1. WARSAW SO FAR REMAINS RELATIVELY CALM AFTER THE INITIAL MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT MARTIAL LAW. WE HAVE NO REPORTS OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS OTHER THAN THE DISPERAL OF A CROWD OUTSIDE SOLIDARITY'S WARSAW HEADQUARTERS. LITTLE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE ON THE SITUATION OUTSIDE WARSAW. THE AUTHORITIES WERE NOT ABLE COMPLETELY TO ROUND UP UNION RADICALS AND DISSIDENTS; AT LEAST FOUR MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL COMMISSION ESCAPED DETENTION IN THE INITIAL PHASE AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS OF DIFFICULTIES IN ROUNDING UP SOLIDARITY LEADERS IN SOME AREAS.

2. THE FOUR NATIONAL COMMISSION MEMBERS AT LIBERTY WERE APPARENTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE STARTING TODAY AND TO CONTINUE UNTIL MARTIAL LAW IS RESCINDED AND DETAINNEES RELEASED. WE HAVE LITTLE INFORMATION ON HOW FAR THE CALL HAS BEEN HEEDD. AGENCY REPORTS CLAIM THAT WORKERS AT THREE IMPORTANT WARSAW WORKS ARE STAGING AN OCCUPATION STRIKE AND THAT OTHER WORKERS HAVE STAYED AT HOME. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE INTRODUCED PENALTIES INCLUDING IMPRISONMENT FOR STRIKING. ARCHBISHOP GLEMP HAS APPEALED FOR CALM AND THE AVOIDANCE AT ALL COSTS OF BLOODSHED. WALESA IS REPORTED TO BE HOLDING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AUTHORITIES. HIS ATTITUDE WILL BE HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO THE FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS. HE IS SUSCEPTIBLE TO STRONG PRESSURE FROM THE CHURCH, AND THE AUTHORITIES MAY TRY TO GET GLEMP'S CO-OPERATION IN PERSUADING HIM TO HELP TO AVOID BLOODSHED AND POSSIBLE SOVIET INTERVENTION. BUT WALESA WILL BE AWARE THAT THAT TO CO-OPERATE AT THIS STAGE WOULD DISCREDIT HIM IN THE EYES OF THE MASS OF THE WORKERS AND MEAN THE ABANDONMENT OF EVERYTHING HE HAS WORKED FOR.
3. Further details of the martial law regime have been announced. Economic measures include the reintroduction of the 6-day week and provision for control over agricultural production and procurement. Another important provision is the quote militarisation unquote of key industries, communications and the media. This means that all employees will be treated as enlisted personnel in wartime, with penalties applicable up to the death sentence. This is clearly intended as a deterrent to industrial action such as sabotage as well as to strikes. Under the new regime party and government activities are to continue normally, but the next session of the Sejm has been postponed. The military commissars are evidently intended to fulfil a general supervisory role rather than exercise executive power. All conscripts are being retained, which will increase the personnel available to the military authorities, but nevertheless the army and other security forces may find it difficult to carry out all the detailed checks and administrative measures laid down in the martial law regulations, as well as providing guard and patrol personnel.

4. The Soviet media have reported the latest developments fully and factually. The first Tass comment has stressed that the steps taken are an internal Polish affair. The factors causing the Soviet Union to be unwilling to intervene militarily remain as strong as ever: the opening of arms talks with the US is an additional disincentive. They will certainly welcome Jaruzelski's latest moves and hope that they will succeed. They will nevertheless be prepared to intervene if they judge this to be essential but are more likely to delay action until the situation in Poland becomes so appalling as to provide reasonable justification for their action. We may see preparations to improve the readiness of Soviet forces, but the Soviet authorities will have to weigh the advantages of this against the risk that any move by them would undermine Jaruzelski's best card - his assertion that he is acting as he is in order to foreclose the worse option of Soviet intervention. At present there are no signs of Soviet military moves.