

POLAND: ADVANCE COPIES

1921

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FM WARSAW 081415Z APR

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 265 OF 8 APR

INFO MOSCOW EAST BERLIN PRAGUE PARIS BONN WASHINGTON
UKDEL NATO THE HAGUE MODUK

SAVING TO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST BELGRADE HELSINKI
STOCKHOLM UKMIS NEW YORK UKREP BRUSSELS

POLAND : WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW ?

1. IT MAY BE THAT DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY OR MARTIAL LAW, FOR WHICH CONTINGENCY PLANS CERTAINLY EXIST, IS IMMINENT BUT ON THE WHOLE THAT DOES NOT SEEM FROM HERE THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO.

2. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF IT ARE:

81. THE RUSSIANS ARE NOT LIKELY TO HAVE MADE THE MILITARY MOVES THEY HAVE SIMPLY TO SEE A REFORMIST POLISH PARTY GATHER STRENGTH. THEY MAY UNDERESTIMATE THE DIFFICULTY OF IMPOSING THEIR WILL BY THIS MEANS.

II. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AND PARTY MIGHT REGARD IT AS A NECESSARY MOVE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM THE RUSSIANS AND MIGHT EVEN BE ABLE TO SELL IT TO THE COUNTRY AS SUCH.

III. (PERHAPS) OLSZOWSKI'S FAILURE TO MENTION KANIA IN HIS

3. THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST ARE:

I. THE COUNTRY IS QUIET WITH NO STRIKES (ADMITTEDLY LARGELY BECAUSE 300,000 WARSAW PACT TROOPS SURROUND THE COUNTRY AND EVERYBODY KNOWS IT). AS THE FRENCH HAVE REMARKED (PARIS TELNO 257), IT WOULD BE AN ODD TIME TO DECLARE AN EMERGENCY

II. THERE ARE NO OBSERVABLE SIGNS OF SECURITY OR OTHER LOCAL FORCE READINESS SUCH AS ONE WOULD EXPECT IF SUCH ACTION WERE IMMINENT.

III. PARTY AND OTHER SPEECHES ARE DIRECTED TO THE THEME OF CONTINUATION OF THE ODNOWA AND NORMAL CONTINUATION OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE 9TH PARTY CONGRESS.

IV. GIVEN THE STRENGTH OF THE REFORMIST FEELING IN THE COUNTRY , SUCH A MOVE AT SUCH A TIME WOULD PROBABLY (IN SPITE OF PARAGRAPH 2 II. ABOVE) BE FOLLOWED BY STRIFE, WHICH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WANT TO AVOID BECAUSE OF WHAT IT WOULD LEAD ON TO.

4. AS REGARDS A STRAIGHT SOVIET INVASION, NATO SERVICE ATTACHES WILL COMPLETE A SERIES OF VISITS TO SENSITIVE POINTS IN POLAND TONIGHT. MY DEFENCE ATTACHE IS TELEGRAPHING THE RESULTS OF A LONG TOUR HE MADE YESTERDAY WHICH SHOW EXTENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES IN BEING AND FRESH HELICOPTERS NI TR N ORF AIRCRAFT AT SOVIET BASES IN SILESIA. HE ADDS HOWEVER THAT RUSSIAN FAMILIES ARE LIVING NORMALLY IN THE SOVIET BASE AREAS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS AND SIMILAR INFORMATION BE CAREFULLY ASSESSED. FOR INSTANCE, MY US COLLEAGUE TELLS ME THAT AT A WASHINGTON BRIEFING LAST WEEK MUCH PLAY WAS MADE WITH THE SOVIET ARMADA NEAR THE POLISH COAST. BUT AFTER QUESTIONING IT EMERGED THAT THIS FLEET COULD LAND ONLY 1800 MEN.

5. IT WOULD BE A RASH MAN WHO WOULD PREPHESY WHAT WILL HAPPEN, ON BALANCE THE EVIDENCE FROM WITHIN POLAND IS RATHER AGAINST AN EARLY SOVIET INVASION OR STATE OF EMERGENCY , PROVIDED THE COUNTRY STAYS QUIET AND REASONABLY STRIKE-FREE. BUT THAT JARUZELSKI WILL ISSUE SOME KIND OF NEW CALL IS VERY LIKELY.