

(E23)

Date Printed: 08/26/1997

DOC_NUMBER: 89WARSAW07400

RELEASED IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07400 01 OF 07 050949Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01
	SIL-01	INRE-00	BIB-01	OPM-01	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	FAIM-01	PRS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/096 W

-----337354 082020Z /70/61

R 021432Z JUN 89
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4794
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 07 WARSAW 07400

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (REF LINE)

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ELAB, PHUM, PL
SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S COMING
VICTORY: BIG OR TOO BIG?

REF: WARSAW 05247

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE FIRST ESSENTIALLY FREE ELECTION
IN THE SOCIALIST BLOC WILL GIVE THE POLISH NATION
A CLEAR AND UNHINDERED CHANCE TO VOTE FOR OR AGAINST
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CURRENT REGIME. THE ONE-
SIDED CAMPAIGN, IN WHICH SOLIDARITY HAS EMERGED AS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07400 01 OF 07 050949Z

A GENUINE AND CAPABLE POLITICAL PARTY, HAS DEFINED
THE ELECTION IN TERMS OF A PLEBISCITE. THE STAKES
ARE ENORMOUS. ANXIETIES AND UNCERTAINTY DOMINATE
EXPECTATIONS, WHILE THE ABSENCE OF EITHER OBJECTIVE
DATA OR PRECEDENT MAKE CONFIDENT PREDICTIONS
IMPOSSIBLE. AS A MATTER OF FAITH, HOWEVER, WE ASSUME
NEARLY-TOTAL SOLIDARITY VICTORY. THOSE SEATS DENIED
SOLIDARITY WILL LIKELY GO TO OTHER INDEPENDENT OR
OPPOSITION CANDIDATES, RATHER THAN THE PARTY,
WHICH WILL PROBABLY CAPTURE ONLY 2 OR 3 SENATE

SEATS. A MORE MODEST -- BUT NEVERTHELESS SOLID -- VICTORY FOR SOLIDARITY WOULD ENHANCE PROSPECTS FOR A STABLE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION. TOTAL VICTORY OR SOMETHING CLOSE TO IT, INCLUDING POSSIBLE REJECTION OF THE NATIONAL LIST, WILL THREATEN A SHARP DEFENSIVE REACTION FROM THE REGIME. THE POSITION OF THE LEADING PARTY REFORMERS WOULD BE ENDANGERED. SHARPER, AND EVEN POSSIBLY MILITARY RESPONSES CANNOT BE ENTIRELY RULED OUT. EVEN IN THE MODERATE SCENARIOS OF POST-ELECTORAL DEVELOPMENTS, THE PARTY IS BOUND TO BE TRANSFORMED BY ITS FAILURES. THE DEGREE OF THAT TRANSFORMATION DEPENDS UPON THE SCOPE OF THE FAILURE THE PARTY WILL FACE. ONE SENSES THAT THE HISTORICAL FORCE OF A VAST AND POWERFUL CURRENT IS ABOUT TO TRANSFORM POLAND'S TOPOGRAPHY FOREVER. END SUMMARY.

3. ON JUNE 4, THE POLISH PEOPLE WILL HAVE THEIR FIRST OPPORTUNITY IN MANY DECADES TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ESSENTIALLY FREE ELECTION. DESPITE A PARTIALLY-CONTRIVED OUTCOME, THE REMAINING FREE CHOICE IS STARK AND ITS HISTORIC IMPORTANCE IS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07400 01 OF 07 050949Z

VIVIDLY CLEAR. WITHOUT AMBIGUITY, THE POLISH VOTERS WILL BE ABLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF A DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AND THOSE WHO REPRESENT FOUR DECADES OF SOCIALIST RULE. THE ONE-SIDED CAMPAIGN, WHICH IS MORE AKIN TO THAT OF A PLEBISCITE THAN OF AN ELECTION, HAS ACCENTED THE VIVID CHOICE. THE STAKES HAVE THEREFORE BECOME ENORMOUS, PERHAPS GREATER THAN MOST PERCEIVE. WITH SUCH AN AMOUNT ON THE TABLE, IT IS ALL THE MORE AMAZING THAT VIRTUALLY NO ONE WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH IS PREPARED TO OFFER CONCRETE, CONFIDENT PREDICTIONS OF THE ELECTION'S OUTCOME OR ITS EVENTUAL IMPACT ON POLAND'S FUTURE. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE RETAINED OUR OWN CONVICTIONS OF NEAR-TOTAL SOLIDARITY VICTORY (SEE REFTTEL), AND IRONICALLY THE FRIGHTENING INSTABILITY THAT COULD ENSUE, RELYING MORE ON DEMOCRATIC THEOLOGY THAN ON OBJECTIVE DATA. OTHER OBSERVERS ALSO ARE HINDERED BY THE ABSENCE OF THE LATTER AND THE MYSTERY OF AN ENTIRELY UNPRECEDENTED EVENT. WISHFUL OR FEARFUL THINKING DOMINATES THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE POLISH NATION.

THE CAMPAIGN -- ONE-SIDED IN THE EXTREME

4. EVEN NOW, TWO DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION, IT IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO OBTAIN A LIST OF ALL CANDIDATES FOR THE NEW PARLIAMENT. SOLIDARITY SELECTED AND PRESENTED ITS COMPREHENSIVE LIST SIX WEEKS AGO, AND THE CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN CAMPAIGNING IN A FRENZY OF HIGH-PROFILE ACTIVITY EVER SINCE. THE PARTY HAS NOT PUBLISHED ANY COMPLETE CANDIDATE LIST, ONLY REFERRING TO

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 WARSAW 07400 01 OF 07 050949Z

INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES IN FAR FROM COMPREHENSIVE PRESS COVERAGE. PARTIAL LISTS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN SOME PROVINCIAL PAPERS, BUT IN ORDER TO DRAW

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07400 02 OF 07 021742Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01
	SIL-01	INRE-00	BIB-01	OPM-01	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	PRS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/095 W	
					-----014645	042204Z	/61

R 021432Z JUN 89
 FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4795
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 07 WARSAW 07400

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ELAB, PHUM, PL
 SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S COMING

UP A COMPLETE CANDIDATE LIST, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO TRAVEL TO EACH CONSTITUENCY TO LOOK AT THE LISTS WHICH, BY LAW, WERE TO BE POSTED BY MAY 20. EVEN SOLIDARITY'S CITIZENS' COMMITTEE, THE HUB OF THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, HAS NOT YET MANAGED TO ASSEMBLE A WHOLE LIST OF ITS PARTY OPPONENTS. THIS NEARLY SECRETIVE AND CHAOTIC CAMPAIGNING IS WHAT SOME ANALYSTS CALL THE PARTY'S "CAMPAIGN STRATEGY."

5. AT THE SAME TIME, OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA HAS LOUDLY CRITICIZED SOLIDARITY FOR FOCUSING ITS CAMPAIGN
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07400 02 OF 07 021742Z

NOT ON INDIVIDUALS AND ISSUES, BUT ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF A FULL SLATE OF CANDIDATES AS SOLIDARITY'S OWN. THE REGIME CLAIMS IT DOESN'T WANT TO COMPETE IN A "CONFRONTATIONAL" WAY AGAINST SOLIDARITY AS

A BODY; IT WOULD PREFER TO MEASURE INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES AGAINST INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES. IF THE ELECTORATE PERCEIVES THE CANDIDATES ACCORDING TO THEIR "PARTY" IDENTIFICATION, THE REGIME FEARS, THE BALD CHOICE BETWEEN SOLIDARITY'S SLATE AND THE REGIME SLATE (AS SHADY AS THAT IS) WOULD SPELL CERTAIN DEFEAT FOR THE LATTER. THUS THE PARTY IS IN THE INCREDIBLY AWKWARD POSITION OF TRYING TO CONTEST SEATS INDIVIDUALLY -- RATHER THAN SLATE VS. SLATE -- WHILE KEEPING ITS INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES PRACTICALLY SECRET. SURELY NO EXERCISE IN PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY HAS EVER BEEN ATTEMPTED IN THIS WAY.

6. THOSE OFFICIAL CANDIDATES ACTUALLY OUT ON THE HUSTINGS ARE EAGER TO OBFUSCATE THEIR PARTY CONNECTIONS. EVEN MAJOR REGIME FIGURES ON THE NATIONAL LIST ARE IDENTIFIED THERE ACCORDING TO ABSURDLY ARTIFICIAL LABELS IN SOME CASES, RATHER THAN AS A PZPR CANDIDATE. SOME NON-SOLIDARITY CANDIDATES ARE DOWNRIGHT FEARFUL THE PARTY WILL RUIN THEM WITH ITS PUBLIC EMBRACE. PZPR MEMBER, BUT "INDEPENDENT" SENATE CANDIDATE LONGIN PASTUSIAK, WAS GENUINELY DISTRESSED ON MAY 30 WHEN HE HEARD THAT THE PARTY DAILY, "TRYBUNA LUDU," HAD PUBLISHED AN ENDORSEMENT OF HIS CANDIDACY. HE CALLED THE ENDORSEMENT THE "KISS OF DEATH," A PHRASE HEARD WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY THESE DAYS. LESS HARMFUL AND MORE MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTIONS OF SUPPORT FROM THE PARTY -- SUCH AS CAMPAIGN FUNDS -- HAVE BEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07400 02 OF 07 021742Z

CONSPICUOUSLY DENIED HIM. THE PARTY, CRIPPLED BY CHAOS AND DISSENTION, IN PASTUSIAK'S VIEW, HAS ACTUALLY HINDERED HIS CAMPAIGN AND HARMED ITS OWN INTERESTS. ONE OF THE LESSONS OF THIS CAMPAIGN IS THAT, HOWEVER THE PZPR EVOLVES AS A RESULT OF THIS EXTRAORDINARY CHALLENGE, IN THE NEW POLITICAL REALITY IT WILL HAVE TO BECOME WHAT IT HAS ALWAYS CLAIMED TO BE -- A POLITICAL PARTY.

7. THE PZPR IS, IN FACT, PERFORMING NONE OF THE TRADITIONAL FUNCTIONS OF A POLITICAL PARTY FACING AN ELECTORAL CHALLENGE. TO UNDERSTAND THE DRAMATICALLY NEW REALITY, ONE MUST SEE THAT THE CONCEPT OF PARTY HAS BEEN REVERSED BY DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE PROCESS. THE ONE "PARTY" IN POLAND, THE PZPR, HAS CONFIRMED ITSELF AS A POLITICAL BUREAUCRACY OF A DECAYING POWER ELITE WHOLLY INCAPABLE OF PERFORMING THE CLASSICAL FUNCTIONS OF A POLITICAL PARTY IN ELECTORAL COMPETITION. SOLIDARITY, ON THE OTHER HAND, DESPITE YEARS OF HANDWRINGING OVER ITS POLITICAL EVOLUTION AND THE NOT-SO-CRAFTY ILLUSION

OF SETTING UP THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE TO PERFORM THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONS WHILE THE "TRADE UNION" MAINTAINED ITS IDENTITY, HAS EMERGED FULLY GROWN AS THE ONLY REAL POLITICAL PARTY IN POLAND, IF NOT EASTERN EUROPE. ALL THE SURFACE MANIFESTATIONS ARE OBVIOUS AND HAVE BEEN REPORTED EXTENSIVELY IN SEPTELS. BUT BENEATH THE SURFACE TOO, THE ESSENCE OF POLITICAL PARTY HAS CRYSTALLIZED. THE MECHANISM JUDGES THE CAPACITY OF INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES TO COMPETE AND APPORTIONS OR DIRECTS THEM ACCORDINGLY. IT CREATES CONSISTENT PARTY POLICY AND IMPOSES DISCIPLINE. AT THE ROUND-TABLE, THE SOLIDARITY SIDE WAS FAR MORE COHERENT AND DISCIPLINED THAN THE REGIME

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07400 03 OF 07 021743Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01
	SIL-01	INRE-00	BIB-01	OPM-01	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	PRS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/095 W	

-----014654 042204Z /61

R 021432Z JUN 89
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4796
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 07 WARSAW 07400

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ELAB, PHUM, PL

SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S COMING

SIDE. ONE INDEPENDENT SOCIOLOGIST HAS REPORTED TO US THAT A RESEARCH PROJECT IN SILESIA REVEALED THAT PARTY DISCIPLINE IN THE PZPR STRUCTURES THERE ACHIEVED A RESEARCH-DEFINED QUOTIENT OF 20 PERCENT, WHILE THE FACTOR FOR SOLIDARITY'S ORGANIZATION IN SILESIA WAS 80 PERCENT.

8. NONE OF THIS HAS ANYTHING TO DO WITH A LABOR UNION. INDEED, WHEN WE ASK SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN WORKERS ABOUT LOCAL SOLIDARITY MEMBERSHIP IN FACTORIES, THEY NOT ONLY HAVE LITTLE INFORMATION ON THE SUBJECT, BUT ARE A BIT SURPRISED BY THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07400 03 OF 07 021743Z

QUESTION. THERE IS A DIFFERENT FOCUS NOW. SOLIDARITY WILL, OF COURSE, ALWAYS BE A LABOR UNION AND AFTER THE ELECTION MUCH ENERGY WILL BE DEVOTED TO RESTRUCTURING IT. BUT SURELY THE DAYS IN WHICH POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN POLAND WAS FIRMLY IDENTIFIED WITH TRADE UNIONISM ARE OVER. THE MOVEMENT HAS EMERGED CLEARLY AS SOMETHING FAR MORE EXPLICITLY POLITICAL.

POSSIBLE RESULTS

9. IF OUR SKETCH OF THE ONE-SIDED CAMPAIGN IS ACCURATE, HOW CAN THE REGIME HOPE TO BE A CONTENDER? DO THEY NOT SEE THE ELECTORAL DISASTER THAT MUST BE FACING THEM? OUR SUSPICION IS THAT THE REGIME HAS COMMITTED THE SIN OF MOST DECAYING POWER ELITES AND HAS SIMPLY VASTLY UNDERESTIMATED THE DEPTH AND STRENGTH OF THE OPPOSITION FACING IT. BUT ADMITTEDLY, THIS SUSPICION IS BASED ON NO OBJECTIVE DATA. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE REGIME HAS CONDUCTED SOME PUBLIC OPINION POLLS DURING THE CAMPAIGN, BUT THE RESULTS HAVE NOT BEEN DISCLOSED. RUMORED RESULTS (REFTEL) VARY WIDELY. SOME OPPOSITION SOCIOLOGISTS HAVE EXPLAINED TO US THAT SUCH POLLS WOULD HAVE LITTLE MEANING ANYWAY, PARTLY BECAUSE OF FAULTY AND PREJUDICIAL METHODOLOGY, AND PARTLY BECAUSE THE SURVEYS ARE SPOTTY, BRIEF, AND HAVE NO LONGER-TERM COMPARATIVE STANDARD. BUT THE MAIN REASON FOR GROSS INACCURACIES, THE SOCIOLOGISTS SAY, IS THAT THE POLISH CONSCIOUSNESS IS IN SUCH A STATE OF FLUX AND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07400 03 OF 07 021743Z

EVEN INSTABILITY. SOCIOLOGIST AND SEJM CANDIDATE JACEK SZYMANDERSKI, WHO IS AN EXPERIENCED OPINION RESEARCHER, TOLD US THAT THE ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS THAT MOTIVATE A PARTICULAR RESPONSE OR ACTION ARE NOW FAR TOO CHANGEABLE TO PERMIT ANY ISOLATED RESEARCH TO BE PREDICTIVE. SZYMANDERSKI SUSPECTS THAT THE REGIME MAY BE RELYING ON SUCH FAULTY DATA AND IT MAY BE THE REASON WHY IT EXPECTED -- AT LEAST AT FIRST -- ONLY MODERATE DEFEAT. IN AN EARLIER CONVERSATION, POLITBURO MEMBER AND RESPECTED PSYCHOLOGIST JANUSZ REYKOWSKI EXPLAINED THAT "NORMATIVE ANCHORS" WERE NOW MISSING THROUGHOUT POLISH POLITICAL LIFE AND THE NATION'S POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS WAS ADRIFT. HE SAID THAT HUMAN BEHAVIOR -- INCLUDING VOTING BEHAVIOR -- AT SUCH TIMES WAS UNPREDICTABLE. HISTORIANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, EXPLAIN EVERYONE'S INABILITY TO ARRIVE AT WELL-FOUNDED EXPECTATIONS, BY SIMPLY POINTING TO THE UTTER ABSENCE OF PRECEDENT. JACEK KURON PROVIDED THE MOST APPROPRIATE PHRASE: THE ELECTION IS A GIANT LEAP INTO THE DARK.

10. ONE OF THE MOST OBJECTIVE AND EXPERIENCED RESEARCHERS IN POLISH PUBLIC OPINION IS WARSAW UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR STANISLAW GEBETHNER. HE HAS CONDUCTED THE MAJOR ELECTION BEHAVIOR RESEARCH PROJECTS IN POLAND FOR YEARS, AND AUTHORED "DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS: A REPORT ON OPINION RESEARCH IN THE FALL OF 1985", BASED ON VOTER BEHAVIOR IN THE SEJM ELECTIONS OF THAT YEAR. GEBETHNER TOLD US ON MAY 31 THAT HE HAD NO FAITH IN THE PREDICTIVE ABILITY OF POLLS HE HIMSELF WAS CONDUCTING AT THE MOMENT; RATHER THEY WERE AIMED AT THE ACCUMULATION OF DATA OVER TIME TO GIVE RESEARCHERS THE ABILITY TO ANALYZE THE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01

WARSAW 07400 04 OF 07 021744Z

ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRRC-01
	SIL-01	INRE-00	BIB-01	OPM-01	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	PRS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/095 W	

-----014655 042204Z /61

R 021432Z JUN 89
 FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4797
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 07 WARSAW 07400

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ELAB, PHUM, PL
 SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S COMING

PROCESS AFTER THE FACT. GEBETHNER CONFIRMED THAT THERE ARE FAR TOO MANY UNKNOWN FACTORS TO PERMIT RATIONAL PREDICTION. NEVERTHELESS, HE PROVIDED US WITH A CONVENIENT OUTLINE OF THE FULL BREADTH OF POSSIBILITIES FOR THE ELECTION RESULTS, ALBEIT WITH HIS PERHAPS EXCESSIVE ACADEMIC THOROUGHNESS.

11. GEBETHNER SEES FIVE DIFFERENT POSSIBILITIES: FIRST, SOLIDARITY COULD SIMPLY FAIL TO MOBILIZE SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT AND WOULD WIN FEWER THAN HALF OF THE SEATS FOR WHICH ITS CANDIDATES ARE CONTENDING; SECOND, THE DISTRUSTFUL AND SKEPTICAL POPULATION

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07400 04 OF 07 021744Z

WOULD SIMPLY STAY HOME AND THE TURNOUT WOULD PROVIDE A MIXED RESULT, BUT WITH NO MANDATE FOR EITHER SIDE. EITHER OF THESE TWO POSSIBILITIES, GEBETHNER SAID, WOULD BE A SERIOUS FAILURE FOR BOTH SIDES AND WOULD MARK THE FAILURE OF THE ROUND-TABLE ITSELF. LUCKILY, HE SEES LITTLE CHANCE THAT EITHER WILL OCCUR.

12. THE THIRD POSSIBLE SCENARIO IS THAT SOLIDARITY WILL RECEIVE A MODEST POSITIVE RESULT, PERHAPS ONLY AROUND 60 PERCENT OF THE VOTE AND A SIMILAR PERCENTAGE OF THE AVAILABLE SEATS. THIS RESULT ALSO WOULD NOT BE THE BEST FOR EITHER SOLIDARITY OR THE REGIME; SOLIDARITY FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, AND

THE REGIME BECAUSE ITS HOPED-FOR PARTNER WILL HAVE BEEN PROVEN TOO WEAK TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE HARD CHOICES AHEAD. THE REGIME'S HIGH-STAKES GAMBLE WOULD NOT HAVE FAILED, BUT ALSO WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN WORTH THE EFFORT.

13. THE FOURTH POSSIBLE OUTCOME IS THAT SOLIDARITY WILL ACHIEVE A SIGNIFICANT VICTORY, DEFINED BY GEBETHNER AS ABOUT 75 PERCENT OF THE SENATE AND MOST, BUT NOT ALL, OF THE SEJM SEATS AVAILABLE TO IT. NEARLY ALL OF THE NATIONAL LIST WOULD BE ACCEPTED, WITH PERHAPS A FEW REJECTS. IN GEBETHNER'S VIEW, WHO IT MUST BE NOTED WAS ON THE REGIME SIDE AT THE ROUND-TABLE ON POLITICAL REFORM, THIS FOURTH SCENARIO IS BY FAR THE MOST PREFERABLE. SOLIDARITY WOULD HAVE PROVEN ITS BROAD SOCIAL SUPPORT -- ENOUGH TO GIVE CREDIBILITY TO ITS SIGNIFICANT LEGISLATIVE ROLE, BUT NOT ENOUGH TO THREATEN THE SURVIVAL OF THE PRESENT REGIME. BOTH SIDES WOULD WIN BECAUSE THE REFORMERS IN BOTH CAMPS WOULD HAVE BEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07400 04 OF 07 021744Z

CONFIRMED AND STRENGTHENED.

14. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, PZPR LIBERAL PROFESSOR JERZY WIATR EXPLAINED THAT THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE NATIONAL LIST IN THIS SCENARIO WOULD HAVE POSITIVE REPERCUSSIONS FOR THE REGIME FAR BEYOND THE OBJECTIVE ELECTORAL RESULTS. WIATR SAID THAT THE ELECTION HAD BECOME A PLEBISCITE -- DUE IN LARGE MEASURE TO THE OPPOSITION'S CYNICAL "MANIPULATION" OF THE ROUND-TABLE ACCORDS -- AND THAT THIS PERSPECTIVE HAD FOCUSED THE EXERCISE ON THE NATIONAL LIST. HOWEVER, HE ARGUED, SOLIDARITY HAD ACTUALLY DONE THE REGIME A "FAVOR" BY CASTING THE ELECTION IN THESE TERMS. WIATR CLAIMED TO BE CONFIDENT THAT NEARLY EVERYONE ON THE NATIONAL LIST WOULD SUCCEED IN BEING ELECTED. (SZYMANDERSKI EXPLAINED THAT VOTING FOR THE NATIONAL LIST WILL BE A MECHANICAL ACT OF "PASSIVE SUPPORT" CONSISTENT WITH YEARS OF ELECTORAL HABIT. VOTING AGAINST IT WOULD BE A MORE DELIBERATE ACT OF AGGRESSIVE REJECTION. PSYCHOLOGY FAVORED THE FORMER ACTION, HE CLAIMED.) IF THE LIST IS ACCEPTED, WIATR SAID, IT WOULD BE LOUDLY TRUMPETED AS CONFIRMATION OF THE REGIME'S LEGITIMACY; CONFIRMATION WHICH THE COMMUNISTS HAD LONG SOUGHT, AND ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES OF THE ENTIRE ROUND-TABLE PROCESS.

15. (IN A LAST MINUTE BRIEFING OF AMBASSADORS ON JUNE 2, POLITBURO MEMBER JOZEF CZYREK STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT THE PARTY WILL APPEAL THE RESULT IF

Date Printed: 08/26/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 89WARSAW07400 CHANNEL: n/a 1

THE NATIONAL LIST OF 35 CANDIDATES IS NOT ELECTED.
HE WOULD REGARD THIS OUTCOME AS A VIOLATION OF
THE ROUND-TABLE AGREEMENT WHICH SPECIFICIALLY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07400 05 OF 07 021745Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01
	SIL-01	INRE-00	BIB-01	OPM-01	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	PRS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/095 W	

-----014656 042205Z /61

R 021432Z JUN 89
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4798
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION
05 OF 07 WARSAW 07400

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ELAB, PHUM, PL
SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S COMING

ALLOCATED 65 PERCENT OF THE SEJM SEATS TO
THE GOVERNMENT COALITION. IT WOULD ALSO VIOLATE
THE CONSTITUTION, IN THE PARTY'S VIEW, SINCE THE
CONSTITUTION CLEARLY SPECIFIES THAT THE SEJM
SHALL HAVE 460 MEMBERS AND THERE ARE NO PROVISIONS
IN THE ELECTORAL LAW FOR HOLDING BYELECTIONS FOR
THE 35 SEATS WHICH DEFEAT OF THE NATIONAL LIST

WOULD LEAVE VACANT. THE GOVERNMENT COULD THEREFORE APPEAL SUCH AN OUTCOME EITHER TO THE SUPREME COURT OR THE CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL.)

16. THE FIFTH AND MOST DANGEROUS SCENARIO IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07400 05 OF 07 021745Z

THIS ANALYSIS IS NEARLY TOTAL SOLIDARITY VICTORY. THIS GEBETHNER DEFINES AS 85 PERCENT OF THE SENATE OR MORE, NEARLY ALL OF THE 161 SEJM SEATS RESERVED FOR INDEPENDENTS, AND THE REJECTION OF ALL OR MOST OF THE NATIONAL LIST. THIS POSSIBILITY, HE SAID, WAS "REAL." WE COULD PROVIDE QUOTES FROM OTHER THOUGHTFUL AND AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES WHO JUDGE THE LIKELIHOOD OF THIS SCENARIO ANYWHERE FROM IMPOSSIBLE TO CERTAIN. NONE OF THESE GUESSES WOULD BE ANY MORE VALID, WE ASSUME, THAN THE OTHERS. HOWEVER, SINCE THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS, IT IS USEFUL TO EXAMINE IN DETAILED TERMS WHAT SUCH A RESULT COULD REALLY MEAN IN THE NEW LEGISLATURE:

17. A SENATE HEAVILY DOMINATED BY THE OPPOSITION PRESUMABLY WOULD ASSURE CONSISTENT VETO OF ALL LEGISLATION THAT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO SOLIDARITY (GUIDED BY ITS NEW PARTY DISCIPLINE.) SOLIDARITY'S 35 PERCENT IN THE SEJM WOULD BECOME 38 PERCENT BECAUSE THE REJECTION OF THE NATIONAL LIST WOULD MEAN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SEATS AT THAT POINT WOULD BE FEWER. THUS THE REGIME "COALITION", ALREADY INCAPABLE OF DELIVERING THE TWO/THIRDS MAJORITY NECESSARY TO OVERRIDE A SENATE VETO, WOULD BE IN AN EVEN WEAKER POSITION. EVEN MORE SERIOUSLY, THE ADDITION OF A HANDFUL OF VOTES FROM RENEGADE COALITION PARTY DEPUTIES -- WHICH WE REGARD AS A VIRTUAL CERTAINTY NO MATTER WHAT THE ELECTION OUTCOME -- WOULD PERMIT A NEW "OPPOSITION COALITION" IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO BLOCK THE ELECTION OF JARUZELSKI AS PRESIDENT. THIS IN FACT IS THE TRUE SCOPE OF WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THESE ELECTIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07400 05 OF 07 021745Z

18. THERE IS A SIXTH POSSIBLE OUTCOME THAT FALLS SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH OUTLINED ABOVE. THAT IS THAT SOLIDARITY WILL ACHIEVE A SIGNIFICANT BUT LESS THAN TOTAL VICTORY, BUT THAT THOSE SEATS DENIED SOLIDARITY WOULD NOT

BE FILLED BY REGIME-BACKED CANDIDATES. THERE ARE SOME CONSTITUENCIES IN WHICH GENUINELY INDEPENDENT, COMMUNITY-BASED CANDIDATES MIGHT TAKE A SEAT FROM THE SOLIDARITY SLATE. IN RADOM, FOR INSTANCE, THE CHURCH IS STRONGLY BACKING A SENATE CANDIDATE IN OPPOSITION TO JAN JOZEF LIPSKI, THE SOLIDARITY CANDIDATE. SOME ARE ALSO PREDICTING THAT WLADYSLAW SILA-NOWICKI MIGHT WIN IN HIS CONTEST AGAINST JACEK KURON. ALSO, WE CANNOT RULE OUT THAT KRAKOW WILL ELECT LESZEK MOCZULSKI OVER ONE OF THE SOLIDARITY CANDIDATES. ALTHOUGH THESE AND OTHER POSSIBLE LOSSES TO SOLIDARITY WOULD BE COUNTED AS A DEFEAT FOR THE UNIFIED OPPOSITION SLATE, THE REGIME WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE SCANT COMFORT FROM THE FACT. FOR EACH OF THE SEATS IN THE SENATE AND SEJM DENIED SOLIDARITY, WE WILL HAVE TO EXAMINE JUST HOW INDEPENDENT THE VICTORS ARE. IN MANY OF THESE HYPOTHETICAL CASES, WE EXPECT THE EFFECT ON THE REGIME'S POSITION WILL BE ABOUT THE SAME AS IF SOLIDARITY'S VICTORY HAD BEEN TOTAL.

19. IS IT POSSIBLE THAT OPENLY-AVOWED PZPR CANDIDATES WILL WIN ANY OF THE CONTESTED SENATE SEATS? AS DIFFICULT AS IT IS TO SEE WHERE 50 PERCENT OF THE VOTING POPULATION WOULD ACTUALLY VOTE FOR A COMMUNIST, WE SEE AT LEAST TWO POSSIBILITIES: YOUNG, LIBERAL PARTY REFORMER ALEKSANDER KWASNIEWSKI MIGHT WIN IN HIS HOME

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07400 06 OF 07 021745Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01
	SIL-01	INRE-00	BIB-01	OPM-01	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	PRS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/095 W	

-----014660 042205Z /61

R 021432Z JUN 89

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4799
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 07 WARSAW 07400

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ELAB, PHUM, PL
SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S COMING

PROVINCE OF KOSZALIN; AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE
SECRETARY LESZEK MILLER MIGHT WIN IN HIS HOME
PROVINCE OF SKIERNIEWICE. THERE MIGHT BE OTHER
PZPR SENATE CANDIDATES OUT THERE WITH A CHANCE TOO,
BUT WE WAIT TO BE SURPRISED.

REPERCUSSIONS

20. THE REFORM FACTION IN THE PARTY HAS EMBARKED ON
ITS HIGHLY RISKY VOYAGE PRECISELY BECAUSE IT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07400 06 OF 07 021745Z

REALIZED AT LAST THE NECESSITY OF ENLISTING THE
OPPOSITION'S ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT IF THE DIFFICULT
REFORM PROCESSES WERE TO SUCCEED. THE FACTION
NEEDED FROM SOLIDARITY THE PRESTIGE OF ITS
POPULAR STATURE AND THE STRENGTH OF ITS BROAD
SUPPORT. ALSO, THE REGIME NEEDED TO GAIN SOME
CREDIBILITY OF ITS OWN BY ACCEPTING BROAD
PARTICIPATION IN AN ELECTORAL CONTEST. LASTLY,
THE POLISH AUTHORITIES NEEDED TO CONVINCED THE WEST
THAT REFORM WAS REAL AND THE NATION AT LAST HAD BEEN
MADE PART OF THE PROCESS. ALL THIS WOULD FAIL OR
BE ENDANGERED IF SOLIDARITY FAILS TO ACHIEVE A
MODERATE VICTORY OR IF THE POPULATION STAYS HOME.
THE FIRST THREE SCENARIOS OUTLINED ABOVE WOULD
WEAKEN THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROUND-TABLE AND
POLAND'S PRESSING PROBLEMS WOULD BE NO NEARER
SOLUTION. WE ARE RELIEVED THAT NONE OF THESE
THREE SEEMS LIKELY TO OCCUR.

21. THE FOURTH SCENARIO, ONE IN WHICH SOLIDARITY
ACHIEVES A SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS WHILE NOT THREATENING
IMMEDIATELY FUNDAMENTAL REGIME INTERESTS, IS

PREFERRED BY ALMOST EVERYONE IN THE HIERARCHIES OF BOTH SOLIDARITY AND THE REGIME. UNFORTUNATELY, NOT ALL OPPOSITION CANDIDATES AGREE. MANY HAVE BEEN SWEEPED UP BY THE MOMENTUM OF AN EXHILIRATING ELECTORAL BATTLE IN WHICH IT IS SIMPLY NOT POSSIBLE TO CAMPAIGN HALF-HEARTEDLY, EVEN IF THEY INTELLECTUALLY ACCEPT THAT A LESS THAN TOTAL VICTORY WOULD BE PREFERABLE. OTHERS, LIKE SZYMANDERSKI, SIMPLY DENY THAT THIS IS A TIME FOR MODERATION. HE BELIEVES THE OPPOSITION HAS THE COMMUNISTS BY THE THROAT AND SHOULD SLIT IT "WITH A LONG, SHARP
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07400 06 OF 07 021745Z

KNIFE." ALTHOUGH NOT ACTUALLY AS BRUTAL AS HIS GRAPHIC METAPHOR IMPLIES, SZYMANDERSKI -- AND OTHER CANDIDATES TOO -- ARE CONVINCED THAT TOTAL VICTORY MUST BE PURSUED WITH TOTAL ENERGY. THIS VIGOR BEGS A SERIOUS QUESTION. IS SOLIDARITY PREPARED OR ABLE TO GOVERN ON ITS OWN EVEN IF IT ACHIEVED -- AND WAS PERMITTED TO RETAIN -- THAT DEGREE OF TOTAL VICTORY? MANY IN THE OPPOSITION BELIEVE IT IS NOT CAPABLE OF SUCH A TASK. SOLIDARITY NEEDS THE REGIME, OR PART OF IT, AS DESPERATELY AS THE REGIME NOW NEEDS SOLIDARITY. THE ENORMOUSLY CHALLENGING TASKS AHEAD AND THE GREAT PAIN THAT MUST BE IMPOSED ON THE POPULATION DURING A TIME OF REFORM AND TRANSITION SIMPLY REQUIRE THE BROADEST POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION AND THE GREATEST POSSIBLE EXPERTISE AT THE TOP.

22. WITHOUT DOUBT THE STRONGEST MOTIVATION FOR SUPPORTING THE FOURTH SCENARIO IS THE SPECTER OF UTTER CATASTROPHE THAT HAUNTS THE FIFTH. FOR SOME, THIS FIFTH VISION RIDES A PALE HORSE INDEED. SOME RATIONAL, SOLID PARTY LIBERALS EVEN SOUND SOMEWHAT HYSTERICAL WHEN DISCUSSING IT. REYKOWSKI SAID IT WOULD BE "A COMPLETE DISASTER FOR THE NATION." WIATR SAID THIS SCENARIO WOULD POSE A MORTAL THREAT TO THE AUTHORITIES AND THE RESULT COULD BE "A MILITARY COUP D'ETAT, CIVIL WAR, OR BOTH." OTHERS HAVE ALSO SPOKEN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF MARTIAL LAW, OR OVERT MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

23. OTHER OBSERVERS ARE MORE MODEST IN THEIR WARNINGS OF DISASTER, ARGUING THAT THE REAL CHOAS WOULD BE IN THE PARTY ITSELF. SOME PREDICT THAT JARUZELSKI AND THE REFORM FACTION

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07400 07 OF 07 021745Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01
	SIL-01	INRE-00	BIB-01	OPM-01	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	PRS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/095 W	

-----014657 050344Z /61

R 021432Z JUN 89
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4800
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 07 WARSAW 07400

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ELAB, PHUM, PL
SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S COMING

WOULD BE THROWN OUT, AND RESURGENT HARDLINERS WOULD GENERATE A MORE TRADITIONAL COMMUNIST RESPONSE, SHORT OF MILITARY FORCE, BUT NEVERTHELESS HEAVY HANDED. OTHERS BELIEVE THE PARTY WOULD SPLIT INTO 2, 3, OR 4 PARTS. GEBETHNER, FOR EXAMPLE, TOLD US THAT THE GROUNDWORK HAD ALREADY BEEN LAID FOR A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO EMERGE FROM THE PZPR

AFTER THE ELECTION, NO MATTER WHAT THE RESULT; ONLY THE SPEED OF ITS EMERGENCE TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SIZE OF THE PARTY'S FAILURE. JOURNALISTS TELL US THAT THEIR HIGH-LEVEL PARTY SOURCES PREDICT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07400 07 OF 07 021745Z

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed: 08/26/1997

DOC_NUMBER: 89WARSAW07400

CHANNEL: n/a

1

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS AND EVEN
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS TO EMERGE EVENTUALLY FROM A
PARTY SPLINTERED BY UTTER ELECTORAL FAILURE.
INDEED, THERE ARE AMPLE SIGNS THAT THE PZPR,
LIKE RIVER ICE BREAKING UP IN SPRING, IS GROANING
UNDER THE STRAIN. THE HISTORICAL FORCE OF A VAST
AND POWERFUL CURRENT IS ABOUT TO TRANSFORM
THE TOPOGRAPHY FOREVER.

DAVIS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL