

P. A. Sub - Registry

File No 19-10-01 (Poland)

USNATO/POL/NS/88-18

COPY NUMBER: 19

NATO SECRET

U.S. Delegation

February 8, 1988

REG. P.A.

ACTION SLIP

Nº 1883/88

POLAND: JARUZELSKI LEADS A COUNTERREFORMATION

DECLASSIFIED - PUBLICLY DISCLOSED - PDDN(2014)0007 - MISEN-LECLATURE PUBLIQUE

GORBACHEV'S POLICIES ARE PROVIDING JARUZELSKI WITH MANEU-  
VERING ROOM TO FASHION A REFORM PROGRAM OF HIS OWN--CLOSE  
ASSOCIATION WITH SOVIET "NEW THINKING" BUFFERS THE GENERAL  
FROM HARD-LINERS IN WARSAW. NEVERTHELESS, THE PACE AND  
SCOPE OF POLISH REFORM WILL CONTINUE TO BE SET BY INTERNAL  
FACTORS. IT IS STILL UNCERTAIN WHETHER JARUZELSKI WILL  
UNDERTAKE CHANGES THAT MIGHT BEGIN TO RESTORE EVEN MINIMAL  
LEGITIMACY TO THE POLISH REGIME.

THE SUCCESS OF EFFORTS TO "NORMALIZE" THE POLISH SITUATION  
THROUGH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION WILL DEPEND  
ON ACCEPTANCE BY A PUBLIC WHOSE EXPECTATIONS HAVE EXPANDED  
DURING THE SOLIDARITY ERA. ALTHOUGH GORBACHEV'S PRIME  
CONCERN IN EASTERN EUROPE IS STABILITY, IT IS NOT CERTAIN  
THAT MOSCOW WOULD TOLERATE THE DEGREE OF LIBERALIZATION  
NECESSARY FOR THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO ACHIEVE A MODUS  
VIVENDI WITH THE PEOPLE.

UNIQUELY POLISH: REFORM FROM BELOW. THE EXISTING DEGREE  
OF LIBERALIZATION AND THE RECENTLY ANNOUNCED REFORM PRO-  
POSALS PLACE POLAND AHEAD OF OTHER BLOC COUNTRIES, WITH  
THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF HUNGARY. THAT COMPARATIVE

THIS DOCUMENT CONSISTS OF 5 PAGES

NATO SECRET

Reg PA  
498

NATO SECRET

2.

PERSPECTIVE IS INHERENTLY LIMITED, HOWEVER, BY THE REALITY OF THE POLISH INTERNAL SITUATION.

...LES, FOR THE MOST PART, CREDIT THEMSELVES AND SOLIDIAITY WITH THEIR CURRENT ABILITY TO KEEP THE GOVERNMENT AT A DISTANCE. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REGIME AND SOCIETY IS DOMINATED BY PUBLIC DISDAIN FOR THE AUTHORTIES WHI, IN TURN, HAVE PROVEN INFLEXIBLE ON THE VERY ISSUES THAT HACE ALIENATED THE POPULACE FROM THE REGIME SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW: A PUBLIC ROLE IN DECISION MAKING AND THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATAION CHANGING THE SYSTEM...

BOTH GORBACHEV AND JARUZELSKI

SEEM TO SHARE A CONVICTION THAT THE LASTING EFFECTS OF SOLIDARITY AND ECONOMIC STAGNATION TH[UA]TEN THE SYSTEM'S SURVIVAL IN POLAND, AND THAT ADJUSTMENTS ARE THEREFORE INAVCADABLE. TO THE EXTENT THAT THESE CHANGES MAY REQUIRE IDEOLOGICAL ACCOMMODATION AND A DIFFERENT LEADERSHIP STYLE, THEY PIT THE GENERAL AGAINST PARTY STALWARTS WHO BUNKERED DOWN IN THE FACE OF THE SOLIDARITY CHALLENGE AND REMAIN ADAMANT.

. . . IN ORDER TO PRESERVE IT. THE DECLINE OF TRADITIONAL PARTY PRIVILEGE IMPLICIT IN THE LATEST REGIME PROPOSALS, AS WELL AS JARUZELSKI'S RELATIVE TOLERANCE TOWARDS THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND THE CHURCH, ARE A REPUDIATION OF

NATO SECRET

DECLASSIFIED - PUBLICLY DISCLOSED - PDDN(2014)0007 - MIS-EN-LECTURE PUBLIQUE

NATO SECRET

3.

DECLASSIFIED - PUBLICLY DISCLOSED - PDN(2044)0007 - DÉCLASSIFIÉ - MIS EN LECTURE PUBLIQUE

PARTY ORTHODOXY. AT THE SAME TIME, JARUZELSKI HAS SKILLFULLY AVOIDED INSTITUTIONALIZING THE TOLERANCE HE IS COMPELLED TO SHOW AND HAS SOUGHT OPPOSITION COOPERATION STRICTLY ON HIS OWN TERMS.

MUCH OF THE LIBERALIZATION THAT HAS RECENTLY OCCURRED IN POLAND (THE 1986 POLITICAL AMNESTY, A MORE OPEN OFFICIAL PRESS, AND SELECTIVE APPROVAL OF INDEPENDENT CULTURAL ACTIVITY THROUGHOUT THE PAST YEAR) CAN BE INDIRECTLY TRIBUTED TO GORBACHEV'S POLICY OF OPENNESS. IT HAS NOT BEEN ENOUGH, HOWEVER, TO END THE PRESENT STALEMATE BETWEEN THE REGIME AND SOCIETY. THE ISSUE FOR POLISH AUTHORITIES (AND FOR GORBACHEV) IS HOW MUCH LIBERALIZATION THE REGIME CAN SANCTION AND STILL PRESERVE THE SYSTEM.

LINKING WITH THE ECONOMY. JARUZELSKI APPEARS TO BE AFRAID TOWARDS CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE WHICH GIVE THE CENTER MORE EFFICIENT INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL, RATHER THAN SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCING THAT CONTROL PER SE. THE STATED EMPHASIS OF POLISH ECONOMIC REFORM PROPOSALS IS ON STREAMLINING THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS, EXTENDING MORE RESPONSIBILITY TO ENTERPRISE MANAGERS, AND "RESTRUCTURING" OF PRICES.

THE RECENT ELIMINATION OF SOME POSITIONS IN THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, BUT THERE IS LITTLE MOVEMENT TOWARDS ACTUALLY EXTENDING

NATO SECRET

NATO SECRET

4.

ECONOMIC DECISIONMAKING AUTHORITY TO LOWER LEVELS OR  
ELIMINATING NOMENKLATURA POSITIONS. REGIME PLANS TO  
ACHIEVE "MARKET EQUILIBRIUM" BY RAISING PRICES AND REDUC-  
ING SUBSIDIES DO NOT ADDRESS A FUNDAMENTAL SYSTEMIC  
PROBLEM, THAT IS, HOW PRICES ARE SET IN THE FIRST PLACE.  
PUBLIC POISED FOR AUSTERITY. PUBLIC ATTENTION, MEANWHILE,  
IS RIVETED ON THE ANNUAL PRICE INCREASE EXERCISE AS POLFS  
GENERALLY BELIEVE THAT PRICE HIKES ARE ONCE AGAIN THE  
MAJOR THRUST OF ECONOMIC REFORM. IN THE ABSENCE OF  
TANGIBLE CHANGES THAT MIGHT IMPROVE THE SUPPLY OF CONSUMER  
GOODS SUCH AS AN EXPANSION OF PRIVATE SECTOR ACTIVITIES-  
GREATER AUSTERITY RISKS UNREST AND EVEN INSTABILITY.  
SIGNIFICANT WORKER UNREST OVER PRICE INCREASES WOULD END  
JARUZELSKI'S NORMALIZATION EFFORTS AND MIGHT OFFER  
CONSERVATIVES THROUGHOUT THE BLOC A PRETEXT TO SLOW  
GORBACHEVIAN CHANGE.  
THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION. JARUZELSKI HAS EFFUSIVELY  
SUPPORTED GORBACHEV'S FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY INITIA-  
TIVES, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECT THE REST  
OF THE PACT. FEAR WITHIN THE BLOC OF CONTAMINATION BY  
POLISH HERESIES ADDED TO WARSAW'S INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION  
FOLLOWING THE UPHEAVALS OF THE EARLY 1980'S. GORBACHEV-  
INSPIRED OPENNESS HAS RELIEVED PRESSURE ON JARUZELSKI FROM  
HARD-LINERS NOT ONLY AT HOME, BUT THROUGHOUT THE BLOC.

NATO SECRET

DECLASSIFIED - PUBLICLY DISCLOSED - PDDN(2014)0007 - MISSEN-LECTURE-PUBLIQUE

NATO SECRET

5.

WITH SOVIET BLESSINGS, POLAND HAS RECLAIMED A "LEADING  
ROLE" BEHIND MOSCOW IN THE WARSAW PACT AND HAS INCREASED  
ITS ACTIVITY ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. THE APPARENT  
TRADE-OFF FOR THIS HAS BEEN POLISH SUPPORT FOR SOVIET  
EFFORTS TO IMPROVE BILATERAL INTEGRATION WITHIN THE WARSAW  
PACT AND CEMA FRAMEWORK. ALTHOUGH THE POLES HAVE BEEN  
CAUTIOUS OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES THAT MIGHT INCREASE SOVIET  
CONTROL, THE LONG-TERM RISK IS OUTWEIGHED BY THE IMMEDIATE  
BENEFITS OF GORBACHEV'S SUPPORT.

NATO SECRET

DECLASSIFIED - PUBLICLY DISCLOSED - PDN(2014)0007 - DÉCLASSIFIÉ - MIS EN LECTURE PUBLIQUE