

GR 400

CONFIDENTIAL

*Prime Minister*

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FM WARSAW 250955Z AUG 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 257 OF 25 AUGUST 1980

AND TO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW PRAGUE SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST EAST BERLIN  
BELGRADE UKDEL NATO WASHINGTON PARIS BONN MODUK JEDDA( FOR PRIVATE  
SECRETARY).

*You may like to glance at  
these reports, although they  
add little to BBC coverage.*

*MAF 26/8*

MY TWO IPTS.

*mf*

1. THE IMMEDIATE MESSAGE OF THE SHUFFLE IS THAT MEN RESISTANT  
TO CHANGE HAVE MADE WAY FOR OTHERS. THE WAY IS OPEN FOR A MORE  
FLEXIBLE APPROACH TO THE STRIKERS AND TO ECONOMIC MATTERS  
GENERALLY.

2. BABIUCH, WHO WAS TRYING IN HIS OWN WAY TO PUT THE ECONOMY  
RIGHT, IS NO DOUBT A SACRIFICE TO THE SITUATION. WRZASZCZYK,  
LUKASZEWICZ AND ZANDAROWSKI ARE IDEOLOGICAL CONSERVATIVES.  
SZYDLAK WAS IN CHARGE OF TRADE UNIONS. PYKA IS HELD TO HAVE  
BUNGLED THE GDANSK NEGOTIATIONS.

3. THE NEW PRIME MINISTER IS AN ECONOMIST LITTLE KNOWN OUTSIDE  
PARTY CIRCLES. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IS THE RETURN OF  
OLSZOWSKI, SACKED FROM THE POLITBURO IN FEBRUARY. HE IS CONSIDERED  
LIBERAL IN ECONOMIC THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY IN OTHER MATTERS:  
PRAGMATIC, FLEXIBLE AND VERY CLEVER: BELIEVED PERSONA GRATA IN  
MOSCOW. HE MUST NOW BE CONSIDERED A FRONT-RUNNER TO SUCCEED GIEREK.

4. GRABSKI, NOW MADE A VICE-PRIME MINISTER, WAS SACKED IN  
SEPTEMBER 1979 FROM THE POST OF PARTY BOSS IN KONIN PROVINCE FOR  
OPPOSITION GIEREK'S ECONOMIC POLICIES. YET HE IS ALSO BELIEVED TO  
HAVE THOUGHT GIEREK TOO LIBERAL TOWARDS THE CHURCH. BARECKI IS A  
CIVILISED MAN WHO MIGHT PRESIDE OVER A FREER RADIO AND TV.  
WOJTASZEK, PROMOTED TO PARTY SECRETARY, HANDS OVER THE MFA TO CZYREK.  
THE LATTER, TOGETHER WITH NEW VICE-PRIME MINISTERS KISIEL AND KOPEC  
AND NEW FINANCE MINISTER KRZAK, ARE KNOWN IN LONDON FROM RECENT  
VISITS. THEY ARE ESSENTIALLY TECHNOCRATS.

5. THOUGH GIEREK SURVIVES HE DOES SO WEAKENED AND HUMILIATED.  
OLSZOWSKI AND GRABSKI WHOM HE SACKED ARE BACK. HIS PROTEGE BABIUCH  
IS OUT. THERE ARE STILL "GIEREK MEN" IN POWER, EG WASZCZUK AND  
ZABINSKI, BUT HE HAS HAD TO ADMIT THAT THE NEWLY PROMOTED COMRADES  
KNEW BETTER THAN HE DID. MOREOVER, WHILE 6 DAYS AGO STRIKE LEADERS  
WERE ANACHISTIC AND ANTI-SOCIALIST, NOW THEY CAN BE ELECTED TO  
TRADE UNIONS.

6. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT EFFECT THE CHANGES AND THE TRADE  
UNION OFFER WILL HAVE ON THE STRIKERS AND ON OTHER WORKERS,  
EG IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOUTH. WHATEVER HAPPENS POLAND WILL NOT BE  
THE SAME AGAIN.

7. I RECOMMEND THAT MESSAGES OF CONGRATULATION BE SENT TO THE  
NEW PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER.

PRIDHAM

POLAND SPECIAL STANDARD [COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST]

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SIR K COUZENS ) TREASURY  
MISS BAKER )  
MR P J BULL BANK OF ENGLAND  
MR COTTERILL ECGD

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GRS 300

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BELGRADE UKDEL NATO WASHINGTON BONN PARIS AND MODUK JEDDA (FOR  
PRIVATE SECRETARY)

MIPT: GIEREK'S SPEECH.

1. FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS OF GIEREK'S SPEECH WHICH  
CONCLUDED YESTERDAY'S FOURTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

- I) WE MUST FIND A WAY OUT OF THE DRAMATIC CONFLICT IN WHICH WE  
ARE NOW ENGAGED. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND IS VERY  
BAD AND MUST BE IMPROVED.
- II) WE BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE NEW ELECTIONS TO THE TRADE  
UNIONS IN THOSE FACTORIES WHERE THE WORK FORCE DESIRES THEM.  
THESE ELECTIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE DEMOCRATICALLY BY MEANS  
OF A SECRET BALLOT AND WITH NO LIMIT ON THE NUMBER OF  
CANDIDATES. THE FORTHCOMING CONGRESS OF POLISH TRADE UNIONS  
SHOULD BE USED AS A REPRESENTATIVE FORUM OF POLISH WORKING  
PEOPLE. THE SEJM SHOULD UNDERTAKE NEW LEGISLATION ABOUT  
TRADE UNIONS. IF THE STRIKE LEADERS CAN MAINTAIN THEIR  
SUPPORT AMONG THE WORKFORCE, THEY WILL FIND THEMSELVES  
ELECTED TO THE OFFICIAL TRADES UNIONS.
- III) THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS MADE MAJOR PERSONNEL CHANGES IN  
THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COUNTRY. THESE CHANGES PARTICULARLY  
AFFECT THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. THE COMRADES WHO HAVE BEEN  
APPOINTED ARE THOSE WHO SAW THE ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT EARLIER  
THAN WE DID, AND TO WHOM WE DID NOT LISTEN AT THE TIME.
- IV) THERE MUST BE A CHANGE IN THE MORAL CLIMATE FOR WHICH WE  
COUNT ON SOCIETY'S SUPPORT.
- V) ONLY UNDER SOCIALISM CAN POLAND BE AN INDEPENDENT STATE  
WITH PERMANENT BORDERS AND INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.
- VI) DESPITE HER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND PAST MISTAKES, POLAND STILL  
HAS A LOT GOING FOR HER. WE MUST ALL WORK FOR A BETTER FUTURE.

2. FOR COMMENTS SEE MIFT.

PRIDHAM

POLAND SPECIAL STANDARD

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MR COTTERILL ECGD

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SECRETARY).

MY TELNO 254 OF 23 AUG AND UNNUMBERED TEL OF 24/8.

GOVERNMENTAL CHANGES:

1. CHANGES ARE AS FOLLOWS:-

POLITBURO:

OUT.

—  
BABIUCH

KUKASZEWICZ

SZYDLAK

WRZASZCZYK

PYKA

ZANDAROWSKI

IN.

—  
FULL MEMBERS:

OLSZOWSKI

PINKOWSKI - (PROMOTED FROM CANDIDATE MEMBER)

CANDIDATE MEMBERS:

WASZCZUK

ZABINSKI

2. SECRETARIAT:

OUT.

—  
LUKASZGWICZ

PINKOWSKI (IN ORDER TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER)

ZANDAROWSKI

IN.

—  
OLSZOWSKI

WOJTASZEK

3. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS:

OUT:

—  
BABIUCH

PYKA

WRZASZCZYK

WOJTASZEK (LOSES FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTFOLION ON PROMOTION TO  
PARTY SECRETARY).

/ BROCHAL

