

E328
814

Date Printed: 08/26/1997

DOC_NUMBER: 89WARSAW07552

CHANNEL: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07552 01 OF 03 061525Z
ACTION EUR-00

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| INFO | LOG-00 | ADS-00 | INR-07 | SS-00 | OIC-02 | CIAE-00 | EB-00 |
| | DODE-00 | H-01 | MSC-01 | IO-19 | NSCE-00 | NSAE-00 | SSO-00 |
| | HA-09 | L-03 | LAB-04 | TRSE-00 | PM-10 | PA-01 | OMB-01 |
| | SIL-01 | INRE-00 | ACDA-12 | USIE-00 | SP-02 | SNP-01 | PRS-01 |
| | DS-01 | P-02 | T-01 | /079 W | | | |

-----143352 061608Z /41

O 061505Z JUN 89
 FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4913
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 WARSAW 07552

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, PL
 SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S VICTORY
 - RAISES QUESTIONS,

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: THE POLISH ELECTION HAS DEALT A STUNNING BLOW TO THE REGIME, WHICH HAS ACKNOWLEDGED ITS DEFEAT EVEN BEFORE THE FIGURES ARE IN. ALL OF SOLIDARITY'S CANDIDATES WILL WIN. ALTHOUGH THE REGIME'S "COALITION" TECHNICALLY WILL HAVE A TWO-VOTE MAJORITY IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY -- BARRING SOME QUICK AND CREATIVE RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL LIST ISSUE -- CERTAIN DEFECTIONS WILL GIVE SOLIDARITY THE MAJORITY.
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07552 01 OF 03 061525Z

IF JARUZELSKI IS STILL TO BE ELECTED PRESIDENT, IT WILL ONLY BE WITH SOLIDARITY ACQUIESCENCE IF NOT MORE ACTIVE SUPPORT. SOME IN THE OPPOSITION WILL NOW ARGUE THAT THIS EARLIER AGREEMENT IS NO LONGER NECESSARY; BUT THE OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP WILL SEARCH FOR SOME WAY TO IMPLEMENT IT. ALSO OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LOW VOTER TURNOUT AND THE REJECTION OF THE NATIONAL LIST, DESPITE WALESZA'S TELEVISED APPEAL FOR MODERATION. A THIRD OF THE ELECTORATE HAS

REJECTED BOTH SIDES.

END SUMMARY

3. THE REGIME'S CRUSHING ELECTORAL DEFEAT WAS ACKNOWLEDGED BY PZPR SPOKESMAN JAN BISZTYGA ON TELEVISION MONDAY NIGHT (JUNE 5), ALTHOUGH NO OFFICIAL RESULTS HAVE BEEN RELEASED. WHEN THE OFFICIAL NUMBERS ARE IN, SOLIDARITY WILL HAVE ELECTED ITS CANDIDATES TO ALL OF THE SEJM SEATS FOR WHICH IT WAS FREE TO COMPETE, AND ALMOST CERTAINLY TO ALL 100 SEATS IN THE NEW SENATE. (PERHAPS SIX OR SEVEN WILL BE ELECTED ONLY IN THE SECOND ROUND). IN ADDITION, THE NATIONAL LIST OF THE REGIME'S MAJOR FIGURES, INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE CHIEF ARCHITETS OF THE ROUND-TABLE, WILL BE THOROUGHLY REJECTED. PROBABLY ONLY A HANDFUL ON THE LIST WILL POLL OVER 40 PERCENT; THE REST WILL RUN IN THE 20'S AND 30'S. ALSO, VERY FEW, IF ANY, "COALITION" CANDIDATES WILL BE ELECTED TO THE SEJM SEATS RESERVED FOR THEM. MOST OF THE REGIME'S LIST WILL SUFFER THE IGNOMINY OF GOING TO THE SECOND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07552 01 OF 03 061525Z

ROUND OF ELECTIONS HAVING ACHIEVED ONLY PERHAPS 30 PERCENT OR LESS -- IN MANY CASES MUCH LESS -- OF THE VOTE IN THE FIRST. THE DEMONSTRATION OF MASSIVE PUBLIC REJECTION OF THE PZPR AND ITS COHORTS -- OF 45 YEARS OF SOCIALIST RULE -- IS STUNNING IN ITS DIMENSIONS.

4. FAR FROM CROWING ABOUT ITS SUCCESS, THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP IS MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO SOFTEN THIS BLOW, WHICH THEY ACKNOWLEDGE IS EXCESSIVE VICTORY. NEVERTHELESS, THE LEADERSHIP'S GENTLE WORDS AND SUBDUED CELEBRATION CAN DO LITTLE TO DISGUISE THE THREATS AND ANXIETIES THE ELECTION RESULTS EVOKE. ELSEWHERE, AMONG SOLIDARITY'S CAMPAIGN WORKERS AND, WE SUSPECT, MANY OF THE CANDIDATES, THERE IS PALPABLE EXALTATION. WARNINGS ABOUT EXCESSIVE SUCCESS, JUST AS CAUTIONS ABOUT TOO VIGOROUS CAMPAIGNING, FELL ON DEAF EARS OUTSIDE SOLIDARITY'S INNER CIRCLE.

5. AMONG THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES OF THE NEW WORLD CREATED BY THIS ELECTION IS THE ISSUE OF ELECTING A PRESIDENT. THE REJECTION OF THE NATIONAL LIST MEANS THAT A MAJORITY IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (THE SEJM AND SENATE TOGETHER) IS 263. ON SUNDAY, SOLIDARITY JUST ELECTED 261. IN ADDITION, THE ORGANIZATION QUIETLY CLAIMS TO

HAVE AT EAST 10 PROSPECTIVE PEASANTS' PARTY (ZSL) DEPUTIES IN ITS POCKET. THE GLUE THAT HAS HELD THE RULING COALITION TOGETHER -- THE PERMANENCE AND INEVITABILITY OF PZPR RULE -- HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. ZSL RENEGADE DEPUTY (AND RECENTLY REJECTED NATIONAL LIST CANDIDATE) MIKOLAJ KOZAKIEWICZ, SAID ON JUNE 1 THAT THE "MARRIAGE" WAS NOT INDISSOLUBLE. A

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07552 02 OF 03 061525Z
ACTION EUR-00

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| INFO | LOG-00 | ADS-00 | INR-07 | SS-00 | OIC-02 | CIAE-00 | EB-00 |
| | DODE-00 | H-01 | MSC-01 | IO-19 | NSCE-00 | NSAE-00 | SSO-00 |
| | HA-09 | L-03 | LAB-04 | TRSE-00 | PM-10 | PA-01 | OMB-01 |
| | SIL-01 | INRE-00 | ACDA-12 | USIE-00 | SP-02 | SNP-01 | PRS-01 |
| | DS-01 | P-02 | T-01 | /079 W | | | |

-----143366 061609Z /41

O 061505Z JUN 89
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4914
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 WARSAW 07552

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

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

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MAJORITY FOR THE NEW SOLIDARITY
"COALITION IS A CERTAINTY. EVEN A MAJORITY IN
THE SEJM ALONE WILL BECOME A POSSIBILITY AS THE
RULING COALITION CRUMBLES. IN THIS NEW REALITY,

FHE ASSUMED ELECTION OF WÓJCIECH JARUZELSKI AS PRESIDENT WILL BE RE-EXAMINED BY MANY.

6. THE MOST REASONABLE ASSUMPTION IS THAT SOLIDARITY'S LEADERSHIP, ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE UNWRITTEN PORTION OF THE ROUND-TABLE AGREEMENT OBLIGATED THEM TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07552 02 OF 03 061525Z

ACCEPT JARUZELSKI AS PRESIDENT, WILL SEEK TO AVOID ADDING MORE THREAT TO PRESENT TENUOUS POLITICAL STABILITY AND LIVE UP TO THAT UNDERSTANDING. HOPEFULLY, THEY COULD APPLY SOLIDARITY'S NEWLY-FORGED PARTY DISCIPLINE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY VOTE OR, IF THE PRESENT COALITION MANAGES TO HOLD ONTO ITS TWO-VOTE MAJORITY, SIMPLY ABSTAIN WHILE JARUZELSKI IS ELECTED. HOWEVER, WE MUST CONSIDER THAT THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP IS NOT ENTIRELY UNCONSTRAINED BY ITS MORE RADICAL BASE. ANY ACTIVE, AND PERHAPS PASSIVE, SOLIDARITY SUPPORT FOR JARUZELSKI AS PRESIDENT WILL PLAY BADLY AMONG SOLIDARITY CONSTITUENTS. THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO VOTED OVERWHELMINGLY TO REJECT THE NATIONAL LIST, CONTRARY TO REPEATED AND TELEVISED APPEALS FROM LECH WALESZA. HOW WOULD THEY REACT TO SOLIDARITY'S SUPPORT OF JARUZELSKI ONCE IT WAS KNOWN THAT THE ELECTORAL VICTORY ACTUALLY PROVIDED A REAL ALTERNATIVE? ALSO, WOULD A DISCIPLINED ATTEMPT TO BRING ALL SOLIDARITY DEPUTIES AND SENATORS INTO LINE ON THIS ISSUE THREATEN THE NEW GROUP'S UNITY AT SUCH AN EARLY MOMENT? MANY, PERHAPS MOST, SOLIDARITY CANDIDATES TOLD THEIR CONSTITUENTS REPEATEDLY THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN THAT THEY WOULD NEVER VOTE FOR JARUZELSKI. NOW TO SIT QUIETLY WHEN AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY WAS AVAILABLE MIGHT NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO MANY OF THOSE NEWLY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES.

7. AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT THAT WILL EFFECT THIS ISSUE IS THE EXPECTED REGIME ATTEMPT TO CHALLENGE THE NATIONAL LIST RESULTS IN THE COURTS, OR TO SEEK SOME AGREED SOLUTION IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOLIDARITY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 07552 02 OF 03 061525Z

LEADERS. AS EXPLAINED IN SEPTELS, THE ROUND-TABLE AGREEMENT SPECIFIES THE PERCENTAGE DIVISIONS OF THE SEJM; THE CONSTITUTION SPECIFIES 460 MEMBERS FOR THE SEJM; AND THERE IS NO LEGAL PROVISION FOR A BYELECTION.

A LEGAL CHALLENGE MIGHT RESULT IN A METHOD OF FILLING THOSE SEATS WITH REGIME PEOPLE, PERHAPS BY APPOINTMENT OR BY ELECTIONS CONTESTED ONLY BY THE COALITION PARTNERS. HOWEVER, EITHER METHOD IS SURE TO GO OVER BADLY WITH PERHAPS ALL OF SOLIDARITY'S VOTERS AND MANY OF ITS NEWLY-ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES. ANY OTHER ELECTORAL SOLUTION, SUCH AS A CONTESTED BYELECTION, WOULD RESULT IN AN EVEN STRONGER SOLIDARITY POSITION AND AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. (BRONISLAW GEREMEK DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE DURING HIS JUNE 6 PRESS CONFERENCE. SEE SEPTTEL.)

8. EVEN AT THIS EARLY STAGE OF PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF THE ELECTION RESULTS, WE MUST VIEW THE LOW VOTER TURNOUT AS GENUINELY DISTURBING. GEREMEK, IN HIS JUNE 5 PRESS CONFERENCE, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT 37 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE APPARENTLY HAD NO FAITH IN THE REFORM PROCESS AND NO CONFIDENCE THAT THE ELECTION COULD IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION. THESE PEOPLE HAVE REJECTED BOTH SIDES. ANY MANDATE WHICH SOLIDARITY FEELS ITS CLEAN SWEEP HAS PROVIDED IS LIMITED BY THE SIZEABLE DIMENSIONS OF THIS SEGMENT OF THE ELECTORATE. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES OF THE ENTIRE ROUND-TABLE PROCESS, INCLUDING THESE EXTRAORDINARY ELECTIONS, WAS TO ENGAGE THE POPULATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS, THUS MAKING THE ANTICIPATED SACRIFICES IMPOSED BY REFORM MORE TOLERABLE. WITH MORE THAN A THIRD OF THE ELECTORATE REJECTING THIS GAMBIT, THE EVENTUAL RESULTS OF THE OPENING MUST BE IN SOME DOUBT.

9. WE ASSUME THAT MANY OF THE NONPARTICIPANTS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04

WARSAW 07552 02 OF 03 061525Z

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed: 08/26/1997

DOC_NUMBER: 89WARSAW07552

CHANNEL: n/a

814

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 07552 03 OF 03 061526Z
ACTION EUR-00

INF

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| O | LOG-00 | ADS-00 | INR-07 | SS-00 | OIC-02 | CIAE-00 | EB-00 |
| | DODE-00 | H-01 | MSC-01 | IO-19 | NSCE-00 | NSAE-00 | SSO-00 |
| | HA-09 | L-03 | LAB-04 | TRSE-00 | PM-10 | PA-01 | OMB-01 |
| | SIL-01 | INRE-00 | ACDA-12 | USIE-00 | SP-02 | SNP-01 | PRS-01 |
| | DS-01 | P-02 | T-01 | /079 W | | | |

-----143377 061609Z /41

O 061505Z JUN 89
 FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4915
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 WARSAW 07552

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

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

SUBJECT: ELECTION '89: SOLIDARITY'S VICTORY

ARE MORE RADICALLY ANTI-SYSTEMIC THAN THOSE WHO VOTED FOR SOLIDARITY; AMONG THESE ARE MOST OF THE YOUNGER VOTERS. ACCORDING TO "FREEDOM AND PEACE" (WIP) FOUNDER JACEK CZAPUTOWICZ, WIP ESTIMATES INDICATE THAT PERHAPS ONLY 20 PERCENT OF THE 18-25-YEAR-OLDS PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION. CZAPUTOWICZ SAID THAT HIS PEOPLE HAD ESTIMATED THE TURNOUT IN UNIVERSITY STUDENT AREAS WAS ONLY ABOUT 10 OR 15 PERCENT. THIS AGE GROUP REPRESENTS ABOUT 15 PERCENT OF THE VOTING POPULATION AND ITS MASSIVE NONPARTICIPATION BROUGHT DOWN THE OVERALL AVERAGE CONSIDERABLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 07552 03 OF 03 061526Z

10. AS A FURTHER SIGN OF RADICALIZATION OF THE ELECTORATE, THE TOTAL REJECTION OF THE NATIONAL LIST IS SEEN BY SOLIDARITY'S LEADERSHIP WITH ALARM. NOT ONLY DOES IT REJECT THE CO-AUTHORS OF THE ROUND-TABLE PROCESS AND THE MODERATE ROAD TOWARD GRADUAL REFORM, IT ALSO REJECTED LECH WALESZA'S PERSONAL APPEAL FOR MODERATION. WALESZA HAD REPEATEDLY ARGUED IN THE CAMPAIGN'S FINAL WEEKS THAT THE NATIONAL LIST SHOULD NOT BE REJECTED IN ENTIRETY; HIS LAST APPEAL WAS IN AN ELECTION-EVE APPEARANCE ON TELEVISION. HOWEVER, THE APPEAL WAS UNSUCCESSFUL AND PARTIAL RESULTS SHOWED THAT THE ELECTORATE VOTED AGAINST THE WHOLE LIST AS A BLOC, IN RELATIVELY FEW CASES TAKING THE TROUBLE TO CONSIDER THE NAMES ONE-BY-ONE. THIS UNRESPONSIVENESS TO WALESZA'S APPEAL IS AN IMPORTANT PORTENT OF FUTURE VOLATILITY IN POLAND'S CONTINUING DRAMA.

DAVIS

CONFIDENTIAL