

POLAND: ADVANCE COPIES

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 824 OF 13TH DECEMBER 1981

AND TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO.

FROM WELHUI SH.

POLAND : THE STATE OF EMERGENCY.

1. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN THIS GRAVE STEP FOLLOWING A GRADUAL INCREASE IN TENSION DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT IT WAS TRIGGERED BY YESTERDAY'S CONFIRMATION BY THE SOLIDARITY NATIONAL COMMISSION OF THE RADO DECLARATION. SUCH EVIDENCE AS WE HAVE SUPPORTS THIS VIEW, ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT WILL OBVIOUSLY HAVE BEEN DRAWING UP CONTINGENCY PLANS DURING THE LAST WEEK. THEY HAVE ENJOYED SOME LUCK IN THAT SOLIDARITY'S DECISION WAS MADE ON A SATURDAY EVENING, THUS ENABLING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY TO START ON A SUNDAY.
2. THE GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED AGAINST SOLIDARITY PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF ITS GROWING FRUSTRATION WITH THE UNION. MOSCOW'S ATTITUDE WILL ALSO HAVE BEEN CRUCIAL, ALTHOUGH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY WHETHER THE INITIAL IMPULSE FOR THE MOVE CAME FROM MOSCOW OR WARSAW. ON BALANCE, WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT THIS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE A POLISH

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SOLUTION WITHOUT AT THIS STAGE INVOLVING THE SOVIET UNION WAS JARUZELSKI'S LAST-MINUTE ANSWER TO HIS CRITICS AT HOME AND WITHIN OMEA.

3. AS EXPECTED, TODAY HAS BEEN QUIET, AND THERE HAS BEEN NO REACTION SO FAR TO THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN WARSAW. (IT IS STILL IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY WHAT IS HAPPENING ELSEWHERE IN POLAND). OBVIOUSLY, NO STRIKE CAN BEGIN BEFORE TOMORROW MORNING AT THE EARLIEST. BUT THERE IS THE DANGER THAT PUBLIC ANGER MIGHT ERUPT INTO STREET DEMONSTRATIONS OR EVEN VIOLENCE TODAY OR TONIGHT. THE FACT THAT THE ARMY, AFTER INITIALLY LIFTING THE CORDON ROUND SOLIDARITY'S WARSAW HEADQUARTERS, HAS REIMPOSED IT, IS AN INDICATION OF THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE AUTHORITIES VIEW THIS POSSIBILITY.

4. THE NEXT STAGE WILL BE TO SEE HOW SOLIDARITY REACTS. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT HAS DETAINED MOST OF THE TOP SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP, AND MAY CONTINUE TO HOLD THEM IN CUSTODY, THE ORGANISATION IS WELL STRUCTURED AND OTHERS WILL STEP INTO THE SHOES OF THOSE DETAINED. THIS RUMP LEADERSHIP IS LIKELY TO BE YOUNGER AND MORE RADICAL THAN THE REGULAR LEADERSHIP, BUT JUST AS WELL ORGANISED. THEY WILL HAVE SEVERAL OPTIONS OPEN TO THEM:

1) SELECTIVE STRIKES.

11) AN "ACTIVE" STRIKE.

111) A GENERAL STRIKE.

IV) PROTESTS IN THE STREETS.

V) ATTEMPTS TO RUSH PRISONS OR EVEN THE LENIN SHIPYARD IN GDANSK AND RELEASE THE IMPRISONED SOLIDARITY LEADERS.

AN ACTIVE STRIKE CAN BE VIRTUALLY RULED OUT AS IT IS A WEAPON FOR TIMES OF SOCIAL QUIET. SELECTIVE STRIKES IN THE MINING INDUSTRY, THE POWER INDUSTRY AND THE RAILWAYS WOULD PROBABLY BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON THAT SOLIDARITY HAS AT HAND. BUT IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT THE PASSIONS OF THE MEMBERSHIP WOULD IN TIME TURN A SELECTIVE STRIKE INTO A GENERAL STRIKE. WIDESPREAD STREET PROTESTS ARE ALSO LIKELY TO BURST OUT SPONTANEOUSLY AT SOME STAGE AND I WOULD NOT BE AT ALL SURPRISED IF A FEW SOLIDARITY KOTHEADS ORGANISED RAIDS ON PRISONS OR MILICJA HEADQUARTERS WHERE SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE IMPRISONED. IF AS SEEMS LIKELY THE LENIN

SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE IMPRISONED. IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, THE LENIN SHIPYARD HAS BEEN SEALED OFF, THEN AN ATTEMPT MAY WELL BE MADE TO BREAK INTO IT.

5. A FURTHER UNKNOWN FACTOR IS WALESA HIMSELF. THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN HAS JUST TOLD WESTERN JOURNALISTS THAT WALESA IS AT LIBERTY AND IS DISCUSSING POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN THE WARSAW REGION.

6. THE GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN ITSELF THE POWER TO INDICT STRIKE LEADERS BEFORE MILITARY COURTS. IT WILL USE THAT POWER, BUT, AS SOON AS IT CUTS OFF SOLIDARITY'S HEADS, NEW ONES WILL SPROUT. A MORE IMPORTANT FACTOR IS WHETHER THE MEMBERSHIP AND PEOPLE IN GENERAL WILL FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE RUMP OF THE LEADERSHIP OF SOLIDARITY. A BRITISH SUBJECT WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN SOLIDARITY IN GDANSK HAS TOLD US THAT THE MOOD THERE YESTERDAY WAS DETERMINED AND THAT SOLIDARITY MEMBERS ARE RESIGNED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE.

7. TOMORROW IS LIKELY TO BE A CRUCIAL DAY. THE WORKERS WILL RETURN TO THEIR FACTORIES, WHEREUPON SOLIDARITY CAN START ORGANISING THEM. IT WOULD BE SELF-DEFEATING OF THE GOVERNMENT NOT TO LET THE WORKERS RETURN TO WORK. IN THE LONGER TERM, THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH AND IN PARTICULAR THE POPE WILL BE CRUCIAL. IT IS ALSO NOT CLEAR HOW LONG THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSES TO CONTINUE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY. BUT NOW THAT THEY HAVE LOCKED THEMSELVES INTO THIS SITUATION THEY CAN HARDLY DRAW BACK WITHOUT INFLECTING A MAJOR DEFEAT UPON THEMSELVES. SO IT LOOKS AS IF THE EMERGENCY WILL CONTINUE FOR WEEKS RATHER THAN DAYS UNLESS THE SITUATION WORSENS TO THE POINT WHERE SOVIET INTERVENTION IS CALLED FOR.