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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 WARSAW 08679

DECAPTIONED

EXDIS

STATE PLEASE PASS IMMEDIATE TO WHITE HOUSE
FOR JOHN KELLER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE), PL
SUBJECT: POLAND LOOKS TO PRESIDENT BUSH

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: LANDING IN WARSAW, THE PRESIDENT
WILL FIND HIMSELF IN THE CENTER OF THE WORLD'S
MOST PRO-AMERICAN COUNTRY. THE POLES HAVE
ALWAYS SHARED OUR LOVE OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.
THEY RESPECT AND ADMIRE THE SUCCESS OF OUR
REVOLUTION AND REMEMBER THAT KOSCIUSKO
AND PULASKI FOUGHT FOR GENERAL WASHINGTON AND
HELPED US TO SUCCESS JUST AS THEY REMEMBER
THAT THE SAME KOSCIUSKO LOST THE BATTLE TO
PRESERVE POLISH FREEDOM IN 1795. THEIR OWN
TRAGIC HISTORY OVER THE LAST TWO HUNDRED YEARS
HAS DONE NOTHING TO DAMPEN POLES' ASPIRATIONS AND
THE TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN
ENORMOUSLY STRENGTHENED BY THE HUGE INFLUX OF
POLES TO THE U.S. DURING THIS PERIOD SEEKING,
AND FINDING, FREEDOM AND A BETTER LIFE.
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3. NOW POLAND IS EMBARKED ON YET ANOTHER REVOLU-
TION, THIS TIME A PEACEFUL AND CAREFUL ONE,
INSPIRED BY THE MORAL AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
OF LECH WALESIA AND JOHN PAUL II,
AND WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE ENIGMATIC,
UNPOPULAR, BUT INDISPENSABLE GENERAL JARUZELSKI,
THE POLES ARE EXPLOITING THE OPPORTUNITIES OF
PERESTROIKA AND STRIDING INTO UNEXPLORED
TERRITORY AS THEY SEEK TO MAKE THE TRANSITION

FROM A LENINIST DICTATORSHIP TO PARTIAL, AND LATER COMPLETE, DEMOCRACY. THIS COUNTRY, WHERE WORLD WAR TWO BEGAN, IS NOW IN THE FOREFRONT OF EFFORTS TO DISSOLVE THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. BOTH SIDES IN THE POLITICAL EQUATION HERE ARE CONSCIOUS OF HAVING TAKEN A MAJOR AND UNCERTAIN GAMBLE AND ARE LOOKING TO THE PRESIDENT FOR BOTH INSPIRATION AND MATERIAL HELP.

4. THE PRESIDENT'S MAIN OBJECTIVES, AS SEEN FROM HERE, ARE TO WELCOME THE DRAMATIC STEPS THE POLES HAVE ALREADY TAKEN TOWARD POLITICAL REFORM, TO ENCOURAGE NATIONAL CONCILIATION AND THE PEACEFUL REINTEGRATION OF EUROPE, AND TO RESPOND TO POLISH HOPES FOR WESTERN ECONOMIC HELP AND COOPERATION. OUR GENUINE CONCERNS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SERVED BY A POLAND WHICH HAS BECOME MORE OPEN AND TOLERANT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIVERSITY. OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY A POLAND WHICH IS ACHIEVING A GREATER DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE FROM THE USSR AND WHICH IS UNLIKELY EVER TO BECOME AN ADVERSARY OF THE UNITED STATES OR OUR ALLIES.

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END SUMMARY.

5. THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WILL BE AN ACTION-FORCING EVENT FOR THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. HIS OFFICIAL HOST WILL BE WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI, WHO SEES HIMSELF AS A TRUE POLISH PATRIOT, A LATTER-DAY PILSUDSKI. HE KNOWS HOW UNPOPULAR HE NOW IS BUT HAS HIS EYE FIRMLY FIXED ON WHAT FUTURE HISTORIANS WILL SAY OF HIM. JARUZELSKI SHOULD BE INVITED TO VISIT THE U.S. IN THE FAIRLY NEAR FUTURE, BOTH AS A SYMBOL OF THE NEW U.S.-POLISH RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS EVOLVED SINCE YOUR LAST VISIT, AND AS A SIGN OF OUR SUPPORT FOR THE POLITICAL REFORM PROCESS WHICH HE HAS GUIDED. (HIS VISIT, WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY BE LOW KEY, SHOULD PROBABLY PRECEDE WALESA'S NOVEMBER VISIT, AN EVENT CERTAIN TO EVOKE A BIG POPULAR RESPONSE.)

6. JARUZELSKI'S OFFICIAL AUTHORITY IS MORE THAN MATCHED BY THE UNOFFICIAL AUTHORITY OF LECH WALESA, WHOSE STATURE AS POLITICAL LEADER NOW MATCHES THE STATURE AS MORAL LEADER WHICH HE EARNED AS THE VISIBLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE POLISH WORKERS OVER THE PAST DECADE. WALESA'S ROLE HAS CHANGED DRAMATICALLY OVER THE PAST YEAR, TO THE POINT WHERE HE AND THE REGIME

PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGE HIM AS VIRTUAL CO-RULER.
HE HAS MANAGED TO DRAW THE ALLEGIANCE OF MANY
DIVERSE ELEMENTS IN THIS SOCIETY WHOSE COMMON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 WARSAW 08679

EXDIS

STATE PLEASE PASS IMMEDIATE TO WHITE HOUSE
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THREAD WAS THEIR OPPOSITION TO COMMUNIST RULE.
THE DANCE CONTINUES: THE REGIME IS WILLING TO
SHARE POWER IN ORDER TO SHARE RESPONSIBILITY
FOR THE NATION'S PREDICAMENT; SOLIDARITY WANTS
TO AVOID RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE REGIME'S PAST
FAILURES.

7. JARUZELSKI WILL PROBABLY HAVE JUST BEEN
ELECTED PRESIDENT IN A DIFFICULT BUT
NECESSARY VOTE BY THE NEW BICAMERAL NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY WHICH MEETS FOR THE FIRST TIME JUST

DAYS BEFORE YOUR ARRIVAL. THIS PROCESS HAS BEEN MADE FAR MORE COMPLICATED BY SOLIDARITY'S LANDSLIDE ELECTORAL VICTORY -- 99 OF 100 SEATS IN THE NEW SENATE, ALL 161 OF THE ALLOTTED SEATS IN THE LOWER HOUSE (SEJM) OF 460 MEMBERS, AND THE DEFEAT OF VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE "NATIONAL LIST" OF

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PARTY-COALITION CANDIDATES, MANY OF WHOM HAVE BEEN LEADERS OF THE PARTY'S REFORM WING. THE IMMEDIATE DANGER IS THAT THE PARTY WILL SIMPLY BECOME PARALYZED UNDER THIS PRESSURE, THAT IT WILL BE UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO GOVERN. A LONGER-TERM DANGER IS OF LEGISLATIVE DEADLOCK, PARTICULARLY ON THE DIFFICULT ISSUES OF ECONOMIC POLICY.

8. OVER BOTH CAMPS HOVERS THE OMNIPRESENCE OF THE POLISH CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE ONE INSTITUTION TO WHICH VIRTUALLY ALL POLES GIVE WILLING OBEISANCE. THE CHURCH TOOK PART AS AN OBSERVER IN THE ROUND-TABLE TALKS AND, IN THE PERSON OF GDANSK BISHOP GOCLOWSKI, IN THE SMALL SUBGROUP SET UP TO RESOLVE CONTENTIONS ISSUES. THE CHURCH'S STATUS WAS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED AS A MATTER OF NATIONAL LAW -- ANOTHER FIRST AMONG COMMUNIST-RULED COUNTRIES -- AND POLAND WILL ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN BEFORE LONG. THE POPE TAKES A VERY ACTIVE AND PERSONAL INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENTS IN HIS MOTHER-LAND, AND HIS INFLUENCE HERE IS BEYOND DESCRIPTION.

9. SOVIET PERESTROIKA HAS HAD ITS EFFECTS HERE. POLES OF ALL STRIPES HOPE THAT GORBACHEV'S POLICIES WILL PREVAIL AGAINST THE TWIN THREATS OF HARD-LINE OPPOSITION AND NATIONALIST PRESSURES WITHIN THE USSR. NEVERTHELESS, POLES CONTINUE TO VIEW THE SOVIET SYSTEM WITH ANTIPATHY AND THE RUSSIAN/SOVIET EMPIRE WITH DEEP HISTORICAL DISTRUST.

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BUT SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE ACUTELY CONSCIOUS THAT POLAND'S GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION MAKES IT A VITAL NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST OF THE SOVIET UNION. THEY HAVE CONSISTENTLY AVOIDED

ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC AND HAVE ENDORSED POLAND'S CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE WARSAW PACT. WALESA MAY VISIT MOSCOW WITHIN THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS -- PROBABLY AFTER HE VISITS THE U.S. IN NOVEMBER. JARUZELSKI WILL HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM BUCHAREST AND THE ANNUAL WARSAW PACT SUMMIT (JULY 7-8) WHEN HE GREETES THE PRESIDENT, SO HE MAY HAVE SOME POINTS TO CONVEY FROM GORBACHEV AND OTHERS. (INCIDENTALLY, THE POLES ARE VERY PLEASED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO POLAND IS NOT PART OF A VISIT TO MOSCOW, BUT IS LINKED INSTEAD TO BUDAPEST AND PARIS.)

10. WHAT POLAND NEEDS NOW ARE CREDITS AND SOCIAL PEACE. FOR CREDITS THEY ARE LOOKING FOR A U.S. LEAD. JUST AS THE U.S. LED THE WAY ON SANCTIONS AFTER THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW, SO WE NOW

HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY -- AND A DEGREE OF OBLIGATION -- TO LEAD WITH CONCRETE STEPS TO REINFORCE OUR VALUES AND OUR INTERESTS. THE REGIME POINTS OUT THAT IT HAS MET EVERY CONDITION LAID DOWN BY THE WEST FOR POLITICAL CHANGE, AND NOW HOPES FOR ACTION ON PAST PROMISES OF ECONOMIC REWARD FOR POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION. SOLIDARITY MAKES A SIMILAR APPEAL,

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 WARSAW 08679

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PHRASING IT IN TERMS OF ITS OWN NEED TO SHOW
ECONOMIC RESULTS FROM ITS NEW POLITICAL SUCCESS.

11. UNLESS THERE IS AN IMF STANDBY AND A DEBT
RESCHEDULING, POLAND CANNOT HOPE TO ATTRACT NEW
INVESTMENT AND JOINT VENTURES. THEY ARE OPEN
TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND EAGER TO MOVE AHEAD
BUT NEED TO REGAIN A DEGREE OF FINANCIAL
RESPECTABILITY. WITHOUT ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT,
SOCIAL PEACE WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN.
INFLATION AND SHORTAGES HAVE NERVES STRETCHED
TAUT, AS THE RECURRENT ROCK AND BOMB-THROWING
INCIDENTS OF RECENT DAYS SHOW. IT IS EVIDENTLY
POSSIBLE TO GATHER 200-300 YOUNG PEOPLE TO PELT
THE COPS ON A MOMENT'S NOTICE, EVEN WITHOUT
MUCH CAUSE. A SICK ECONOMY COMBINED WITH A
WEAKENED CENTRAL AUTHORITY MAKES IT MUCH EASIER.
THE TANKS IN BEIJING BRING EVEN GREATER ANXIETY

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TO THE POLISH AUTHORITIES AND THE RESPONSIBLE
OPPOSITION. MOST ECONOMISTS ARGUE THAT THE ONLY
RATIONAL SOLUTION IS TO MOVE TO "MARKETIZATION"
AND THE VIRTUAL ELIMINATION OF SUBSIDIES. THEY
ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SUCH STEPS WOULD LEAD TO HUGE
PRICE INCREASES BUT SAY THAT WITHOUT THEM BOTH
PRODUCTIVITY AND ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES WILL
CONTINUE TO BE SEVERELY DISTORTED. MANY TRADE
UNIONISTS FEAR THAT SUCH PRICE INCREASES WOULD
PROVOKE MASSIVE SOCIAL DISORDER, AS THEY HAVE
IN THE PAST. IF THE FIRST VISIBLE RESULT OF
DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IS HUGE PRICE INCREASES,
SOLIDARITY WILL HAVE UNDERMINED ITS MANDATE.

12. POLAND ALSO NEEDS EXTERNAL PEACE. POLES
RECOGNIZE THAT DETERRENCE HAS KEPT THE PEACE
IN EUROPE FOR 44 YEARS -- A MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT,
BUT ONE WHICH HAS ALSO DISTORTED POLAND'S
ECONOMY TOWARDS MORE MILITARY SPENDING AND

MORE DEPENDENCE ON THE USSR. THEY ARE EAGER TO MOVE BEYOND CONFRONTATION AND COMPETITION TO BROAD COOPERATION AND REINTEGRATION. FOR THIS REASON THEY WELCOME EVERY STEP TOWARD EAST-WEST DETENTE AND HAVE TRIED TO NUDGE FORWARD THE DIALOGUE ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS CUTS THROUGH THEIR JARUZELSKI PLAN. THEY HAVE WELCOMED THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE A WEAKENING OF THE ALLIANCE SYSTEM ON BOTH SIDES IN EUROPE. THE POLES DISTRUST GERMAN INTENTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND SAY OPENLY THAT THEY WANT THE U.S. TO REMAIN A CENTRAL ACTOR ON THE EUROPEAN STAGE INCLUDING MILITARY/SECURITY AFFAIRS.

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13. THE UNITED STATES OCCUPIES SUCH AN EXAGGERATED PLACE OF HONOR IN THE MINDS OF MOST POLES THAT IT GOES BEYOND RATIONAL DESCRIPTION. ONE OPPOSITION LEADER DESCRIBED IT APTLY AS "BLIND LOVE." THIS IMAGE DERIVES FROM AMERICA'S HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ROLE AS THE LAND OF THE FREE; IT DERIVES FROM OUR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND LIFESTYLE, ENJOYED BY 10 MILLION POLISH-AMERICANS AND ENVIED BY THEIR SIBLINGS AND COUSINS LEFT BEHIND; IT DERIVES FROM OUR GEOPOLITICAL ROLE AS THE BALANCING GREAT POWER AGAINST THE SOVIETS AND AS THE CONTROLLING GREAT POWER OVER MOST OF THE GERMANS.

14. BECAUSE THE U.S. IS SO IMPORTANT AND SO ADMIRABLE BY POLES, THEY EXAGGERATE WHAT THE U.S. CAN AND SHOULD DO FOR POLAND. POLES OF ALL STRIPES BELIEVE THAT THE U.S., IF IT WISHED, COULD SOLVE MOST OF POLAND'S PROBLEMS. THUS, THEIR HOPES FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT ARE CERTAIN TO EXCEED OUR CAPACITY TO DELIVER. BUT OUR INABILITY TO MEET THE HIGH END OF THEIR EXPECTATION DOES NOT MEAN THAT MODERATE STEPS WOULD CAUSE DISAPPOINTMENT. CONSISTENCY OF PERFORMANCE ON A WIDENING RANGE OF PROGRAMS WILL SERVE OUR INTEREST IN DRAWING POLAND MORE FIRMLY INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF WESTERN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CULTURE -- A STREAM WHICH HAS DEPOSITED SOVIET-STYLE CENTRALISM IN HISTORY'S

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SWAMP.

15. THE PRESIDENT'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS HERE,
INCLUDING HIS HISTORIC SPEECH TO THE NEWLY
CONSTITUTED NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, SHOULD BE
BUILT AROUND THE SOARING THEMES OF DEMOCRA-
TIZATION, THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE PEACEFUL
REINTEGRATION OF EUROPE -- THEMES WHICH THE
POLES HAVE ALREADY HEARD IN HIS STATEMENTS AT
THE VATICAN, IN BONN AND IN MAINZ. THEY WILL
ALSO BE HOPING FOR MAJOR U.S. AND WESTERN
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND CONCRETE FOLLOW-UP
TO THE POINTS THE PRESIDENT MADE IN
HIS HAMTRAMCK SPEECH IN APRIL. THE POLES
BELIEVE THEY HAVE DONE EVERYTHING THE PRESIDENT
ASKED OF THEM ON HIS LAST VISIT AND HOPE FOR
SOME WORDS OF PRAISE AND ENCOURAGEMENT.

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16. I HAVE ALSO SPELLED OUT SEPARATELY THE IDEA OF A "FRIENDS OF POLAND" INITIATIVE WHICH I THINK WOULD MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE TO THE POLES, WOULD PUT US CLEARLY IN THE LEAD IN SUCH EFFORTS, AND WOULD NOT REQUIRE MAJOR NEW FUNDING (WARSAW 2981). AND I THINK WE SHOULD HAVE AT LEAST ONE SPLASHY NEW PROPOSAL, FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE ENVIRONMENT.

17. THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WILL BE A SUCCESS. IT MAY EVEN BE ONE OF THOSE EVENTS WEHRE THE CONVERGENCE OF HISTORIC TRENDS, OF NATIONAL INTERESTS AND OF DECISIVE INDIVIDUALS CAN BRING ABOUT A MOMENT IN TIME WHICH CHANGES THE DIRECTION OF HISTORY. THE INGREDIENTS ARE ALL THERE AND POLAND IS READY.

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