

UNITED STATES PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
ON THE
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

Brussels

REG. P. A.

ACTION SLIP

No 16.279/81

December 21, 1981

P. A. Sub - Registry

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NATO CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Joseph:

As I observed during the Council discussion on Friday, actions by Polish authorities during the past week represent clear and gross violations of international commitments to respect and protect human rights. The state of "emergency" introduced on December 13 has resulted in the "temporary suspension or restriction of certain fundamental rights of citizens which are defined by the (Polish) Constitution, and especially the inviolability of the person and the home," according to a public statement by Polish Interior Minister Kiszczak.

The restrictions imposed appear, in practice, to go far beyond this statement. Arbitrary and summary proceedings have been instituted against people considered or suspected to be violators of the "emergency laws" or a "threat to the state". Mass arrests numbering in the thousands have been made without legal procedures and citizens have been sent to make-shift "detention" camps which do not have heating despite the below freezing temperatures.

Fundamental freedoms have been abolished or severely restricted. These include assembly, trade union activity, speech and expression, movement and

His Excellency
Joseph M.A.H. Luns,
Secretary General,
North Atlantic Treaty Organization,
Brussels.

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communication. Furthermore, citizens are subject to arbitrary searches and may be drafted into the military for compulsory labor subject to military discipline and the death penalty for disobedience of orders.

These draconian measures have resulted in protests and confrontations with the military resorting to the use of force against civilians, causing civilian deaths and injuries. Warsaw Radio has acknowledged seven deaths and over two hundred injuries in two separate reports.

In this situation, an appeal to the Polish authorities by the Secretary General of the United Nations for moderation and respect for human rights seems to us to be both proper and timely. Thus, on the basis of UNGA Resolution 24/175 and the UN Human Rights Commission Resolution 27 (XXXVI), we plan to approach Secretary General Waldheim, making the points outlined above, and to urge him to use his good offices in the present Polish situation. We hope he will make an appeal to Polish and Soviet authorities for respect of fundamental human rights and an end to the current wave of repression.

We are hopeful that Allied governments will make similar approaches to UN Secretary General Waldheim. Our Embassies will be contacting Allied officials in capitals directly to urge that such a course be considered favorably.

I would like to take this opportunity to pass on further situation reports on developments in Poland, supplementing those I circulated on Friday. In addition, I enclose for your information copies of the resolution and decisions taken by the Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Confederation during its December 17 - 18 meeting here in Brussels. The statement of the Executive Committee of the 41-million worker strong ETUC, like the communique of the ICFTU of December 16, strongly condemns the imposition of martial law and promises solidarity in word and action with the Polish workers.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosures to the other Permanent Representatives for their information.

Yours very sincerely,

Tap

W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Ambassador

Enclosures:
As Stated

U.S. Delegation
December 21, 1981

SUBJECT: Resolution and Decisions of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) Executive Committee Meeting in Brussels, December 17 - 18

Initial Resolution of ETUC Executive Committee,
Adopted December 17

AT ITS SESSION IN BRUSSELS ON 17 AND 18TH DECEMBER 1981, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ETUC TOOK DUE NOTE OF THE SECRETARIAT'S ACTIVITIES WITH REGARD TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. THE COMMITTEE SUPPORTS THESE ACTIVITIES WITHOUT RESERVATION. THE COMMITTEE REAFFIRMS ITS UTTER CONDEMNATION OF THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW, THE ABOLITION OF TRADE UNION AND HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE BAN ON ALL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES. IT PROTESTS AGAINST THE ARREST OF THOUSANDS OF ACTIVE TRADE UNIONISTS.

THE COMMITTEE OBSERVES WITH SATISFACTION THAT AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL ACTION WAS CARRIED OUT IMMEDIATELY BY THE ORGANISATIONS AFFILIATED TO THE ETUC AND THAT THIS ACTION IS CONVERGING AS IT DEVELOPS. THIS CONVERGENCE HAS ALSO BEEN DEMONSTRATED BY THE POSITIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADOPTED AND THE STEPS WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY THE ICFTU AND THE WCL. THESE ACTIONS ARE EVIDENCE OF THE UNANIMOUS SOLIDARITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS WITH THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE OF POLAND AND WITH THE TRADE UNION ORGANISATION SOLIDARNOSC. THE ETUC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WELCOMES AND SUPPORTS THESE ACTIONS.

IN VIEW OF THE GROWING BRUTALITY OF THE PRESENT REGIME, IT IS URGENTLY NECESSARY THAT PROTEST AND SOLIDARITY ACTION BE CARRIED OUT AT BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE EMPHASISES THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS:

1. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL OF THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS AND ACTIVE TRADE UNIONISTS WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED.

2. THE ABOLITION OF MARTIAL LAW.

3. THE RESPECT OF THE Gdansk, Szczecin and Katowice AGREEMENTS, WHICH ARE THE BASIS OF INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISM IN POLAND.

4. THE REOPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SOLIDARNOSC, WHO WERE ELECTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THAT ORGANISATION, AND THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES.

5. ALL FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AID MUST BE LINKED TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THE ABOVE DEMANDS.

6. THE HUMANITARIAN AND FOODSTUFFS AID MUST BE CONTINUED, BUT DISTRIBUTION MACHINERY MUST BE SET UP WHICH WILL GUARANTEE THAT THIS AID DOES IN FACT REACH THE PEOPLE WHO REALLY NEED IT. THIS DEMAND WAS PUT FORWARD BY SOLIDARNOSC BEFORE THE ARMY SEIZED POWER.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE STRESSES THAT THE SOLIDARNOSC PROGRAMMES WERE LARGELY SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, SINCE THEY AIMED AT THE DEMOCRATISATION OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RECOVERY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

THE ETUC IS ADDRESSING THE POLISH GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT IS CONVINCED THAT IT IS ONLY THROUGH THE FULFILLMENT OF THESE DEMANDS THAT THE PEOPLE OF POLAND WILL BE ABLE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE DIFFICULT SITUATION IN AN AUTONOMOUS AND RESPONSIBLE MANNER WITHOUT ANY EXTERNAL INTERVENTION WHATSOEVER.

Decisions of ETUC Executive Committee,

Adopted December 18

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DECIDED:

-- BEGINNING NEXT WEEK, ALL AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS WILL INTERVENE IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES WITH THE POLISH EMBASSY, TO EXPRESS THE CONDEMNATION OF 41 MILLION WORKERS OF THE ETUC AND TO PRESENT THE DEMANDS THAT THE ETUC FORMULATED IN ITS RESOLUTION ON DECEMBER 17.

-- A DELEGATION OF THE ETUC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, LED BY PRESIDENT WIM KOK, WILL TRAVEL TO POLAND WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF MEETING THE LEADERS OF SOLIDARNOSC AND MOST PARTICULARLY ITS PRESIDENT, LECH WALESZA. ON THE SAME OCCASION, OUR TRADE UNION DELEGATION WILL MAKE KNOWN TO THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES OUR DEMANDS CONCERNING THE RESTORATION OF THE SITUATION.

-- LAUNCH AN URGENT APPEAL TO AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS IN CHIEF THAT THEY EXPRESS IN THE COMING DAYS THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLISH WORKERS BY WAY OF DEMONSTRATIONS, MEETINGS OF WORKS COUNCILS, DEMONSTRATIONS IN FRONT OF POLISH EMBASSIES, WORK STOPPAGES, ETC.

-- DELEGATIONS OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WILL EXERT PRESSURE ON THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS IN ORDER THAT THEY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DEMANDS OF THE ETUC AND INTERVENE TO OBTAIN THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE TRADE UNION LEADERS AND MILITANTS UNDER ARREST.

-- THE AFFILIATED CONFEDERATIONS WILL TAKE STEPS IN ORDER TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE CONTINUATION OF FOOD AND MEDICAL AID UNDER CONDITIONS IN WHICH THIS AID WILL GO QUICKLY AND ASSURELY TO THE POLISH PEOPLE IN NEED.

-- THE ETUC WILL ALSO INTERVENE WITH THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS (EEC, EFTA, COUNCIL OF EUROPE).

-- A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE -- EVEN IF ALL MEMBERS CANNOT BE PRESENT -- WILL BE CALLED BY THE SECRETARIA IN ORDER THAT ANY INITIATIVE THAT CIRCUMSTANCES CALL FOR CAN BE TAKEN.

-- THE AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS WILL INFORM PUBLIC OPINION OF THE DIFFERENT INITIATIVES AND ACTIONS TAKEN.

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U.S. Delegation
December 21, 1981

SUBJECT: Polish Situation Report as of 2300 Hours*,
December 20

POLISH AMBASSADOR SPASOWSKI REQUESTED POLITICAL ASYLUM ON DECEMBER 19. WE GRANTED HIS REQUEST AND SO INFORMED POLISH DCM PAWLISZEWSKI THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 20.

SECRETARY HAIG ANNOUNCED SPASOWSKI'S DEFECTION ON "FACE THE NATION" ON DECEMBER 20 STATING THAT AMBASSADOR AND MRS. SPASOWSKI HAVE BEEN GRANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM. LATER, AMBASSADOR SPASOWSKI MADE A STATEMENT TO REPORTERS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT ON DECEMBER 20 WITH LIVE TELEVISION COVERAGE (THERE WAS NO Q AND A).

PRIESTS READ ARCHBISHOP GLEMP'S DECEMBER 17 LETTER TO CONGREGATIONS AND AT SOME CHURCHES THE POPE'S CALL FOR DIALOGUE WAS ALSO READ. ATTENDANCE WAS HEAVY. AT LEAST ONE PRIEST OFFERED SPECIFIC PRAYERS FOR WALESA AND OTHERS FOR THOSE INTERNED.

INCLEMENT WEATHER IN WARSAW CONTINUE WITH FRESH SNOW SATURDAY. IN UNCLEARED AREAS THERE IS 10-15 INCH ACCUMULATION. POLISH RADIO CALLED ALL RAIL WORKERS TO REPORT TO WORK, CITING HEAVY SNOWFALL AS THE RATIONALE.

SECURITY IN WARSAW REMAINS VERY HEAVY WITH FREQUENT ROADBLOCKS AND CHECKPOINTS. EMBASSY WARSAW IDENTIFIED POLISH ARMY MP'S IN ACTION FOR FIRST TIME.

POLISH DOMESTIC RADIO HAS CONTINUED TO EMPHASIZE GENERAL CALM IN THE COUNTRY WITH STRIKES DYING OUT AND MAJOR DELIVERIES OF FOOD, CLOTHING AND "TOYS" FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER BLOC COUNTRIES ARRIVING.

POLISH NEWS AGENCY STATED "ON THE WHOLE" MARTIAL LAW'S LEGAL NORMS ARE BEING OBSERVED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND CLAIMED NORMAL WORKING CONDITIONS AT 95 PERCENT OF INTERFACES. CONSEQUENTLY, PAP CLAIMED THE CURFEW HAD BEEN SHORTENED IN MANY AREAS. PAP ALSO ANNOUNCED, THE ZIEMOVIT MINE IN KATOWICE IS BEING HELD BY 1,300 MINERS WHO HAVE BLOCKED UP ONE ENTRANCE AND MINED THE OTHER THREATENING TO BLOW IT UP IF ATTACKED.

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U.S. Delegation
December 21, 1981

SUBJECT: Polish Situation Report as of 1100 Hours*,
December 20

THE FULL TEXT OF THE MESSAGE TO THE POLES FROM
ARCHBISHOP JOZEF GLEMP, PRIMATE OF POLAND, AS
REPORTEDLY BROADCAST BY VATICAN RADIO DECEMBER 19
AND CARRIED BY REUTERS IS AS FOLLOWS:

- QUOTE: BROTHERS, I KNOW THE RAGE WHICH HAS BEEN
SMOLDERING FOR A LONG TIME IN OUR COUNTRY AND WHICH
HAS NOW GROWN STRONGER. IT IS PAINFUL THAT THIS
SHOULD COME ABOUT RIGHT ON THE EVE OF CHRISTMAS
FESTIVITIES, WHEN FAMILIES USUALLY REUNITE.

- QUOTE: I EXPRESS IN THE NAME OF THE WHOLE
EPISCOPACY DEEP PAIN AND COMPASSION FOR ALL THE
FAMILIES AFFECTED BY THE PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE
OF WAR AND BY THE LACK OF THEIR DEAR ONES.

- QUOTE: THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE
EPISCOPACY, WHICH MET LAST DECEMBER 15,
EXAMINED THIS PROBLEM. WE ARE POWERLESS IN
THE FACE OF PASSIONS AND EVIL, BUT WE
BELIEVE, DESPITE THIS, THAT EVERYTHING IS IN
THE HANDS OF GOD AND THE HOLY VIRGIN. WE
KNEEL BEFORE GOD TO IMPLORE HIM THAT THERE
SHOULD NOT BE BLOODSHED, SINCE OUR NATION HAS
NEVER KNOWN CIVIL AND FRATRICIDAL STRIFE.

- QUOTE: WE BEG YOU, IN GOD'S NAME, NOT TO
RAISE A HAND FULL OF HATE AGAINST ONE
ANOTHER, KEEP CALM, DO NOT CAUSE OUR COUNTRY
TO FALL INTO A GREATER MISFORTUNE. ONLY
SELF-CONTROL AND THE MAINTENANCE OF CALM CAN
SAVE THE COUNTRY AND THE CHURCH WHICH IS
CARRYING OUT ITS MISSION IN THE COUNTRY.
UNQUOTE.

THIS TEXT IS MARKEDLY Milder IN TONE THAN
THE VERSION GIVEN TO THE EMBASSY ON DEC. 15
AND CRITICIZES ALL SPECIFIC CRITICISM OF THE
ACTIONS TAKEN BY MARTIAL LAW REGIME. IT IS
NOT YET KNOWN WHETHER THE BROADCAST VERSION
WAS DELIVERED VERBATIM IN POLISH CHURCHES
SUNDAY MORNING.

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COPIES OF A SOLIDARITY LEAFLET ALLEGED TO CONTAIN A MESSAGE FROM WALESA AND CIRCULATING IN WARSAW, HAVE REACHED THE WEST. THE LEAFLET APPEALS FOR CATHOLIC CHURCH SUPPORT AND URGES MASSIVE STRIKES AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE. IT URGES SOLIDARITY UNITY, COUNSELS AVOIDANCE OF BLOODSHED, AND ASSERTS QUOTE WE MUST NOT LET OURSELVES BE CRUSHED UNQUOTE. ACCORDING TO THE LEAFLET, WALESA IS BEING DETAINED AT THE HOME OF A FORMER PARTY OFFICIAL NEAR THE WARSAW SUBURB OF KONSTANCIN.

DIRECT VERIFICATION OF CONTINUING UNREST AT LEAST IN SILESIA WAS PROVIDED BY WARSAW TELEVISION DECEMBER 19. GENERAL PASZKOWSKI, THE NEW VOIVODA (GOVERNOR) OF KATOWICE PROVINCE WAS SEEN SPEAKING TO MINERS AT A SILESIAN COLLIERY. QUOTE I DO NOT CONCEAL UNQUOTE, HE SAID, QUOTE THAT CURRENTLY THE SITUATION IN KATOWICE PROVINCE IS DIFFICULT. IT HAS NOT SO FAR BEEN FOUND POSSIBLE TO EXTINGUISH ALL HOTBEDS OF CONFLICTS. KATOWICE CONTINUES TO HAVE FLASHPOINTS. UNQUOTE.

THE MILITARY REGIME HAS ANNOUNCED RELAXATION OF CURFEW HOURS IN ALL EXCEPT SIX PROVINCES. IN RECOGNITION OF THE QUOTE DECLINE IN VIOLATIONS OF THE PUBLIC ORDER UNQUOTE. THE NEW CURFEW HOURS ARE 2300 TO 0500; IN THE PROVINCES OF ELBLAG, LUBLIN, KATOWICE, SZCZECIN AND WROCLAW THE OLD CURFEW HOURS OF 2200 TO 0600 ARE STILL IN FORCE; IN GDANSK PROVINCE, INDICATIVE OF THE CONTINUING UNREST THERE, THE CURFEW HAS BEEN EXTENDED BY TWO HOURS (2000 TO 0600).

POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE PERMITTED THE POPE'S SPECIAL ENVOY, MONSIGNOR LUIGI POGGI, TO ENTER POLAND ACCOMPANIED BY MONSIGNOR JANUSZ BOLONEK. THEY WERE DUE TO ARRIVE IN WARSAW BY TRAIN SUNDAY MORNING.

CZECHOSLOVAK AND BULGARIAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE CHARGED THAT BFE AND VOA DIRECTLY INSTIGATED VIOLENT RESISTANCE BY POLISH WORKERS AGAINST MARTIAL LAW.

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U.S. Delegation
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SUBJECT: Polish Situation Report as of 2300 Hours*,
December 19

A MEDIA REPORT THAT IECZ WALISA HAS SUFFERED A HEART ATTACK REMAINS NEITHER CONFIRMED NOR DENIED BY OUR EMBASSY IN WARSAW. THE REPORT APPARENTLY ORIGINATED WITH A FRENCH STUDENT WHO ARRIVED IN VIENNA EARLY SATURDAY.

NUMEROUS FOREIGN MEDIA SOURCES HAVE REPORTED THAT A SOLIDARITY TRACT, ISSUED BY WALISA AND CIRCULATED THROUGHOUT WARSAW DURING THE LAST TWO DAYS, CALLS ON THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR ASSISTANCE AND URGES THE POLISH POPULACE TO PRACTISE MASS PASSIVE RESISTANCE; NEITHER THE EMBASSY NOR US PRESS SOURCES HAVE AS YET CONFIRMED THIS STORY.

ARCHBISHOP GLEMP HAS ISSUED A PROCLAMATION CALLING ON THE POPULACE TO KEEP CALM AND AVOID BLOODSHED. THE TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATION, WHICH WILL BE READ IN ALL OF POLAND'S CHURCHES ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, WAS RELEASED IN ROME BY AN ITALIAN NEWS SERVICE. THE EMBASSY'S INITIAL REACTION TO THE PROCLAMATION IS SURPRISE AT THE APPARENT REVERSAL IN THE CHURCH POSITION. THREE DAYS AGO GLEMP WAS STILL CONDEMNING THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND AS "REPREENSIBLE."

REPORTS CONTINUE TO INDICATE THAT WARSAW, SUFFERING THROUGH A HEAVY SNOWFALL, REMAINS CALM. ALTHOUGH WARSAW RADIO REPORTED THAT WORKERS WERE AT THEIR JOBS, THE EMBASSY CAN ONLY CONFIRM THAT GOVERNMENT OFFICES WERE OPEN FOR BUSINESS. THERE WERE MIXED INDICATIONS OF THE REGIME'S SUCCESS IN TURNING A NORMALLY FREE SATURDAY INTO A WORKING SATURDAY. IN SPITE OF RUMORS ABOUT A GENERAL STRIKE, THE EMBASSY COULD FIND NO EVIDENCE OF ANY WIDE-SPREAD STRIKE ACTIVITY. TRAFFIC WAS HEAVIER THAN USUAL FOR A "FREE" SATURDAY.

IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY, HOWEVER, REPORTS CONTINUED TO SUGGEST THAT THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW HAD MET WITH RESISTANCE AND THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE BLOODSHED -- ESPECIALLY IN KATOWICE. ACCORDING TO A

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POLISH GOVERNMENT SHIPPING OFFICIAL, THE PORT OF GDANSK REMAINS "BLOCKED," ALTHOUGH ALL OTHER PORTS ARE SAID TO BE FUNCTIONING NORMALLY.

STORES IN WARSAW WERE SO WELL STOCKED WITH BREAD THAT LINES WERE NON-EXISTENT SATURDAY MORNING. OTHER FOODSTUFFS CONTINUE IN SHORT SUPPLY. EAST GERMANY, HUNGARY AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE SAID TO BE DELIVERING FOOD IN AN ATTEMPT TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT WIN OVER THE POPULACE. REPORTS SUGGEST THAT THIS EFFORT IS NOT SUCCEEDING. THE REACTION OF THE GENERAL POPULACE SEEMS TO BE THAT FOOD WAS AVAILABLE ALL THE TIME AND THE GOVERNMENT HAD SIMPLY BEEN STOCKPILING IT FOR USE DURING THE MILITARY TAKEOVER.

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U.S. Delegation
December 21, 1981

SUBJECT: Polish Situation Report as of 1100 Hours*,
December 19

BOTH THE PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND TRUCK DRIVERS RETURNING FROM SOUTHERN POLAND HAVE REPORTED THAT MANY MORE PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN THE CLASHES BETWEEN STRIKERS AND MILITARIZED POLICE AND ARMY UNITS THAN THE SEVEN DEATHS MENTIONED IN POLISH OFFICIAL REPORTS. THE DRIVERS WERE TOLD THAT TEN WORKERS WERE BEATEN TO DEATH ON DECEMBER 16 AND 56 WERE SHOT TO DEATH THE FOLLOWING DAY DURING THESE CLASHES.

CARDINAL MACHARSKI TOLD OUR CONSUL IN KRAKOW DECEMBER 16 THAT THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S POLICY IS TO PREVENT CIVIL WAR, OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF ALL DETAINEES, ASSURE HUMANITARIAN TREATMENT FOR THEM PENDING RELEASE, AND PUSH FOR A POLICY OF NEGOTIATION, DIALOGUE AND DEMOCRATIZATION. HE INDICATED THAT A STRONG STATEMENT FROM THE COUNCIL OF BISHOPS MAY BE MADE IN CHURCHES ON SUNDAY.

A MILITARY COUNCIL STATEMENT PUBLISHED DECEMBER 18 RECOMMENDS TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (GOVERNMENT) A TEMPORARY LIMITATION ON THE ACTIVITIES OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT BODIES UNTIL THE POLITICAL SITUATION IS STABILIZED. THIS MOVE BY THE MILITARY COUNCIL WAS INEVITABLE SINCE SOLIDARITY ALREADY CONTROLS MANY WORKERS' COUNCILS AND WOULD LIKELY DOMINATE FREELY-ELECTED WORKERS' COUNCILS UNDER THE SEPTEMBER 25 SELF-MANAGEMENT LAW.

ACCORDING TO AFP, TWENTY-NINE OFFICIALS OF SOLIDARITY, WHO WERE OUT OF POLAND WHEN MARTIAL LAW WAS IMPOSED, HAVE CONVERGED ON ZURICH TO FORM A "COORDINATION COMMITTEE" TO ASSIST THE POLISH PEOPLE FROM ABROAD. THEY ISSUED AN APPEAL TO ALL WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND LABOR UNIONS TO TERMINATE ALL ECONOMIC AID, EXCEPT FOOD AID, TO POLAND. THE APPEAL CALLED FOR AN ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC BOYCOTT OF ALL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND ASKED THAT THE RED CROSS AND CARITAS SEND MISSIONS TO POLAND TO "ASCERTAIN THE CONDITIONS OF DETENTION OF PRISONERS AND FIND OUT ABOUT POSSIBLE DEPORTATION OF POLES TO THE SOVIET UNION"

A FUNERAL MASS FOR SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST JERZY ZIELINSKI DREW A CROWD OF APPROXIMATELY 3000, WHO DISPERSED WITHOUT

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INCIDENT FOLLOWING THE SERVICE.

IN A LISBON INTERVIEW ON DECEMBER 18, THE POLISH AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL SAID THAT "A LARGE NUMBER OF SOVIET AIRCRAFT - AND HUNGARIAN AIRCRAFT AS WELL" WOULD CONTINUE TO ARRIVE IN WARSAW WITH "FOODSTUFFS FOR CHRISTMAS". THE AMBASSADOR STATED THAT HE SOUGHT TO CORRECT WESTERN "DISINFORMATION" ABOUT LARGE NUMBERS OF SOVIET AIRCRAFT LANDING IN WARSAW.

ARTICLES IN TRYBUNA LUDU DECEMBER 18 REPORT THE FOLLOWING:

- IN "MILITARIZED" INDUSTRIES AND ENTERPRISES, THE WORK WEEK MAY BE EXTENDED TO SIX OR SEVEN DAYS AND THE WORK DAY TO 12 HOURS;
- PRIVATE TRAVEL FOR POLES IS RESTRICTED TO THEIR PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND TRAVEL TO AND FROM THEIR PLACE OF WORK;
- THE MINIMUM WAGE IS TO BE RAISED ON JANUARY 1, 1982 FROM 2,400 ZLOTIES (101573.00) PER MONTH TO 3,300 ZLOTIES (1015100.00), A STEP AFFECTING SOME 350,000 PEOPLE.
- MEAT SALES BY FARMERS TO THE STATE HAVE BEEN VERY POOR RECENTLY.

THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOLIDARITY AND DISSIDENT LEADERS CONTINUES WITH TWO DECEMBER 18 STORIES IN THE MILITARY PAPER ON ALLEGED ARMS CACHES AND SECRET DOCUMENTS DISCOVERED IN THEIR APARTMENTS DURING POLICE SEARCHES. THE STORIES WERE SHORT ON SPECIFICS.

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U.S. Delegation
December 21, 1981

SUBJECT: Polish Situation Report as of 2300 Hours*,
December 18

THE SITUATION IN POLAND APPEARED TO BE ON AN EVEN KEEL TODAY. THERE WERE NO MAJOR DEMONSTRATIONS OR CONFRONTATIONS ON DECEMBER 18. THE PRIMATE'S AIDES DENY THAT CARDINAL GLEMP IS ANY WAY ISOLATED OR RESTRICTED IN HIS MOVEMENTS.

A SOVIET GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN IS REPORTED BY TODAY'S LE MONDE AS WARNING THAT WIDE-SPREAD POLISH RESPONSE TO AN AS-YET-UNCONFIRMED GENERAL STRIKE ON DECEMBER 19 WILL BE VIEWED BY THE USSR AS A DECISIVE TEST OF THE REGIME'S ABILITY TO RESTORE ITS AUTHORITY. ACCORDING TO LE MONDE'S SOVIET SOURCE, IF THE STRIKE CALL IS FOLLOWED MARTIAL LAW WILL BE DEEMED A FAILURE AND QUOTE FRATERNAL COUNTRIES UNQUOTE WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE TO INTERVENTION.

AFTER SIX MINERS DIED IN A KATOWICE CLASH WITH MILITIA, SOME ARMY UNITS REFUSED FURTHER ORDERS TO MOVE AGAINST MINERS WHO ARE SAID TO BE HOLDING A FEW MILITIAMEN HOSTAGE. A STALEMATE MAY BE IN PROGRESS, GIVEN OFFICIAL WORRY THAT THE MINERS COULD FLOOD THE MINESHAFTS IF ATTACKED.

EMBASSY WARSAW NOTES THAT GAS IS NOW AVAILABLE TO MEDICAL AND OTHER VITAL PERSONNEL, AND MAY ALSO BE AVAILABLE IN LIMITED QUANTITIES TO SOME PRIVATE DRIVERS. MEANWHILE, POLICE ARE FERRETING OUT AND CONFISCATING PRIVATE GAS SUPPLIES. A SURVEY OF THREE MAJOR WARSAW FACTORIES (URSUS, FSO, AND HUTA WARSZAWA) REVEALED LITTLE OR NO PRODUCTION ON DECEMBER 18. ONLY ROUTINE MILITARY MOVEMENTS WERE OBSERVED ON A BITTERLY COLD DAY THAT MAY HAVE KEPT WARSZAWIANS OFF THE STREETS. LAST NIGHT'S AD HOC LIGHTS-OFF PROTEST MET WITH SCATTERED (10-30%) SUPPORT. STATE STORES REVERTED TO THEIR USUAL BARENESS, AND EVEN FLOWERS, USUALLY ABUNDANT BEFORE CHRISTMAS, WERE SCARCE.

A SOLIDARITY PRESS CONFERENCE HELD IN ZURICH INCLUDED CHARGES THAT MARTIAL LAW MEASURES ARE ENCOUNTERING RESISTANCE WITHIN THE MILITARY; THESE CHARGES ARE SAID TO BE BASED ON REPORTS THAT SOME HIGH MILITARY OFFICERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED.

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AS OF THIS AFTERNOON, REPORTS WERE BEGINNING TO REACH THE DEPARTMENT THAT LISTS OF ARRESTEES PUBLISHED IN FRAGMENTARY FORM BY THE GOP WERE INACCURATE. SO FAR THE DEPARTMENT HAS HEARD FROM THREE POLES WHOSE NAMES APPEAR ON THE LISTS BUT WHO ARE APPARENTLY IN FREEDOM IN THE US. WHETHER THESE LISTS WERE PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED OR WHETHER THEY REPRESENT A DELIBERATE DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN IS STILL NOT CLEAR.

ACCESS TO THE EMBASSY CONTINUES TO BE A PROBLEM. TROOPS AND POLICE HAVE INSTITUTED A CUMBERSOME CLEARANCE PROCEDURE FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO ENTER THE EMBASSY. AMBASSADOR MEEHAN HAS PROTESTED THESE RESTRICTIONS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, BUT WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN POSITIVE RESULTS FROM THE MEEHAN DEMARCHE.

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