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 HD/PLANNING STAFF
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 ASSESSMENT STAFF
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D/BU 021830 Z

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FM WARSAW 021550Z FEB 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 198 OF 2ND FEBRUARY 1982

AND TO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO

INFO PRIORITY: BANGKOK, (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY), WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, UKMIS GENEVA AND MOSCOW

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

MY TEL NO 150: POLAND.

1. AS A CONTRIBUTION TO TOMORROW'S NAC MEETING I ATTACH AN UPDATED SITREP.

INTERNAL SITUATION

2. THE DISTURBANCES IN GDANSK AT THE WEEKEND WERE THE FIRST EVIDENCE OF ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO MARTIAL LAW SINCE BEFORE CHRISTMAS. THEY SUGGEST THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE RESENTMENT UNDER THE SURFACE

OF ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO MARTIAL LAW SINCE BEFORE CHRISTMAS. THEY SUGGEST THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE RESENTMENT UNDER THE SURFACE WHICH MIGHT FLARE UP AT ANY TIME. FOLLOWING THE INTRODUCTION OF PRICE RISES THE NEXT TWO WEEKS OR SO ARE LIKELY TO BE DIFFICULT FOR THE AUTHORITIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE CONTINUE TO HEAR RUMOURS THAT THE MAIN WAVE OF OPPOSITION TO MARTIAL LAW IS NOT EXPECTED UNTIL THE SPRING. EXCEPT IN GDANSK, THE COUNTRY REMAINS OUTWARDLY QUIET. PRODUCTIVITY REMAINS LOW, EXCEPT POSSIBLY IN THE COALFIELDS.

3. MOST OF SOLIDARITY'S ACTIVITIES SEEM TO BE CONCENTRATED ON PRODUCING CLANDESTINE NEWS SHEETS. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE MADE NO FURTHER PROGRESS IN CAPTURING THE SOLIDARITY LEADERS WHO ARE AT LARGE. ONE DOCUMENT WE OBTAINED SAID THAT AN ALL-POLAND COMMITTEE OF RESISTANCE HAD BEEN SET UP WITH A LEADER OPERATING UNDER A PSEUDONYM. BUT THERE HAS BEEN A SUBSEQUENT SUGGESTION THAT THIS MAY BE A GOVERNMENT PROVOCATION.

4. LOCAL PARTY ACTIVITY HAS STEPPED UP CONSIDERABLY IN THE LAST FEW DAYS. THERE ARE PERSISTENT RUMOURS OF A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING TO BE HELD AROUND 10 FEBRUARY. THERE CONTINUE TO BE RUMOURS THAT JARUZELSKI'S POSITION INSIDE THE PARTY ITSELF REMAINS WEAK.

5. OVER THE PAST 10 DAYS THE POLISH PRESS HAS BEEN FULL OF ACCOUNTS OF THE "MUSHROOMING" GROWTH OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES OF NATIONAL SALVATION ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THE REGIME IS CLEARLY PREPARING THE GROUND FOR A "SPONTANEOUS" GRASS ROOTS CALL FOR A RENEWED FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

MARTIAL LAW

6. JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH TO THE SEJM ON 25 JANUARY PRODUCED ONLY A GUARDED COMMITMENT TO RELAX SOME OF THE RESTRICTIONS OF MARTIAL LAW BY THE END OF FEBRUARY. THERE HAVE SINCE BEEN FURTHER MINOR RELAXATIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS. CERTAIN GATHERINGS MAY NOW BE HELD WITHOUT PERMISSION. MORE NEWSPAPERS, RADIO STATIONS AND TELEVISION CHANNELS ARE BEING ALLOWED TO OPERATE NORMALLY. INTER-CITY TELEPHONE CALLS THROUGH THE OPERATOR AND CENSORED TELEGRAMS WILL BE POSSIBLE FROM 10 FEBRUARY. PRIVATE CARS MAY NOW BE USED AGAIN, ALTHOUGH PETROL IS STRICTLY RATIONED. BUT PERMISSION HAS STILL TO BE OBTAINED TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE ONE'S TOWN OF RESIDENCE. AND SPOT CHECKS CONTINUE TO BE MADE AT THE "HIGHWAY CONTROLS" AROUND WARSAW. NONE OF THE POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS OF MARTIAL LAW HAVE YET BEEN RELAXED.

MARTIAL LAW HAVE YET BEEN RELAXED.

7. IN GDANSK, FOLLOWING THE WEEKEND'S DISTURBANCES THE RESTRICTIONS OF MARTIAL LAW HAVE BEEN STEPPED UP. THE CURFEW NOW OPERATES FROM 8 PM TO 5 AM. ALL TELEPHONES HAVE BEEN CUT OFF, PRIVATE CARS HAVE BEEN ORDERED OFF THE STREETS AND OTHER RESTRICTIONS HAVE BEEN RE-INTRODUCED.

DETAINEES

8. JARUZELSKI CLAIMED IN HIS SPEECH TO THE SEJM THAT ABOUT 4,500 PEOPLE WERE STILL IN DETENTION AND THAT OVER 1,700 HAD BEEN RELEASED. SET AGAINST EARLIER OFFICIAL FIGURES, THIS SUGGESTS THAT THROUGHOUT MARTIAL LAW PEOPLE HAVE CONTINUED TO BE DETAINED. NO PROMINENT DETAINEES APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN AMONG THOSE RELEASED AND THERE IS NO FURTHER SIGC OF THE EARLY RELEASE OF SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF DETAINEES. THOSE WHO HAVE ORGANISED STRIKES SINCE MARTIAL LAW HAVE CONTINUED TO BE SENTENCED BY THE MILITARY COURTS.

RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE

9. THE REGIME'S ATTEMPTS TO INITIATE A SUBSTANTIVE DIALOGUE WITH SOCIETY HAVE STILL NOT MADE ANY PROGRESS. THERE HAS BEEN NO RECENT MENTION OF TALKS WITH SOLIDARITY LEADERS. THE CHURCH WAS PERSUADED, PROBABLY BY PROMISES OF RELAXATION IN JARUZELSKI'S SEJM SPEECH, TO ADOPT A MORE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE TO THE REGIME. BUT NOW THAT THESE PROMISES HAVE PROVED EMPTY, THE CHURCH IS UNLIKELY TO BE CONCILIATORY AGAIN FOR SOME TIME. THE PRIMATE AND CARDINAL MACHARSKI ARE NOW IN ROME AND ANY NEW MOVE BY THE CHURCH SEEMS UNLIKALY BEFORE THEIR RETURN ON 15 FEBRUARY.

THE ECONOMY

10. INCREASES IN PRICES OF GOODS AND SERVICES UNDER DIRECT GOVERNMENT CONTROL TOOK PLACE ON 1 FEBRUARY. FOOD PRICES ROSE ON AVERAGE BY 240% AND THE PRICES OF ENERGY AND OTHER SERVICES BY 170%. CONTRARY TO SOME EXPECLATIONS THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE SIGN SO FAR OF IMPROVED SUPPLIES OF ITEMS WHOSE PRICE HAS INCREASED OR, FOR THAT MATTER, OF OTHER GOODS. THE PROSPECTS FOR FOOD SUPPLIES CONTINUES TO BE BLEAK. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED A MAJOR EXTENSION IN THE LIST OF ITEMS WHOSE PRICES ARE TO BE SUBJECT TO CENTRAL CONTROL. THIS APPEARS TO BE A RESPONSE TO LARGE INCREASES IN PRICES OF MANY HOUSEHOLD AND CLOTHING ARTICLES FOLLOWING THE LIMITED DEGREE OF ENTERPRISE AUTONOMY GRANTED ON 1 JANUARY.

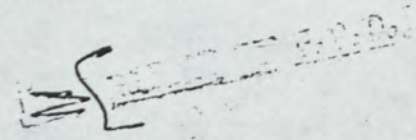
IN PRICES OF MANY HOUSEHOLD AND CLOTHING ARTICLES FOLLOWING THE LIMITED DEGREE OF ENTERPRISE AUTONOMY GRANTED ON 1 JANUARY.

CONCLUSION

11. THIS HAS NOT BEEN A GOOD FORTNIGHT FOR THE REGIME. MARTIAL LAW IS NOW IN ITS 8TH WEEK AND SHOWS NO SIGN OF ENDING. JARUZELSKI'S DILEMMA IS CLEAR, IF HE LIFTS OR SUBSTANTIVELY RELAXES MARTIAL LAW, SOLIDARITY IS BOUND TO SEIZE THE CHANCE TO REGROUP AND TO RESUME A WIDER RANGE OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES. IF HE CONTINUES WITH MARTIAL LAW, HE RISKS CONTINUED WESTERN DISPLEASURE AND GROWING INTERNAL FRUSTRATION AND ANGER. IN SUCH A SITUATION THE INSTINCTIVE REACTION OF THE UNPOPULAR AND UNIMAGINATIVE RULER (PARTICULARLY IF HIS FREEDOM OF ACTION IS SEVERELY CONSTRAINED BY ORDERS FROM MOSCOW) IS TO DO NOTHING AND TO SIT IT OUT IN THE HOPE THAT SOMETHING MAY TURN UP, THAT WESTERN DISPLEASURE WILL BE EPHEMERAL AND THAT FEAR, COLD AND FOOD SHORTAGES WILL KEEP THE POLES QUIET THIS WINTER. THE NEXT FEW WEEKS WILL SHOW WHETHER JARUZELSKI'S EXPECTATIONS ARE JUSTIFIED.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

MELHUI SH



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