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CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

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N A T O C O N F I D E N T I A L

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POLAND: WALESA'S PRESIDENTIAL PLANS.

MAJOR POINTS

1. (C) SOLIDARITY CHAIRMAN WALESA HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED TO CHALLENGE PRESIDENT JARUZELSKI IN AN UNSCHEDULED ELECTION.
2. (C) WALESA'S PRESIDENCY WOULD GREATLY COMPLICATE THE POLITICAL PROCESS, BUT WALESA'S GOAL WOULD STILL BE TO OBTAIN SWEEPING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS ALONG THE LINES OF THOSE CHANGES SOUGHT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER MAZOWIECKI.
3. (C) IF WALESA WERE TO BECOME PRESIDENT, HE WOULD TRY TO ALTER WARSAW'S FOREIGN POLICY FUNDAMENTALLY BY DISTANCING POLAND'S STANCE EVEN FURTHER FROM THAT OF THE USSR AND BY PRESSING HIS EARLIER DEMANDS FOR A TOTAL SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWAL.

BACKGROUND

4. (C) WALESA APPEARED TO END WEEKS OF SPECULATION ON 10 APRIL BY STATING THAT HE WILL RUN FOR PRESIDENT. THE NEXT DAY, HE QUALIFIED HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENT, BUT HE STILL LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT HE WILL SEEK THE POST. GEN JARUZELSKI, FORMER FIRST SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS BEEN PRESIDENT SINCE THE POST WAS CREATED LAST YEAR.
5. (C) THE PRESIDENTIAL TERM IS 5 YEARS, AND THE OFFICEHOLDER CAN VETO LEGISLATION, DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT, AND CALL ELECTIONS. THE OFFICE WAS DESIGNED FOR JARUZELSKI, AND IT WAS ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO GIVE THE COMMUNISTS A COUNTERBALANCE TO A LIMITED SOLIDARITY PRESENCE IN THE LEGISLATURE. ANOTHER PURPOSE WAS TO ADDRESS PERCEIVED SOVIET CONCERNS THAT THE COMMUNISTS MAINTAIN OVERALL CONTROL OF POLAND, AN ARRANGEMENT THAT HAS BEEN OBIVIATED BY THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNIST LEADERSHIPS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.
6. (C) SINCE POLAND'S COMMUNIST-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT COLLAPSED AND GAVE WAY TO SOLIDARITY RULE, JARUZELSKI HAS BEEN LARGELY ISOLATED AND NEUTRALIZED. JARUZELSKI HAS TRIED TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM PARTISAN POLITICS SINCE THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY EARLIER THIS YEAR, AND HE HAS SHIED AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION WITH PARLIAMENT, THUS CEDING IT THE POLITICAL CENTER STAGE.

This document consists  
of 2 pages.

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## DISCUSSION

7. (C) IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, WALESA PERSISTS WITH HIS PLANS TO SUCCEED JARUZELSKI EVENTUALLY, HE IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO SUCCEED. WALESA HAS BOTH THE POLITICAL PULL TO FORCE AN EARLY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THE POPULAR SUPPORT TO DEFEAT ANY CONCEIVABLE RIVAL.

8. (C) A WALESA PRESIDENCY WOULD GREATLY COMPLICATE THE POLISH POLITICAL PROCESS, PRIMARILY BECAUSE WALESA WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY TAKE AN ACTIVIST APPROACH TO HIS JOB. HIS PRIMARY MOTIVATION FOR SEEKING THE POST PROBABLY RESULTS FROM HIS BELIEF THAT HE CAN USE THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENCY AND HIS KEEN SENSE OF THE PUBLIC MOOD TO PREVENT SERIOUS UNREST WHILE GENERALLY SUPPORTING THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC REFORM EFFORTS. WALESA MIGHT THEREFORE CHALLENGE THE GOVERNMENT TO OFFER A BETTER JUSTIFICATION OF THE MORE ONEROUS ASPECTS OF ITS AUSTERITY EFFORTS AND TO PRESS FOR CHANGES TO POLICIES THAT HE BELIEVES HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO STIR SERIOUS UNREST. IN ADDITION, WALESA WOULD USE THE POST TO ENSURE POLITICAL REFORMS BY, FOR EXAMPLE, PUSHING FOR THE OUSTER OF ENTRENCHED COMMUNIST BUREAUCRATS.

9. (C) WALESA WOULD ALSO TRY TO ALTER POLISH FOREIGN POLICY FUNDAMENTALLY BY FURTHER DISTANCING WARSAW'S POSITIONS FROM THOSE ESPOUSED BY MOSCOW. HE WOULD RESOLUTELY OPPOSE ARGUMENTS THAT POLAND MUST REMAIN CLOSE TO THE USSR. IN LINE WITH THESE BELIEFS, WALESA WOULD WORK TOWARD THE NEAR-TERM DISBANDMENT OF THE WARSAW PACT. HE WOULD ALSO WORK TO ACHIEVE HIS STATED DESIRE FOR A SPEEDY, TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM POLAND.

## OUTLOOK

10. (C) WALESA HAS NOT YET ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF WHEN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SHOULD TAKE PLACE. JARUZELSKI'S TERM IS NOT SCHEDULED TO END UNTIL 1994. THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO WOULD BE A SPECIAL ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT, AND POSSIBLY FOR A NEW PARLIAMENT AS WELL, IN EARLY FALL OR NEXT SPRING AT THE LATEST. THE TIMING OF SUCH AN ELECTION COULD ALSO BE AFFECTED BY JARUZELSKI, WHO BY SOME ACCOUNTS IS DEMORALIZED AND MAY SOON RESIGN. THE 19 TO 24 APRIL SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SHOULD PROVIDE SOME INDICATION OF WALESA'S PLANS.

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