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FM WARSAW 041430Z JAN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 015 OF 4TH JANUARY 1982

AND TO UKREP BRUSSELS (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)

INFO IMMEDIATE: WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN, ROME AND UKDEL
NATO.

POLAND : INTERNAL SITUATION.

1. MY TELS NOS 12 AND 13 TRANSMITTED A RECORD OF GENERAL JARUZELSKI'S DISCUSSION WITH EC HEADS OF MISSION TODAY. BEFORE THAT MEETING THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR GAVE US AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF DISCUSSIONS HE HAD THE PREVIOUS DAY WITH CZYREK AND RAKOWSKI ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM BONN. I EXPECT MR GENSCHER WILL HAVE INFORMED THE MEETING OF EC MINISTERS ABOUT THIS MEETING WHICH IN MANY RESPECTS WAS MORE INTERESTING THAN THE EXCHANGE WITH JARUZELSKI.

2. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR SAW CZYREK AND RAKOWSKI TOGETHER ON SUNDAY MORNING, 3 JANUARY. HE SAID THAT GENSCHER HAD ASKED HIM TO REMIND

MORNING, 3 JANUARY. HE SAID THAT GENSCHER HAD ASKED HIM TO REMIND THE POLISH AUTHORITIES OF GERMAN AND WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEREST IN ANY NEW MOVES ON THE RE-OPENING OF THE DIALOGUE WITH CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY, THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW AND THE RELEASE OF ALL DETAINEES. GENSCHER HAD TOLD RAKOWSKI THAT HE WAS HOPING FOR SOME ACTION ON ALL OF THESE BY 4 JANUARY WHEN EC FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE MEETING IN BRUSSELS. AFTER THAT MEETING GENSCHER WAS HIMSELF GOING DIRECTLY TO THE US TO JOIN CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT ON 5 JANUARY.

3. RAKOWSKI REPLIED THAT THERE WAS AN ACTIVE DIALOGUE GOING ON WITH THE CHURCH AT THE LEVEL OF BARCIKOWSKI WITH CARDINAL MACHARSKI, AND BISHOP DABROWSKI. THERE WAS ALSO A DIALOGUE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF SOLIDARITY WHICH WAS BECOMING BROADER AND DEEPER EVERY DAY. MORE SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS WERE NOW READY TO TALK WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND RAKOWSKI MENTIONED GOTOWSKI, A MEMBER OF SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL COMMISSION. BRUNNE, SOLIDARITY'S SPOKESMAN, WHO HAD BEEN ABROAD ON DECEMBER 12/13 WAS NOW COMING BACK TO POLAND AFTER CONTACTS IN THE US WITH THE POLISH EMBASSY. NEGWER INTERVENED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD HIS FOREIGN MINISTER TO MEAN THE RE-OPENING OF A DIALOGUE WITH IMPORTANT SOLIDARITY LEADERS AND PARTICULARLY WITH WALES. RAKOWSKI REPLIED THAT IT WAS MUCH TOO EARLY TO START THIS SORT OF DIALOGUE. WALES WAS A SPACIAL CASE. HE CONSIDERED HIMSELF A VIP AND HIS PROPOSALS WERE FRANKLY UNREALISTIC. HE WAS NOW BEGINNING TO REALISE THAT LIFE IN POLAND WOULD GO ON WITHOUT HIM. THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT AT FACTORY FLOOR LEVEL THE WORKERS HAD FORGOTTEN HIM.

4. AS FOR MARTIAL LAW, RAKOWSKI SAID THAT NO-ONE COULD YET GIVE A FIRM ESTIMATE ABOUT WHEN IT WOULD BE LIFTED OR RELAXED. THE DECISION HAD ALREADY BEEN TAKEN THAT "ZYCIE WARSZAWY" WOULD RE-APPEAR THIS WEEK. RAKOWSKI DID NOT REPLY WHEN NEGWER ASKED HIM ABOUT HIS OWN WEEKLY "POLITYKA". ON DETAINEES, RAKOWSKI AND CZYREK SAID THAT ONE-SIXTH OF THOSE INTERNED HAD ALREADY BEEN RELEASED AND MORE WERE BEING RELEASED EACH DAY.

5. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION, CZYREK SAID THAT JARUZELSKI WOULD NOT BREAK MUCH NEW GROUND IN HIS DISCUSSION THE FOLLOWING DAY WITH THE EC HEADS OF MISSION. HE WOULD UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND POLAND WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE "PEACE INFRASTRUCTURES" ESTABLISHED IN THE 70S. WHEN NEGWER MENTIONED THE EC DEMARCHE ON 22 DECEMBER, CZYREK SAID HE HAD FORGOTTEN IT SINCE HE HAD NOT ACCEPTED IT.

6. CZYREK HANDED OVER JARUZELSKI'S REPLY TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S EARLIER LETTER. NEGWER SAID IT CONTAINED NOTHING NEW BUT

6. CZYREK HANDED OVER JARUZELSKI'S REPLY TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S EARLIER LETTER. NEGWER SAID IT CONTAINED NOTHING NEW BUT CONCENTRATED ON POLISH SOVEREIGNTY.

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FM WARSAW 041330Z JAN

TO FLASH FCO

TELNO 012 OF 4TH JANUARY 1982

AND TO FLASH UKREP BRUSSELS (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)

INFO IMMEDIATE: WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN, ROME, DUBLIN,
ATHENS, THE HAGUE, COPENHAGEN, BRUSSELS, LUXEMBOURG AND UKDEL
NATO.

INFO SAVING: PRAGUE, SOFIA, BELGRADE, BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, EAST
BERLIN.

GENERAL JARUZELSKI'S MEETING WITH EC HEADS OF MISSION.

1. JARUZELSKI SPENT NEARLY TWO HOURS WITH THE 5 EC HEADS OF MISSION
REPRESENTED IN WARSAW. BY AGREEMENT, THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR WILL BE
SENDING A COLLECTIVE REPORT BUT YOU WILL WISH TO HAVE MY OWN ACCOUNT
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. AFTER CONVEYING NEW YEARS GREETINGS TO US AND TO OUR HEADS OF
STATE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE...

STATE, GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE, JARUZELSKI SPOKE FOR OVER ONE HOUR, WITH TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH AND FRENCH, ABOUT THE LEAD-IN TO THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW AND ITS JUSTIFICATION. THIS ACCOUNT CONTAINED FEW SURPRISES AND WAS VERY CLOSE TO CZYREK'S DEFENCE OF MARTIAL LAW IN THE FIRST WEEK OF THE CRISIS. SOME FLAVOUR OF JARUZELSKI'S COMMENTS CAN BE GAINED BY THE FOLLOWING SELECTIVE EXTRACTS.

3. POLAND WAS NORMALLY A BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BUT NOW, REGRETFULLY, THE COUNTRY WAS A FOCUS OF TENSIONS. THE STATE OF WAR DECLARED ON 13 DECEMBER WAS CONSTITUTIONALLY CORRECT EVEN IF THE TERM GAVE TOO SHARP AND CONFRONTATIONAL A MEANING TO WHAT WAS HAPPENING ON THE GROUND. IT WAS NOT A MILITARY COUP. THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT WAS STILL WORKING. "JARUZELSKI COULD NOT BRING DOWN JARUZELSKI". THE ARMY, VERY MUCH PART OF THE POLISH NATION, REGRETTED ITS CURRENT ROLE BUT HAD TO ACT BECAUSE OF THREATENING ANARCHY. POLAND IN THE 1970S HAD MADE MANY MISTAKES, NOT A FEW BECAUSE OF WESTERN INFLUENCE. THE PROTEST OF THE GDANSK, SZCZECIN ETC WORKERS IN AUGUST 1980 INDUCED THE GOVERNMENT TO SEEK ITS OWN PATH OF RENEWAL. SOME MISTAKES MIGHT HAVE BEEN MADE BUT THE PATH WAS NEW AND DIFFICULT. THE ECONOMY DETERIORATED LARGELY BECAUSE OF SOLIDARITY HOSTILITY. GNP IN 1981 WAS DOWN BY 15% ON THE PREVIOUS YEAR. DESPITE WARNINGS BY THE SEJM AND DESPITE INITIATIVES BY THE GOVERNMENT IN ATTEMPTING TO SET UP A FRONT OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING SOLIDARITY REMAINED IMPLACABLY HOSTILE. THE UNION WANTED TO TAKE, AND NOT TO SHARE, POWER. THE DECISION TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW ON 13 DECEMBER WAS THE LEAST DESTRUCTIVE COURSE OPEN TO THE AUTHORITIES AND WAS DESIGNED NOT ONLY TO SAVE POLAND BUT PERHAPS EUROPE TOO.

4. JARUZELSKI WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE STATE OF MARTIAL LAW WAS UNNATURAL AND COULD NOT BE MAINTAINED IN THE LONG RUN. SOME FOREIGN COUNTRIES "AND HERE I REFER TO THE UNITED STATES" HAD DELIVERED ULTIMATA WHICH WERE MANIFESTATIONS OF CLEAR INTERFERENCE. POLAND APPRECIATED THE POSITION TAKEN BY COUNTRIES IN WEST EUROPE WHICH WERE CALMLY AND OBJECTIVELY APPRAISING THE SITUATION. POLAND ALSO WELCOMED SUPPLIES OF FOOD STUFFS AND MEDICINES FROM WESTERN EUROPE. AFTER STABILISATION AND THE RESTORATION OF THE ECONOMY POLAND WISHED TO FULFIL ALL OBLIGATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, TO THOSE WHO EXTENDED CREDITS. MISCHIEF-MAKING BODIES SUCH AS ^{Radio Free Europe} RFE, WHILE DEPLORING MARTIAL LAW, WERE ACTUALLY ENSURING ITS LONGER DURATION BY CREATING ILLUSIONS AND NURTURING FALSE HOPES.

5. JARUZELSKI SAID THAT POLAND WANTED THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE 10 FULLY TO UNDERSTAND POLISH INTENTIONS AND AIMS. THE MARTIAL LAW...

5. JARUZELSKI SAID THAT POLAND WANTED THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE 10 FULLY TO UNDERSTAND POLISH INTENTIONS AND AIMS, THE MARTIAL COUNCIL HAD NO INTEREST IN PROLONGING MARTIAL LAW, WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, MADE THE WORK OF EMBASSIES MORE DIFFICULT. SOME RESTRICTIONS WERE ALREADY BEING EASED BUT THE SCALE AND SCOPE OF FURTHER CONCESSIONS WOULD DEPEND ON THE PACE OF STABILISATION. IF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS WORKED WELL, MARTIAL LAW WOULD PROGRESSIVELY BE LIFTED. THERE WAS, HOWEVER, EVIDENCE OF CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTRY ENCOURAGED BY SUCH OUTSIDE BODIES AS RFE AND THIS HAD TO BE STAMPED OUT.

6. THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAD ALREADY RELEASED "A CERTAIN PART" OF THE DETAINEES AND WOULD CONTINUE THIS PROCESS. THOSE RELEASED WOULD HAVE TO SIGN GUARANTEES THAT THEY WOULD NOT INDULGE IN FUTURE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. IN THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY AND OF SOLIDARITY, AS A MASS MOVEMENT, SOME LEADERS WOULD HAVE TO REMAIN ISOLATED. THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION IF WESTERN COUNTRIES WERE TO RECEIVE SOLIDARITY LEADERS WHO MIGHT BE EXPELLED. THE CHURCH HAD BEEN GIVEN ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES, WHO WERE NOT HARASSED. AFTER TWO WEEKS OF MARTIAL LAW, THE FIRST MILITARY COURTS HAD NOW STARTED WORK, GIVING SOME SHORT SENTENCES.

7. THE AUTHORITIES INTENDED TO CONTINUE WITH REFORMS BUT ONLY IN A STRONG AND CONSOLIDATED POLISH STATE. "WE SHALL BE CAPABLE OF BRAVE REFORMS AND EXPERIMENTS TO EXPAND THE CHARACTER OF GOVERNMENT". BUT THE AUTHORITIES WERE NOT PREPARED TO DEAL WITH LEADERS OF SOLIDARITY WHO HAD DECLARED WAR ON THE POLISH NATION IN RADOM AND THEN IN GDANSK. SOME SOLIDARITY LEADERS IN DETENTION WERE SHOWING A REALISTIC APPROACH AND THE AUTHORITIES WERE TALKING TO THEM. THERE WAS A GOOD DIALOGUE WITH THE CHURCH, WITH WHOM THE AUTHORITIES FOUND UNDERSTANDING ON MAJOR ISSUES. THE DATE OF IMPLEMENTATION FOR FUTURE DIALOGUE DEPENDED NOT ONLY ON THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND OTHER ELEMENTS IN POLAND BUT ALSO ON THE POSITION WHICH WESTERN EUROPE WOULD ADOPT.

8. THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR, REPRESENTING THE PRESIDENCY, THEN SPOKE AS AGREED BETWEEN US AT AN EARLIER MEETING. HIS COMMENTS FOLLOWED CLOSELY THE AGREED TEXT IN COREU 14 (SEE MIFT) HE DID NOT LEAVE A COPY OF HIS COMMENTS.

9. JARUZELSKI CHOSE TO PICK OUT THE GOOD POINTS IN THE BELGIAN AMBASSADORS' COMMENTS AND TO IGNORE THE NASTY ONES. HE SAID THAT HE NEVER DOUBTED THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE COUNTRIES

~~BELGIAN AMBASSADORS' COMMENTS AND TO IGNORE THE NASTY ONES.~~
~~HE SAID THAT HE NEVER DOUBTED THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE COUNTRIES~~
REPRESENTED ROUND THE TABLE AND WAS CONFIDENT THAT POLAND COULD
RELY ON THEIR COOPERATION. HE SHARED OUR OPINION THAT FOREIGN
INTERFERENCE WAS INADMISSABLE AND WISHED TO EMPHASIS THAT THE
DECISION TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW WAS GENUINELY A POLISH ONE.
THE ONLY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE POLAND APPRECIATED WAS THE ACTION
OF SOCIALIST STATES IN SENDING SPEEDY FOOD AND OTHER AID.
HE HOPED THAT SOME PARTS OF HIS DECLARATION ANSWERED THE POINTS
RAISED IN THE COMMENTS OF THE 10. THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE
UN CHARTER SHOULD BE READ IN FULL, SINCE THEY DID NOT EXCLUDE
THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF COUNTRIES TO PURSUE INTERNAL SECURITY
OBJECTIVES AND TO PREVENT CIVIL WAR AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
ECONOMY. HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD INCLUDE THE RIGHT TO WORK AND THE
RIGHT TO PEACE. POLAND HAS TO PUT OUT THE FIRE IN ITS OWN
HOUSE. A TERRORIST WAS NOT ONLY ONE WHO PLANTED BOMBS BUT ONE
WHO THREATENED HIS COLLEAGUES AT THEIR WORK PLACE WITH CLUBS
TO PREVENT THEM FROM WORKING. JARUZELSKI CONCLUDED BY REPEATING
HIS REQUEST FOR WESTERN UNDERSTANDING.

10. IT IS ON THE FACE OF IT SURPRISING THAT JARUZELSKI CALLED
IN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE 10, ITSELF AN ACT OF SOME
SIGNIFICANCE, MOSTLY TO REPEAT PAST JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE
IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW. HIS SKETCHY ATTEMPTS TO LOOK INTO THE
FUTURE FOLLOW THE THE THREE MAIN POINTS OUTLINED BY GENSCHER WHEN
HE SAW RAKOWSKI IN BONN (BONN TELNO 1046) AND WHICH THE POLES
KNOW CAUSE COUNTRIES OF THE 10 MOST CONCERN. HE DID NOT, HOWEVER,
OFFER ANY NEW CONCESSIONS NOR PRESENT ANY NEW FACTS EXCEPT, PERHAPS
THE CURIOUS REFERENCE TO WESTERN COUNTRIES ACCEPTING EXPELLED
SOLIDARITY LEADERS. IT WAS SIMPLY AN ELEVATION OF THE DIALOGUE
BETWEEN POLAND AND THE WEST TO HEAD OF GOVERNMENT LEVEL.

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TELEGRAM NUMBER 079 OF 2 JANUARY

INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO AND UKREP BRUSSELS

POLAND: NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES

1. AS EXPECTED, THE GOVERNMENT BROUGHT INTO EFFECT SEVERAL IMPORTANT ECONOMIC CHANGES ON 1 JANUARY.

2. SUPPLY PRICES, IE THE PRICES PAID BY FACTORIES FOR THEIR ESSENTIAL RAW MATERIALS, FUELS ETC, WERE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED. ALTHOUGH DETAILS HAVE NOT YET APPEARED, COAL AND OIL ARE RUMOURED TO HAVE GONE UP 4 - 6 TIMES IN PRICE. ANNOUNCING THE CHANGES THE GOVERNMENT STATED THAT THESE INCREASES WOULD NOT IN THEMSELVES CAUSE COMMENSURATE RISES IN RETAIL PRICES; BUT INCREASES IN THE LATTER WERE INESCAPABLE ANYWAY.

3. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO CHANGED THE RATE QUOTED FOR THE ZLOTY AGAINST OTHER CURRENCIES, INCLUDING THOSE OF CMEA COUNTRIES. THE POUND STERLING NOW STANDS AT 153.49 ZLOTYS (AS AGAINST ABOUT 65 ZLOTYS PREVIOUSLY), AN EFFECTIVE DEVALUATION OF 136%. THE NEW RATE AGAINST THE US DOLLAR IS 80 ZLOTYS (ABOUT 35 ZLOTYS PREVIOUSLY). WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEW EXCHANGE RATES WILL OPERATE IN ALL FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS (EXCEPT, POSSIBLY, IN THE CALCULATION OF THE WORLD MARKET VALUES OF INDUSTRIAL IMPUTS OF DOMESTIC ORIGIN).

4. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO PUBLISHED A DOCUMENT FOR "PUBLIC DISCUSSION" ON PROPOSED CHANGES IN RETAIL PRICES, AND METHODS OF PROVIDING COMPENSATION FOR THE LESS-WELL-OFF. IF THE PROPOSED INCREASES ARE IMPLEMENTED THE PRICE OF 1 KILO OF SUGAR WILL INCREASE FROM 10.5 TO 46 ZLOTYS; MILK FROM 2.9 TO 10 ZLOTYS A LITRE; HAM FROM 59 TO 280 ZLOTYS A KILO; COAL FROM 550 TO 2000 ZLOTYS PER TONNE; DOMESTIC SERVICES EXCEPT THOSE WHOSE PRICES HAVE ALREADY INCREASED RECENTLY, EG BREAD. THE LEVELS OF COMPENSATION FOR THE PRICE INCREASES ARE PRESENTED IN THREE VARIANTS, WHICH ARE THEN RELATED TO CATEGORIES OF INDIVIDUALS (EG ORDINARY WORKERS, RETIRED PERSONS, AND CHILDREN) AND LEVELS OF INCOME. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, A WORKER WHOSE INCOME IS LESS THAN Z 3500 PER MONTH WOULD RECEIVE AN ADDITIONAL Z 1300 A MONTH, WHEREAS SOMEONE EARNING OVER Z 14,000 A MONTH WOULD RECEIVE BETWEEN Z 1100 A MONTH EXTRA OR NOTHING AT ALL, DEPENDING ON THE VARIANT OF THE SCHEME WHICH IS CHOSEN. IT IS NOT CLEAR FROM THE DISCUSSION PAPER

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WHEN, IF AT ALL, THE PRICE INCREASES WILL TAKE PLACE, OR IF THEY WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN STAGES. NOR IS IT POSSIBLE TO SAY AT THIS STAGE HOW GREAT A ROLE 'PUBLIC OPINION' WILL PLAY IN INFLUENCING THE EVENTUAL DECISIONS.

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INFO ROUTINE: UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND MODUK
INFO SAVING: BONN, PARIS, EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST,
BUCHAREST, SOFIA, BELGRADE, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, UKREP BRUSSELS.
UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKMIS GENEVA.

POLISH SITUATION:

SOLIDARITY ACCOUNT OF EVENTS:

1. SOLIDARITY (MAZOWSZE) ISSUED THEIR 6TH BULLETIN SINCE THE START OF MARTIAL LAW ON 28 DECEMBER. IT REACHED US ON 1 JANUARY. IT MAKES, INTER ALIA, THE FOLLOWING CLAIMS (WHICH, CLEARLY, WE CANNOT SUBSTANTIATE).

A) THE BALTIC COAST. ALL THE SHIPYARDS HAVE BEEN CLEARED. SMALL ZOMO DETACHMENTS REMAIN AT THE LENIN AND PARIS COMMUNE SHIPYARDS. WORK IS DUE TO RESUME IN THE YARDS TODAY. THE WORKERS HAVE DECIDED TO SIGN LOYALTY PLEDGES BECAUSE " A FORCED SIGNATURE BINDS ONE TO NOTHING ". SOLIDARITY HAVE CALLED A STRIKE IN THE YARDS FROM TODAY.

B) SILESIA. SOLIDARITY SAY THAT AT LEAST 14 MINERS DIED IN AN ATTACK ON MANIFEST LIPCOWY MINE. ROUNDUPS OF ACTIVISTS CONTINUE. ONLY MILITIAMEN AND SOLDIERS ARE TO BE SEEN ON THE STREETS OF MANY MINING TOWNS.

C) SWIDNIK. A LONG ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF EVENTS AT THE HELICOPTER FACTORY THERE ON 16 DECEMBER. IT COINCIDES WITH STORIES WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED.

D) ARMY MUTINIES. SOLIDARITY UNDERSTANDABLY DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THIS TOPIC. THEY CLAIM THAT THESE ARE BECOMING MORE WIDESPREAD. SPECIFIC INCIDENTS CITED ARE : A MUTINY BY A WHOLE UNIT AT NIEPOLOMICE NEAR KRAKOW, AFTER WHICH ALL ITS OFFICERS WERE ARRESTED: A FIGHT IN BYDGOSZCZ BETWEEN THE ARMY AND ZOMO (WE HAD HEARD THIS TOO BUT HAVE SINCE ALSO HEARD FROM A BRITISH RESIDENT OF BYDGOSZCZ THAT HE KNEW NOTHING OF SUCH A INCIDENT): THE ENFORCED REPLACEMENT OF THE ARMY BY ZOMO OUTSIDE THE LENIN SHIPYARD BECAUSE THE ARMY WAS VISIBLY SPORTING SOLIDARITY SLOGANS: THE SHOOTING OF AN OFFICER IN AN UNNAMED NORTHERN POLISH TOWN BY A SOLDIER WHO SUFFERED A NERVOUS SHOCK ON HEARING ON TV, OF THE DEATHS AT WUJEK . SOLIDARITY ADD THAT THE MARTIAL COUNCIL ARE DEPENDENT UPON THE CREATION OF A GULF BETWEEN SOCIETY AND THE ARMY. TO THIS END, POLITICAL OFFICERS ARE TELLING SOLDIERS OF ATTACKS ON PATROLS AND THE THREAT PRESENTED TO SOLDIERS FAMILIES BY MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY (WE HAVE ALSO HEARD THIS STORY FROM A POLE).

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2. IN ADDITION TO NEWS, THE BULLETIN , WHICH IS NEARLY 2 SIDES OF TYPED A4 PAPER, APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE OF WARSAW TO CARRY LARGE BAGS WITH THEM. "THIS WILL MAKE OUR WORK EASIER AND INCREASE SECURITY FOR OUR DISTRIBUTORS".

3. THERE IS ALSO AN EDITORIAL PARAGRAPH. IN BRIEF, IT SAYS THAT SOLIDARITY HAD HOPED TO USE PEACEFUL MEANS TO DEMOCRATISE THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM OF THE PRL. BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THAT "THE AUTHORITIES HAD A CONSCIENCE" THEY HAD ENGAGED IN DIALOGUE WITH THEM. THEY HAD BEEN MISTAKEN. THE PZPR HAD ALL ALONG INTENDED TO DESTROY SOLIDARITY. MARTIAL LAW WAS JUST SUCH AN EFFORT" AN ATTEMPT AT CHANGING POLAND INTO A GREAT LABOUR CAMP IN WHICH FEAR AND UNCERTAINTY OF THE MORROW PREVAIL". BUT THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT THIS CAN ONLY WORK IF FEAR KILLS THE VOICE OF CONSCIENCE IN PEOPLE.

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