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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 359 OF 15TH MARCH 1982

Dubly 160830 Brussels (for Halliday)
INFO ROUTINE: MOSCOW, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, UKMIS GENEVA
INFO SAVING: EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, PARIS, BONN, MODUK,
SOFIA, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, UKMIS NEW YORK
AND UKREP BRUSSELS

YOUR TELNO 223 (NOT TO ALL) : CALL ON CZYREK.

1. I CALLED TODAY ON CZYREK. AFTER INITIAL COURTESIES I SPOKE TO HIM AS INSTRUCTED IN YOUR TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE. I MADE HARDLY ANY ALTERATIONS TO THE WORDING OR THE ORDER. I ENDED BY SAYING THAT I THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT, AS BRITISH AMBASSADOR, TO KEEP THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION OPEN, EVEN IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES AND EVEN WHEN I HAD TO SAY IMPALATABLE THINGS. I WOULD BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED TO KNOW HOW HE SAW THE FUTURE DEVELOPING AND WHEN THE APPARATUS OF MARTIAL LAW WOULD BE LIFTED. CZYREK LISTENED TO ME ATTENTATIVELY AND WITHOUT INTERRUPTION. HE REPLIED IN A MILD AND COURTEOUS MANNER. OUR TALK LASTED NEARLY AN HOUR AND A HALF.

2. HE SAID THAT HE WAS GLAD THAT YOU WERE STILL A FRIEND OF POLAND AND WANTED TO MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE. HE TOO ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO THIS. HE CLAIMED THAT IN AUTUMN 1981 YOU HAD ASKED HIM WHY SOLIDARITY DID NOT CONSOLIDATE ITS GAINS RATHER THAN RISK DESTABILISING THE SITUATION IN POLAND. CZYREK HAD REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW THE ANSWER AND WAS FEARFUL OF A POLISH TRAGEDY. THIS FEAR HAD PHOVED TO BE WELL GROUNDED. HE HAD TOLD YOU IN NOVEMBER THAT SOLIDARITY WAS STRANGLING THE ECONOMY BY HOLDING DOWN COAL PRODUCTION, BLOCKING EXPORTS AND FRUSTRATING ECONOMIC REFORMS BY DEMANDING POLITICAL CONCESSIONS IN RETURN SEMI COLON AND THAT UNLESS ECONOMIC BREAKDOWN WERE AVERTED, THE SITUATION WOULD DEVELOPE ADVERSELY FOR POLAND AND FOR DETENTE. SO IT SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A COMPLETE SURPRISE TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THAT MARTIAL LAW HAD LATER BEEN DECLARED. IT WAS CLEAR AFTER THE DEMANDS MADE BY SOLIDARITY AT RADOM AND GDANSK WHERE SOLIDARITY WAS LEADING POLAND TO ANARCHY, ECONOMIC BREAKDOWN AND DESTABILISATION. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A POLITICAL SOLUTION AND DID NOT LIKE IMPOSING MARTIAL LAW. BUT ITS READINESS TO HOLD A DIALOGUE HAD BEEN TAKEN AS A MANIFESTATION OF WEAKNESS, AN ERROR NOW ADMITTED EVEN BY A DISSIDENT LIKE MICHNIK. DESPITE THE EMERGENCY MEASURES THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S BASIC POLICY OF DIALOGUE AND CONCILIATION.

3. CZYREK SAID THAT FROM THE START THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAD SAID THAT MARTIAL LAW WOULD CONTINUE AS LONG AS WAS NECESSARY. THE POLITICAL SITUATION WAS NOW IMPROVING AND CONFRONTATIONS WERE BECOMING LESS FREQUENT, EVEN THOUGH SOME INTERNEES AND MEMBERS

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OF SOLIDARITY WERE NOT PREPARED TO DECLARE THEIR LOYALTY TO POLAND. BUT THE MAIN REASON FOR KEEPING MARTIAL LAW WAS TO ALLOW ECONOMIC STABILISATION. MARTIAL LAW PROVIDED THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH ECONOMIC REFORM COULD BE INTRODUCED. THE ONLY ANSWER TO POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WAS TO LOWER THE STANDARD OF LIVING BY INTRODUCING PRICE RISES. THIS HAD NOW BEEN SUCCESSFULLY ACHIEVED. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT WANT TO USE MARTIAL LAW AS A MEANS OF RULING BUT AS AN UMBRELLA UNDER WHICH NECESSARY REFORMS COULD BE MADE. THE SITUATION IN POLAND WAS BEING EXPLOITED IN EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION.

4. CZYREK SAID THAT IT WAS UNREASONABLE FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO TELL THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WITH WHOM IT MUST CONDUCT DIALOGUE. DIALOGUE WAS GOING ON WITH THE CHURCH IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MIXED COMMISSION, THE MEETING BETWEEN GLEMP AND JARUZELSKI AND IN OTHER WAYS. THIS DIALOGUE WOULD CONTINUE BECAUSE THE CHURCH HAD A SPECIAL PLACE IN POLAND . BUT NO DIALOGUE COULD BE HELD WITH THE FORMER LEADERSHIP OF SOLIDARITY WHO HAD DECLARED AT RADOM THAT DIALOGUE WITH THE GOVERNMENT WAS ONLY TO BE UNDERTAKEN FOR TACTICAL REASONS. SOLIDARITY MUST BE A TRADE UNION AND NOT A POLITICAL PARTY. BUT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH ALL SECTORS OF POLISH SOCIETY.

5. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAD DONE NOTHING WHICH WORSENERD EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IT WAS RESPECTING BOTH INTERNATIONAL AND POLISH LAW AND HAD, FOR EXAMPLE, NOTIFIED THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW TO THE UN. MARTIAL LAW HAD BEEN INTRODUCED WITH FULL RESPECT FOR HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES . IN THIS RESPECT, IT COMPARED WELL WITH STATES OF EMERGENCY ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

6. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD ASSUMED AN ATTITUDE OF MORAL DISGUST TOWARDS INTERNEES WHO WISHED TO LEAVE POLAND AND SAID THAT IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT THOSE WHO WERE NOT LEAVING OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEND TO FORCE ANYBODY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY BUT WOULD NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF THOSE WHO WISHED TO DO SO. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER ANY INDIVIDUAL LEAVES POLAND WOULD DEPEND ON THE RECEIVING COUNTRY. POLAND HAD SAID THAT PEOPLE WHO WISHED TO LEAVE WOULD BE ALLOWED TO DO SO IN ORDER TO PRE-EMPT ALLEGATIONS THAT THE COUNTRY WAS BEING SURROUNDED BY AN IRON CURTAIN. IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD WISHED TO EXPEL PEOPLE FORCIBLY THEN IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN NECESSARY TO MAKE ANY STATEMENT SINCE SUCH PEOPLE COULD HAVE BEEN THROWN OUT IN ANY DIRECTION .(AT THIS POINT I EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND SAID THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE IN MY OWN COUNTRY FOR GOOD REASONS.)

7. CZYREK THEN CITED A LEAFLET PUBLISHED BY RADIO FREE EUROPE AS AN EXAMPLE OF INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S AFFAIRS . BUT WHEN I PRESSED HIM ON POSSIBLE BRITISH INTERFERENCE, HE DID NOT PURSUE THE MATTER.

8. CZYREK SAID THAT INTERNEES WERE BEING RELEASED ALL THE TIME AND THAT MORE THAN 50% HAD NOW BEEN RELEASED. LESS THAN THREE AND

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A HALF THOUSAND PEOPLE REMAINED INTERNED. HOW QUICKLY THE PROCESS CONTINUED DEPENDED ON THE STANCE ADOPTED BY INDIVIDUAL INTERNEES AND THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY.

9. HE THEN SAID AGAIN THAT HE VALUED HIGHLY YOUR DECLARATION OF FRIENDSHIP BUT ASKED HOW IT COULD BE TRANSLATED INTO PRACTICE. HE ASKED WHETHER ECONOMIC SANCTIONS HELPED POLAND, EASED THE SOCIAL SITUATION AND ASSISTED THE PROGRESS OF REFORM OR WHETHER THEY HAD THE OPPOSITE EFFECT. HAD THEY IN FACT STIMULATED SOCIAL TENSION, HARMED THE ECONOMY AND DEPRIVED POLAND OF HER ECONOMIC SOVEREIGNTY? HE REFERRED TO THE PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE AND THE SUSPENSION OF CREDIT FOR MASSEY FERGUSON PROJECT. I SAID THAT I TOOK NOTE OF THIS LAST POINT.

10. CZYREK CONCLUDED BY SAING THAT HE NOW BELIEVED THAT YOU WERE RIGHT WHEN YOU HAD TOLD HIM IN NEW YORK IN AUTUMN 1980 THAT HE LACKED EXPERIENCE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND THE STATE. YOU HAD IMPLIED THEN THAT HE WAS OVER-OPTIMISTIC AND HE BELIEVED YOU WERE WISE. POLAND WAS NOW AIMING FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY BUT THIS WOULD COST SOMETHING AND WOULD NEED TIME. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WOULD DO ALL IT COULD TO LESSEN THE DAMAGE TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

11. I SAID THAT BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS POLAND WAS PART OF A JOINT WESTERN POLICY. THE EVOLUTION OF WESTERN ATTITUDES IN A DIRECTION MORE FAVOURABLE TO POLAND DEPENDED ON EVENTS IN POLAND. DID HE HAVE ANYTHING FURTHER TO SAY ABOUT THE FUTURE? CZYREK SAID THAT EVENTS IN POLAND IN PART DEPENDED UPON THE ACTIONS OF THE WEST. I SAID THAT I DID NOT WISH TO INDULGE FURTHER IN POLEMICS ON THIS MATTER. THERE WAS AN ELEMENT OF THE CHICKEN AND THE EGG. BUT HE KNEW CLEARLY FROM WHAT I HAD SAID WHAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS TO MARTIAL LAW IN ITS PRESENT FORM.

12. FINALLY I ASKED HIM DIRECTLY WHETHER HE THOUGHT POLAND WOULD BECOME A TIDY, WELL-DISCIPLINED AUTHORITARIAN STATE OR A LESS CLEAR-CUT NATION WHICH MAINTAINED ASPIRATIONS TOWARDS FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR THE WEST TO TRY TO ASSESS THIS. CZYREK SAID THAT EVERY NATION WAS A PRODUCT OF ITS OWN HISTORY AND THERE WAS NO TRACE IN POLISH HISTORY OF DURABLE DICTATORSHIP. HE WAS NOT AFRAID FOR THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN POLAND. POLAND'S DOWNFALL IN THE PAST HAD BEEN CAUSED NOT BY DICTATORSHIP BUT BY ANARCHY. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS NOW TRYING TO REVERSE THE TREND TOWARDS ANARCHY IN POLAND.

13. I FOUND CZYREK LOOKING WELL AND IN REASONABLY BUOYANT FORM. HE WAS WELL BRIEFED AND OBVIOUSLY ENJOYED REFERRING TO HIS EARLIER

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MEETINGS WITH YOU , EVEN IF HE GAVE SOME FAVOURABLE TWISTS TO HIS RECOLLECTIONS. HE SEEMED ANXIOUS TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE WITH US, ALTHOUGH ON THIS OCCASION HE SAID LITTLE THAT WAS REALLY NEW. I WAS STRUCK BY THE WAY HE TRIED TO JUSTIFY MARTIAL LAW ON ECONOMIC GROUNDS .

14. MY OVERALL IMPRESSION IS THAT HE HAS NO CLEAR IDEA WHEN OR HOW MARTIAL LAW WILL END. IT IS VERY PROBABLE THAT HE HAS LITTLE HAND IN THE DECISION .

FCO PSE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES .

JAMES

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