

EUROPE

agreements since they value the access the agreements give them to U.S. science and technology," said one Administration hand. But since Carter cut back the exchanges sharply after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Administration could only choke off the low-level exchanges that are still left.

■ **Postponing negotiations on a new long-term grain agreement to replace the pact that expires next Sept. 30:** Under the current contract the Soviets still can buy another 12 million metric tons of grain this year. Both the Russians, who have suffered their third straight bad harvest, and American farmers, who need to sell a bumper crop, had hoped that the new agreement would call for even bigger purchases. For now, the only real effect of the postponement is the implied threat that Reagan might cut off future grain sales. Carter tried that after the Afghanistan invasion, but Canada, Argentina and Australia quickly made up the Soviet shortfall.

As if to acknowledge the limitations of his package, Reagan warned that there could be much more to come. "We are prepared to proceed in whatever direction the Soviet Union decides upon—toward greater mutual restraint and cooperation, or further down a harsh and less rewarding path," he said. Leaders of the AFL-CIO, who have

been pushing Reagan to take tougher measures, said they were told by the Administration that Reagan will also call for an emergency session of the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid to discuss Poland and will seek support from the International Labor Organization in Geneva. Secretary of State Alexander Haig warned that while Reagan's actions so far "are important in their own right, they hardly exhaust the list of actions . . . This is a situation which remains dynamic."

But White House officials admit there is little chance that Washington will walk out of the Helsinki review talks, call off negotiations in Geneva on intermediate-range nuclear missiles or cancel a planned meeting between Haig and Gromyko later this month at which they might set the date for the beginning of the strategic arms reduction talks (START). In fact, Brezhnev's letter reinforced Reagan's feeling that a summit meeting later this year would be a good idea. Reagan would slap a new embargo on grain only as part of a total trade cutoff—and he is unlikely to do that unless he gets support from the allies.

That seems most unlikely. The foreign ministers of the Common Market countries will meet in Brussels early this week to try to draw up a unified stance, but the Europeans are so badly split that there is open sparring between soft-liner Schmidt and French President François Mitterrand, who has

taken a harder line. Playing on the strains, Polish Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski traveled to Bonn last week for talks with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Rakowski offered no promises about easing martial law—but was received warmly anyway.

Support: Nevertheless, there is a greater chance of European support for Washington now than after the Afghanistan invasion: Poland's ordeal is more intensely felt in Europe, and the strong European labor movements are demanding action against the governments that suppressed Solidarity. So are most of Europe's leftist parties: even the Socialist International last week condemned "the communist leadership" for "the brutal repression of civil rights." Sources close to French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said that France approves of Reagan's sanctions and might consider some of its own if the EEC meeting sees things the same way. Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini said that his country would take a "pause for reflection" in its ongoing negotiations with the Soviets on the massive pipeline deal, which involves 247 billion cubic feet of Siberian gas annually and almost \$3 billion in gas-technology contracts for the Italians.

In Poland, Reagan's hard line had no obvious effect. Government spokesmen admitted that an eighth person had been killed by security forces in Gdansk and said 5,555

'The Most Dirty Game'

A slender yellow "solidarity" candle, sitting in a brass candlestick cast in Warsaw, flickered in an oak-paneled Senate hearing room last week. In the glare of the television lights, its flame was almost invisible as Zdzislaw Rurarz, 51, the Polish ambassador to Japan who defected and flew to Washington on Christmas Eve, testified before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, an independent advisory agency created by Congress to monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords on human rights. Speaking from 22 pages of handwritten notes as his wife and daughter looked on, Rurarz bitterly denounced the crackdown in his homeland. Some excerpts:

It was obvious from the very beginning that Solidarity, which became more a genuinely Polish mass movement than a trade union, had no place to exist in would-be people's Poland. Moscow and its puppets really wanted [an internal crackdown]. I learned from a very reliable source that the state of war was set for winter, possibly December. The severity of the winter and exhaustion of the population were factors behind that decision. The clampdown could meet the least resistance then.

The real screenplayers and conductors of the Polish drama sit behind Kremlin walls. The U.S.S.R. from the very beginning . . . was pressing the Pol-

ish authorities to roll back the situation . . . The Soviets must have been clearly aware of everything.

I must forcefully reject the notion that the present clampdown in Poland was invited by the growing radicalism of Solidarity itself. [Solidarity] never really challenged the existence of the socialist system as such in Poland.

[Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski] played the most dirty game in our history . . . The nation will never, I repeat never, forgive him for the blood of Polish coal miners and of others shed these dark days. The Polish nation has already passed the verdict on its traitors.

I, my wife and daughter were greatly moved last Thursday when driving from Dulles International [Airport] to have seen those single candles in the windows of American homes, expressing solidarity with my country. Many thanks for that moral support.

Do not give a single penny to the treacherous Polish military junta which violates everything starting with the United Nations Charter and ending with the Helsinki agreements. Help only the Polish population, but through channels over which reliable control could be established.

When the people either want to know the truth or ask themselves who should be ruling them, the tanks start rolling, for the state is mortally wounded. What a violation of human rights! For that violation the U.S.S.R. and its Warsaw puppets should never escape punishment.

Rurarz: The Soviets knew everything

Mark Reinstein—Photoreporters

