

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO POLAND

I think you will want to see the quite extensive comment in today's British press about your visit to Poland, much of which reflects the briefing we have done. You will want in particular to see General Jaruzelski's interview in the Guardian which gives a clue to the sort of points he is likely to make to you as well as Mr Rakowski's remarks to the Financial Times.

C.D.P.

Charles Powell

31 October 1988

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## Polish lessons

A. TELEGRAPH

31.10.88

**A**T THE prospect of Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland, which begins on Wednesday, Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the Prime Minister, commented: "I would very much like to be a pupil in her school." He admires her "resolution and firmness" and her use of "disciplinary instruments".

In truth, he would not enjoy life at St Margaret's. Mrs Thatcher can be strong willed, but the essence of her achievement is that she has persuaded a modern democracy to accept often harsh economic lessons. Mr Rakowski, by contrast, along with Poland's Communist party chief, General Jaruzelski, is the latest in a succession of appointed apparatchiks. They have no claim to popular legitimacy, which is why the disciplinary instruments that the Polish authorities use against their own people are so brutal, and ultimately so ineffectual. After eight years of struggle, Poland's union movement, Solidarity, has re-emerged with such force that Mr Rakowski may soon be obliged to sit around a table with its leader, Mr Lech Walesa. The Polish Government has even had the effrontery to express the hope that Mrs Thatcher will advise Mr Walesa to behave more responsibly.

She should do nothing of the kind. The time for Solidarity to behave responsibly will come when it is legalised, and when Poland moves along the road that leads to democracy and a free-market economy. That may be closer than many people think. General Jaruzelski's earlier repression of Solidarity was backed up by the conviction among all Poles that if the country liberalised too fast, Soviet tanks would roll in. Is that threat any longer credible with Mr Gorbachev in charge? A Soviet invasion of Poland would destroy every improvement the Soviet Union has made in its image over the last four years, and would probably bring about Mr Gorbachev's downfall. If Russia is still capable of behaving in this fashion, the sooner the world knows about it, the better. But if a Soviet occupation of Poland is now no longer practical politics, the invisible bars around it may indeed have come down. Eastern European countries may not know that they are free until they try the door.

INDEPENDENT

31.10.88

## No comfort for Mr Rakowski

MRS THATCHER will this week visit Poland, where she is to be the guest of her opposite number, Mieczyslaw Rakowski. As a Communist, Poland's recently appointed prime minister is a member of a minority movement, while as a Communist who has consistently vilified both Solidarity and the Roman Catholic church, he is a member of a peculiarly provocative minority within the minority. Most other leading Communists watch their tongues when dealing with the two most popular organisations in the land. Mr Rakowski felt no such inhibitions.

The invitation to Mrs Thatcher predated Mr Rakowski's appointment, but he appears determined to make the most of the occasion it presents. Last week he commented opportunistically on the admiration he claimed to feel for the way in which Mrs Thatcher had dealt with unprofitable state enterprises, and talked with respect of the "financial and disciplinary instruments" which she had employed to that end. In particular, the Polish premier is taken by such capitalist concepts as bankruptcy, transitional unemployment and restrictions on union powers. Other Polish ministers reportedly hope that Mrs Thatcher will deliver a lecture to Lech Walesa of Solidarity on the need for moderation and restraint and the duty of the trade union movement to eschew politics in favour of an ill-defined patriotism. The Polish authorities are likely to be disappointed in their quest for moral equivalence.

Mr Rakowski took office with a mandate — from above, rather than from below as happens in democracies — to broaden the base of the government, to open talks with

an outlawed trade union movement and with the Church, as well as to introduce much-needed and oft-postponed economic reforms. They were essential, he said last month, to improve daily life which was "sad, hard and becoming unbearable". So far he has created a new government which contains a number of relatively young, technocratic Communists and one self-made millionaire businessman who is also a card-carrying member of the party. But, not surprisingly, he has been unable to persuade distinguished non-Communists to join his administration. Moreover, his negotiators have set up so many preconditions that the much-hyped talks with Solidarity have yet to get under way and there is scepticism over whether talks, if they take place, will indeed lead to the legalisation of the movement.

Mr Rakowski is right, though hardly original, to note that the economy is in a fearful state and, insofar as he is considering reforms which reflect market realities, he deserves encouragement. But Poland's fundamental and prolonged crisis is not economic, it is political and it is for this reason that earlier attempts at economic regeneration have foundered. The government lacks legitimacy and its appeals for restraint and understanding are treated with cynicism. Because people are denied the freedom to create effective parties which can adequately represent their political interests they look elsewhere to express themselves. This, Mrs Thatcher could usefully proclaim, is why Solidarity acts like a national liberation movement and any solution to Poland's economic malaise which fails to enlist it is not worth discussing.



# Debt-servicing 'hindering Polish growth'

Christopher Bobinski talks to new Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Warsaw

**N**EW Western credits and an easing of the conditions under which Poland services its \$36bn (£20bn) external debt are crucial if the country is to enjoy any improvement in living standards, according to Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the new Prime Minister.

Mr Rakowski, who took office a month ago, told the Financial Times that the main restriction on growth was debt-servicing payments of over \$1.5bn a year.

The premier also said he was aiming to "liberalise the economy to the greatest possible extent" both internally and in respect of Western investment.

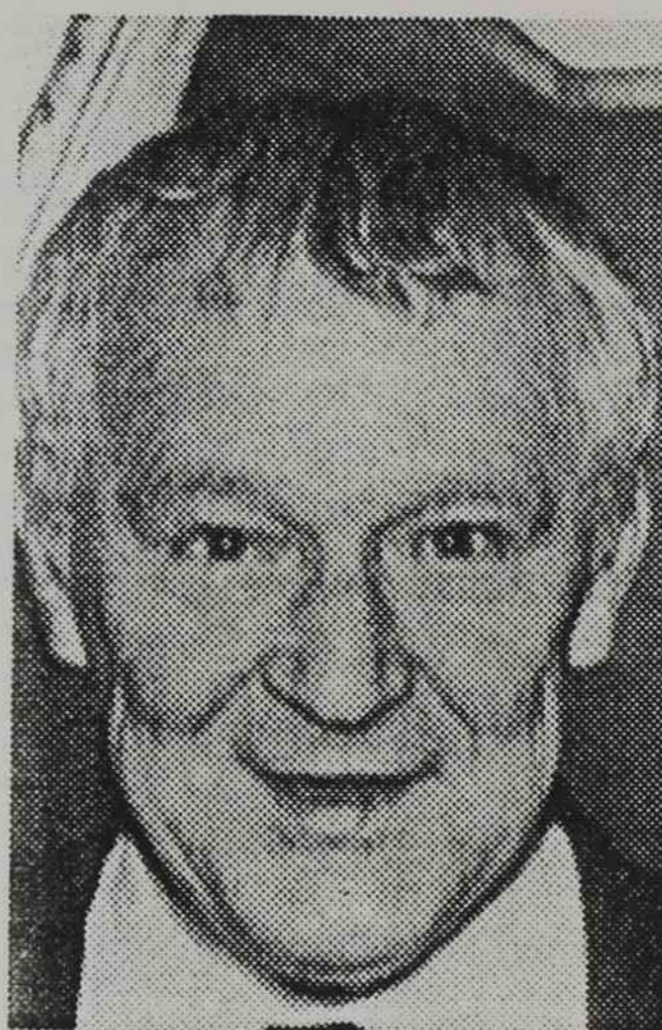
He was looking for savings on arms spending to provide tangible relief. "The debt burden though has us by the throat. If I'm unable to change this, if I fail to get new credits to make the economy more flexible, then Poland will go through a period of austerity without any prospect of raising living standards," he said at the weekend, back in the government offices where he spent half of the 1980s as a deputy premier.

He was speaking before the visit this week to Poland of Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, and the first major Western leader to arrive here since the martial law crackdown in 1981.

Mr Rakowski said he intended to use his contacts in the West, gained when he was the editor in the 1960s and 1970s of the influential *Polityka* weekly, to win greater understanding for the country's plight.

On relations with Moscow, he said: "We have an open political credit line with the Soviets and this is the new element in Poland's situation," implying that before the arrival of the present Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, Polish leaders were never fully trusted by the Kremlin.

The Polish Premier said opposition to his plans for cutting arms expenditure was coming primarily from the Polish arms industry, rather than from the Warsaw Pact or from Poland's Defence Minister, General Florian Siwicki, who was "very willing to help improve the economic situation."



Mieczyslaw Rakowski: new Western credits "crucial"

Mr Rakowski did not say by how much arms spending would be reduced.

He acknowledged that the West was looking for concrete proof that his Government meant what it said about moving ahead with radical economic reforms.

"We will give it to them," he said, confirming that he was determined to close unprofita-

ble factories and redirect labour.

He admitted there could be strikes but also said that his instinct told him Poles were ready for radical steps on the economic front.

"It's our only chance and we don't have much time," Mr Rakowski said, explaining that action was essential if the initial modest shift in the Government's favour shown by the opinion polls was not to be frittered away.

Mr Rakowski put the conservative nature of top administrators high on the list of barriers facing his Government. "They've completely lost the ability to take risks, and progress means taking risks," he said.

"At the same time, they have the conviction they are always right," he said, adding that it was fascinating how fast the establishment lost the sense of "dynamic fear" that the challenge posed by Solidarity in 1980 and 1981 had engendered.

Mr Rakowski named Mr Mieczyslaw Wilczek, his Industry Minister, who came to government from the private sector, and Mr Dominick

Jastrzebski, the Foreign Trade Minister, as members of the group of innovators on whom he was counting to challenge the administration's traditional methods.

Mr Rakowski said he was looking to young managers in state industry to support his drive for efficiency, while the private sector, which could expect to develop, would continue to be complementary to the state-owned sector.

The new Premier, a 62-year-old who joined the Communist Party soon after the war, made no secret of his view that the system he represents is at a crossroads.

"If socialism fails to show it is economically viable, then it loses in the historical confrontation with its rivals," he said, adding that the economic well-being of the population was the most important criterion for his Government.

"I haven't heard of anyone who managed to feed the masses with ideology. Why should our people be happy if the economy doesn't work and the fruits of their labour fail to give them the benefits they expect?" he said.





Walesa: Boost

# Maggie's gesture of Solidarity for Lech

By PETER HOOLEY  
Political Reporter

**MRS THATCHER goes to Poland this week with a gesture of Solidarity for Lech Walesa.**

She will honour his standing as the leader of the free trade union by meeting him in his home city of Gdansk.

She will have talks with Walesa and join him in a joint wreath-laying ceremony at the Solidarity memorial for the strikers shot dead by soldiers in 1956, 1970 and 1980.

There was more trouble in Gdansk earlier this year when strikers at the Lenin shipyard defied police in a dispute that was ostensibly about pay.

Not surprisingly therefore the

Polish authorities were reluctant to allow Mrs Thatcher to meet Walesa in Gdansk.

She arrives on Wednesday—just when hopes for an historic pact between Solidarity and the authorities appear to be on the point of collapse.

She will be met by General Jaruzelski, chairman of the Communist Party which has failed to lead Poland out of

economic stagnation since martial law was imposed in 1981.

Mrs Thatcher is expected to ram home the Western view that reforms will be seen as meaningless unless they are backed by a Solidarity pact and the support of the nation.

The Communist leaders argue that reviving Solidarity now would lead to spiralling costs, leaving them unable to dent Poland's \$37 billion debts.

## Maggie heads into Polish rift

MRS Thatcher will walk a tightrope between Poland's Communist rulers and the banned trade union Solidarity during this week's historic visit to Poland.

She will meet both sides during her three-day stay, the first by a British Prime Minister.

Her arrival on Wednesday is expected to coincide with the collapse of hopes for a pact between the Polish government and the opposition.

Mrs Thatcher's programme includes talks with party chairman General Jaruzelski and anti-Solidarity Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

She will also meet Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in an unofficial programme packed with gestures of sympathy for the banned trade union.

## Red telly toughie to grill Mrs T

PREMIER Margaret Thatcher faces trial by TV when she visits strife-torn Poland this week.

The Communist Poles have lined up their answer to Sir Robin Day to interrogate her in front of 40 million viewers.

Tough-talking Tadeusz Jacewicz—dubbed Poleaxe Jack by his fans—was chosen to give Maggie a hard time if she goes on the attack over banned union Solidarity.

A Polish official said: "We won't take kindly to lectures on union freedom."

## Solidarity shipyard 'ordered to close'

From Mail Correspondent in Warsaw

POLAND'S new Industry Minister has ordered the closure of the huge Lenin shipyard in Gdansk—birthplace of the banned Solidarity union—according to union sources.

The shipyard director said he will fight the decision.

The news comes only three days before Mrs Thatcher's historic trip to Poland, during which she will become the first Western head of government to visit Gdansk, where she will meet Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

The Lenin shipyard, which employs 12,000 people, has been under threat of closure for the past year. A strike last August ended only after Walesa was promised, during his first talks with the Government in seven years, that recognition of Solidarity would be discussed.

TODAY Monday October 31 1988 ★★★★★



# Poles hope Mrs Thatcher will offer a few tips on union-bashing

THE propaganda war between Solidarity and the state which has been sparked by Margaret Thatcher's impending visit to Poland continued in Warsaw yesterday. Even before it begins, the three-day tour, taking in a visit to Lech Walesa in Gdansk, has something of the excited make-believe of a by-election.

Its concrete political significance is hard to discern. No new initiative is expected, political or economic. No plane-load of businessmen is accompanying Mrs Thatcher as it did when Chancellor Kohl visited Moscow, and as it does with the tireless West German Foreign Min-

ister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

There will certainly be no budging from Anglo-American opposition to the idea put forward by Rome and Paris for a "Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe". Indeed, little more appears to lie behind the much-postponed trip than Britain's alternative to a foreign policy for the other half of the continent, and an outing for the Lobby.

But without question Mrs Thatcher is a name to conjure with, almost more so in Eastern Europe than elsewhere. The beleaguered Polish party bosses revere her for her real or imagined influence

with Washington, but above all as a dragon-slayer, the politician who finally dealt with the trade union barons, and chivvied a stagnating economy back to life.

Asked last week about Mrs Thatcher's tough attitude to the trade unions, the new Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski said: "I would very much like to be a pupil in her school," and Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek told a press confer-

ence that he hoped Mrs Thatcher would "explain to him [Lech Walesa] the results in England of trade union behaviour". If Mrs Thatcher did not deliver such a practical history lesson, said Mr Wilczek, "I would lose all the respect I have for her". Mrs Thatcher is likely to find the new industry minister one of the more interesting encounters of her political sightseeing tour. A dollar millionaire, industrial chemist, soap powder manufacturer, and land owner, Mr

Wilczek, 56, is testimony to the possibilities within the system, even for aristocrats like himself.

Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz told *The Independent* yesterday that Mrs Thatcher would be having lunch with Mr Walesa at St Brigida's church in Gdansk, and possibly laying a wreath at the huge monument to the workers killed in the 1970 shipyard strikes. "We see it as support for the ideals and values Solidarity stands for," he said. He said it was significant that Mrs Thatcher had been the first Western leader to insist on official permis-

sion for a visit to the citadel of Solidarity. As for possible history lessons about industrial discipline, he retorted: "We would like to have the same freedom and degree of influence as the trade unions under Mrs Thatcher."

For many in the Solidarity movement, which has received only half-hearted support from British trade unions, Mrs Thatcher represents the same shining path as she does for the party. For them, Thatcher's Britain stands for economic freedom, and after a painful interval, a new prosperity.

Leading article, page 20

From Edward Steen in Vienna



**Politicians unfriendly towards own unions are demanding that Poland grant Solidarity rights'**

## Jaruzelski stands firm on reforms on eve of visit

**P**OLAND has a new Prime Minister and a new government. Round table discussions involving Lech Walesa, representatives of the church, and the government are on the agenda. What are the options open to you, as you consider political reforms, and seek to achieve the credibility which has, at least partially, eluded you so far? How far are you willing to advance political pluralism in Poland?

If you had asked Oliver Cromwell about his vision of the limits of constitutional reform then probably his answer would not have much relevance to the present situation in your country.

I would prefer to refrain from definitions designed to have a long period of validity. However, I can easily define rational limits within which socio-political and economic reforms in Poland can take place.

I am emphasising the word "rational". Poles are frequently blamed for day-dreaming or inclinations to fantasise. I believe that today we are far from it. Bitter experiences taught us realism. We have abandoned many illusions. The limits are set by the objective interests of the sovereign, socialist Polish state within its safe frontiers.

We are not fixing any limits based on arbitrary premises. Every society grows, matures and acquires experiences. What seemed unacceptable yesterday, becomes obvious today.

Compare England of the Dickens times and England governed by the Labour Party. Change has its roots in the essence of history itself. We are in favour of a broad, perspective understanding of the "limits" to change, which confront us. However, I want to emphasise that we will not permit, under any circumstances, any encroachment on the limit of security of the state and nation.

The West has always taken considerable interest in the fate of Mr Walesa and the Polish leadership's attitude towards Solidarity. Rightly or wrongly, there is a tendency to judge the Polish Government's actions in terms of your willingness to find a *modus vivendi* with Solidarity. Can you explain what prompted you to reverse your long-held posi-

As Mrs Thatcher prepares for the first visit by a British Prime Minister to Poland, **Hella Pick** talks to the country's leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, about the mounting political and economic crisis. While espousing greater liberalism, Gen Jaruzelski, who answered questions during an hour-long unofficial session and a written interview, remains hostile to Western criticism of his policy towards Solidarity, and attacks the British Government for its own record on trade union rights

tion, and initiate a dialogue with Mr Walesa? Do you now accept a role for an independent trade union in Poland, and are there any circumstances under which you would be prepared to reinstate Solidarity legally?

We are, of course, well aware of the interest taken by the West in certain persons and groups in Poland. If you will excuse my sarcastic comment, it sometimes seems surrealistic when politicians, who could hardly be called friendly towards trade unions in their own countries, are demanding that Poland grant to trade unions rights which they fought against in their country.

Moreover, I want to explain that the "socio-political map" of contemporary Poland is far more complicated than the one which is frequently described in Western media. We are striving to shape a new coalition model of government — together with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party — each of them being a genuine political force. We are heading for a further expansion of the coalition to include the opposition forces.

As regards the former "Solidarity" I know nothing of the change in the position taken by the Polish authorities in this respect. We recognised the movement as one of the important manifestations of the justified dissatisfaction of the working class. We wanted to cooperate loyally with it. We did not hide our concern when it started to transform itself — due to a group of professional

anti-communists — into an anti-state organisation.

If you look at my speeches from those days you will see that they have not lost their topicality throughout these years. After the introduction of martial law, we have frequently emphasised that fundamental provisions of the Solidarity movement are close to us. However, we consistently rejected, and we continue to reject, everything which was implanted into the movement in order to use it as a "Trojan horse" by professional anti-communists.

I cannot agree that we have reversed the essence of our proposals for reform. I want to remind you that on October 30, 1981, I launched exactly the same proposal which we are putting forth now: to set up the Council of National Conciliation. It is difficult, therefore, to speak about an "incurable" conflict between the authorities and the formed Solidarity.

We are patiently looking for ways and means to overcome the present deadlock in Poland's life. At one of the recent meetings of the Central Committee I said that not desperation, but determination led us to the decision to set up a round table. I want to assure you that we do not see our offer as a gesture of magnanimity or as a life belt. It is simply one of many possible actions.

To define "an independent trade union" you are also alluding to an issue that must be a delicate matter in your own country, in Britain. Defeats and humiliations of trade unions in

your country would prompt me to ask many questions. As for Polish trade unions, existing ones proved their independence to the extent that they played a leading role in provoking the fall of the previous (Messner) government. From what I know Mr (Arthur) Scargill did not succeed in doing that. So, where does the line of "independence" run?

Neither am I sure if the TUC is really independent from the Labour Party. We in Poland also have no ground to trust those activists of the former Solidarity who boast of their independence, and yet take \$3 million from the US federal budget each year.

The problem in Poland is not so much about reinstatement of Solidarity, but about fundamental guarantees of the partner's trustworthiness. And it is the round table that offers the opportunity to reach agreement, and to find an optimum model of trade unions in Poland.

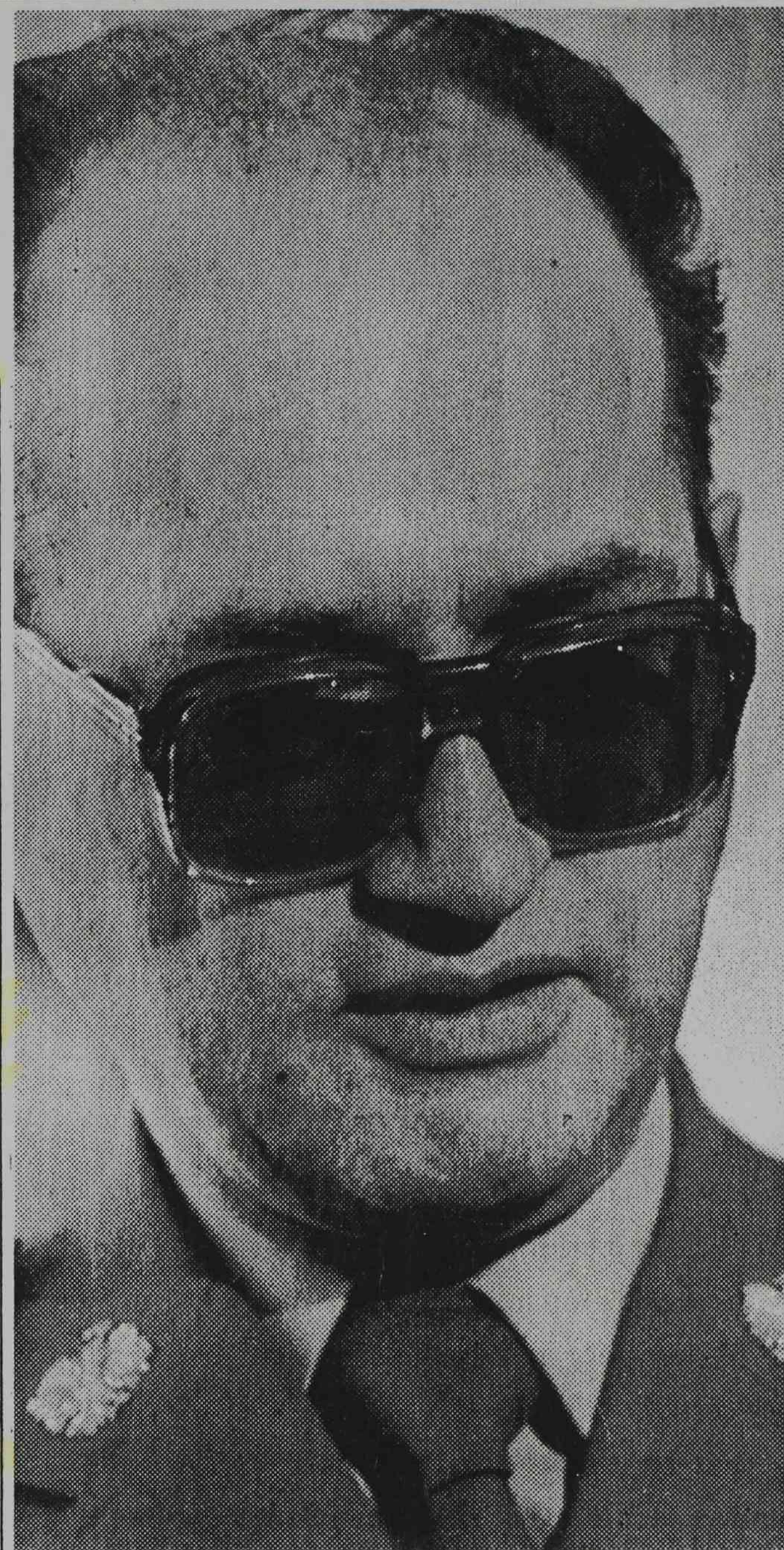
Since 1981, there have been several attempts at economic reform in Poland: but none have succeeded in resolving its economic crisis. What radical measures need to be taken now, if Poland is to experience the rise in its standard of living which the population craves?

The reforms, so far, were limited to a more or less successful modification of the existing, centralised economic model. As time passed, the limits of this model were exhausted. This, above all, accounts for the slowdown in the growth rate, followed by stagnation and crisis.

Since July 1981, we have been determined to apply deep-going reform. It can hardly be expected that one could change overnight the structures, habits and mechanisms shaped in the course of four decades. However, I believe that we are on the right path.

British readers must be aware that restructuring industry, introduction of new criteria of profitability, yield and effectiveness, struggle against inflation — are not goals that can be reached without social costs. In our system such costs can be lower than in the capitalist system. But this does not mean they can be totally avoided. We are prepared for that.

Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland is intended to mark both her interest in forging



Gen Jaruzelski . . . Sees Poland as historic European bridge

closer relations with your country, and also to demonstrate Britain's recognition that the countries of Eastern Europe have to play their own, independent, role in building closer links across the East-West divide. What are your expectations of Mrs Thatcher's visit?

I am glad that these intentions guide your Prime Minister's visit. They coincide with ours. In Poland, we attach great importance to this first-ever visit by a British Prime Minister. I appreciate Mrs Thatcher's qualities as an outstanding politician who has accumulated experience in developing the British economy and in consolidating British prestige.

We expect that during Prime Minister Thatcher's visit, the proverbial British art of diplomacy will find a way of blending the political and economic

substance with Polish realities. We would be happy if London turned out to be capable of thinking about Europe in a proper, realistic perspective.

Mr Gorbachev has often spoken of forging a house of Europe. How do you envisage closer ties in Europe, and given Poland's geography and historical ties, what role would you want to map out for your country?

I cannot speak for Mr Gorbachev. However, our close relations make it possible for me to see the new thinking and Soviet perestroika from a very close perspective. The common European home is a concept of historic dimension which must be developed jointly.

I fully agree that Poland can and should become an important bridge because of her age-old links with Western culture and civilisation.



# Reconciliation in Poland being talked to death

By Robin Gedye in Warsaw

THE BEST chance in seven years for reconciliation between Polish society and government appears to be slipping away in a welter of verbal abuse. Like so many lost opportunities to lower tension within this divided society, a great idea has been all but talked to death.

Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Prime Minister, was perhaps displaying more honesty than many of his colleagues when he said on Friday that much vaunted round-table talks between the opposition and the authorities would be shown by time to be "an insignificant event".

Far more important was to get the Polish economy back on an even keel, he suggested.

The insignificant event, which Poles have been talking about since the round-table talks were suggested last August and a wave of strikes was called off as a sign of good faith, seems to mean different things to different people.

To scores of young workers living in bunk beds in rooms the size of large broom cupboards in



Mr Michnik: experience

the workers' hostel for the Huta Warszawa steelworks, they are somewhat more significant.

Piniór, a 23-year-old whose possessions are crammed into a bedside table on which stands a photograph of his parents and sister, rather pins his hopes on the talks.

"Lech (Walesa) will do it for us. He'll see us right. It's really all we have to hope for. They know that they'll have to talk to us in the end because we hold the answer to their fortunes."

His fellow-workers nod approval through a fog of cheap cigarette smoke that pervades the rooms and halls housing hundreds of workers in military-style accommodation in a suburb of Warsaw.

And if the talks fail? "Well, I've got plans. I'm going to emigrate. Work in Germany or Britain, make as much in a day as I do in a month and come back to live like a king."

The feelings of the dozen workmen who gather around Piniór are identical. They have come to believe that the talks between Lech Walesa and the government will not only take place, but will bring about the relegalisation of Solidarity.

It is a simple dream, which this weekend came as close as ever to being confined to fantasy.

The government insists that it will not sit at the same table as Mr Adam Michnik and Mr Jacek Kuron, two one-time Marxists turned anti-Communists who are Poland's dissidents at the intellectual core of Solidarity. The banned union refuses to discuss having them removed from the negotiating team.

The two sides seem farther than ever from a compromise.



Mr Kuron: intellect

The talks, and with them the hopes of millions of Poles, appear doomed.

Mr Maciej Krulowski, 34, a teacher, appeared to reflect a heartfelt disappointment, common to many educated Poles: "At first I thought nothing would come of these talks. Then I began to believe that the government was sincere."

"Now, with all the abuse flying about and the same old stubborn attitudes appearing again, I despair. Nothing will come of this either. We have thrown it all away again."

Western diplomats are hardly more optimistic: "While there are signs that elements on both sides continue to seek openings, positions are polarising."

"You cannot escape the con-

clusion that the government's objections are, while understandable, not *per se* enough to prevent the talks from convening.

"If they really wanted a dialogue with the forces of opposition, the presence of Michnik and Kuron should not be enough to prevent it."

"The real problem with those two is not so much that they are anti-Communists (most of Poland could be excluded on that basis) but that they represent experience and the sort of intellect that the government is unable to field at the talks."

"They would run rings around the official negotiators."

Meanwhile undercurrents of popular resentment begin to build. Gen Jaruzelski, Poland's leader, gave warning last week that while the use of force to resolve Poland's problems was regrettable, "we would not hesitate to use it if attempts were made to abolish the socialist state".

Two weeks ago youths went on the rampage in Gdansk, due to be visited by Mrs Thatcher next week. The events, filmed by police cameras, were shown on Polish television.

Some of those participating wore balaclavas in a new and sinister disguise. Barricades were thrown up, and riot police were stoned.

The present climate of mistrust has grown to the point where opposition forces and even some Western diplomats believe the demonstration was a provocation.

The notoriously conservative security forces, they say, want to damage the round-table talks by showing extremists taking to the streets.

At the same time there is widespread discontent at factory level where the purchasing power of the zloty diminishes daily amid rocketing inflation.

Most worrying for the government is the first generation of politically committed student activists to emerge since martial law was imposed nearly seven years ago.

Student unions are flourishing throughout Poland, and hardly a



Mr Rakowski: candour

day passes without some form of illegal gathering on campus.

Over the past two weeks a boycott of military training classes, witnessed occasionally throughout the summer, has spread to most Polish universities.

The radical Freedom and Liberty protest movement is blamed by the authorities for spreading dissent among the young.

Gen Jaruzelski warned workers and students against "questioning the necessity of military service" and causing disturbances in defence industry plants. "I advise everybody against playing with this issue," he said.

● Mr Gerald Kaufman, shadow Foreign Secretary, denounced as an insult and an act of hypocrisy yesterday the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to Poland.

He said in Manchester: "She intends to visit the shipyard at Gdansk at a time when her policies in Britain are destroying what little of the shipbuilding industry remains."

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