALS HAS FADED INTO THE MEMORY. IT HAS BEEN COUNTERBALANCED BY A BRAVE OPEN LETTER SENT TO THE SEJM ON 15 JANUARY BY 101 ARTISTS, WRITERS AND INTELLECTUALS. THE CHURCH HAS NOW AGREED TO TALK TO THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF SOLIDARITY BUT HAS REPEATEDLY AND FORCIBLY MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT IS NOT RETREATING FROM ITS CONDEMNATION OF MARTIAL LAW OR ITS DEMANDS FOR AN END TO POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS. CHURCH/STATE MEETINGS HAVE LIMITED THEMSELVES TO SPECIFIC SUBJECTS ON WHICH THE CHURCH BELIEVES THAT LIMITED PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. THE LATEST PASTORAL LETTER TO BE READ IN CHURCHES THIS SUNDAY RECORDS IN VIVID LANGUAGE THE CHURCH'S DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND ITS OPPOSITION TO MARTIAL LAW.

THE ECONOMY

10. DESPITE SOME GOVERNMENT CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY, THE ECONOMY IS IN VERY POOR SHAPE. SHORTAGES OF RAW MATERIALS AND OTHER INPUTS MEAN THAT MANY INDUSTRIES ARE OPERATING FAR BELOW CAPACITY. THIS IS COMPOUNDED BY COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULTIES AND IN SOME AREAS BY PASSIVE WORKERS RESISTANCE TO MILITARY RULE. HUGE PRICE INCREASES ARE ABOUT TO BE INTRODUCED WITH FULL COMPENSATION BEING PROVIDED FOR ONLY THE LEAST WELL OFF. FOOD SHORTAGES ARE LIKELY TO BE EVEN MORE ACUTE THAN AT PRESENT, EXACERBATED BY THE WEST'S RESPONSE TO MARTIAL LAW. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE SHOWN LITTLE SIGN SO FAR OF THEIR ABILITY TO REMEDY THESE PROBLEMS, ALTHOUGH ACTION IS IN HAND TO PROMOTE OUTPUT IN A FEW PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT SECTORS. THE DESPERATE ATTEMPTS BY THE GOVERNMENT TO COUNTERACT THE HOARDING OF FOOD BY PRIVATE FARMERS COULD HAVE SERIOUS LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES FOR AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT.

CONCLUSION

3
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11. MARTIAL LAW IS ABOUT TO ENTER ITS SEVENTH WEEK. CARRIED OUT WITH RUTHLESS EFFICIENCY, IT BROUGHT A BICKERING COUNTRY QUICKLY UNDER THE HEEL OF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES. BUT THAT IS SO FAR THE SUM TOTAL OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS. IT HAS CRUSHED SOLIDARITY BUT HAS PUT NOTHING IN ITS PLACE- THERE IS NO-ONE FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO TALK TO ON THE GOVERNMENT'S TERMS, AND THE GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO TALK TO ANYONE ON ANY OTHER TERMS. THE OPPOSITION OF THE CHURCH IS BECOMING MORE APPARENT AND SOLIDARITY IS BEGINNING TO REORGANISE ITS STRENGTH. THE POLITICAL STERILITY OF THE REGIME IS EVIDENT TO ALL. THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT RELEASE OF DETAINEES AND OPPRESSIVE VERIFICATION PROCEDURES SEEM TO BE SPREADING. MARTIAL LAW CONTINUES, WITH ONLY COSMETIC RELAXATION. ITS EFFECTS ARE PROBABLY NOT MORE OPPRESSIVE NOW EXCEPT IN THE SENSE THAT EVERYDAY WITHOUT RELAXATION IS A DAY LOST. THERE IS NOT MUCH FOR THE POLE IN THE STREET TO LOOK FORWARD TO AT THE MOMENT. LIFE IS BLEAK, COLD AND NASTY.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

MELHUI SH

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

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4
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