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TO PRIORITY WARSAW

TELEGRAM NUMBER 72 OF 12 FEBRUARY,

INFO PRIORITY BONN, PARIS, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, PRAGUE EAST BERLIN,

INFO SAVING BUCHAREST, SOFIA, BELGRADE, BUDAPEST, UKMIS NEW YORK INFO SAVING STOCKHOLM, HELSINKI

POLAND

- 1. THE POLISH AMBASSADOR CALLED ON BULLARD THIS AFTERNOON AND DELIVERED WHAT HE SAID WAS CZYREK'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN HIS CAPACITY AS FOREIGN MINISTER, SENT TO LONDON IN RESPONSE TO BISZTYGA'S REQUEST BUT PROBABLY ALSO TO OTHER POLISH AMBASSADORS ABROAD. THE PHRASEOLOGY IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS IS BISZTYGA'S OWN.
- 2. HE SAID CZYREK BELIEVED THAT POLAND HAD NOW ENTERED THE STAGE OF ANARCHISATION. SIGNS OF THIS WORE THE DEMONSTRATIONS BY STUDENTS AGAINST MILITARY SERVICE IN THE UNIVERSITIES, MARXIST PHILOSOPHY, THE REQUIREMENT FOR ONE MONTH'S MANUAL WORK, ETC. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE TECHNIQUE OF COOL TALKS AND PERSUASION USED BY THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT HITHERTO HAD NOT BEEN EFFICIENT AND HAD IN FACT FAILED. ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND CATASTROPHE COULD OCCUR WITHIN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS IF THE PRESENT TREND CONTINUED. STEPS OF A SPECIAL CHARACTER MIGHT BE NEEDED. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT HESITATE TO TAKE ANY MEASURES. BUT NOBODY INSIDE OR OUTSIDE POLAND WAS THINKING IN ANY OTHER CATEGORY THAN THAT THE POLES THEMSELVES SHOULD SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS.
- 3. THE GOVERNMENT, BISZTYGA SAID, WOULD BE REORGANISED NEXT WEEK. THE NEW PRIME MINISTER WOULD KEEP DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY IN HIS OWN HANDS. ALL OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES WOULD BE DIVIDED INTO TWO GROUPS. ANYTHING CONNECTED WITH THE ECONOMY

WOULD BE PLACED UNDER JAGIELSKI AS CHAIRMAN OF A NEW ECONOMIC COMMITTEE TO BE SET UP UNDER THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. ALL NON-ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITIES WOULD BE GROUPED UNDER THE NEW DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER RAKOWSKI. BISZTYGA COMMENTED THAT THE FORCES OF MODERATION WOULD THUS KEEP THEIR GRIP ON EVENTS THROUGH THE NEW SYSTEM OF TRIPLE LEADERSHIP.

- 4. BISZTYGA ASKED THAT WE SHOULD STUDY CAREFULLY KANIA S APPEAL TO THE NATION, ESPECIALLY HIS DETERMINATION TO OPPOSE EXTREMISM ON BOTH SIDES, WHICH WAS THE CHIEF DANGER.
- 5. IN THIS SITUATION CZYREK ASKED THAT HMG SHOULD:
 A. SHOW UNDERSTANDING IF DECISIVE ACTION WERE TO BE APPLIED BY THE GOVERNMENT: THE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO RESTORE THE POWER OF THE MODERATES, AND THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES WOULD BE THOSE STATED BY KANIA AND EARLIER

TO ME DURING MY VISIT TO WARSAW.

- B. TO GUARD AGAINST ANY APPEARANCE OF INTERVENTION IN ANY FORM IN POLISH AFFAIRS FROM THE WESTERN SIDE
- 6. DURING THIS PERIOD CZYREK WISHED TO KEEP POLAND'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION AS ACTIVE AS POSSIBLE, USING ALL THE TRADITIONAL
 METHODS. IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT HE WOULD BE VISITING
 COPENHAGEN NEXT WEEK AND RECEIVING GENSCHER IN WARSAW IN A MONTH'S
 TIME.
 - 7. WHAT POLAND NEEDED AT THE MOMENT. EVEN MORE THAN MONEY, WAS 'TIME AND BREATH', IE PRESUMABLY A BREATHING SPACE.
 - 8. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS BISZTYGA SAID THAT BY 'DECISIVE ACTION' HE WOULD ASSUME THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER MEANT A DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY, INCLUDING MOBILISATION OF RESERVISTS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE NEW PRIME MINISTER HAD DELIVERED HIS SPEECH TODAY IN UNIFORM AND DIRECTED IT TO FORMER SOLDIERS AS WELL AS MEN NOW IN UNIFORM. HE WAS QUITE SURE THAT ACTION ON THESE LINES WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE COUNTRY.
 - 9. AS TO WESTERN INTERVENTION, BISZTYG SAID HE HAD NO COMPLAINTS AGAINST HMG, THE MEDIA OR THE TRADE UNIONS IN BRITAIN AND HE DID NOT TAKE SERIOUSLY CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS HERE WHO HELD OTHER VIEWS.

 10. THE AMBASSADOR'S FINAL POINT WAS A PLEA FOR ACTIVE DIPLOMACY
 - 10. THE AMBASSADOR'S FINAL POINT WAS A PLEA FOR ACTIVE DIPLOMACY BY WESTERN GOVERNMENTS IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH POLAND. GRATEFUL

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IN THIS CONNECTION TO KNOW WHERE THINGS STAND ON THE INVITATION TO CZYREK (FALL'S LETTER OF 4 FEBRUARY).

CARRINGTON

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