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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 WARSAW 11056

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, PL
SUBJECT: BRONISLAW GEREMEK EXPLAINS NEXT STEPS
- TOWARD A SOLIDARITY GOVERNMENT

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: BRONISLAW GEREMEK HAS TOLD US THAT
TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI WILL BE ELECTED PRIME MINISTER ON
AUGUST 23. HE WILL PRESENT HIS LIST OF MINISTERS
PROBABLY ON AUGUST 30; THE SEJM COMMISSIONS WILL
BEGIN THEIR HEARINGS ON SEPTEMBER 2; AND THE SEJM WILL
VOTE ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT PROBABLY NOT BEFORE
MID-SEPTEMBER. THE LIST OF MINISTERS ALLEGEDLY WILL
INCLUDE FIVE COMMUNISTS, RATHER THAN THE TWO OR THREE
WIDELY ANTICIPATED. GEREMEK WANTS TO MAKE ROOM FOR
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THE PZPR IN ORDER TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THE SUCCESS
OF THIS NEW GOVERNMENT IS ALSO IN THEIR INTERESTS.
WALESA'S INFLUENCE AND SUPPORT FOR THE SCHEME SHOULD
BE ENOUGH TO WIN OVER MOST OF SOLIDARITY. GEREMEK
HIMSELF HAD NOT SOUGHT THE PREMIERSHIP
BECAUSE HE WAS NEEDED IN THE PARLIAMENT; THE OKP
WOULD NOT SURVIVE TEN MINUTES WITHOUT HIM, HE CLAIMED.
GEREMEK' OPINION ABOUT FORMING A SOLIDARITY GOVERN-
MENT NOW HAD ALTERED, HE SAID, BECAUSE OF THE SPEED
WITH WHICH BOTH THE OLD COALITION AND THE PZPR

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HAD DISINTTEGRATED. HE EXPECTED THIS DISINTEGRATION WOULD BE DEMONSTRATED AGAIN AT THE AUGUST 19 PLENUM. NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENS THERE, HE SAID, THE INCREASINGLY IMPOTENT PARTY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO BLOCK JARUZELSKI'S DECISION, "AS LONG AS JARUZELSKI RETAINS CONTROL OF THE ARMY." BOTH THE MARSHAL OF THE SEJM AND THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF TOLD US THAT THE PARTY WOULD BE POWERLESS TO HALT THE PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY. JARUZELSKI'S "PRESIDENTIAL" BEHAVIOR, FIRM DETERMINATION IN THE FACE OF PARTY RESISTANCE, AND HIS APPARENT EFFORTS TO "DEPOLITICIZE" BOTH THE PRESIDENCY AND THE ARMY HAVE HAD A POSITIVE IMPACT ON SOLIDARITY LEADERS, INCLUDING SOME WHO HAD BEEN STRONGLY CRITICAL OF JARUZELSKI EVEN RECENTLY. HOWEVER, SOME WITHIN THE SOLIDARITY UNION WILL CONTINUE TO OBJECT THAT THE NEW ARRANGEMENT WILL WEAKEN UNION ACTIVITIES. GEREMEK TOLD CODEL CRANSTON THAT THE OPPOSITION HAD GONE TOO FAR, STOPPED, AND RETREATED TO A MORE DEFENSIBLE POSITION. BY NOW AGREEING TO INCLUDE COMMUNISTS -- MORE THAN HAD BEEN EXPECTED -- IN A SOLIDARITY-LED GOVERNMENT, THERE WAS A CHANCE TO BUILD A REAL COALITION, THE SURVIVAL OF WHICH COULD SERVE EVERYONE'S INTERESTS.
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END SUMMARY.

3. SENIOR SOLIDARITY ADVISER AND LEADER OF THE "OPPOSITION" BRONISLAW GEREMEK SKETCHED OUT FOR US ON AUGUST 18 THE LIKELY TIMETABLE FOR THE SELECTION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THAT TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI, THE PRIME MINISTER CANDIDATE TO BE FORMALLY NOMINATED ON AUGUST 19 BY PRESIDENT WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI, WOULD BE ELECTED ON AUGUST 23. THE FIRST ITEM OF SEJM BUSINESS THAT DAY, HE SAID, WOULD BE A VOTE ON AN INTERIM BUDGET. AFTER THIS PRESUMABLY TIME-CONSUMING EVENT, MAZOWIECKI'S CANDIDACY WOULD BE PRESENTED. SINCE THE NEW COALITION HAS A CLEAR MAJORITY IN THE SEJM AND SOME PZPR DEPUTIES CAN BE EXPECTED TO VOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S NOMINEE AS WELL, THE ELECTION SHOULD BE RELATIVELY SIMPLE.

4. GEREMEK CLAIMED THAT IT HAD ALREADY BEEN AGREED BY LECH WALESA AND JARUZELSKI HOW MANY MINISTERIAL POSITIONS WOULD GO TO EACH PARTY IN THE NEW COALITION. THERE WOULD BE TWENTY-ONE MINISTERS, HE SAID (PRESUMABLY IN ADDITION TO PROBABLY THREE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS, I.E., THE TOTAL NUMBER REMAINS THE SAME AS AT PRESENT.) OF THESE TWENTY-ONE MINISTRIES, THE ALLEGED AGREEMENT IS FOR SEVEN TO GO TO SOLIDARITY;

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SIX FOR THE PEASANTS' PARTY (ZSL); THREE FOR THE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SD); AND FIVE FOR THE PZPR.
IT HAD BEEN WIDELY EXPECTED THAT THE PZPR WOULD
RETAIN ONLY TWO, POSSIBLY THREE MINISTRIES.
GEREMEK SAID IT HAD NOT YET BEEN DECIDED WHICH

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MINISTRIES, OTHER THAN DEFENSE AND INTERNAL
AFFAIRS, WOULD REMAIN IN PZPR HANDS.

5. GEREMEK AGREED THAT SO MANY PZPR CANDIDATES
ON THE LIST COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR SOME

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SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS AND DEPUTIES. HOWEVER, GEREMEK, AND SEJM DEPUTY JAN LITYNSKI WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT IN THIS CONVERSATION, MAINTAINED THAT THE DRAMATIC FACT OF A SOLIDARITY PREMIER WOULD BE ENOUGH TO SMOOTH OVER THESE OTHER OBJECTIONS. ALSO, THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP COUNTS ON WALESA'S GREAT INFLUENCE TO CARRY THE DAY ON

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THIS ISSUE AS IT HAS ON OTHERS. GEREMEK, AND APPARENTLY WALESA AS WELL, NOW ACCEPT TO A DEGREE THE VIEW EXPRESSED BY JARUZELSKI EARLIER IN THE DAY (AUGUST 18) TO CODEL CRANSTON (SEPTEL) THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO INCLUDE A NUMBER OF COMMUNISTS IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT THEY RETAINED SOME STAKE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S SUCCESS; THAT IT WAS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE COMMUNISTS TO WORK TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE. THIS PERCEPTION CLEARLY IS AT THE ROOT OF THE WALESA/GEREMEK DECISION TO INCLUDE MORE PZPR MEMBERS IN THE GOVERNMENT THAN HAD BEEN WIDELY EXPECTED.

6. GEREMEK ADMITTED THAT THERE REMAINED CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY WITHIN THE NEW COALITION CONCERNING WHICH PARTY WILL BE GIVEN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE SAID THAT THE SD WAS REQUESTING THAT IMPORTANT PORTFOLIO AS ONE OF ITS THREE MINISTRIES. IF THE SD GETS THE MFA, WHICH GEREMEK CLAIMS TO BE RESISTING, THE RECTOR OF KRAKOW'S ACADEMY OF MINING AND METALURGY. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH SEJM MARSHAL MIKOLAJ KOZAKIEWICZ ON AUGUST 19, THE MARSHAL, A ZSL MEMBER, SAID THERE WAS STILL A MOVE IN THE ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS TO GIVE THE MFA TO THE ZSL. (KOZAKIEWICZ SAID THERE WAS NO ONE IN HIS PARTY CAPABLE OF FILLING SUCH A POST; ("BELIEVE ME, I KNOW THESE PEOPLE.")) GEREMEK ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WERE MANY IN THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP NOW ENGAGED IN THE SELECTION OF POTENTIAL MINISTERS WHO WERE PERFECTLY SATISFIED WITH THE PRESENT FOREIGN MINISTER, TADEUSZ OLECHOWSKI. GEREMEK AND OTHERS RECOGNIZED HIM AS A VALUABLE PROFESSIONAL WELL RESPECTED BY WESTERN -- INCLUDING

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U.S. -- DIPLOMATS.

7. GEREMEK WAS NOT WILLING TO SPECULATE ABOUT WHO MIGHT BE ON THE LIST FOR THE OTHER MINISTRIES,

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EXCEPT TO CONFIRM THAT THEY WOULD TRY TO FIND MINISTERS FROM OUTSIDE THE PARLIAMENT. MOST OF MINISTERIAL MATERIAL WERE VALUABLE TO THAT BODY, AND SOLIDARITY WOULD LIKE TO KEEP THEM THERE. GEREMEK WOULD NOT SAY, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MINISTERS CHOSEN FROM AMONG THE SEJM DEPUTIES AND SENATORS.

8. ONCE THE LIST IS ASSEMBLED, IT WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE SEJM, PROBABLY NOT BEFORE AUGUST 30, ACCORDING TO GEREMEK. THE SEJM COMMISSIONS WILL THEN BEGIN TO REVIEW THE VARIOUS MINISTERIAL CANDIDATES ABOUT SEPTEMBER 2. IN GEREMEK'S VIEW, THE PROCESS WILL NOT BE COMPLETED, AND A NEW GOVERNMENT INSTALLED, UNTIL MID-SEPTEMBER. HE SEES LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF SPEEDING UP THAT TIMETABLE. GEREMEK ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ROUND-TABLE AGREEMENT AND THE ENSUING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES REQUIRED THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT BE IN PLACE WITHIN THREE MONTHS OF THE SECOND ROUND OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, I.E., BY SEPTEMBER 18. HE SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE WITH PRESIDENT JARUZELSKI. THE PRESIDENT REPORTEDLY ASSURED GEREMEK THAT, EVEN IF THE DEADLINE IS PASSED, THE PARLIAMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S IN SUCH A SITUATION, NOT A REQUIREMENT. GEREMEK SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT FORMATION PROCESS WOULD PROBABLY PRESS CLOSELY AGAINST THAT DEADLINE, IF NOT EXCEED IT.

9. THE SOLIDARITY LEADER ALSO DISCUSSED, WITH SOME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 WARSAW 11056

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

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CANDOR, HIS OWN DECISION NOT TO SEEK THE PREMIERSHIP.
ALTHOUGH HIS NAME WAS ON THE SHORT LIST PRESENTED
BY WALESA TO JARUZELSKI ON AUGUST 17, IT HAD BEEN
AGREED THAT WALESA WOULD MORE STRONGLY SUPPORT
MAZOWIECKI FOR THE JOB. GEREMEK CLAIMED THAT THE
MAIN REASON WAS THAT HE WAS NEEDED RIGHT WHERE HE
WAS -- IN THE SEJM. HE SAID THAT THE
CITIZENS' PARLIAMENTARY CLUB (OKP) "WOULD NOT LAST
TEN MINUTES" IF HE WERE TO LEAVE. GEREMEK FREELY
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE DIVERSE INTERESTS WITHIN
THE OKP, COUPLED WITH THE NAIVETE AND IMMATURE
UNCONTROLLABILITY OF MANY OF THE MEMBERS, POSED
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A MIGHTY THREAT TO UNITY AND PARTY DISCIPLINE. (IN
AN EARLIER CONVERSATION WITH CODEL CRANSTON,
GEREMEK SAID THAT MANY OF THE YOUNG AND RADICAL
MEMBERS BEHAVED IN A WAY THAT WAS NOT ONLY
INAPPROPRIATE FOR PARLIAMENTARY BEHAVIOR, BUT ALSO
FOR HUMAN BEHAVIOR.) FINALLY, REFERRING TO THE
FACT THAT THE CHURCH HAD CHOSEN MAZOWIECKI AS THE
PREFERRED CANDIDATE, GEREMEK SAID "IT IS THE CORRECT
DECISION."

10. ALL OF THESE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAD EVOLVED
WITH INCREDIBLE AND UNANTICIPATED SPEED, GEREMEK
AGREED. WHEN ASKED TO EXPLAIN HOW HIS AND THE OKP'S
OPINION ABOUT THE WISDOM OF A SOLIDARITY GOVERNMENT
HAD CHANGED SO RAPIDLY, GEREMEK DID NOT REPEAT THE
CONTENTION HEARD ELSEWHERE IN THE SOLIDARITY CAMP
THAT THE NATIONAL MOOD HAD ALTERED. INSTEAD,
GEREMEK FOCUSED ON THE CHANGES WITHIN THE RULING
COALITION IN GENERAL, AND WITHIN THE PZPR IN

PARTICULAR. HE SAID THAT THE PZRTY HAD "DISINTI-GRATED" MUCH FASTER THAN ANYONE HAD EXPECTED AND THAT IT CLEARLY WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY POWERLESS TO ACT. THIS WILL BE DEMONSTRATED, HE SUGGESTED AT THE AUGUST 19 CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. HE AND JARUZELSKI HAD AGREED, GEREMEK SAID, THAT THE PLENUM WOULD BE EXTREMELY "STORMY" AND THAT THE OUTCOME COULD NOT BE FORESEEN. THIS EXPECTATION OF A FIGHT WAS PROBABLY BEHIND JARUZELSKI'S COMMENT TO CODEL CRANSTON EARLIER IN THE DAY THAT HIS DECISION ON THE PREMIERSHIP WAS FIRM; THAT THE PARTY'S RESPONSE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CHANGE IT; "THE PRESIDENT HAS HIS PREROGATIVES," HE TOLD THE SENATORS. GEREMEK ALSO SAID THAT HE COULD NOT

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SEE HOW THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE COULD PUT A HALT TO THE PROCESS THAT HAD NOW BEGUN.

11. THIS VIEW OF THE PARTY'S GROWING IMPOTENCE WAS ALSO SUPPORTED BY KOZAKIEWICZ ON AUGUST 19. THE PARTY HAS NO OPTION BUT TO ACCEPT WHAT HAS BEEN DONE, HE TOLD CODEL CRANSTON, NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY DISLIKE IT. KOZAKIEWICZ CLAIMED THAT THE PARTY HAD "NO OPPORTUNITY TO REACT VIOLENTLY, SUCH AS IMPOSING MARTIAL LAW AGAIN. THEY HAVE NO REASON FOR IT AND NO FORCE FOR IT." NEVERTHELESS, KOZAKIEWICZ AGREED THAT THE REACTION IN THE PLENUM WOULD BE "VERY STRONG." THE MEMBERS WOULD ATTACK JARUZELSKI PERSONALLY AND ALL THOSE WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ROUND-TABLE AGREEMENTS THAT HAD BROUGHT THE PARTY TO SUCH DISASTER.

12. FOR HIS PART, GEREMEK WAS SOMEWHAT LESS OPTIMISTIC THAT THE PARTY HAD "NO FORCE" FOR IMPOSING AN ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENT, BUT HE THOUGHT THAT, "AS LONG AS JARUZELSKI RETAINS CONTROL OF THE ARMY," THE PLENUM'S AGONY WOULD BE IN VAIN. A MAJOR PART OF THAT AGONY NO DOUBT BELONGS TO FIRST SECRETARY MIECZYSLAW RAKOWSKI WHO HAS TAKEN OVER THE PARTY JUST IN TIME TO WITNESS ITS DISINTEGRATION. GEREMEK SAID THAT RAKOWSKI HAD REFUSED TO MEET WITH MAZOWIECKI ON AUGUST 18, EVEN THOUGH THE POLISH PAPERS WERE REPORTING ON THE FOLLOWING DAY THAT THE MEETING HAD TAKEN PLACE.

13. GEREMEK'S COMMENT ABOUT JARUZELSKI AND THE PRESIDENT'S DETERMINATION TO FORCE THIS NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENT THROUGH DESPITE THE PARTY'S ANTICIPATED OBJECTIONS REVEALS AN ENTIRELY NEW

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"OPPOSITION" VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT. THIS VIEW WAS MOST CLEARLY EXPLAINED BY GEREMEK AND LITYNSKI IN THEIR AUGUST 18 MEETING WITH CODEL CRANSTON. TOGETHER, THEY EXPLAINED THAT THEY HAD BEEN STRUCK WITH JARUZELSKI'S DECLARATION THAT HE WANTED TO BE A "PRESIDENT OF ALL POLES" AND NOT JUST OF ONE PARTY. GEREMEK SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD BEHAVED IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THIS STATEMENT AND HAD MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD "DEPOLITICIZING" THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT. ALSO, GEREMEK WAS CONVINCED THAT JARUZELSKI WAS TRYING TO DEPOLITICIZE THE ARMY AS WELL, IN ORDER TO

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CONVINCE THE ARMY THAT IT SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION AND NOT THE PARTY.

14. WE REGARD IT AS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT THAT LITYNSKI CLEARLY AGREED WITH THIS VIEW AND FOUND JARUZELSKI'S RECENT BEHAVIOR TO BE ONE OF THE MOST POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THE UNSTABLE SITUATION. LITYNSKI, ONE OF THE MORE RADICAL OPPOSITIONISTS WITHIN SOLIDARITY'S MAINSTREAM, HAD BEEN A CONSTANT CRITIC OF JARUZELSKI PRIOR TO THE ROUND-TABLE AND HIS CRITICISM SOFTENED SLOWLY AND BEGRUDGINGLY. TEN MONTHS AGO HE ARGUED STRONGLY THAT NO

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MEANINGFUL REFORMS COULD TAKE PLACE UNDER JARUZELSKI; JUST WEEKS AGO HE WAS TELLING US THAT ELECTING JARUZELSKI HAD BEEN A "VERY GREAT MISTAKE." WE ASSUME THAT LITYNSKI'S VIEWS ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF SOLIDARITY. HIS ALTERATION OF THOSE VIEWS IN JARUZELSKI'S FAVOR IS THEREFORE SIGNIFICANT.

15. CERTAINLY NOT EVERYONE IN SOLIDARITY WILL AGREE, HOWEVER, EVEN THOUGH MOST WILL BE STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE RECENT MOVES. GEREMEK WAS SCHEDULED TO GO TO GDANSK ON AUGUST 19 TO MEET WITH SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMISSION (KKW). HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE SESSION WOULD BE BROADLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE NEW SCHEME, BUT HE WAS ALSO SURE HE WOULD FACE SOME OPPOSITION. A PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY MAY BE THE ONGOING AND PLANNED STRIKES. GEREMEK EXPLAINED THAT SOLIDARITY SUPPORT FOR THE STRIKES SERVED TWO UNION PURPOSES: IT DEPRIVED THE OFFICIAL UNIONS (OPZZ) FROM

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ENJOYING A CLEAR MONOPOLY OF SUPPORT FOR WORKER WAGE DEMANDS, AND IT WAS THE BEST WAY TO INVIGORATE AND EXPAND THE SOLIDARITY UNION. NOW, HOWEVER, THE STRIKES MADE NO SENSE WHILE THEIR POLITICAL CONTENT HAS BEEN REMOVED. GEREMEK FEARED THAT SOME OF THE KKW UNIONISTS WOULD FEEL THE PINCH OF THE LOST OPPORTUNITY TO EXPAND THEIR OPERATIONS. "THE BEST WAY TO EXPAND A UNION AND ITS POWER," GEREMEK SAID, "IS TO SUPPORT STRIKES." THIS CONFLICT BETWEEN POLITICAL AND UNION INTERESTS WITHIN SOLIDARITY IS ONE MORE IMPORTANT STEP IN THE PROCESS WE HAVE BEEN WITNESSING FOR SOME MONTHS: AS THE POWER OF SOLIDARITY THE POLITICAL PARTY GROWS, THE POWER OF SOLIDARITY THE UNION DECLINES. AS JARUZELSKI TOLD CODEL CRANSTON (SEPTTEL), IN THE FUTURE IT MAY BE THE "NEW OPPOSITION" THAT WILL BE IN A POSITION TO BEST EMPLOY THE UNION WEAPON.

16. WHEN GEREMEK SPOKE WITH CODEL CRANSTON IN THE MEETING REFERRED TO ABOVE, ONE OF HIS MAIN THEMES WAS THAT THE OPPOSITION HAD RECENTLY GONE TOO FAR, HAD STOPPED, AND RETREATED TO A MORE DEFENSIBLE POSITION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT LECH WALESA'S ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO FORM A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE PZPR HAD BEEN TOO AGGRESSIVE AND DANGEROUSLY THREATENING. "WE MUST GIVE THE COMMUNISTS A CHANCE FOR SURVIVAL," HE SAID. THE ALTERNATIVE WAS A "SITUATION LIKE AFGHANISTAN" WHERE THE

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INSURGENTS HAD DECLARED THEIR INTENTION IN
ADVANCE TO LIQUIDATE ENTIRELY REPRESENTATIVES

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OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME. THE RESULT WAS A
PROTRACTED AND BLOODY FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL.
BY CREATING A GENUINE "GRAND COALITION",
ALBEIT "THROUGH THE BACK DOOR", SOLIDARITY
HOPED TO SATISFY THE NATIO
N WHILE REASSURING
AN UNPOPULAR AND DISPIRITED PARTY. IN THE
MIDST OF POLAND'S UNPRECEDENTED ECONOMIC AND

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POLITICAL CRISIS, THIS WILL BE NO SMALL FEAT.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL