

POLAND: ADVANCE COPIES

1921

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
MR BULLARD  
MR BERGUSON  
SIR A ACLAND  
MR P H MOBERLY

NO 10 DOWNING ST  
DIO CABINET OFFICE  
ASSESSMENTS STAFF  
CABINET OFFICE

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

HEAD/EESD  
HEAD/DEFENCE D  
HEAD/PUSD (2)  
HEAD/WED  
HEAD/NEWS D  
HEAD/PLANNING STAFF

*Gen. Cons. D.*  
*Gen. Cons. Com. G.*

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WARSAW 030820Z APR

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 251 OF 3 APRIL.

INFO MOSCOW WASHINGTON PARIS BONN UKDEL NATO  
PEKING ( FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY).

MOSCOW TELNO 182: SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS POLAND.

1. IN SO FAR AS I CAN JUDGE FROM HERE I AGREE WITH  
NEARLY ALL OF CIR C KEEBLE'S ADMIRABLE ASSESSMENT.  
I WOULD ONLY SAY THIS. IT IS CERTAINLY TOO LATE  
(IF IT WAS EVER IN GOOD TIME) FOR THE POLISH LEADERSHIP  
WHETHER OF KANIA/JARUZELSKI OR OF SOME HARD-LINE COMBINATION  
TO DICTATE SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS AND A SUITABLE OUTCOME  
OF THE PARTY CONGRESS. THERE IS THEREFORE LITTLE POINT  
IN THE RUSSIANS TRYING TO INSTAL A HARD-LINE LEADERSHIP  
UNLESS AND UNTIL THEY HAVE DECIDED TO INTERVENE.  
NOT ONLY WOULD SUCH A LEADERSHIP FAIL ( SAVE BY FORCE).  
TO DICTATE A SATISFACTORY PARTY CONGRESS: IT WOULD  
ALSO PROVOKE STRIKE AND OTHER ACTION BY SOLIDARITY  
AND THUS LEAD TO A SITUATION IN WHICH THE USSR WOULD  
BE FORCED TO INTERVENE.

2. IT MAY BE THAT THE FIRST SOVIET PRIORITY WILL BE  
TO ASSERT CONTROL OVER THE POLISH PARTY. BUT ON THE  
ASSUMPTION THAT THE RUSSIANS STILL WISH TO AVOID  
INTERVENTION. I WONDER IF THEIR FIRST PRIORITY MAY NOT



ASSUMPTION THAT THE RUSSIANS STILL WISH TO AVOID INTERVENTION, I WONDER IF THEIR FIRST PRIORITY MAY NOT RATHER BE TO SEE ORDER AND REASONABLE STABILITY MAINTAINED IN POLAND. IF THESE TWO ASSUMPTIONS ARE CORRECT, THE RUSSIANS MAY STILL BE PREPARED (BECAUSE ALL OTHER ALTERNATIVES ARE WORSE) TO ACCEPT THE SORT OF DEMOCRATISATION OF THE POLISH PARTY WHICH THE LAST PARTY PLENUM ENVISAGED. ( 4TH FROM LAST SENTENCE OF MOSCOW TUR).

3. BUT I ENTIRELY AGREE WITH SIR C KEEBLE THAT FOR THIS TO HAPPEN THE POLES MUST STAY SHORT OF THE BRINK AND AVOID MAJOR STRIKES, AND MOSCOW SHOULD HAVE THE PROSPECT OF A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE TO INTERVENTION, IE AN EAST-WEST DIALOGUE ON STRATEGIC ISSUES. THE LATTER PRESUMABLY ONLY THE AMERICANS CAN OFFER. SO FAR AS THE FIRST IS CONCERNED WE CAN HELP, RATHER AS THE POPE HAS DONE, BY MAKING IT CLEAR PUBLICLY THAT WE FAVOUR PATIENCE RATHER THAN BRINKMANSHIP, NOT ONLY BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT BY SOLIDARITY ALSO: THAT MODERATION IS A TWO-WAY STREET, THE YOUNG TURKS IN SOLIDARITY WHO OPPOSE WALESA BELIEVE THAT BECAUSE THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT YET INTERVENED THEY NEVER WILL AND MANY OF THEM, ENCOURAGED BY THE WESTERN MEDIA, SEE NO REASON WHY THEY SHOULD NOT PUSH RIGHT ON WITH THEIR OBJECTIVE OF OVERTHROWING THE REGIME.

PRIDHAM

NNNN