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 INFO RUDKRW/AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE 8707
 RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY 7112
 RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY 3221
 RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 1880
 RUFHMU/AMCONSUL MUNICH PRIORITY 5854
 RUDKAR/AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY 7528
 RUDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST PRIORITY 6641
 RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 3898
 RUDKPNQ/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY 1338
 RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0971
 RUDKRP/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY 7332
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TERM FOR COMBINED

UDKFMQ/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY 1224
 RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY 6664
 RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 0787
 RUFHJA/USMISSION USBERLIN PRIORITY 5584

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State Dept. review completed

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COMBINED SECTION

EXDIS

MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE

USNATO HOLD FOR EAGLEBURGER

E.O. 12065: RDS 12/19/01 (HARTMAN, ARTHUR) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, PL, UR

SUBJECT: ONE WEEK INTO THE POLISH CRISIS: THE SOVIET
- PERSPECTIVE

1. SECRET, ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY:

2. ONE WEEK INTO POLISH MARTIAL LAW, WE BELIEVE THE SOVIETS KNOW THEY ARE IN DEEP TROUBLE. REGARDLESS OF THE OBVIOUS SOVIET COLLUSION IN THE SEIZURE OF POWER BY THE POLISH GENERALS, THE DETERIORATION IN POLAND TO MILITARY RULE IS ALREADY A COSTLY DISASTER FOR SOVIET POLICY AND INTERESTS. THERE ARE CLEAR INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE HOPING FOR A MIRACLE FROM THE JUNTA IN WARSAW, BUT ARE NOT CONFIDENT OF IT. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT FULLY COMMITTED THEIR PRESTIGE OR AUTHORITY TO THE SUCCESS OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND, TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN WARSAW OR TO JARUZELSKI PERSONALLY. THEY ARE KEEPING UP THE PRESSURE ON JARUZELSKI. THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT SO FAR COMMITTED ITSELF TO ANY FURTHER COURSE OF ACTION IN POLAND; NONE OF THE SOVIET OPTIONS HAS BEEN CLOSED.

3. WE BELIEVE THE SOVIETS KEENLY UNDERSTAND THE COSTLINESS OF ALL THEIR OPTIONS IN POLAND. THEY ARE NOW ENGAGED IN DAMAGE LIMITATION EFFORTS. IN OUR VIEW, THE PRIMARY SOVIET NEEDS ARE FOR ORDER ON THEIR WESTERN BORDER AND SECURE LINES OF COMMUNICATION TO THEIR ARMIES IN GERMANY. IF THE JUNTA IN WARSAW CAN PULL THE DOMESTIC SITUATION TOGETHER AND ACHIEVE SOME REASONABLE FORM OF STABILITY, WE BELIEVE THE SOVIETS

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WILL BE WILLING TO ACCEPT AN ENORMOUS PRICE: THE REPLACEMENT, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, OF A COMMUNIST PARTY GOVERNMENT IN POLAND WITH A NATIONALIST MILITARY ONE. THE SOVIETS PROBABLY FEAR THAT THE NEW POLISH GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ONLY BE MORE NATIONALIST THAN ITS PREDECESSORS, BUT PERHAPS ALSO NO MORE COMPETENT IN GETTING POLISH WORKERS TO WORK; ALMOST CERTAINLY THE NEW REGIME WILL BE MORE COSTLY TO THE SOVIET UNION. NEVERTHELESS, TO ASSIST THE JUNTA, CURRENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE ORGANIZING SIZEABLE EMERGENCY SHIPMENTS OF FOOD AND OTHER AID FROM HERE AND OTHER BLOC COUNTRIES.

4. IN THE PAST WEEK THE SOVIETS HAVE REACTED WITH CAUTION IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON POLAND. WE BELIEVE THE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE ON THE WORD "REACT." THE SOVIETS ARE NOT SEEKING CONFRONTATION OR DISPUTE WITH THE WEST. SOME WESTERN PRESS ACCOUNTS COMING FROM MOSCOW IN RECENT DAYS HAVE GROSSLY EXAGGERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESTRAINED SIGNALS WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN SENDING TO THE WEST. WE THINK THE SOVIETS ARE PLAYING IT VERY COOL, AND WANT THE UNITED STATES TO DO THE SAME.

END SUMMARY.

5. WE ASSUME THE SOVIETS HAD SUBSTANTIAL KNOWLEDGE OF JARUZELSKI'S MOVE IN ADVANCE. WITHOUT QUESTION, THEY FELT STRONGLY THAT DRASTIC MEASURES WERE REQUIRED TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS IN POLAND. THEREFORE, WHATEVER THE DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS OF THE POLISH GENERALS, WE BELIEVE THEY SEIZED POWER TO PREVENT FURTHER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DETERIORATION WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN UNACCEPTABLE TO THE KREMLIN.

-- IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE METICULOUS PREPARATIONS FOR THE COUP COULD HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT WITHOUT THE

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KNOWLEDGE, AND AGREEMENT, OF THE SOVIET FORCES COMMANDER

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AND KGB REPRESENTATIVES IN POLAND.

-- FOR MONTHS THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN TELLING THE POLES PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT CONTINUED AND INCREASING DISORDER ON THE SOVIET WESTERN BORDER WAS INTOLERABLE.

-- THE SOVIETS HAVE PRETTY CLEARLY INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD NOT SUBSIDIZE A POLISH ECONOMY IN WHICH SOLIDARITY CALLED THE SHOTS.

-- REMEMBERING EVENTS IN HUNGARY IN 1956 AND IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968, THE SOVIETS MUST HAVE FEARED THAT THE DIRECTION OF POLISH REFORM WOULD ULTIMATELY THREATEN POLAND'S POSITION IN THE WARSAW PACT AND HENCE THE SOVIET LINES OF COMMUNICATION TO THEIR FORWARD ARMIES IN EAST GERMANY.

-- THE CREATION OF A POWER-SHARING ARRANGEMENT AMONG THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, THE CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY WOULD RELEGATE THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY (AND THEREBY ALL OF MOSCOW'S LOYAL HENCHMEN IN POLAND) TO A SUBSIDIARY ROLE WITHIN THE WEAKEST OF THE THREE PARTS OF THE TRIUMVERATE. SOLIDARITY AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ARE HATEFUL TO THE KREMLIN AS BOTH THE SEAT OF SOVIET POWER AND THE REPOSITORY OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISM.

-- THIS IS SIMPLY A TERRIBLE TIME IN SOVIET HISTORY FOR THEIR CONTROL IN POLAND TO BREAK DOWN; THE SOVIET ECONOMY IS A MESS; AGRICULTURE IS A DISASTER; THE AMERICANS ARE RISING TO THEIR CHALLENGE WORLDWIDE; THE CHINESE ARE IN CAHOOTS WITH THE AMERICANS; AFGHANISTAN IS MUCH MESSIER THAN THEY EXPECTED; AND THE WHOLE WORLD REGARDS SOVIET IDEOLOGY AS BANKRUPT. TO CROWN IT ALL, THE POWER STRUCTURE IS FACING AN INTERREGNUM FROM WHICH NO ONE CAN PREDICT THE OUTCOME.

6. DESPITE SOVIET CRIES FOR ACTION AGAINST SOLIDARITY, THE IMPOSITION OF A MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN POLAND IS NOT LIKELY TO MAKE THE SOVIETS REALLY HAPPY;

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-- SO FAR, THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE ODD MAN OUT OF THE STRUGGLE. THE JUNTA IN WARSAW AT LEAST TREATS SOLIDARITY AND THE CHURCH SERIOUSLY; THE PARTY IS NOTABLE FOR ITS ABSENCE FROM THE LEADERSHIP AND FROM THE NEWS.P

-- EVEN IF SOLIDARITY CAN BE EFFECTIVELY CONTROLLED (A BIG IF INDEED), POLAND WOULD THEN BE IN THE HANDS OF THE MILITARY AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; RUSSIANS ARE WEANED ON HISTORICAL HATRED AND FEAR OF THESE TWO POLISH INSTITUTIONS.

-- DURING A PERIOD OF MILITARY RULE, POLAND WILL REMAIN USELESS AND UNRELIABLE AS AN EFFECTIVE MEMBER OF THE WARSAW PACT; THE REAR OF THE GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES, GERMANY, WILL STILL BE INSECURE.

-- THE POLISH ECONOMY WILL CERTAINLY REMAIN A MAJOR LIABILITY TO THE ENTIRE SOVIET BLOC. EVEN IF THE MILITARY CAN PREVENT STRIKES, THEY MAY NOT BE ABLE TO GET ANYONE TO WORK VERY HARD. IF CURRENT SIGNS OF LARGE EMERGENCY FOOD SHIPMENTS FROM THE BLOC ARE RELIABLE, THE COSTS OF SUBSIDIZING THE JUNTA ARE

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GOING TO BE STEEP, AND UNPOPULAR HERE.

-- THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME IS A HUGE GAMBLE IN WHICH MANY OF THE CHIPS BELONG TO MOSCOW. IF THE JUNTA FAILS, THE SOVIETS FACE THE NIGHTMARE THEY HAVE AVOIDED EVER SINCE THE POLISH CRISIS STARTED: THE PROSPECT OF THEIR OWN INTERVENTION AND LONG-TERM OCCUPATION OF POLAND.

-- WORST OF ALL, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP MUST CONTINUE TO WATCH ITS SUPPOSED CLIENT STATE DETERMINE ITS OWN DESTINY. THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE MILITARY REGIME WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE REACTIONS OF MILLIONS OF POLES, NOT BY THE DECISIONS OF THE KREMLIN.

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7. BAD AS THE MESS IN POLAND, MUST LOOK TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, IN THE PAST WEEK IT DOES HAVE SOME REDEEMING FEATURES:

-- SOMETHING HAS BEEN DONE AT LAST; THE SLOW DRIFT INTO CHAOS HAS AT LEAST BEEN DEFLECTED IF NOT STOPPED.

-- THE MILITARY RULERS OF POLAND ARE NOT MEN LIKELY TO FORGET THE POLICY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA; THEY MAY NOT BE LOYAL MOSCOW STOOGES, BUT THEY ARE COMMITTED TO ESTABLISHING ORDER. ORDER IS FUNDAMENTALLY WHAT MOSCOW WANTS.

-- THE JUNTA HAS CLEARLY DECLARED ITS ADHERENCE TO ITS WARSAW PACT OBLIGATIONS. IT MAY BE MILITARILY IMPOTENT BUT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT THREATENING A REPETITION OF 1956 IN HUNGARY OR 1968 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

-- SO FAR, THE POLISH POLICE AND MILITARY SEEM TO BE FOLLOWING ORDERS. THIS MUST BE A HUGE RELIEF TO MOSCOW, EVEN IF THE KREMLIN IS STILL HOLDING ITS BREATH.

-- IF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT CAN LAST, THERE IS SOME DISTANT PROSPECT THAT POLAND WILL PULL ITSELF TOGETHER AND BECOME AT LEAST ECONOMICALLY FUNCTIONAL. THE HUNGARIANS DID IT AFTER 1956; THE EAST GERMANS DID IT AFTER THE WALL WENT UP; THE CZECHS DID IT AFTER 1968.

8. DESPITE THEIR OBVIOUS FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE COUP, WE BELIEVE THERE ARE CLEAR INDICATIONS THE SOVIETS ARE FAR FROM CONFIDENT OF THE OUTCOME OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND AND ARE UNWILLING TO EXPLICITLY COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ITS SUCCESS. ONE EFFECT IS TO KEEP PRESSURE ON JARUZELSKI. NOTHING THE SOVIETS HAVE PUBLICLY SAID SO FAR WOULD FORECLOSE ANY FURTHER ACTION THEY MAY FEEL COMPELLED TO TAKE. DESPITE SOME ESCALATION OF THE RHETORIC IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, THE SOVIET PUBLIC REACTION TO EVENTS IN POLAND HAS SO FAR BEEN VERY CAUTIOUS:

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-- THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN ONLY LIMITED PUBLIC APPROVAL TO THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW; THEY HAVE STOPPED SHORT OF OUTRIGHT ENDORSEMENT OF JARUZELSKI'S HANDLING OF IT. SOVIET PRESTIGE AND AUTHORITY HAVE NOT BEEN VESTED IN ANY ULTIMATELY CONSTRAINING WAY ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS GAMBLE BY THE POLISH MILITARY.

-- IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE KREMLIN LEADERS AND THE POLISH GENERALS TO CONCEAL THE EXTENT OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE COUP. THE GENERALS DON'T WANT TO BE SEEN AS SOVIET PUPPETS; THE SOVIETS DON'T WANT TO FOCUS WORLD CRITICISM ON THEMSELVES.

-- THE SOVIETS HAVE CONTINUED TO BLAST SOLIDARITY, BUT THEY HAVE KEPT THEIR HANDS OFF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HAVE BITTEN THEIR LIPS ABOUT THE ARREST OF

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PROMINENT PARTY FIGURES. THE SOVIETS ARE CONSPICUOUSLY NOT CALLING FOR ACTION OR AN ASSERTION OF AUTHORITY BY THE POLISH PARTY; THEY ARE IGNORING THE POLISH COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ALMOST AS MUCH AS IS THE JUNTA IN WARSAW.

-- SOVIET MEDIA ARE NOT NOW COMMUNICATING TO THE POPULACE HERE THAT A SHOWDOWN IN POLAND REQUIRING SOVIET ACTION IS IMMINENT, POLISH REPORTING IS BEING TREATED WITH KID GLOVES. IN RECENT DAYS, THIS REPORTING HAS MIXED GRIM ACCOUNTS OF CLASHES AND DEATHS WITH INCREASING, BUT STILL IMPLICIT, EXPRESSIONS OF SATISFACTION. NO IMPLICATION OF A BREAKDOWN IN CONTROL BY POLISH SECURITY FORCES IS BEING GIVEN TO THE SOVIET PUBLIC, BUT NEITHER ARE THEY BEING ASSURED OF A GOOD OUTCOME.

-- IN THE FIRST DAYS AFTER THE COUP, THE SOVIETS WERE NEARLY SILENT ABOUT WESTERN INFLUENCE IN POLAND. MORE RECENTLY, THEY HAVE REACTED TO WESTERN, ESPECIALLY AMERICAN, STATEMENTS DRAWING THE OBVIOUS CONCLUSION OF SOVIET COMPLICITY IN THE COUP BY ACCUSING THE WEST OF ENCOURAGING, AIDING AND EVEN DIRECTING THE ACTIONS

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OF SOLIDARITY. HOWEVER, THESE HAVE BEEN SOVIET REACTIONS, NOT INITIATIVES, AND THEY HAVE BEEN CARRIED AT LOW MEDIA LEVELS WITHOUT OFFICIAL IMPRIMATEUR.

-- SOVIET COMMENTARY IS DEVELOPING TWO THEMES IN RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE: AMERICAN "INVOLVEMENT" IN SOLIDARITY'S ALLEGED PLANS TO SEIZE POWER AND THE AMERICAN "ECONOMIC BLOCKADE" OF POLAND AS A RESPONSE TO MARTIAL LAW. THESE THEMES ARE LIKELY TO BECOME MORE PROMINENT AS THE SOVIETS TRY TO PROVE THAT THE WEST SOUGHT TO SABOTAGE POLAND POLITICALLY BEFORE THE MILITARY TAKEOVER AND IS NOW SEEKING TO SABOTAGE POLAND ECONOMICALLY.

-- THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT USED THE GATHERING OF EAST BLOC PARTY CHIEFS IN MOSCOW FOR BREZHNEV'S BIRTHDAY TO BEAT THE DRUMS ON POLAND; INDEED, THE SILENCE ON THIS SUBJECT HAS BEEN STRIKING. THE TONE OF JARUZELSKI'S BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO BREZHNEV SUGGESTS A POSSIBILITY THAT JARUZELSKI WOULD LIKE A MORE WHOLEHEARTED COMMITMENT AND CONFIDENCE FROM MOSCOW.

9. WHAT ARE THE SOVIETS TRYING TO TELL US IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS ABOUT POLAND DURING THE PAST WEEK?

-- THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS STILL WHISTLING IN THE DARK ABOUT THE TREMORS ON ITS WESTERN BORDER.

-- THE SOVIETS WANT SOME KIND OF ORDER IN POLAND BUT THEY HAVE NO BETTER IDEAS NOW ABOUT HOW TO ACHIEVE IT THAN DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS.

-- WHILE THEY APPARENTLY ARE WILLING TO PLACE FOOD SUPPLIES AND CREDITS ON THE LINE TO BACK THE GAMBLE, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY CONFIDENT ABOUT THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN WARSAW TO GIVE IT OVERT SOVIET SANCTION AND SUPPORT.

-- THE SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO ACT COOL WHILE THE MILITARY IN POLAND TRIES TO BEAT DOWN THE FLAMES; THEY WANT EVERYONE ELSE TO PLAY IT COOL AS WELL. CAUTIOUS

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STATEMENTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES ARE GREETED WITH EITHER SILENCE OR MILD APPROVAL. MORE PROVOCATIVE STATEMENTS (IN THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT) ARE PARBIED PUBLICLY, BUT AT A LOW LEVEL AND WITHOUT OFFICIAL IMPRIMATEUR.

-- IN SHORT, THE SOVIETS ARE HOPING FOR A MIRACLE FROM THE MEN ON HORSEBACK IN WARSAW, BUT THEY WON'T REALLY BELIEVE IT TILL THEY SEE IT.

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10. WHAT DO THE SOVIETS FEEL THEY MUST HAVE IN POLAND?

-- SOME SEMBLANCE OF ORDER.

-- NO THREAT TO THE INTEGRITY OF THE WARSAW PACT'S LINES OF COMMUNICATION.

-- SOME EXPECTATION THAT THE POLISH ECONOMY WILL NOT BE A BASKET CASE INDEFINITELY.

-- SOME PROSPECT THAT CONDITIONS WILL BE CREATED FOR THE ULTIMATE RESTORATION OF REAL PARTY RULE.

-- ABOVE ALL, SOME PROGRESS TOWARD AN END TO UNCERTAINTY. THE ENDLESS DRAMA OF THE POLISH CRISIS IS SIMPLY TOO STRAINING FOR A SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN ITS TWILIGHT YEARS. THEY WANT PREDICTABILITY ON THEIR WESTERN BORDER.

11. WHAT ARE THE SOVIETS WILLING TO PAY?

-- MILITARY RATHER THAN COMMUNIST PARTY RULE IN THEIR LARGEST CLIENT STATE (AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING).

-- A POLISH REGIME WHICH IS MORE NATIONALIST THAN SOCIALIST AND MORE PRO-POLISH THAN PRO-SOVIET.

-- THE CONTINUATION, UNDER MILITARY GUIDANCE, OF SOME OF THE POST-1980 REFORMS.

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-- PUBLIC SILENCE ON DEVELOPING TRENDS IN POLAND WHICH ARE HISTORICALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY HATEFUL TO THE KREMLIN.

-- IF THE GENERALS IN WARSAW CAN SUCCEED, THE BOSSES IN MOSCOW WILL PROBABLY GO ALONG WITH THE EXPEDIENTS THE JUNTA CHOOSES TO EMPLOY WITHIN POLAND. THE SOVIET MOTIVATION:

12. FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, THE MESS IN POLAND IS THE WORST KIND OF CRISIS, IN THE WORST POSSIBLE PLACE AT THE WORST POSSIBLE TIME. DURING THE PAST FOUR CENTURIES THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL MIND HAS BEEN FIXATED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF "THE TIME OF TROUBLES," WHEN ORDER IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE COLLAPSED WITH A CONSIDERABLE ASSIST FROM CATHOLIC POLAND. SINCE THAT TIME, THE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER WITHIN THE EMPIRE HAS TAKEN PRECEDENCE OVER ALL OTHER GOALS. THE PRESENT SOVIET EMPIRE, DESPITE ITS MASSIVE INERTIAL STRENGTH, IS SUFFERING MAJOR STRAINS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COMPELLING SOVIET REQUIREMENT AND BASIC GOAL WITHIN ITS POLISH "PROVINCE" IS THE RESTORATION OF ORDER. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WOULD BE WILLING TO ESTABLISH THIS ORDER WITH THE BAYONETS OF THE RED ARMY, IF THEY THOUGHT SUCH A MOVE WOULD WORK. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST TWO YEARS INDICATES THAT THEY HAVE BEEN CONVINCED THAT MILITARY ACTION IN POLAND WOULD BE A DISASTER FOR SOVIET POLICY, AND THAT ONLY POLES CAN EFFECTIVELY GOVERN POLES. TO SURRENDER CONTROL OF POLISH AFFAIRS INTO THE HANDS OF THE POLISH MILITARY IS ITSELF A MAJOR DEFEAT FOR THE SOVIET UNION. IT MEANS, IN ESSENCE, THAT MOSCOW MUST SACRIFICE ITS OWN CONTROL WITHIN A LARGE PART OF ITS EMPIRE TO ACHIEVE ORDER THERE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A SACRIFICE THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS RELUCTANTLY WILLING TO MAKE. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT IF FACED WITH CLEAR FAILURE BY THE POLISH MILITARY GOVERNMENT, THE SOVIETS WILL PREFER THEIR OWN CONTROL WITHOUT ORDER TO NEITHER CONTROL NOR ORDER.

FOR THE UNITED STATES:

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13. FROM THE WEST (WHICH IN SOVIET EYES MEANS ABOVE ALL THE UNITED STATES) THE SOVIETS WANT ACCEPTANCE OF

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THEIR BASIC REQUIREMENT FOR ORDER IN POLAND. THEY ALSO EXPECT UNDERSTANDING OF HOW MUCH THEY ARE SWALLOWING THERE. THE SOVIETS KNOW THAT THE WEST WILL NOT GO TO WAR OVER POLAND; WE HAVE TOLD THEM SO. THEY ALSO KNOW THEY HAVE PRECIOUS LITTLE LEVERAGE OVER OTHER WESTERN ACTIONS IN THE POLISH CRISIS. BUT THEY DON'T REALLY MUCH CARE IF WESTERN BANKS LOSE THEIR MONEY AND THEY CAN ENDURE WHAT THE WESTERN PRESS, WESTERN PUBLICS AND EVEN WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES SAY ABOUT POLAND. THE SOVIETS LOOK AT THE WORLD IN VERY TRADITIONAL "GREAT POWER" TERMS. THEY SIMPLY DON'T BELIEVE THAT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS CANNOT AND WILL NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR PASSION FOR ORDER WITHIN THEIR EMPIRE. TO THE EXTENT THE WEST DOES NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THIS SOVIET "RIGHT," THE KREMLIN WILL NURSE A GRUDGE, LOOK FOR OTHER OUTLETS FOR ITS BITTERNESS, AND SIMPLY ENDURE WHAT COMES. SO FAR, HOWEVER, THE KREMLIN HAS BEEN MUCH MORE CONCERNED WITH THE ONGOING GAMBLE OF THE POLISH MILITARY. THE SOVIETS ARE NOT SEEKING A CONFRONTATION WITH THE UNITED STATES OVER POLAND AND HOPE TO MINIMIZE THE COSTS IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE WEST.

14. WARSAW MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. HARTMAN

END OF MESSAGE

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