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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 227 OF 8TH FEBRUARY 1982

AND TO PRIORITY: WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKMIS GENEVA AND UKDEL ZADRID

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

BRITISH MEASURES AGAINST POLAND.

1. NOWOHYTA, DIRECTOR OF MFA DEPARTMENT IV, SUMMONED ME THIS AFTERNOON TO DELIVER MFA PROTEST AT BRITISH MEASURES AGAINST POLAND ANNOUNCED BY L.P.S. IN THE COMMONS ON 5 FEBRUARY.

2. NOWORYTA BEGAN BY RUNNING THROUGH THE LIST OF MEASURES AS SENT TO THEM FROM LONDON. IT WAS SELECTIVE IN THAT IT GAVE A BIASED ACCOUNT OF SOME MEASURES AND OMITTED OTHERS. HE THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WERE SURPRISED AND DISAPPOINTED TO FIND THE UNITED KINGDOM ACTING IN THIS UNFRIENDLY WAY. THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED ON FRIDAY WERE AN INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, CLEARLY DICTATED BY NATO. THEY WOULD ALSO HAVE A SERIOUS EFFECT ON THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THIS COUNTRY. BRITAIN WAS THE FIRST NATO COUNTRY AFTER THE US TO INITIATE SUCH A LIST OF HOSTILE ACTS AND THE MFA WERE SURPRISED THAT HMG HAD DECIDED TO TAKE THIS ACTION AT A TIME WHEN THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WERE PROGRESSIVELY RELAXING THE RESTRICTIONS OF MARTIAL LAW. NOWORYTA SAID THAT HE HAD NO OPTION BUT TO MAKE A VIGOROUS PROTEST AGAINST THESE MEASURES WHICH THREATENED CURRENT AND FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND POLAND.

3. I BEGAN MY REPLY BY GIVING NOWORYTA THE TEXT OF MR ATKINS' PARLIAMENTARY ANSWER. I POINTED OUT THAT IN HIS PRESENTATION HE HAD OMITTED THE MEASURES AN IV AND THE LATTER HALF OF VIII. I SAID I DID NOT THINK THAT THIS WAS ANY COINCIDENCE, SINCE THESE WERE THE TWO PARTS OF OUR MEASURES WHERE WE ASSERTED OUR CONTINUING WISH TO GIVE HUMANITARIAN AID TO POLAND. I ALSO TOOK EXCEPTION TO HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE INCREASE IN BBC BROADCASTS AS "PROPAGANDA". I THEN CHALLENGED NOWORYTA TO SELECT WHICH OF THE EIGHT MEASURES HE CONSIDERED CONSTITUTED INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE TRIED TO DUCK THE QUESTION BY REFERRING TO THE GENERAL NATO CONTEXT IN WHICH THE MEASURES WERE PUT, SAYING THAT THE WHOLE THRUST OF THE LIST WAS A "CONCRETISATION" OF THE NATO DECLARATION OF 11 JANUARY. WHEN I PRESSED HIM AGAIN, HE ADMITTED THAT THERE WAS PERHAPS SOME DIFFERENCE OF INTERPRETATION OVER THE EFFECT OF THE LIST BUT THAT THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF MR ATKINS' REPLY SHOWED THE AGGRESSIVE ANTI-POLISH NATURE OF OUR ACTIONS.

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4. NOWORYTA THEN SWITCHED HIS ATTACK TO THE ECONOMIC MEASURES IN SUB-PARAGRAPH V, VI AND VII SAYING THAT THESE MEASURES WOULD MAKE PROBLEMS FOR POLISH SOCIETY AND FOR THE ECONOMIC REFORM WHICH POLAND WAS INTENDING TO UNDERTAKE. I POINTED OUT THAT IN EACH OF THE THREE PARAGRAPHS THERE WAS A SPECIFIC PHRASE SHOWING THE PROVISIONAL NATURE OF THE MEASURES TAKEN. WE HAD MADE IT CLEAR IN EARLIER STATEMENTS THAT THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE SEEN AGAINST THE GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES' INABILITY TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE THREE MAIN WESTERN DEMANDS. THE SAFEST WAY OF REVERSING THE EFFECT OF THESE PARAGRAPHS WOULD BE TO TAKE CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS TO RESTORE THIS COUNTRY TO NORMAL. NOWORYTA COMMENTED THAT ONCE AGAIN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND BRITAIN WERE SHOWING THEIR TRUE COLOURS IN INTERFERING IN POLAND'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

5. NOWORYTA THEN SAID THAT THE IMPOSITION OF TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS ON POLISH DIPLOMATS IN BRITAIN WAS TOTALLY UNJUSTIFIED. THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HAD NOT SHOWN DISCRIMINATION IN IMPOSING TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS ON BRITISH DIPLOMATS HERE WHICH WERE IN ANY CASE PART OF MARTIAL LAW. THEY WERE NOW RELAXING THESE RESTRICTIONS WITH RESTORATION OF TELEX, TELEPHONES AND NOW FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON TRAVEL. IT WAS PARTICULARLY PAINFUL THAT BRITAIN, ONE OF POLAND'S CLOSEST WESTERN FRIENDS, HAD TAKEN THIS UNILATERAL ACTION WHERE NO OTHER COUNTRIES EXCEPT THE U S HAD MOVED. I REPLIED THAT I THOUGHT WE HAD SHOWN GREAT PATIENCE AND TOLERANCE IN WAITING EIGHT WEEKS BEFORE TAKING SUCH ACTION. IT WAS ALSO RELEVANT THAT IN ADDITION TO THE US ADMINISTRATION, THE FRENCH, PORTUGUESE AND ITALIAN GOVERNMENTS HAD ACTED IN SOME WAY AGAINST POLISH DIPLOMATS IN THEIR CAPITALS. I POINTED OUT THAT OUR RESTRICTIONS WERE REVERSIBLE AND COULD BE LIFTED IN DUE COURSE.

6. FINALLY, NOWORYTA TOOK UP THE QUESTION OF EC FOOD. HE SAID THAT THE POLES HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THAT THEY COULD OBTAIN FOOD WORTH DOLLARS 200M FROM THE EC ON SPECIAL TERMS. THEY WERE NOW BEING OFFERED APPROXIMATELY DOLLARS 37M WORTH OF HUMANITARIAN AID THROUGH AGENCIES. THE POLISH PEOPLE WERE EXPECTING MORE FOOD FROM WESTERN EUROPE AND WOULD BE ACCORDINGLY DISAPPOINTED. I SAID THAT I DID NOT THINK POLISH EXPECTATIONS OF DOLLARS 200M WORTH OF FOOD UNDER THE COMMUNITY TRANCHE 3B WERE JUSTIFIED. ONCE AGAIN THE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM SEEMED TO LIE IN POLISH HANDS.

7. NOWORYTA GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HIS HEART WAS NOT IN THE PROTEST. WHILE HE HAD BEEN TOLD WHAT TO SAY, HE WAS CLEARLY NOT PREPARED FOR ANY COME-BACK. HE WAS NOT FULLY CONVERSANT WITH DETAILS OF OUR MEASURES. HIS PROTEST THEREFORE FELL FLAT AND HE FLOUNDERED VISIBLY.

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8. I THOUGHT NOWORYTA MIGHT BE PREPARING THE GROUND TO ANNOUNCE SOME COUNTER-MEASURES BUT NONE HAVE YET MATERIALISED. I AM ASSUMING THEREFORE THAT THE LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS ON DIPLOMATS HERE WHICH HAS NOW BEEN CONFIRMED BY MFA NOTE IN THE TERMS OF MY PARAGRAPH 2 IN MY TELNO 221 WILL APPLY TO ALL OF US.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

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