

Poland

PS
PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
LORD BRIDGES
MR WRIGHT
MR EVANS
MR GILLMORE
MR GOODISON

No.10 DOWNING STREET
ASSESSMENT STAFF, CABINET OFFICE
D I O CABINET OFFICE

MR FRANKLIN }
MR CAINES } OT/D O T
MR CORLEY }
MR POWNALL }

HD/EESD (ALLOCATED)
HD/TRED
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HD/WED
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HD/PLANNING STAFF
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TELNO 704 OF 21ST JULY 1982

INFO ROUTINE: WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO AND UKMIS GENEVA
INFO SAVING: EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, SOFIA, BELGRADE, HELSINKI,
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JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH TO THE SEJM.

1. AT FIRST HEARING, AND UNCHECKED AGAINST ANY OFFICIAL TEXT,
THE MAIN POINTS OF JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH TO THE SEJM THIS MORNING
APPEAR TO ME TO BE THE FOLLOWING :-

(A) MARTIAL LAW MUST BE MAINTAINED FOR THE PRESENT. THE
AUTHORITIES HAVE EASED ITS RIGOURS, AND WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE
LIFTED IT BY NOW, BUT HAVE BEEN PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY BOTH
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL OPPOSITION, PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE US
ADMINISTRATION. IF POSITIVE TRENDS CONTINUE, JARUZELSKI HOPES TO
LIFT MARTIAL LAW BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR.

(B) THE MAJORITY OF INTERNEES HAVE BEEN RELEASED, INCLUDING ALL
WOMEN. SOME RESTRICTIONS ON OVERSEAS TRAVEL WILL BE LIFTED. IT APP-
EARS THAT THE STATEMENT ON DETAINEES REFERS TO THE RELEASES MADE

~~(B) THE MAJORITY OF INTERNEES HAVE BEEN RELEASED, INCLUDING ALL WOMEN. SOME RESTRICTIONS ON OVERSEAS TRAVEL WILL BE LIFTED. IT APPEARS THAT THE STATEMENT ON DETAINEES REFERS TO THE RELEASES MADE OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS RATHER THAN TO A NEW AMNESTY. PROFESSOR SCZEPANSKI TOLD ME TO-DAY THAT THERE WERE NOW BETWEEN 300-500 PEOPLE IN DETENTION. HE CLAIMS 1,500 HAVE BEEN LET OUT RECENTLY.~~

(C) TRADE UNIONS, WHEN THEY REAPPEAR, SHOULD BE SELF-GOVERNING AND GENUINELY INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, BUT SIMULTANEOUSLY ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PRL. FOR THIS REASON, NEITHER THE OLD GRZZ NOR SOLIDARITY PROVIDE AN APPROPRIATE MODEL FOR FUTURE TRADE UNIONS.

(D) THE AUTHORITIES REACT POSITIVELY TO THE VISIT BY THE POPE. THE DATE REMAINS OPEN. UNNECESSARY SENSATION HAS BEEN CREATED OVER THE TIMING OF THE VISIT, ESPECIALLY IN THE WESTERN PRESS. THE CONDITIONS MUST BE RIGHT FOR THE VISIT WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE NEXT YEAR IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE JASNA GORA CELEBRATIONS WHICH CONTINUE UNTIL SEPTEMBER 1983.

(E) THERE COULD BE NO RETREAT FROM REFORM. THE PROGRAMME OF THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PZPR IS STILL THE BASIS OF THE AUTHORITIES' ACTIONS. THE CREATION OF A PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT OF NATIONAL REBIRTH, ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY, IS POLAND'S BIG CHANCE. IT WILL BE BROADER-BASED THAN ITS PREDECESSORS AND SHOULD INCLUDE ALL ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY WILLING TO RESPECT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND POLAND'S ALLIANCES. SEVEN MONTHS AGO POLAND STOOD AT THE EDGE OF A PRECIPICE, NOW SHE STANDS AT THE CROSS-ROADS.

2. COMMENT WILL FOLLOW.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

JAMES

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