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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 22357

DECAPTIONED

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINR, PL, US, UR
SUBJECT: IF SOLIDARITY TAKES CHARGE,
- WHAT WILL THE SOVIETS DO?

REFS: A. STATE 257706, B. STATE 258832,
- C. WARSAW 10854

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. THE SOVIET RESPONSE TO THE POLISH POLITICAL
CRISIS HAS BEEN RESTRAINED. OVER THE PAST WEEK,
SOVIET OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ON THE POLISH CABINET
CRISIS HAVE BEEN SPARING AND SOMEWHAT AMBIGUOUS. MFA
SOURCES STRESS THE DOMESTIC NATURE OF THE ISSUE AND
THE USSR'S POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION. SOVIET PRESS
COMMENTARY HAS PRESENTED A MIXED PICTURE. STRAIGHT
REPORTING OF THE UNFOLDING EVENTS IN WARSAW HAS
ALTERNATED WITH HEAVY CRITICISM OF SOLIDARITY AND
WALESA (PRAVDA, AUGUST 14), AS WELL AS MODERATE
PRAISE (NOVOYE VREMYA, ISSUE NUMBER 34). ONE
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IZVESTIYA ARTICLE HAS ALSO HIGHLIGHTED CURRENT POLISH
ECONOMIC VULNERABILITIES VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION.
SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN JOURNALISTS WE HAVE
TALKED WITH BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL ACQUIESCE
TO A SOLIDARITY-LED GOVERNMENT. THIS OPINION IS
SHARED BY THE OUTGOING POLISH AMBASSADOR.

3. ON BALANCE, WE AGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT,
BARRING A MAJOR MISSTEP BY SOLIDARITY. IN KEEPING
WITH SOVIET "NEW THINKING" IN FOREIGN POLICY, A

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STRONG REACTION TO POLISH EVENTS, WHETHER POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR MILITARY, IS SIMPLY NOT APPROPRIATE. FOR MORE OLD-LINE THINKERS, THE PROSPECT OF A SOLIDARITY TAKEOVER IS NOT SOMETHING THEY ARE COMFORTABLE THINKING ABOUT, OR COMMENTING ON. MOST OF THE LATTER APPEAR TO BE HOLDING THEIR BREATH, OR AT LEAST THEIR RHETORIC, IN HOPES THAT SOMEHOW A SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND INTERNALLY THAT WILL ALLOW THE PZPR TO CONTINUE AS THE LEADING MEMBER OF THE NEXT COALITION GOVERNMENT. WHAT THE SOVIETS MOST WANT TO PROMOTE IN POLAND IS STABILITY AND WHAT THEY MOST WANT TO AVOID IS AN OUTBURST OF ANTI-SOVIET EMOTION. IF SOLIDARITY CAN DELIVER ON THESE ISSUES, THE SOVIETS UNDER GORBACHEV WILL ADAPT, ALBEIT PERHAPS WITH RELUCTANCE, TO THE NEW ORDER.

END SUMMARY

SOVIET OFFICIAL STATEMENTS: SPARING AD AMBIGUOUS
-----4. THE CLOSEST THING TO AN OFFICIAL SOVIET STATEMENT
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ON THE CURRENT CABINET CRISIS IN POLAND WAS GIVEN AT THE FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, MFA PRESS BRIEFING BY DEPUTY SPOKESMAN VADIM PERFIL'YEV, WHO SAID THAT "ATTEMPTS TO USE THE PROCESS OF FORMING A POLISH GOVERNMENT TO DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY AND DAMAGE ITS ALLIED OBLIGATIONS, INCLUDING THOSE UNDER THE WARSAW TREATY AND SOVIET-POLISH COOPERATION, WOULD UNDERMINE EUROPEAN STABILITY." THIS LINE WAS REPEATED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ADAMISHIN ON AUGUST 13 DURING HIS APPEARANCE ON THE "INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS' ROUNDTABLE".

5. GORAL'D NIKOLAYEVICH GORINOVICH, CHIEF OF THE MFA'S SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE ADMINISTRATION, EVINCED QUIET CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION IN POLAND IN MEETING WITH POLCOUNS ON AUGUST 16 -- AND DUCKED A DIRECT QUESTION ABOUT HOW THE SOIVETS WOULD VIEW A WALESA GOVERNMENT. GORINOVICH INDICATED THE SOVIETS WERE NOT AWARE YET OF ANY REACTION ON ZSL LEADER ROMAN MALINOWSKI'S PART TO GENERAL KISZCZAK'S REQUEST THAT HE FORM A GOVERNMENT. NEITHER THE PZPR NOR SOLIDARITY HAD THE SUPPORT NECESSARY TO UNILATERALLY FORM A GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, AND IN THIS SITUATION MALINOWSKI WAS "NOT A BAD CADIDATE". THE SOVIET UNION'S "CARDINAL PREMISE" IN THE POLISH SITUATION, GORINOVICH ASSERTED, WAS THAT THE MATTER WAS POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIR. IN GENERAL, THE SOVIETS SUPPORTED

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THE FORMATION OF A "WIDE COALITION" GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD INCLUDE ALL THE PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE SEJM. THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, HAD LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR

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EFFORTS TO PUT FORWARD "ULTIMATUMS", OR FOR "POLITICAL STRIKES" WHICH WERE NOT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE ROUND TABLE AGREEMENT AND ONLY LED TO CONFRONTATION. A "REASONABLE COMPROMISE" WAS NEEDED THAT COULD INCLUDE ALL THE POLITICAL FORCES IN THE COUNTRY. ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A LECH WALESZA GOVERNMENT, GORINOVICH PAUSED. THE SOVIETS COULD NOT DENY THAT SOLIDARITY HAD BROAD SUPPORT, HE SAID, BUT HE WENT ON TO QUESTION SOLIDARITY'S QUALIFICATIONS TO RULE AFTER HAVING ONLY SERVED AS AN OPPOSITION FORCE. HE TOOK THE LINE THAT IT WAS EASY TO CRITICIZE, MUCH HARDER TO ACTUALLY GOVERN "GIVEN SOLIDARITY'S LACK OF A CONCRETE PROGRAM". THE

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SOVIETS PREFERRED NOT TO DEAL IN "HYPOTHETICALS" AT THIS POINT, HE CONCLUDED.

SOVIET PRESS COMMENTARY: A MIXED PICTURE

6. SOVIET PRESS REPORTING ON THE POLISH EVENTS HAS
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BY AND LARGE BEEN STRAIGHT, TO THE POINT AND FACTUAL. THERE HAS BEEN NO SPECULATION WHATSOEVER CONCERNING SOVIET REACTIONS SHOULD A SOLIDARITY-LED COALITION COME TO POWER IN WARSAW, ALTHOUGH POLISH VULNERABILITIES AND SOVIET STRATEGIC CONCERNS HAVE BEEN OUTLINED. THE MOST CRITICAL ARTICLE ON WALESIA AND SOLIDARITY APPEARED IN THE MONDAY, AUGUST 14, EDITION OF PRAVDA. AUTHORED BY TASS CORRESPONDENT "V. VOLKOV" THE ARTICLE LABELLED WALESIA'S RECENT ACTIONS AS "AGAINST THE PRINCIPLES OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND POSSIBLY LEADING TO "A PROLONGED POLITICAL CRISIS" IN POLAND. VOLKOV ALSO STATED THAT DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE POLISH ECONOMY WAS BESET WITH PROBLEMS AND IT WAS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN THIS CONTEXT THAT "A GOVERNMENT BE CREATED WHICH HAD AUTHORITY"...."THE OPPOSITION HAS CHANGED ITS STRATEGY AND ADOPTED A COURSE AIMED AT QUICKLY TAKING POWER". THIS ARTICLE HAS GENERALLY BEEN INTERPRETED BY WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS AS PERHAPS MORE AUTHORITATIVE THAN IS WARRANTED BY THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

7. AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM IS AN AS YET UNPUBLISHED ARTICLE (IT WILL APPEAR IN ISSUE NUMBER 34 OF NOVOYE VREMYA), WHICH FEATURES AN INTERVIEW OF WALESIA IN GDANSK ON AUGUST 15. IN THE ARTICLE, REPORTER VLADIMIR KULISTIKOV QUOTES WALESIA AS SAYING "I AM NOT AGAINST THE PARTY (PZRP). I AM AGAINST ANY SORT OF MONOPOLY ON POWER." ACCORDING TO KULISTIKOV, WALESIA CONTENTS THAT THE PZRP FIRST BROKE THE SPIRIT OF THE ROUND TABLE AGREEMENT BY ATTEMPTING TO NAME ONLY COMMUNISTS TO RULING POSTS. KULISTIKOV CONCLUDES THAT "IT SEEMS TO ME THAT HE (WALESIA) HAS MADE A CHOICE IN FAVOR OF NON-VIOLENCE AND
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STABILITY."

8. AS THE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTS ITSELF, THE SOVIETS HAVE ALSO USED THE PRESS TO POINT OUT POLAND'S

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CRITICAL ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER IVAN ABOIMOV, WHO CARRIES RESPONSIBILITY IN THE MFA FOR RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE, GAVE A LONG INTERVIEW IN THE AUGUST 12 EDITION OF IZVESTIYA ON POLISH-SOVIET ECONOMIC COOPERATION, IN WHICH HE STRESSED POLAND'S HEAVY RELIANCE ON THE USSR FOR RAW MATERIALS AND EASY CREDIT TERMS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE NOTED, THE SOVIET UNION SUPPLIES 85 PERCENT OF POLAND'S OIL IMPORTS, 65 PERCENT OF ITS IRON ORE IMPORTS, AND 50 PERCENT OF COTTON IMPORTS. ABOIMOV ADDED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD RELAXED THE PAYMENT SCHEDULE ON POLAND'S SIX BILLION RUBLE DEBT, AND NOTED IN PASSING THAT DURING THE PERIOD OF U.S. SANCTIONS, WHICH HAD COST POLAND 13-15 BILLION DOLLARS, THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN POLAND'S ECONOMIC MAINSTAY.

PERSONAL OPINIONS: THE SOVIETS WILL NOT INTERVENE

9. SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN JOURNALISTS WE HAVE CONTACTED ARE OF THE OPINION THAT, SHOULD A SOLIDARITY-LED GOVERNMENT COME TO POWER, SOVIET REACTIONS WILL BE MODERATE. RISO BAJALSKI, A LONGTIME OBSERVER OF THE SOVIET SCENE AND CORRESPONDENT FOR THE YUGOSLAV DAILY "POLITIKA",

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FLATLY RULED OUT ANY HAM-HANDED SOVIET INTERVENTION IN POLISH AFFAIRS. BASED ON HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH SOVIET OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL CONTACTS, HE BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIETS ESTIMATE THAT TAKING ON WALESA WILL ULTIMATELY CAUSE THEM MORE TROUBLE THAN TRYING TO WORK WITH HIM. ALEKSEY BUKALOV, AN OTVETSVENNIY SEKRE TAR' (RESPONSIBLE SECRETARY) AT NOVOYE VREMYA AGREES, SAYING THAT MOSCOW WOULD REACT "SPOKOYNO" (CALMLY) TO A SOLIDARITY TAKEOVER. THERE WOULD BE NO OTHER CHOICE, NO MATTER HOW MUCH DISPLEASURE SUCH AN EVENT MIGHT CAUSE IN MOSCOW. IN ANY CASE, BUKALOV BELIEVES, WALESA WOULD BE TOO SMART TO PROVOKE A CONFRONTATION. HE WOULD BE SURE TO INCLUDE COMMUNISTS IN HIS CABINET, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO HOLD ECONOMIC PORTFOLIOS.

ONE POLE'S PERSPECTIVE: IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE

10. ON AUGUST 16, THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH OUTGOING
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POLISH AMBASSADOR WLODZIMIERZ NATORF TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT SITUATION IN POLAND (NATORF IS RETURNING TO WARSAW TO BECOME THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY IN CHARGE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS). DURING THE DISCUSSION, AMBASSADOR NATORF EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT PEOPLE WHO FEAR A SHARP SOVIET REACTION TO DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND "ARE STILL THINKING IN THE CATEGORIES OF THE PAST -- THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE...OBSERVERS ARE CORRECT IN THE ASSUMPTION THAT IF THE SITUATION CHANGED (I.E., SOLIDARITY CAME TO POWER), THERE WOULD BE BIG PROBLEMS FOR ALL OF POLAND'S NEIGHBORS. HOWEVER, THE REACTION WOULD NOT BE THE SAME AS IN 1956 OR 1968." NATORF WENT ON TO EXPRESS HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT A WAY WOULD BE FOUND OUT OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE AND THAT A SOLIDARITY-LED GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT COME TO PASS. "THE ROUND TABLE AGREEMENT IS STILL VALID, AND EVEN IN A 'GRAND COALITION' OUR PARTY WILL STILL HAVE THE DECISIVE VOICE WITH REGARD TO RELATIONS WITH OUR NEIGHBORS."

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COMMENT

11. THE SOVIET RESPONSE TO THE POLISH POLITICAL CRISIS HAS THUS FAR BEEN RESTRAINED, AND BARRING A MAJOR MISSTEP BY SOLIDARITY IS LIKELY TO REMAIN SO. IN KEEPING WITH SOVIET "NEW THINKING" IN FOREIGN POLICY, A STRONG REACTION TO POLISH EVENTS DOES NOT SEEM TO BE APPROPRIATE. FOR MORE OLD-LINE THINKERS, THE PROSPECT OF A SOLIDARITY TAKEOVER IS NOT SOMETHING THEY ARE COMFORTABLE THINKING ABOUT, OR COMMENTING ON. MOST OF THE LATTER APPEAR TO BE HOLDING THEIR BREATH, OR AT LEAST THEIR RHETORIC, IN

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HOPES THAT SOMEHOW A SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND INTERNALLY THAT WILL ALLOW THE PZPR TO CONTINUE AS THE LEADING MEMBER OF THE NEXT COALITION GOVERNMENT. BUT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, ALTHOUGH SOLIDARITY MAY BE A BITTER PILL TO SWALLOW, OUR BEST GUESS IS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL DO SO, IF IT COMES TO THAT, AFTER MUCH GAGGING AND GULPING. THEIR ESSENTIAL INTERESTS IN POLAND WILL BE SATISFIED BY ANY REGIME, SOLIDARITY-LED OR NOT, THAT CAN PROMOTE DOMESTIC STABILITY AND AVOID ANTI-SOVIET OUTBURSTS. MATLOCK