

CONFIDENTIAL*Kenneth James returning*

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FM FCO 091841Z MAR 82

TO IMMEDIATE WARSAW

TELEGRAM NUMBER 223 OF 8 MARCH

INFO SAVING BONN, PARIS, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO AND MOSCOW

*to Warsaw.**mt*INSTRUCTIONS FOR CALL BY HM AMBASSADOR ON POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER.

1. I SHOULD LIKE YOU TO USE THE WORDING OF THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS AT ALL IMPORTANT POINTS, BUT YOU HAVE DISCRETION AS TO THE ORDER AND STYLE. THE MESSAGE YOU SHOULD TRY TO GET HOME TO HIM IS THAT I COUNT MYSELF A FRIEND OF POLAND BUT SHALL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO REMAIN ONE SO LONG AS THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME CONTINUES ON ITS PRESENT COURSE. IF CZYREK QUESTIONS YOU ABOUT HMG'S INTENTIONS, EG, ON RESCHEDULING AND NEW CREDIT, YOU SHOULD NOTE HIS QUESTIONS AND SAY THAT YOU WILL SEEK FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. I HOPE THE CALL MAY END ON THE NOTE THAT CZYREK WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE YOU FROM TIME TO TIME.

BEGINS

2. I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO PASS TO YOU A MESSAGE FROM LORD CARRINGTON. HE SENDS YOU HIS GREETINGS AND GOOD WISHES AND INSTRUCTS ME TO SPEAK AS FOLLOWS:

3. IN THE SPIRIT OF THE TRADITIONALLY CLOSE AND GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, LORD CARRINGTON BELIEVES IT IS RIGHT THAT WE SHOULD SEEK TO DISCUSS THE PRESENT ISSUES THAT CONCERN US AS FRANKLY AND AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE.

4. LORD CARRINGTON RECALLS HIS CONVERSATION WITH YOU DURING YOUR VISIT TO LONDON LAST NOVEMBER. HE TOOK PARTICULAR NOTE OF YOUR STATEMENT THEN THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVED POLAND'S PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED THROUGH DIALOGUE. LORD CARRINGTON REGRETS THAT THIS PATH HAS NOT BEEN FOLLOWED. HE FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT POLAND CAN ACHIEVE THE POLITICAL STABILITY, SOCIAL HARMONY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY WHICH ALL POLAND'S FRIENDS WISH TO SEE, EXCEPT BY RESUMING THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL CONCILIATION AND DIALOGUE.

5. LORD CARRINGTON ALSO RECALLS THAT IN YOUR LAST MESSAGE TO HIM CONVEYED BY AMBASSADOR STANISZEWSKI ON 22 DECEMBER YOU EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT MARTIAL LAW WAS NOT A PERMANENT SOLUTION IN POLAND AND WOULD BE LIFTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WELCOMED THESE ASSURANCES, AS WE HAVE SIMILARLY WELCOMED THOSE GIVEN BY GENERAL JARUZELSKI PERSONALLY AND IN THE NAME OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION.

6. LORD CARRINGTON OBSERVES WITH DEEP REGRET, HOWEVER, THAT THREE MONTHS AFTER THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND, THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE STILL UNABLE TO GIVE A FIRM INDICATION WHEN THE PRESENT ABNORMAL CONDITIONS WILL BE ENDED. HE HAS ASKED ME TO EMPHASIZE TO YOU THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE BRITISH AND OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENTS ATTACH TO THESE COMMITMENTS AND TO DRAW TO YOUR ATTENTION

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OUR CONCERN AT THE EFFECT THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND HAVE HAD AND ARE CONTINUING TO HAVE ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS. NOT ONLY IN EUROPE. HE BELIEVES THAT YOU WILL BE ALREADY AWARE OF HIS VIEW THAT ANY FURTHER DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION COULD NOT FAIL TO HAVE THE HRAVEST CONSEQUENCES FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A WHOLE.

7. SO FAR AS THE UNITED KINGDOM IS CONCERNED, LORD CARRINGTON REJECTS THE SUGGESTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE THAT THERE HAS BEEN WESTERN INTERFERENCE IN POLISH AFFAIRS AND THAT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS ARE SEEKING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF POLAND'S DIFFICULTIES. BRITAIN AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WEST ARE CONTINUING TO GIVE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE POLISH PEOPLE. BUT NO WESTERN GOVERNMENT COULD IGNORE THE FACT OF THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW OR THE WAY IN WHICH IT IS BEING APPLIED. IN RECENT DAYS FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ON INDIVIDUAL DETAINEES TO GO INTO FORCED EXILE ABROAD HAS MADE A PARTICULARLY BAD IMPRESSION UPON PUBLIC OPINION, NOT ONLY IN BRITAIN.

8. LORD CARRINGTON THEREFORE HOPES THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WILL FIND AN EARLY WAY TO PROVE THE SINCERITY OF THEIR DECLARED INTENTION TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF REFORM AND RECONCILIATION. HE WOULD WELCOME AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT FROM YOU AS FOREIGN MINISTER AS TO HOW THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION INTENDS TO ACHIEVE ITS STATED OBJECTIVES AND WHAT TIMETABLE IS NOW ENVISAGED FOR ENDING MARTIAL LAW, THE RELEASE OF THOSE STILL DETAINED, THE INTRODUCTION OF REFORMS AND THE RESUMPTION OF GENUINE DIALOGUE WITH THE CHURCH AND WITH THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF SOLIDARITY. (ASTERISK SEE BELOW)

9. IN CONCLUSION, LORD CARRINGTON HAS ASKED ME TO SAY THAT HE HAS IN THE PAST GREATLY VALUED THE CONTACTS AND DIALOGUE THAT HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, AND NOT LEAST THE VARIOUS CONVERSATIONS WHICH HE HAS HAD WITH YOU PERSONALLY. BY ITSELF A DIALOGUE CANNOT SOLVE THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHICH AT PRESENT SEPARATE US. BUT IN THE LONG TERM IF THEY ARE DISCUSSED OPENLY THE UNDERSTANDING ACHIEVED CAN HELP TO FIND WAYS TO OVERCOME THEM.

ASTERISK: " YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT ON THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS MUST DEPEND THE ATTITUDE AND ACTIONS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO POLAND".

CARRINGTON

POLAND SPECIAL
STANDARD

EESD
CSCE UNIT
NAD
SED
WEB
EGD (E)
ESID
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UND
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