Prime Munister

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DESKBY 231200Z WARSAW

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TO IMMEDIATE WARSAW

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TELEGRAM NUMBER 370 OF 22 AUGUST

INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW ROUTINE PRAGUE, EAST BERLIN, WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, UKDEL NATO, MODUK INFO SAVING SOFIA, BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST.

POLAND

- 1. BISZTYGA, THE POLISH AMBASSADOR, CALLED ON BULLARD THIS EVENING AT HIS OWN REQUEST AND ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE. HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:
- A) THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS GRATEFUL FOR HMG'S ATTITUDE TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. BISZTYGA REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO MY REMARKS IN STOCKHOLM AND HELSINKI:
- B) THE ABILITY OF REFORMIST MEMBERS OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO ADVANCE THEIR VIEWS WOULD NOW BE MUCH LIMITED BY THE NEED TO AVOID SEEMING TO SIDE WITH THE DISSIDENTS: THE 24 (SIC) ALREADY DETAINED WOULD STAY DETAINED:
- C) THE WEST SHOULD AVOID ACTIONS WHICH COULD MAKE THE SOVIET UNION FEAR FOR ITS OWN SAFETY OR STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF SOVIET HARDLINERS DEMANDING A TOUGH LINE ON POLAND. BISZTYGA REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO THE BROADCASTING TO THE SOVIET UNION BY THE BBC OF THE DISSIDENTS' AND WORKERS' DEMANDS:
- D) PYKA'S DISMISSAL WAS NOT OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE. AS A MIDDLE CLASS INTELLECTUAL HE FOUND IT HARD TO TALK TO WORKERS. JAGIELSKI WAS OF WORKER ORIGINS AND ALSO HAD GOOD LINKS WITH MOSCOW:
- E) THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WOULD NEVER USE FORCE AGAINST THE STRIKES:
- WORKERS. THE OFFICIAL TRADE UNIONS WOULD BE STRENGTHENED AND GIVEN A GREATER SAY IN THE APPOINTMENT OF MANAGERS AND THE RIGHT TO NEGOTIATE WAGES ON THE BASIS OF A BASKET OF THE PRICES OF 100 KEY CONSUMER PRODUCTS:
- G) THERE WOULD BE A CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM PROBABLY EARLY NEXT WEEK, AT WHICH BISZTYGA HINTED THERE MIGHT BE 'SUBSTANTIAL' LEADERSHIP CHANGES. HE HIMSELF WOULD RETURN HOME TEMPORARILY SHORTLY THEREAFTER. HE HAD INTENDED TO RETURN HOME TOMORROW (23 AUGUST) BUT HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO STAY ON:
- H) THE CHURCH'S LATEST STATEMENT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL TO THE GOVERNMENT:
- I) GIEREK HAD NOT (NOT) VISITED MOSCOW ON WEDNESDAY AS SOME WESTERN MEDIA HAD REPORTED. ANY POLISH LEADER WHO DID SO AT SUCH A TIME WOULD IMMEDIATELY LOSE ALL CREDIBILITY WITH THE PEOPLE. CONFIDENTIAL /2. ON



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- 2. ON (C) ABOVE BULLARD POINTED OUT THAT WE COULD NOT CONTROL THE BBC AND THAT EVEN IF WE COULD OTHER STATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO BROADCAST SUCH MATERIAL TO THE SOVIET UNION.
- 3. ON THE WAY OUT BISZTYGA ADDED THAT HE HAD NO EVIDENCE THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED AT THE MOMENT ALTHOUGH THEY HAD SOME WEEKS AGO EXPRESSED FEARS ABOUT THE COURSE OF EVENTS. NOR HAD HE SEEN OR HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT ANY SOVIET MILITARY MOVES.
- 4. BISZTYGA WAS FOR HIM VERY SUBDUED, BUT ENDED BY EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE THAT ALL WOULD BE WELL ALTHOUGH THE NECESSARY SOLUTIONS WOULD TAKE SOME TIME TO WORK OUT HE WOULD NOT PREDICT HOW LONG.

CARRINGTON

POLAND STANDARD [COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST] EESD COPIES TO: CSCE UNIT CONS D PS/S OF S NAD MR DICK SED MR POWNALL WED ECD(E) PS/CHANCELLOR) ECON D . SIR K COUZENS) TREASURY ERD MISS BAKER SEC D MR P J BULL BANK OF ENGLAND OLA CABINET OFFICE MR COTTERILL ECGD

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