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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 08 WARSAW 05247

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, PL
SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: THE YEAR OF SOLIDARITY

REF: A) WARSAW 4698, B) WARSAW 5154, C) WARSAW 4171

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE ELECTIONS IN JUNE ARE, FOR THE REGIME, AN UNPREDICTABLE DANGER AND, FOR THE OPPOSITION, AN ENORMOUS OPPORTUNITY. THE AUTHORITIES, HAVING STAIED A GREAT DEAL, ARE HOPING FOR SOME MODEST SUCCESS, BUT THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO MEET TOTAL DEFEAT AND GREAT EMBARRASSMENT. THE PARTY, DESPITE ITS TOUTED SUPERIOR ORGANIZATION, IS VASTLY DISLIKED AND NEARLY INCAPABLE OF PERSUADING AN ELECTORATE THROUGH TRADITIONAL CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES, WITH WHICH IT HAS HAD NO EXPERIENCE. COMMUNIST-STYLE TRADITIONAL PROPAGANDA WILL NOT BE ENOUGH IN THIS NEW GAME. UNDER THE RULES IMPOSED BY SOLIDARITY AT THE ROUND-TABLE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE PARTY'S CORE SUPPORT WILL BE ABLE TO ELECT MANY
OR ANY -- CANDIDATES TO THE SENATE. APPARENTLY STILL SEEING THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME IN A DIFFERENT WAY, THE REGIME MAY HAVE COMMITTED THE SIN OF MANY CRUMBLING POWER ELITES IN SERIOUSLY UNDERESTIMATING THE STRENGTH AND DEPTH OF ITS OPPOSITION. CONVERSESLY

THERE ARE SIGNS THAT SOLIDARITY'S INEXPERIENCE AND DISORGANIZATION ARE BEING OVERCOME; PREPARATIONS FOR FULL AND UNIFIED SOLIDARITY PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTIONS ARE WELL ADVANCED. AS A CORE OF ACTIVITY -- AND VOTERS -- THE NEWLY-LEGALIZED UNION WILL SIGN UP SEVERAL MILLION MEMBERS BY ELECTION DAY. ALTHOUGH THE PUBLIC MOOD IS FAR FROM EUPHORIC, BOTH AWARENESS AND SOME ENTHUSIASM ARE GROWING. BY ELECTION TIME, THE APPEAL OF A GENUINELY FREE ELECTORAL PROCESS WILL BE COMPELLING AND THE TURNOUT WILL BE LARGE.

THE LIKELIHOOD OF A SOLIDARITY SWEEP IN THE SENATE ELECTIONS WILL CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR A LEGISLATIVE AND CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS. THIS, IN TURN, WILL FORCE A RESOLUTION OF THE PROFOUND ISSUES OF POWER SHARING AND POLAND'S POLITICAL FUTURE; EXACTLY THE OBJECTIVE OF THOSE WHO FORCED THE REGIME TO ACCEPT THIS EXTRAORDINARY ELECTION. END SUMMARY.

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3. AMONG THE UNPRECEDENTED PRODUCTS OF THE ROUND-TABLE, THE MOST HUGELY PREGNANT OF THEM ALL IS THE LARGELY FREE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS TO BE DELIVERED IN SIX WEEKS TIME. THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS EVENT EVEN OVERSHADOWS THE RELEGALIZATION OF SOLIDARITY, WHICH HAS FOR YEARS BEEN THE PRE-EMINENT OBJECTIVE OF BOTH THE POLISH OPPOSITION AND U.S. POLICY. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE LIVES OF NEARLY ALL POLES, THEY WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENGAGE IN A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL PROCESS, CHOOSING FREELY FROM AMONG CANDIDATES OF WIDELY DIVERGENT VIEWS. THEY WILL CREATE A REAL REPRESENTATIVE PARLIAMENTARY BODY WITH FULL LEGISLATIVE POWERS. THROUGH THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES, THE POLISH PEOPLE WILL PLAY AN ACTIVE AND ESSENTIAL ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF NEARLY ALL GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES, INCLUDING ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OF THE COUNTRY. ALL OF THIS IS AT STAKE ON JUNE 4 AND 18. EVEN THE HIGHEST PARTY AUTHORITIES SEE THE EVENT AS UNPREDICTABLE AND DANGEROUS; A CRAP SHOOT WITH AN ENORMOUS WAGER. THAT THEY COULD HAVE ACCEPTED SUCH UNCERTAINLY, SUCH GREAT RISK, REVEALS HOW FRIGHTENING THE ALTERNATIVE POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS MUST HAVE SEEMED TO THIS EMBATTLED REGIME.
4. IN AN APRIL 14 CONVERSATION, POLITBURO MEMBER JANUSZ REYKOWSKI, CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE ROUND-TABLE'S POLITICAL GROUP AND PERHAPS THE REGIME'S PREMIER INTELLECTUAL, DESCRIBED THE UNCERTAINTY -- AND THE RISKS -- THIS WAY: THERE ARE TWO OPPOSING "VECTORS" OPERATING IN THE "CONFRONTATIONAL" SENATE ELECTIONS; BOTH ARE NEGATIVE FORCES. ONE
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IS THE OPPOSITION'S DISORGANIZATION, UNPREPAREDNESS, AND LACK OF EXPERIENCE, ALL OF WHICH MAKES ENTIRELY EFFECTIVE ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION UNLIKELY. THE OTHER VECTOR IS THE DEEP-SEATED DISTRUST, DISLIKE, "EVEN HATRED" MOST POLES FEEL FOR THE LEADERS OF A FAILED SYSTEM. REYKOWSKI FOUND IT COMPLETELY IMPOSSIBLE TO SPECULATE HOW THESE OPPOSING VECTORS WOULD DETERMINE THE FINAL RESULT OF THE FREE SENATE ELECTIONS. HE SAID THERE WAS NO EXPERIENCE IN POLAND OR ELSEWHERE CONFIDENTIAL  

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THAT COULD PROVIDE ANY DATA WHATSOEVER TO INDICATE HOW THESE FACTORS WOULD BE REFLECTED IN ACTUAL VOTES. FURTHER, THE ACTUAL PROCESS OF FREE ELECTIONS AND THE NEW INSTITUTION TO WHICH
CANDIDATES WILL BE ELECTED ARE UNPRECEDENTED IN PEOPLE'S POLAND. THERE IS NO BASIS ON WHICH ONE CAN PREDICT VOTER ATTITUDES TOWARD EITHER THE CANDIDATES OR THE PROCESS, AND NO WAY TO PREDICT VOTER TURNOUT.


6. IN VIEW OF REYKOWSKI'S CONTENTION THAT THE WAGER REALLY IS THAT GREAT, WE MUST MAKE SOME EFFORT TO ASSESS THE OPPOSING "VECTORS" AND OTHER FACTORS THAT WILL DETERMINE THE FIRST ROLL OF THESE NEW DICE, AND TO GUESS WHAT REALLY IS AT STAKE.

THE PARTY'S POSITION

ABSENCE OF POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY IS EVEN MORE PROFOUND THAN WE SUPPOSE, AND THE PARTY'S ABILITY TO PERSUADE, THROUGH AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN, WILL BE MINIMAL INDEED.

8. THERE ARE SOME, HOWEVER, ON THE FAR SIDE OF THE BARRICADES ALREADY. THERE ARE SLIGHTLY MORE THAN TWO MILLION PARTY MEMBERS IN POLAND, OR ABOUT TEN PERCENT OF THE VOTING POPULATION. IN ADDITION, THERE IS AN ILL-DEFINED NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHOSE STATUS, ECONOMIC WELFARE, OR PERCEIVED INTEREST IN STABILITY WILL PERSUADE THEM TO SUPPORT THE PRESENT REGIME. MANY OBSERVERS,

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Both official and independent, have long maintained that the total support for the party could amount to 20 to 25 percent of the voting population. However, this percentage, which is probably high, is widely dispersed throughout the country, with no real pockets of stronger support. The traditional party "strongholds" of Silesia, for instance, are also strongholds of opposition activity. Thus, Silesia is characterized by politicization and polarization.

In a different kind of electoral system, 25 percent of the electorate might be expected to elect 25 percent of the senators. But, under rules forced by Solidarity on the reluctant, but ultimately accommodating regime at the Round-Table, it is difficult to see how the 25 percent -- or even a bit more -- could succeed in electing any party candidate to the Senate. From the moment the Senate idea was introduced into the Round-Table discussions, the regime moved steadily backwards in negotiations, giving up virtually all electoral advantages. Most importantly, they agreed to two-stage elections.

In the original proposal, the winner in each province's Senate election -- widely expected to be the opposition candidate in nearly every case -- would win one seat, and the runner-up would win the second. It was assumed that, in at least some cases, the runner-up would be a party candidate with perhaps 20-30 percent of the vote. Giving this scheme up, however, the regime was forced to accept a second round of elections in cases where both seats in a province were not filled by candidates with 50 percent of the vote (each voter confidential.)
GETS TWO VOTES FOR THE SENATE). IT IS VERY NEARLY INCONCEIVABLE THAT ANY PARTY CANDIDATE WILL OBTAIN 50 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN THE FIRST ROUND. THUS, EVERYONE ELECTED IN THAT ROUND WILL BE EITHER SOLIDARITY OR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES. IN THE SECOND ROUND, WHERE ONLY A PLURALITY IS REQUIRED TO ELECT, WE CAN ASSUME THAT THE PARTY CANDIDATE, IF HE MAKES IT THAT FAR, WILL BE RUNNING AGAINST THE SECOND MOST POPULAR OPPOSITION CANDIDATE. THE OPPOSITION VOTE WILL NOT BE DIVIDED, BECAUSE THE FIRST ELECTION WILL HAVE ELIMINATED OTHER INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES. (THE ALTERNATIVE IS THAT THE PARTY CANDIDATE WILL NOT HAVE MADE IT INTO THE SECOND ROUND, WHICH WILL THEN PRESENT A CHOICE BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD MOST POPULAR OPPOSITION OR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES.) IN THIS SCENARIO, EVEN THE MOST OPTIMISTIC PARTY OBSERVERS SHOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO EXPECT A PARTY VICTORY IN MORE THAN A FEW CASES, IF AT ALL. THE POINT OF THIS EXPLANATION IS THAT THE OBJECTIVE MECHANICS OF THE SENATE ELECTION, COMBINED WITH THE PARTY'S ACKNOWLEDGED UNPOPULARITY, THREATEN TO PRODUCE A SERIOUS DEFEAT FOR POSSIBLY ALL PARTY CANDIDATES.

11. SEARCHING FOR AN EXPLANATION OF WHY THE PARTY WOULD HAVE PLACED ITSELF IN SUCH A THREATENED POSITION, WE MUST NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF VAST MISCALCULATION. AFTER ALL, THE REGIME HAS HAD LITTLE EXPERIENCE IN ASSESSING ELECTORAL MOODS AND VOTER RESPONSES, JUST AS IT HAD LITTLE EXPERIENCE IN JUDGING THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF PUTTING LECH WALESA ON
ELECTION '89: THE YEAR OF SOLIDARITY

National Television in front of 28 million Poles. This event, which occurred on November 30, essentially led to the current situation in Poland, with a relegalized Solidarity and a threatened opposition victory in a free election. Just as Reykowski spoke about a massive opposition victory being a "complete disaster" for party reformers, lower level party members also appear to be counting on something short of disaster. One local confidential

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Sejm candidate suggested in all seriousness that the party might win 40 percent of the Senate because people would vote for stability in the rural provinces. We must conclude that this power elite, like others before it in other countries, has vastly underestimated the strength of its opposition.

One factor that is often mentioned in the party's favor is the fact that it is well organized throughout the country and its supporters, although relatively few, can be easily mobilized; they will all campaign and vote.
EVEN SOME OPPOSITIONISTS (INCLUDING WOJCIECH LAMENTOWICZ, WARSAW4295) CLAIM THAT THIS ORGANIZATIONAL ADVANTAGE CAN BE TELLING IF USED PROPERLY. HOWEVER, ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE PARTY IS WELL ORGANIZED, WE MUST ASK, ORGANIZED FOR WHAT? FOR ELECTION CAMPAIGNING? FOR PERSUADING A VASTLY CYNICAL PUBLIC THAT THE PARTY CANDIDATES SHOULD BE GIVEN A MANDATE TO EXERCISE THE PARTY’S CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY FOR SEVERAL MORE YEARS? CERTAINLY THIS IS NOT THE CASE. THE PARTY IS ORGANIZED FOR MORE INSIDIOUS FORMS OF POLITICAL CONTROL, BUT THE PROPAGANDISTIC OBfuscATION OF ITS NATURE AND METHODS HASN’T FOOLed ANYONE FOR MANY YEARS. A NEWLY-FREE ELECTORATE WILL NOT BE TAKEN IN BY THIS FALSE COVER, NO MATTER HOW NEATLY ORGANIZED ITS MANY LAYERS. IN THIS CASE, IT IS NOT THAT THE EMPEROR HAS NO CLOTHes; IT IS THAT BENEATH THE RAIMENT, THERE IS NO EMPEROR.

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SOLIDARITY’S POSITION

13. THE OPPOSITE "VECTOR" IN REYKOWSKI’S EXPLANATION IS THE OPPOSITION’S INEXPERIENCE, DISORGANIZATION AND LACK OF TIME. AT THE OUTSET OF THIS EXTRAORDINARY ELECTORAL EXERCISE, THIS ARGUMENT WAS PERSUASIVE, COMPELLED BY THE SEEMINGLY OVERWHELMING TASKS THAT FRONTED THE OPPOSITION AND REPEATEDLY CONFIRMED BY SOLIDARITY’S OWN PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND PRIVATE HAND-WRmING. THE IMAGE OF A DISORGANIZED AND FRACTIONATED SOLIDARITY WAS ENHANCED BY THE APRIL 9 MEETING OF THE CITIZENS’ COMMITTEE (REPTEL), WHICH WAS MARKED BY A FRACtIOUS DEBATE OVER THE FLAWED PROCESS OF SELECTING CANDIDATES. SUBSEQUENTLY, AS THE COMMITTEE SOUGHT TO FORM PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES TO GUIDE THE CANDIDATE SELECTION PROCESS, MULTIPLE COMMITTEES FORMED SPONTANEOUSLY IN SOME PROVINCES, SUGGESTING THAT MULTIPLE OPPOSITION CANDIDATES WILL BE COMPETING IN SOME DISTRICTS, SPLITTING THE OPPOSITION VOTE AND WEAKENING ITS ELECTION PROSPECTS.

14. NOW, TWO WEEKS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE ROUND-TABLE AGREEMENTS, WE ARE STRUCK NOT BY THE DISPUTES OVER METHODS, WHICH REMAIN, BUT
BY THE DETERMINED AND COHESIVE EFFORTS SOLIDARITY IS MAKING TO PRESENT A UNITED FRONT. ONCE AGAIN, LECH WALESIA’S ULTIMATELY PRACTICAL AND APPEALING ARGUMENT IS CUTTING THROUGH THE DISPUTES AND

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PERSONAL RIVALS: HE "LOVES VICTORY," WHICH CAN ONLY BE ATTAINED BY CONFRONTING THE ENORMOUS TASKS WITH UNITY -- WITH "SOLIDARITY." IN REFTEL, WE DESCRIBE THE PROCESS WHEREBY THE WARSAW-REGION OPPOSITION HAS ORGANIZED ITSELF TO MEET THE ELECTORAL CHALLENGE, PRESENTING
CANDIDATES WITH OVERWHELMING AUTHORITY AND POPULARITY. IN COMING DAYS AND WEEKS WE WILL BE REPORTING ON CORRESPONDING ACTIVITIES IN OTHER REGIONS.

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15. AN OPPOSITION JOURNALIST AND INTELLECTUAL, KAZIMIERZ DZIEWANOWSKI, EXPLAINED FOR US RECENTLY THAT POLES, ALTHOUGH TENDING TOWARD MULTIPLE, DIVERSE, CONFLICTING POLITICAL OPINIONS, NEVERTHELESS ARE CAPABLE OF PRESENTING A UNITED FRONT WHEN FACED WITH ADVERSITY OR OPPORTUNITY. AS EVIDENCE, HE POINTS TO THE CHURCH, A COMMON GROUND ON WHICH GENERATIONS OF POLES HAVE FOUND TACTICAL ADVANTAGE IN THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF THE CHURCH'S VIEWS. MORE TO THE POINT, SOLIDARITY ITSELF -- THE COMMON LANGUAGE OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION -- HAS UNITED A WIDE SPECTRUM OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS AND PROVIDED A SINGLE, BROAD CHANNEL FOR POLITICAL EXPRESSION. NOW, AT THE MOMENT OF VICTORY, DZIEWANOWSKI BELIEVES, THIS UNITY WILL NOT BE ABANDONED IN FAVOR OF MORE PAROCHIAL INTERESTS, NO MATTER HOW STRONGLY FELT. HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE IMPREMUTUR OF WALESA ON THE SINGLE LIST OF SOLIDARITY CANDIDATES WILL BE ENOUGH, ALL BY ITSELF, TO ASSURE OVERWHELMING SUCCESS, NOT BECAUSE WALESA'S JUDGEMENT IS UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED, BUT BECAUSE THERE IS CLEAR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IN UNITY AT THIS IMPORTANT MOMENT.

16. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOLIDARITY HAS NOT CEASED PUTTING A PESSIMISTIC CAST ON ITS ELECTORAL PROSPECTS. AS RECENTLY AS APRIL 17, SOLIDARITY SPOKESMAN JANUSZ ONYSKIEWICZ TOLD THE PRESS THAT SOLIDARITY WAS NOT PREPARED TO MEET THE ENORMOUS CHALLENGES. WE SUSPECT THAT THIS WILL REMAIN A CONSTANT THEME IN PUBLIC, EVEN WHILE ACTIVITY AND ENTHUSIASM GROW IN PRIVATE. SOLIDARITY DOES NOT WANT TO APPEAR OVERCONFIDENT OR THREATENING. SOME OBSERVERS, FOR A TIME, MAY REMAIN MISLED BY SOLIDARITY'S TACTICS OF SELF-DEPREICATION.
17. IT IS TRUE THAT, THROUGHOUT THE AGONIZINGLY PROTRACTED ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSIONS, THE PUBLIC'S ATTENTION HAS WANDERED. IT IS DIFFICULT TO GET INSIDE THE COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE POLISH ELECTORATE, BUT OUR SENSE IS THAT RELATIVELY FEW POLES UNDERSTOOD WHAT HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AT THE ROUND-TABLE, AT LEAST IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING ITS CONCLUSION. SINCE THEN, HOWEVER, THE AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED, DISCUSSION IN THE MEDIA AND ELSEWHERE HAS PROVIDED DETAILED INFORMATION, AND THE GENERAL LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE AND INTEREST IS RISING AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH PEOPLE WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN FACTORY AND CHURCH MEETINGS FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORDS, AND THEY REPORT A GROWING ENTHUSIASM. A MAJOR BOOST TO THIS PROCESS TOOK PLACE ON APRIL 17 WITH THE REGISTRATION OF SOLIDARITY. AFTER A SEVEN-YEAR STRUGGLE, THE UNION IS ABOUT TO BECOME THE MASS ORGANIZATION IT ONCE WAS, AND HAS THE EXPERIENCE AND MACHINERY TO ACCOMPLISH IT QUICKLY. WALESA HAS ALREADY CALLED UPON UNION ORGANIZERS TO ACCUMULATE MEMBERS IN ALL OF POLAND'S ENTERPRISES. ALTHOUGH
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FEW EXPECT THE UNION TO GATHER ITS EARLIER MEMBERSHIP, SOME TEN MILLION STRONG, EVERYONE ASSUMES THAT THE UNION QUICKLY WILL FAR SURPASS THE PZPR'S 2 MILLION MEMBERS; MOST EXPECTATIONS ARE FOR SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 4 AND 6 MILLION SOLIDARITY MEMBERS. THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN WAITING IN THE WINGS, OR ORGANIZING SECRETLY, AND THEY WILL EMERGE IN NEW LEGAL UNION CHAPTERS VERY RAPIDLY -- CERTAINLY WELL IN TIME FOR THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. THIS CONFIDENTIAL

ENORMOUS GROUP OF VOTERS, THEN, WILL BECOME THE CORE OF AN INCREASINGLY ENTHUSIASTIC PUBLIC WHOSE ONE OVERWHELMING OBJECTIVE IN THE COMING ELECTIONS IS GOING TO BE "THROW THE BUMS OUT".

18. COMPLIMENTING THE RISING ENTHUSIASM, TALK OF AN ELECTION BOYCOTT HAS SUBSIDED. THE CONFEDERATION FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLAND (KPN), FOR EXAMPLE, IS REPORTED TO BE PREPARING A CANDIDATE LIST COVERING PERHAPS AS MANY AS ONE HUNDRED CONSTITUENCIES. ALTHOUGH WE GIVE THEM LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESSFULLY COMPETING (SEE REFTEL C), THEIR ENGAGEMENT IN THE PROCESS WILL BOTH DECREASE THE THREAT OF AN EFFECTIVE BOYCOTT, AND BRING PEOPLE TO THE POLLS WHO CERTAINLY WILL NOT VOTE FOR COMMUNIST CANDIDATES. POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FROM OTHER INDEPENDENT GROUPS WOULD ACCOMPLISH THE SAME RESULTS, WITH VERY LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT SUCH CANDIDATES WILL BE ABLE TO CHALLENGE THE SOLIDARITY-SANCTIONED LIST.

AND HAD THE FEELING THAT THEY DEFINED THE
RESULTING ACCORDS; IT WAS A MANAGEABLE, TANGIBLE
PROCESS. THE ROUND-TABLE PROCESS, OF COURSE,
WENT FAR BEYOND THE 1980 EVENTS BOTH IN SCOPE
AND COMPLEXITY. ALTHOUGH SOLIDARITY CONTINUES
TO MAINTAIN THAT IT IS A UNION, THE DIALOGUE
PROCESS IT HAS DIRECTED HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH
WORKER PARTICIPATION. THIS DIFFERENCE IN MOOD,
REFLECTING THE PROFOUNDLY DIFFERENT POLITICAL
PROCESSES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, MUST NOT BE
CONFUSED WITH DISINTEREST OR UNCONCERN. ONCE
THE TERMS OF THE ROUND-TABLE AGREEMENT ARE
WIDELY KNOWN, AND ONCE THE Stark CHOICE
PRESENTED BY THE COMING ELECTION IS UNIVERSALLY
ADVERTISED, PEOPLE WILL PARTICIPATE, EUPHORIC
OR NOT.

20. IT IS IN FACT ON THE ISSUE OF VOTER
TURNOUT THAT THE PARTY MUST HANG WHATEVER
MEAGER HOPES IT HAS. THE PARTY FAITHFUL --
PERHAPS 25 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE -- WILL
VOTE. IF DISGRUNTLED OPPOSITIONISTS AND AN
EMBITTERED AND DESPONDENT PUBLIC REFUSE TO
PARTICIPATE, THE COMPARATIVELY LARGER PARTY
VOTE MAY TURN UP A SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE HERE
OR THERE. AN ASSESSMENT OF LIKELY TURNOUT,
HOWEVER, MUST BE BASED LITERALLY ON A LEAP OF
FAITH. HAVING LONG EVANGELIZED THE GOSPEL OF
DEMOCRACY, WE MUST BELIEVE THAT THE FIRST
EVER OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE FREELY IN A StarkLY
COMPETITIVE ELECTION WILL BE COMPELLING. A
FREE ELECTION SHOULD HAVE THE APPEAL OF
PROMISED POLITICAL SALVATION. HOW CAN THE
POLISH ELECTORATE TURN ITS' BACK ON THAT?
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SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: THE YEAR OF SOLIDARITY

21. IN THE LAST PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, IN WHICH COMMUNISTS RAN EITHER AGAINST COMMUNISTS OR NO ONE, FOR SEATS IN A PARLIAMENT THAT HAD NO MEANING, PERHAPS 65 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE VOTED. IS IT UNREASONABLE THEN TO ASSUME THAT THERE WILL BE A SIGNIFICANTLY GREATERTURNOUT IN THESE EXTRAORDINARY ELECTIONS? WE THINK NOT. AN 85 OR 90 PERCENT TURNOUT SEEMS LIKELY; PERHAPS MORE. ONE OF THE MOST CONFIDENTIAL

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SKEPTICAL OPPOSITION FIGURES, JACEK CZAPUTOWICZ, WHO STRONGLY CRITICIZED SOLIDARITY'S ANTI-DEMOCRATIC METHODS OF CANDIDATE SELECTION, RECENTLY DECLARED WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION THAT AN 80 PERCENT TURNOUT WOULD GUARANTEE "FOR SURE" 100 PERCENT OF THE SENATE SEATS FOR THE OPPOSITION.

CONSEQUENCES

22. ALTHOUGH THIS MESSAGE IS MEANT TO ESTABLISH SOME EXPECTATIONS FOR EVENTS IN SIX WEEKS TIME, OUR CONCLUSION COMPELS ANOTHER QUESTION. IF THE OPPOSITION DOES WIN NEARLY ALL OF THE
SENATE SEATS -- IF REYKOWSKI'S "COMPLETE DISASTER" DOES OCCUR -- WHAT ARE THE LIKELY CONSEQUENCES? WE, AND PERHAPS REYKOWSKI ALSO, CANNOT ACCURATELY FORESEE HOW THE PARTY'S CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION WILL RESPOND. WHETHER THROUGH VAST MISCALCULATION OR WISHFUL THINKING, SUCH AN OVERWHELMING SOLIDARITY VICTORY APPEARS NOT TO HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED. THE IMPACT OF SUCH AN EVENT WILL THEN BE SHOCKING AS WELL AS UNEQUIVOCAL.

23. INSTEAD OF SOME SORT OF PREEMPTIVE REACTION FROM THE CONSERVATIVES, HOWEVER, WE ASSUME THAT EVENTS WILL BE PERMITTED TO RUN THEIR COURSE. THIS MEANS THAT A SEJM WILL CONVENE, THE ELECTION AND COMPOSITION OF WHICH WILL HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY DISCREDITED BY THE VERY DIFFERENT RESULT IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE FREE ELECTION TO THE SENATE. THE SEJM WILL HAVE LOST ALL ABILITY TO MAINTAIN THE ILLUSION OF AN AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATIVE BODY. IN THE MEAN TIME, AND WITH GREAT CONTRAST, THE OPPOSITION SENATE WILL FORM, ELECT ITS OFFICERS, AND BEGIN DRAWING UP ITS OWN LEGISLATIVE AGENDA. HIGH ON THE LIST, WE EXPECT TO SEE SOME PROPOSALS TO CLARIFY THE AMBIGUOUS ISSUE OF POLITICAL PARTIES, AND THE LATTER WILL BEGIN FORMING IN ANTICIPATION.


25. WITH ALL OF POLAND'S PRESSING PROBLEMS, CAN A LEGISLATIVE CRISIS BE LONG DELAYED? AN OPPOSITION SENATE AND A REGIME-DOMINATED SEJM WILL RAPIDLY COME TO AN IMPASSE. TO OVERRIDE A SENATE VETO OF ANY LEGISLATION, THE SEJM WOULD HAVE TO COME UP WITH 320 VOTES. THE PZPR WILL HAVE ONLY 144; TOGETHER WITH ALL OF ITS "COALITION" PARTNERS, INCLUDING THE INCREASINGLY-INDEPENDENT PEASANTS' PARTY, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND THE INDEPENDENT CATHOLICS, IT WILL HAVE NO
MORE THAN 319, ALMOST CERTAINLY LESS. WITH THESE NUMBERS, A LEGISLATIVE AND THEN CONSTITUTIONAL

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 08 OF 08 WARSZAWA 05247

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, PL
SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: THE YEAR OF SOLIDARITY

CRISIS SEEMS LIKELY. AT THIS POINT, THE NEW SYSTEM BECOMES A THREAT TO STATE INTERESTS, AS PERCEIVED BY THE REGIME. WHETHER IT WILL BACK DOWN AS IT HAS AT THE ROUND-TABLE, OR SEEK TO MODIFY THE TERMS OF THE THREATENING NEW SYSTEM THROUGH OTHER MEANS, WE CANNOT GUESS.

ONE CERTAINTY IS THAT THE "COORDINATION COM-MISSION" WILL BECOME AN IMPORTANT MECHANISM

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FOR SEEKING RESOLUTION. IT WILL BE THE EXTRA-
CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONAL SUCCESSOR OF THE
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ROUND-TABLE ITSELF, COMPOSED OF MANY OF THE MAJOR FIGURES OF THE "MAGDALENKA GROUP." THE COM-
MISSION WILL BE PERHAPS THE REAL POWER CENTER IN THE NEW SCHEME OF THINGS. HOWEVER IT
FUNCTIONS, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE CHALLENGES WILL BECOME MORE ACUTE, RATHER THAN LESS, AND
THE APPROACHING ELECTIONS WILL ESTABLISH CON-
DITIONS FORCING ULTIMATE RESOLUTION OF THESE PROFOUN POWER-SHARING ISSUES. THIS IS EX-
ACTLY THE HISTORICAL PROCESS BRONISLAW GEREMEK,
LECH WALESÁ AND THE REST OF SOLIDARITY'S
LEADERSHIP INTENDED TO SET IN MOTION.

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