

DIB 222100Z

IMMEDIATE

FOI

ADVANCE COPIES 24

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/LORD TREFGARNE  
PS/FUS  
MR BULLARD  
MR FERGUSSON  
SIR A ACLAND  
MR GILLMORE

NO 10 DOWNING ST  
ASSESSMENT STAFF  
CABINET OFFICE  
DIO CABINET OFFICE

HD/EESD (4)  
HD/DEF D  
HD/FUSD 2  
HD/WED  
HD/ECD(E)  
HD/PLANNING STAFF  
HD/NEWS D  
HD/CONS D  
HD, CONS EM UNIT  
RESIDENT CLERK

*ms*

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 222100Z

FM WARSAW 222005Z DEC

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 1019 OF 22ND DECEMBER 1981

INFO PRIORITY ALL EC POST, UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW,  
AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

FROM MELHUI SH.

YOUR TELNO 743 : PRESIDENCY DEMARCHE.

1. I DELIVERED THE DEMARCHE TO CZYREK AT 1915 LOCAL TIME.  
I READ THE TEXT OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE TO HIM AND THEN ADDED THE POINT MADE IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF YOUR TUR.
2. CZYREK REPLIED THAT, WHILE HE HAD GREAT RESPECT FOR YOU AND WOULD TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND YOU HIS BEST WISHES, HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE DEMARCHE. POLAND HAD NO RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. A DEMARCHE BY THE EC THEREFORE HAD NO VALIDITY, BUT THIS WAS A FORMAL OBJECTION. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT IT BECAUSE OF ITS CONTENT. AS MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE FIRMLY REJECTED ALL ITS ALLEGATIONS, WHICH CONSTITUTED INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THEY WERE NOT MOREOVER BASED ON FACT. THE POLES WERE FIRMLY INFORMING THEIR PARTNERS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE



CONTENT. AS FOLLOWS  
ITS ALLEGATIONS, WHICH CONSTITUTED INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S  
INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THEY WERE NOT MOREOVER BASED ON FACT. THE POLES  
WERE HONESTLY INFORMING THEIR PARTNERS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE  
EC ABOUT THEIR PLANS AND GOALS. HE WAS SURPRISED THAT THE ASSESS-  
MENTS MADE IN THE DEMARCHE WERE NOT BASED ON HONEST FACTS BUT ON  
INFORMATION THAT WAS FALSE AND DIVERSIONARY. NOTHING WAS BEING DONE  
AGAINST THE LAW IN POLAND. FOR THIS REASON, ALL INSINUATIONS ABOUT  
LAW BREAKING WERE FALSE. THE POLES HAD APPROACHED THEIR PARTNERS  
MANY TIMES WITH INFORMATION AND WITH REQUESTS FOR HELP IN IMPROVING  
POLAND'S SITUATION. SUCH APPROACHES HAD BEEN MADE TO HMG, THROUGH  
HM AMBASSADOR TO YOU. HE HAD HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT BOTH SIDES  
UNDERSTOOD EACH OTHER. HE HAD CLEARLY STATED BEFORE THE IMPOSITION  
OF MARTIAL LAW THAT THE SITUATION WAS DISTURBING AND THAT THE POLES  
WOULD DO ALL THEY COULD TO PREVENT IT DETERIORATING FURTHER. BUT  
HE HAD ALSO SAID THAT IF NECESSARY, THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WOULD  
USE EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES. THESE WERE NOW DEMANDED BY POLISH  
RAISON D'ETAT. PEOPLE APPEARED NOT TO APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS OF THE  
POLES TO SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS BY THEIR OWN HANDS. ONE SHOULD  
NOT VIEW EVERYTHING THROUGH THE SPECTACLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

3. I REPLIED THAT I HAD NO FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS BEYOND MAKING THE  
DEMARCHE. I THOUGHT HOWEVER THAT I SHOULD SAY THAT THE ATTITUDE  
OF THE TEN HAD CHANGED CONSIDERABLY IN THE PAST FEW DAYS. THE  
MINISTER COMPLAINED THAT A FALSE PICTURE WAS BEING PRESENTED. PART  
OF THE PROBLEM LAY IN FACT THAT IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO GET A  
CLEAR PICTURE WITH THE PRESENT LIMITATIONS ON EMBASSIES' FREEDOM OF  
MOVEMENT, COMMUNICATION, AND NORMAL BUSINESS. CZYREK REPLIED THAT  
POLAND WAS UNDER MARTIAL LAW. STATES MUST TAKE ALL MEASURES THAT  
THEY DEEMED APPROPRIATE AT SUCH A TIME. NEVERTHELESS, HIS MINISTRY  
WAS DOING WHAT IT COULD TO HELP EMBASSIES WITH THEIR DIFFICULTIES.

4. I ADDED THAT IT WOULD HELP THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE TEN IF CZYREK  
COULD TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THE LIKELIHOOD OF AN END TO MARTIAL  
LAW. HE REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD DEPEND UPON THE PROCESS OF  
NORMALISATION AND STABILISATION. THE POLES COULD NOT CONTEMPLATE  
ANY STEPS THAT WOULD COMPLICATE THAT PROCESS. MUCH ALSO DEPENDED  
UPON THE ATTITUDE OF POLAND'S PARTNERS, HE COULD SEE EVIDENCE OF A  
LACK OF TRUST IN THE TERMS USED IN THE EC DEMARCHE. HE THEREFORE  
WISHED TO REPEAT AGAIN THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND HAD UNDERTAKEN  
NECESSARY MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL AND TO

5. THOUGH CZYREK HAD SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE DEMARCHE,  
I LEFT IT ON THE TABLE AND IT WAS NOT RETURNED TO ME BY HIM OR  
JEDYNAK.

JEDYNAK.

6. CZYREK WAS VERY ANGRY. THE POINTS MADE IN THE DEMARCHE VISIBLY  
WENT HOME. HIS EMOTIONAL EXPLANATION WAS INCONSISTENT AND  
UNCONVINCING.

7. I HAVE BRIEFED EC AMBASSADORS HERE. WE WILL TLL PRESS IN THE  
MORNING.

JAMES

NNNN

COL : READ PARA 4.

WISHED TO REPEAT AGAIN THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND HAD UNDERTAKEN  
ITS RECENT ACTIONS IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL  
AND REFORM, . I WAS THEN DISMISSED.

ETC