

Crackdown in Poland: A Defector Tells of Soviet Pressure

Ex-Envoy Says Martial Law Was Planned Since March

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WASHINGTON, Dec. 28 — Poland's former Ambassador to Japan, who defected to the United States last week, said today that Poland, under pressure from Moscow, had been preparing for martial law since last March.

The former envoy, Zdzislaw Rurarz, said the crackdown took place in winter because then the Polish people would be at their coldest, hungriest and most exhausted.

Mr. Rurarz, speaking to the Commission on Cooperation and Security in Europe, a group from the United States Congress and from executive departments set up in 1975 to monitor provisions of the Helsinki accords, condemned in strong terms what he called the "perfidy" of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish Prime Minister and party leader. "He played the most dirty game in our history," he said.

Says the World Was Misled

The former ambassador also said that deliberate Soviet diversions, such as the staging of military exercises in and around Poland, and Polish propaganda suggesting strains with Moscow had led the world to the mistaken belief that the Poles were struggling to find an internal solution to avoid Soviet intervention.

"The Polish drama which is unfolding before your eyes is not — I emphasize not — of the Polish making, although co-engineered and executed by Polish puppets," Mr. Rurarz said. "The real screenplayers and conductors of the Polish drama sit behind the Kremlin walls."

The former ambassador, who was accompanied to the commission hearing by his wife, Janina, and his 25-year-old daughter, Ewa, suggested that if the present military Government remained in power in Warsaw, Polish exiles might set up a rival government, as Polish exiles did during the Nazi and Soviet occupation of Poland in World War II.

"We the Poles, in Poland and outside of Poland, have the right to establish our own representation, our own organization to fight for the freedom of Poland."

he said. "And if that times comes I would like to have the understanding of the American people."

Economic Failure Called 'Worst'

Mr. Rurarz, an economist and expert on international trade with more than 20 years of Polish Government service, dismissed the Soviet economic model as a "disaster" for Poland and told the commission members that "my country is rich in natural resources and land, and the people are industrious — yet the failure on the economic front is the worst in the world."

He called on the United States to cut off all commercial contracts with the Polish and Soviet Governments, saying of Moscow, "Feed this system with your grains and one day you yourselves will be bitten."

Mr. Rurarz, who spoke in English from a handwritten text, said that Poles, who had been "living under terror for more than 42 years," had nevertheless entertained hopes "that we could turn somehow our prison into something liveable."

According to Mr. Rurarz's interpretation of events in Poland, the Soviet Government, stung by its experience with Alexander Dubcek in Czechoslovakia in 1968, found in General Jaruzelski, first as Defense Minister, then Prime Minister and now head of the military Government, a leader whose allegiance to the Soviet system was unquestioned.

'Delaying and Perfidious Tactics'

Mr. Rurarz said that gradually, after meetings with General Jaruzelski, with the former party chief, Stanislaw Kanja, and with Lech Walesa, Solidarity's leader, he came to believe that General Jaruzelski was "playing games" with Solidarity, using "delaying and perfidious tactics" to lead the union to believe it was making headway.

Mr. Rurarz said the Polish Government, knowing there was a food shortage, did not aggressively pursue food sources abroad. He said he had, at his



Zdzislaw Rurarz, right, Poland's former Ambassador to Ja Capitol Hill hearing room yesterday. With him are, from Robert Dole and Orrin G. Hatch and Representative

own initiative, negotiated a rice deal on concessionary terms with the Japanese, only to find it difficult to get Warsaw to accept the grain.

It was late in March, Mr. Rurarz said, that he was awakened at 3 o'clock in the morning in Tokyo with a cable from Warsaw saying that the Government was preparing for a state of war — a

state of emergency does not exist in the Polish Constitution. The reason, the Ambassador said he was told, was the threat by Solidarity of a general strike.

"It was quite a shock to me," Mr. Rurarz said. "It made me quite vigilant that something was in the offing. And that order to prepare for a state of war was never invalidated."