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DESKBY 141730Z

FM MOSCOW 141615Z DEC 81

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 744 OF 14 DECEMBER

INFO WARSAW, WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO

MY TEL 737 (NOT TO ALL) : POLAND

1. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP MUST FOR A LONG TIME HAVE BEEN URGING JARUZELSKI TO GET A FIRMER GRIP AND IT IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT THEY HAD ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE, IF ONLY BRIEF, OF HIS INTENTIONS. INDEED THE TASS ARTICLE OF 11 DECEMBER, FOLLOWED BY INCREASINGLY HOSTILE ARTICLES ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, COULD BE SEEN AS EVIDENCE OF THIS. THAT SAID, I DOUBT WHETHER THE TIMING OF THE MOVE WAS DICTATED BY THE SOVIET UNION. THE POLES HAVE ONCE AGAIN BETWEEN THEM CALLED THE TUNE AND THE IMPRESSION HERE IS THAT THEY ARE STILL DOING SO.

2. HOWEVER, NOW THAT JARUZELSKI HAS DECIDED THAT THE TIME FOR OPEN CONFRONTATION WITH SOLIDARITY HAS COME, THE SOVIET UNION HAS LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO SUPPORT HIM THIS IS PRESUMABLY THE MESSAGE OF TODAY'S TASS STATEMENT (MY TEL 741) BUT IT IS AN ODD DOCUMENT. IT CONSISTS MAINLY OF ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE WEST. THE SOVIET UNION'S "SATISFACTION" IS LIMITED TO JARUZELSKI'S REFERENCE TO THE POLISH/SOVIET ALLIANCE, THE FRONTIER AND THE WARSAW PACT. THERE IS NO REFERENCE WHATEVER TO THE POLISH PARTY. NOR IS THERE THE CLASSIC REFERENCE TO POLAND BEING ABLE TO COUNT ON THE SUPPORT OF HER FRIENDS AND ALLIES. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP MUST WANT TO SEE JARUZELSKI DO THE JOB HIMSELF, BUT THE IMPLICATION IS THAT THEY ARE READY FOR INTERVENTION ON GROUNDS OF WARSAW PACT SECURITY IF HE FAILS AND CERTAINLY THIS IS THE WAY THEY WILL WANT THE POLES TO READ IT.

3. IT HAS FOR SOME TIME BEEN THOUGHT LIKELY THAT EAST EUROPEAN PARTY LEADERS WOULD GATHER IN MOSCOW TO CELEBRATE BREZHNEV'S BIRTHDAY ON 19 DECEMBER AND THE HEAD OF PROTOCOL CONFIRMED THIS ~~59~~ ME ON 11 DECEMBER. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WOULD SCARCELY HAVE PLANNED TO MARK THE OCCASION WITH AN INTERVENTION IN POLAND) BUT, HOWEVER THINGS DEVELOP, THE MEETING, IF IT GOES AHEAD, WILL PROVIDE A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY TO CONCERT WARSAW PACT TACTICS.
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