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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 301 OF 24TH FEB 82

INFO IMMEDIATE BONN. PRIORITY INFO WASHINGTON PARIS
MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO.

MY TELEGRAM NO 295 : VISIT OF HERBERT WEHNER.

*These 2 telegrams on
Poland are of considerable
interest.*

A.J.C. 25/2

MK

*(Chairman of SPD
Parliamentary party)*

1. STRESSING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING IN CONFIDENCE, THE WEST GERMAN AMBASSADOR BRIEFED COMMUNITY HEADS OF MISSION TODAY ON WEHNER'S VISIT.
2. DURING A BUSY 4 DAYS IN WARSAW WEHNER HAD MEETINGS WITH JARUZELSKI (3 HOURS), RAKOWSKI (4 HOURS), BARCIKOWSKI, OLSZOWSKI BISHOP DABROWSKI AND MICEWSKI, AND INFLUENTIAL LAY CATHOLIC INTER-MEDIARY , AND A GROUP OF MEMBERS OF THE SEJM. HE HAD BEEN ENTERTAINED BY MANY OF HIS INTERLOCUTORS AND WOULD HAVE TAKEN BACK TO BONN A VERY FULL IMPRESSION OF POLAND CULLED FROM MANY SOURCES . NEGWER WAS HIMSELF PRESENT AT ONLY A LIMITED NUMBER OF THE MEETINGS, BUT TALKED TO WEHNER ABOUT THE OTHERS.
3. WEHNER BEGAN EACH OF HIS SESSIONS BY SAYING THAT HE HAD COME ON THIS PERSONAL VISIT TO LOOK AT THE SITUATION WITHIN POLAND AND ITS EXTERNAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF GERMANY'S MORAL HISTORIC OBLIGATION TO POLAND. HE VOLUNTEERED THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY AGAINST ANY FORM OF SANCTIONS OR ECONOMIC BOYCOTT TOWARDS POLAND SINCE THEY WOULD ONLY INCREASE THE HARDSHIPS FELT BY THE POLISH PEOPLE. HE WAS STRONGLY IN FAVOUR OF DIALOGUE. HE THEN ASKED HOW COULD THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HELP AND WHAT WAS GOING ON IN POLAND.
4. BOTH BARCIKOWSKI AND OLSZOWSKI STRESSED THAT WESTERN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WOULD DAMAGE THE PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC REFORM. BARCIKOWSKI EMPPHASISED THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH THE GOVERNEMENT WAS HAVING WITH POLISH YOUTH. BOTH MEN SPOKE ABOUT EVENT IN POLAND RATHER SIMILARLY , WITH OLSZOWSKI EXPLAINING THE BACKGROUND TO HIS POLITICAL CAREER AND PRESENTING HIMSELF IN AS MODERATE A LIGHT AS POSSIBLE. RAKOWSKI SPOKE ABOUT THE INTENSE STRUGGLE THAT WAS TAKING PLACE BETWEEN THE VARIOUS FACTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY. THERE WAS A GREAT DANGER THAT THE WESTERN POLICY OF ISOLATING POLAND WOULD ONLY HELP THE HARD LINERS. HE DESCRIBED HIS PERSONAL ROLE IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS AND SPOKE BITTERLY ABOUT SOLIDARITY AND WALESA HIMSELF.

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5. NEGWER DID NOT ATTEND ANY OF THESE MEETINGS, BUT WAS PRESENT THROUGHOUT ^{WEHNER'S} WALESA'S MEETING WITH CZYREK WHO SPOKE MAINLY ON STANDARD LINES ABOUT THE DANGERS OF INTERNATIONALISING POLAND'S DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW SHOULD NOT HAVE SURPRISED ANYONE IN THE WEST BECAUSE THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HAD PASSED ON WARNINGS WELL AHEAD. THE WESTERN REACTION WAS TACTICAL. THEY HAD EXPECTED SOVIET INTERVENTION AND WERE DISAPPOINTED AT THE POLISH SOLUTION. HE ATTACKED WESTERN PROPAGANDA AND SAID THAT NOW POLAND HAD TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST FOREIGN PRESSURE MANIFESTED IN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. THE POLES WANTED A DIALOGUE WITH THE WEST. CZYREK SAID HE DETECTED A HARDENING POSITION WITHIN THE FRG WHICH WAS UNDER PRESSURE FROM WASHINGTON THE VATICAN TOO WAS TAKING HOSTILE LINE. AS FOR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS, THE PARTY MUST NOW DEVELOP A NEW DYNAMISM. HE THOUGHT THAT THE VII PLENUM WOULD PRODUCE A USEFUL RESULT, BUT ADMITTED THAT THERE WAS DISAFFECTION WITHIN THE PARTY COUPLED WITH A TENDENCY BY SOME FACTORS TO ADOPT HARD MEASURES.

6. NEGWER DESCRIBED BISHOP DABROWSKI'S ATTITUDE TO WEHNER AS VERY CAREFUL. DABROWSKI SAID THAT THE CHURCH WAS STILL TREADING THE PATHS OF DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE. BOTH DABROWSKI AND MICEWSKI DENIED RUMOURS THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE HAD WORSENERED RECENTLY MICEWSKI THANKED WEHNER ON BEHALF OF POLISH CATHOLICS FOR COMING TO POLAND AND STRESSED THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE NOW URGENTLY NEEDED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. HE SAID THAT THERE WAS NOW ONLY ENOUGH FOOD TO COVER RATIONS FOR A FURTHER SIX WEEKS. BY THE END OF MARCH THE SITUATION WOULD BE CATASTROPHIC .

7. MICEWSKI DESCRIBED THE CHURCH'S ACTIVITIES TO BRING SOLIDARITY AND THE GOVERNMENT TOGETHER. SOLIDARITY LEADERS HAD BECOME EVEN MORE RADICAL IN THEIR INTERNMENT CAMPS AND THE CHURCH HAD PUT FORWARD THE IDEA OF GATHERING SELECTED SOLIDARITY LEADERS IN A VILLA TO PREPARE FOR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE AUTHORITIES AWAY FROM THEIR INTERNED COLLEAGUES. WALESA HAD NOW GIVEN A WRITTEN DECLARATION TO ORSZULIK THAT HE WAS READY TO HOLD TALKS WITHOUT CONDITIONS ALONG LINES AGREED BY CHURCH AND STATE. FOR THEIR PART THE CHURCH WAS READY TO ACCEPT A FUTURE TRADE UNION STRUCTURE AS OUTLINED IN THIS WEEK'S DISCUSSION PAPER. THE CHURCH ACCEPTED THAT SOLIDARITY IN ITS LAST FEW MONTH BEFORE 13 DECEMBER HAD BECOME A POLITICAL PARTY AND BLAMED ITS REGIONAL STRUCTURE FOR MANY OF ITS EXCESSES. MICEWSKI THEN ASKED WEHNER TO TELL JARUZELSKI THAT THE CHURCH NEEDED THE IMPETUS OF SOME NEW INITIATIVE FROM THE GOVERNMENT SIDE. THEY WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A LARGER FRAMEWORK THAN JUST SOLIDARITY, CHURCH AND GOVERNEMENT, BUT IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO CONTEMPLATE ANY DISCUSSIONS WITHOUT SOLIDARITY AND PARTICULARLY WITHOUT WALESA WITH ALL HIS KNOWN LIMITATIONS.

8. JARUZELSKI BEGAN WITH SOME FULSOME COMPLIMENTS TO THE FRG AND CONTINUED WITH WHAT NEGWER DESCRIBED AS A VERY LUCID, LOGICAL AND LOW-KEY EXPOSITION OF THE LEAD-IN TO MARTIAL LAW. JARUZELSKI CLAIMED THAT THE MARTIAL COUNCIL WAS NOW BEGINNING TO WITHDRAW GRADUALLY FROM THE DIRECTION OF POLICY, LEAVING ROOM FOR THE

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GOVERNMENT AND THE SEJM. THE ARMY WOULD NEVER TRY TO GOVERN POLAND. ITS TASK WAS TO ENSURE THE NECESSARY DISCIPLINE TO SOLVE POLAND'S PROBLEMS. HE INTENDED TO PURSUE THE PATH OF REFORM AND RENEWAL. THE SEJM WAS VERY ACTIVE AND THERE WAS GREATER PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL POLITICAL DISCUSSION BY NON-PARTY PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY LAY CATHOLICS. PARTY MORALE WAS IMPROVING AND THE RESULTS OF THE VII PLENUM WOULD MARK A FURTHER STAGE TOWARDS NORMALISATION.

9. JARUZELSKI SAID THAT THE NUMBER OF DETAINEES STOOD AT 4,100. 5,000 PEOPLE HAD BEEN INTERNED ON 13 DECEMBER AND A FURTHER 1500 IN SUBSEQUENT WEEKS, 2,400 OF THESE HAD NOW BEEN RELEASED AND THE PROCESS WAS CONTINUING BOTH FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS AND AGAINST GUARANTEES OF FUTURE GOOD BEHAVIOUR. JARUZELSKI MADE NO MENTION OF SOLIDARITY LEADERS LEAVING POLAND. THOSE REMAINING IN CAMPS HAD BECOME VERY AGGRESSIVE AND WERE PROBABLY MORE SUBVERSIVE THAN WHEN THEY WENT IN. AS FOR SOLIDARITY'S FUTURE, HE HOPED NEW TRADE UNION GUIDELINES WOULD MEAN A STEP FORWARD. THE DIALOGUE WITH THE CHURCH HAD NEVER BEEN INTERRUPTED AND THERE WERE FREQUENT UNOFFICIAL TALKS WITH WALESKA. IN A FEW DAYS TIME THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR WOULD ANNOUNCE FURTHER RELAXATION OF MARTIAL LAW BUT UNFORTUNATELY BECAUSE OF SOCIAL TENSION AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY HE COULD NOT GO AS FAR AS HE HAD PROMISED PUBLICLY HE MIGHT. WHEN WEHNER ASKED JARUZELSKI ABOUT THE CHURCH'S ROLE, JARUZELSKI REPLIED THAT HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CHURCH WAS NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN BRINGING ABOUT A DIALOGUE.

10. JARUZELSKI COMPLAINED ABOUT CONTINUING FOREIGN POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY AGAINST POLAND. THIS WAS NOT HELPING HIS PLANS TO ABOLISH MARTIAL LAW. PEACE AND DETENTE HAD BEEN ENDANGERED BY THE APPARENT WISH OF THE UNITED STATES TO BRING ABOUT A GLOBAL CONFRONTATION. HE HOPED THAT THE FRG WOULD CONTINUE ITS POSITIVE LINE BUT SAID HE HAD NOTICED SOME NEGATIVE SIGNS, PARTICULARLY FROM THE CDU. POLAND DID NOT WANT TO TURN ITS BACK ON THE WEST. HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A LETTER FROM BREZHNEV PROMISING FURTHER SOVIET ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND THERE WAS A SOVIET DELATION IN TOWN DISCUSSING THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THIS, PARTICULARLY IN INDUSTRIAL SECTORS ALREADY PARALYSED BY WESTERN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

11. NEGWER SAID THAT, THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSIONS AT WHICH HE HAD BEEN PRESENT, WEHNER HAD PLAYED AN EXCLUSIVE LISTENING ROLE. HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO GAIN ANY IDEA OF THE IMPRESSIONS WEHNER WOULD HAVE TAKEN BACK TO BONN, PARTICULARLY AS THE LAST DAY OF THE VISIT HAD BEEN EXTREMELY RUSHED. NEGWER SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK WEHNER OR HIS ENTOURAGE HAD SEEN, LET ALONE APPROVED, THE PAP COMMUNIQUE IN NEGWER'S HEARING AND HE THOUGHT THAT THE POLES HAD PULLED A FAST ONE.

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12 COMMENT ON THIS IMPORTANT VISIT FOLLOWS IN MIFT. AT THE END OF THE MEETING NEGWER REMINDED US THAT WE WERE BEING BRIEFED IN WARSAW A LITTLE BEFORE WEHNER WAS HIMSELF BRIEFING CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. HE REPEATEDLY UNDERLINED THE SENSITIVE NATURE OF THIS BRIEFING WHICH I HOPE WE WIL L SCRUPULOUSLY RESPECT.

MELHUI SH

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