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R 231701Z JUN 89  
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5720  
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 WARSAW 08512

**DECAPTIONED**

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DELC:OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PL  
SUBJECT: HOW TO ELECT JARUZELSKI WITHOUT VOTING FOR  
- HIM, AND WILL HE RUN?

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

1A. SUMMARY: MOST SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE APPARENTLY CONVINCED THAT JARUZELSKI MUST BE ELECTED PRESIDENT IF THE COUNTRY IS TO AVOID CIVIL WAR. HOWEVER, THEY ARE VERY RELUCTANT TO VOTE FOR HIM AND ARE RECEPTIVE TO SUGGESTIONS ON HOW THE TASK MIGHT BE MANAGED WITHOUT THEM HAVING TO DO SO. JARUZELSKI WILL NOT ACCEPT NOMINATION UNLESS HE CAN SEE THAT THE VOTES ARE THERE TO ASSURE HIS ELECTION DESPITE LIKELY DEFECTIONS FROM THE RANKS OF COMMUNIST AND ALLIED DEPUTIES. ON THE EVE OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISIT, THE SITUATION REMAINS FLUID AND VERY DELICATE. END SUMMARY.

2. MOST OF THE SOLIDARITY LEADERS WITH WHOM WE  
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HAVE SPOKEN IN RECENT DAYS ARE CONVINCED (IN VARYING DEGREES) OF THE FOLLOWING FACTS:

- A. IF JARUZELSKI IS NOT ELECTED PRESIDENT, THERE IS A GENUINE DANGER OF CIVIL WAR ENDING, IN MOST SCENARIOS, WITH A RELUCTANT BUT BRUTAL SOVIET INTERVENTION;
- B. ALL SOLIDARITY CANDIDATES WERE FORCED DURING THEIR CAMPAIGNING TO PROMISE PUBLICLY NOT TO VOTE FOR

JARUZELSKI FOR PRESIDENT;

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- C. THE GOVERNMENT COALITION HAS THE NUMBERS FOR HIM. AS MANY AS FORTY OR FIFTY FROM THE ZSL AND SD, AND HARD-LINERS FROM THE PARTY ON THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM, WILL PROBABLY VOTE AGAINST OR ABSTAIN TO PUNISH HIM FOR THE PARTY'S ELECTORAL HUMILIATION.

- D. ALTHOUGH IT WAS NEVER PUT IN WRITING, THE IMPLICIT DEAL AT THE ROUNDTABLE WAS THAT SOLIDARITY SHOULD HAVE THE SENATE IN A FREE VOTE AND JARUZELSKI WOULD BE PRESIDENT FOR THE NEXT SIX YEARS.

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3. THERE IS MUCH HAND-WRINGING GOING ON, WITH SOME SOLIDARITY SENATORS SAYING THEY WILL VOTE FOR JARUZELSKI IF THEY MUST TO SAVE THE COUNTRY, EVEN IF IT MEANS ENDING THEIR POLITICAL CAREERS VIRTUALLY BEFORE THEY HAVE BEGUN.

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4. I HAD DINNER LAST NIGHT WITH SOME LEADING SOLIDARITY LEGISLATORS, WHO HAD BETTER REMAIN NAMELESS, AND JOTTED DOWN A FEW NUMBERS FOR THEM ON THE

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BACK OF AN EMBASSY MATCHBOOK. I ALSO REVIEWED FOR THEM AN ARCAINE WESTERN POLITICAL PRACTICE KNOWN AS HEAD-COUNTING. WHAT THE MATCHBOOK CALCULATION REVEALED IS THAT THERE ARE A TOTAL OF 560 SEATS IN THE COMBINED SEJM AND SENATE. THE GOVERNMENT COALITION HAS 299, SOLIDARITY 260 AND THERE IS ONE INDEPENDENT. THE REQUIRED QUORUM FOR A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS TWO-THIRDS OF THE COMBINED MEMBERSHIP OF THE TWO HOUSES. OF THOSE PRESENT, A MAJORITY OF VOTES IS NEEDED TO ELECT. ERGO, IF A LARGE NUMBER (UP TO 185) OF SOLIDARITY SENATORS AND SEJM DEPUTIES ARE ILL OR OTHERWISE UNABLE TO ATTEND THE ELECTION SESSION, THERE WILL STILL BE A QUORUM AND ONE IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT COALITION MAJORITY IS SO GREAT THAT ONLY A TRULY MAJOR DEFECTION FROM PARTY DISCIPLINE COULD PREVENT JARUZELSKI'S ELECTION. THE SOLIDARITY DEPUTIES AND SENATORS WHO WERE PRESENT COULD SAFELY ABSTAIN.

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5. MY INTERLOCUTORS LEFT FOR HOME SAYING THAT THE NUMBERS WERE INDEED INTERESTING BUT THERE WOULD STILL BE A PROBLEM IN PERSUADING ENOUGH PEOPLE TO STAY AWAY FROM THE VOTE.

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6. THERE IS ALSO A FURTHER COMPLICATION. ONE OF JARUZELSKI'S CLOSE ADVISERS YESTERDAY TOLD ME THAT THE GENERAL IS DETERMINED THAT HE WILL NOT "CREEP"

INTO THE PRESIDENCY. HE IS UNDERSTANDABLY RELUCTANT TO FACE ANOTHER PUBLIC HUMILIATION AFTER THE DEFEAT OF PARTY REFORMERS ON THE NATIONAL LIST IN ROUND ONE

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OF THE ELECTIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, JARUZELSKI IS DOING HIS OWN HEAD-COUNTING AND, IF THE NUMBERS DON'T COME OUT RIGHT, MIGHT WELL DECLINE THE NOMINATION.

7. THE WHOLE SITUATION IS MADE MORE COMPLEX BY THE TIME PRESSURES ARISING FROM PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISIT. THE PLAN HAS BEEN TO HOLD THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ON JULY 5, BUT IT MAY NOT PROVE POSSIBLE BECAUSE THE NEWLY-ELECTED DEPUTIES ARE DISPUTING HOTLY THE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMITTEE

CHAIRMANSHIPS IN THE NEW SEJM, OF WHICH SOLIDARITY IS APPARENTLY DEMANDING A SHARE DESPITE ITS MINORITY STATUS. THE FOLLOWING TWO DAYS JARUZELSKI AND RAKOWSKI MUST ATTEND A WARSAW PACT SUMMIT IN, "OF ALL PLACES", BUCHAREST. JARUZELSKI HAS CALLED GORBACHEV TO ASK WHETHER THE SUMMIT COULD NOT BE POSTPONED BUT GORBACHEV ALLEGEDLY SAID IT  
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WAS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE TENSIONS WITHIN THE PACT BETWEEN ROMANIA AND HUNGARY. JARUZELSKI FEELS HE MUST MAKE AN APPEARANCE TO REASSURE HIS WARSAW PACT PARTNERS THAT THINGS ARE NOT OUT OF CONTROL IN POLAND. CONSEQUENTLY, THERE IS A DEFINITE POSSIBILITY THAT JARUZELSKI COULD EITHER BE ELECTED ON THE VERY DAY OF THE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL (UNLIKELY, SINCE IT IS A SUNDAY), OR POSTPONE THE ELECTION AND RECEIVE HIM IN HIS OLD CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

8. COMMENT: THERE HAVE PROBABLY BEEN FEW OCCASIONS WHEN AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT HAS ARRIVED FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT IN A MORE FLUID AND FAST-MOVING POLITICAL SITUATION THAN THE PRESENT ONE IN POLAND. DAVIS

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