

RELEASE IN PART B6

Department of State

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----- SECTION 01 OF 07 WARSAW 18252

DISSENT CHANNEL

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TAGS:

SUBJECT: DISSENT CHANNEL MESSAGE: POLAND: CARROTS AND STICKS ARE NEEDED

REFS: (A) WARSAW 18252; (B) POZHAN 488; (C) KRANOV 1851; (D) STATE 313413

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS A DISSENT CHANNEL VIEWPOINT OF [REDACTED] THE DRAFTER DOES NOT WISH TO RESTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF THIS MESSAGE.

3. U.S. POLICY TOWARD POLAND HAS WORKED ADMIRABLY SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF MARIAL LAW. OUR POLICY HAS REGISTERED AMERICAN MORAL OUTRAGE AT THE DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND, AND THE SANCTIONS HAVE TREMENDOUS MORAL FORCE -- THEY TELL THE WORLD THAT WE CONDEMN THE POLICIES OF THE JARUZELSKI REGIME.

4. NOW HOWEVER, U.S. POLICY NEEDS TO BE MODIFIED SO THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE U.S. OBJECTIVES. TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, THE U.S. SHOULD TRY:  
-- TO SPILT POLAND FROM THE SOVIET UNION;  
-- TO STRENGTHEN THOSE GROUPS IN POLAND WHO SEEK TO LINK POLAND CLOSER TO THE WEST;  
-- TO ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND;  
-- TO DISTRACT OR PREOCCUPY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO REDUCE THEIR ADVENTURISM ELSEWHERE.  
IN SHORT THE U.S. SHOULD BE WEAKENING, UNDERMINING AND SUBVERTING THE GOP VIA MAXIMUM CONTACT WITH THE WEST RATHER THAN ISOLATING AND STRENGTHENING IT. SUCH A POLICY REQUIRES MODIFYING THE SANCTIONS AS WELL AS PRECISE, FOCUSED RETALIATION FOR GOP HARASSMENT.

5. THE PRESENT U.S. POLICY PRODUCES THE OPPOSITE. OUR POLICY  
-- IS DRIVING THE POLES CLOSER TO THE SOVIETS;  
-- IS ENCOURAGING GOP POSITIONS THAT PLEASE THE SOVIETS, ALLOWING THEM TO FOCUS EFFORTS ELSEWHERE  
-- IS DISCOURAGING THOSE WITHIN THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WHO WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE, IF NOT END, U.S. - POLISH TENSIONS;  
AND  
-- HAS HAD ONLY MARGINAL INFLUENCE ON THE TREATMENT OF POLISH CITIZENS BY THEIR GOVERNMENT  
IN SHORT, THE PRESENT U.S. POLICY IS NOT WORKING

6. UNALTERED SANCTIONS HAVE DECLINED UTILITY. THE SITUATION IN POLAND HAS CHANGED DURING THE LAST YEAR, AND INSISTING TO THE CONTRARY IGNORES REALITY. DAILY LIFE IS NOW SOMEWHAT BETTER AND FREER FOR MANY POLES THAN IT WAS DURING MARIAL LAW. PROMISING TO CHANGE POLICY IF THE GOP ALTERS ITS STANCE, BUT THEN FAILING TO DO SO IN THE FACE OF CHANGES LOWERS THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR FUTURE PROMISES AND LESSENS OUR ABILITY TO BARGAIN WITH THE GOP DOWN THE ROAD. IN LATE SPRING THE USG DECIDED UPON A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH VIS-A-VIS POLAND. THE TWO PUBLICLY

KNOWN PRECONDITIONS FOR THE WESTERN SIDE WERE A SUCCESSFUL AND PEACEFUL GOP VISIT, PLUS THE RELEASE OF THE WEST MAJORITY OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. BOTH OF THESE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN MET. THE USG SHOULD HAVE RESPONDED BY LIFTING MORE THAN ONE OR MORE OF THE SANCTIONS. THE RECENT U.S. DECISION NOT TO DO SO IN EFFECT RENEGED, IMPOSED NEW CONDITIONS (DEFINITIVE GOP ACTION TO RESTORE THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE) AND ANNOUNCED A SANCTION (BLOCKING POLAND'S ENTRY INTO THE IMF) WHICH PREVIOUSLY HAD NOT BEEN PUBLICLY STATED.

7. IT CAN, OF COURSE, BE ARGUED THAT TOO LITTLE HAS CHANGED IN POLAND SINCE DECEMBER 13, 1981. POLISH GOVERNMENT REPRESSION CONTINUES, AND SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS REMAIN. POLAND IS, AFTER ALL, A COMMUNIST REGIME. HOWEVER, EVEN WITH THE MOST INTENSE WESTERN PRESSURE, THE U.S. CANNOT EXPECT THAT THE GOP WILL EVER BECOME A POPULAR, EVEN SEMI-DEMOCRATIC REGIME. THERE WILL CONTINUE TO BE DEMONSTRATIONS ON SIGNIFICANT ANNIVERSARIES. EVEN IF THERE ARE NO MAJOR DISTURBANCES IN THE FUTURE, IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE GOP HAS WON POPULAR SUPPORT, ONLY THAT THE REGIME HAS CRUSHED THE OPPOSITION. WALESA AND HIS COLLEAGUES CONTINUE TO BE HARASSED. HOWEVER, HE IS FREE TO MEET THE WESTERN PRESS, TALK WITH VISITING SENATORS, AND HE DOES HAVE THE CHANCE TO GET HIS VIEWS ACROSS TO POLAND AND THE WORLD. DUBCEK WOULD WELCOME EVEN A FRACTION OF WALESA'S FREEDOM AND MEDIA ACCESS. IN OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WALESA WOULD BE A STATISTIC IN A LABOR CAMP. IF NOT IN A CEMETERY. WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT ALTHOUGH RIGHTS CONDITIONS ARE STILL BETTER THAN IN PRE-AUGUST 1980.

8. UNCHANGED SANCTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO DRIVE THE POLES CLOSER TO MOSCOW AND WILL DO LITTLE TO CHANGE POLICY IN WARSAW. FURTHER REDUCING PERSONAL AND ECONOMIC CONTACTS WITH THE WEST ONLY PROMOTES GREATER RUSSIFICATION OF

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TELEGRAM

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SECTION 03 OF 02 WARSZAW 10656

DISSEMI CHANNEL

POLAND. MODIFYING THE SANCTIONS IS NOT MERELY A REWARD TO THE GOP FOR IMPROVED BEHAVIOR; RATHER, IT DEMONSTRATES THAT THE US RECOGNIZES ACTION AND RESPONSE; ONLY BY SUCH DEMONSTRATION CAN THERE BE ANY HOPE THAT OTHER, CONTINUED SANCTIONS, WILL INDUCE DESIRED POLISH RESPONSES.

9. GOP LEADERS CAN LOGICALLY CONCLUDE THAT GIVEN CURRENT US POLICY, NOTHING WITHIN THEIR CONCEPTION OF THE POSSIBLE CAN BE DONE TO ALTER THE US STANCE. THEY ARE NOT ABOUT TO DO ANYTHING WHICH WILL LET THE SPECTER OF "SOLTARNOST" RISE AGAIN. DANGLING POTENTIAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BENEFITS BEFORE THE GOP TO PERSUADE IT TO SEEK ACCOMMODATION WILL NOT CONVINCHE THE GOP TO RISK A REPEAT OF AUGUST 1956. THAT ARGUMENT FAILED TO PERSUADE THE GOP IN THE SPRING OF 1955, AND IT WILL CARRY NO WEIGHT NOW, ESPECIALLY SINCE BILATERAL RELATIONS HAVE BEEN IMPROVED AS FAR AS WE CAN GET. WE CANNOT ASSUME THAT THE GOP IS SECRETLY YEARNING FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE US. ON THE CONTRARY, THOSE ELEMENTS THAT MIGHT ARGUE THAT ECONOMIC NEEDS REQUIRE POLISH CONCESSIONS HAVE LITTLE OR NO SAY IN THIS REGIME. NO MATTER HOW BLEAK THE ECONOMIC REALITY, THE GOP WILL NOT UNDERTAKE REGIME-THREATENING RISKS IN THE FORM OF REDUCED INTERNAL POLITICAL CONTROLS, AS DEMANDED BY THE US. MOREOVER, THE GOP BELIEVES THAT IT CAN HAVE ITS CAKE AND EAT IT TOO. IT CAN PURSUE A FIERCE ANTI-US POLICY AND SIMULTANEOUSLY NEGOTIATE RESCHEDULING OF DEBTS WITH COMMERCIAL BANKS. IN SHORT, CURRENT US POLICY OFFERS NO REALISTIC INCENTIVES, NO CARROTS TO PERSUADE THE GOP TO ALTER ITS DOMESTIC POLICY OR TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE US.

10. PUNISHING POLAND AS A SURROGATE TARGET FOR THE SOVIETS DOES PUBLICIZE OUR CONTINUED HOSTILITY TO THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT IN WARSZAW, BUT IT ALSO CONFUSES WESTERN PUBLICS, AND MAKES OUR OVERALL POLICY TOWARD WEST EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION APPEAR CONTRADICTIONARY, WITHOUT PRODUCING CONCOMITANT PLUSES IN OUR STRUGGLE WITH THE USSR. POLAND IS THE "SOFT UNDERBELLY" OF THE BLOC; A DIFFERENTIATED POLICY TOWARD POLAND IS ONE OF THE FEW AND SEVERAL MEANS THE WEST HAS OF NURTURING INTERNAL CHANGES TO UNDERMINE AND WEAKEN THE SOVIET GRIP. IT MAKES LITTLE SENSE TO ROUGHEN THAT RIDE TO MAKE POLAND AND THE SOVIET BLOC MORE IMPERMEABLE TO CORROSIVE WESTERN INFLUENCE. IN SUM, THE US SHOULD AT THIS TIME CONSIDER MODIFYING OR REMOVING SANCTIONS IN ORDER TO WEAKEN AND UNDERMINE THE GOP VIA MAXIMUM CONTACT, FOR EXAMPLE, RATHER THAN PREVENTING THE MEMBERSHIP. THE USMIGHT EXPRESS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A GOP APPLICATION, HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO EVALUATE THE APPLICATION, THE US AND OTHER WESTERN STATES WILL HAVE TO SEND NUMEROUS EXPERTS TO ALL PARTS OF POLAND REPEATEDLY TO CONDUCT IN-DEPTH DISCUSSIONS WITH POLES IN ORDER TO OBTAIN AN ACCURATE PICTURE OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. EVEN AFTER MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN APPROVED, NUMEROUS FOLLOW-UP VISITS WILL HAVE TO BE CONDUCTED IN ORDER TO VERIFY POLISH ONGOING DEVELOPMENTS.

11. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE RECENT GOP MEASURES

AGAINST THE CONSULATES (PAGES 2 AND 3) PROBABLY A TOTAL BALLOON. US FAILURE TO RETALIATE WILL INSULFATE THE GOP TO TAKE FURTHER MEASURES. ACCEPTING THE GOP HARASSMENT AS A JUSTIFIED RESPONSE TO OUR SANCTIONS AND RADIO BROADCAST AND THEREFORE NOT REACTING FAILS TO RECOGNIZE THE "BULLY" NATURE OF A COMMUNIST REINE. A CRITICAL TIME WILL BE JANUARY 1, WHEN ALL LOCAL EMPLOYEE'S WORK PERMITS EXPIRE. WE CANNOT AUTOMATICALLY ASSUME THAT THIS YEAR THE GOP WILL REIGN BACK DOWN IN THE FACE OF THREATENED US COUNTERMEASURES. THE US SHOULD EXAMINE SOME APPROPRIATE COUNTERMEASURES AND BEGIN IMPLEMENTING THEM NOW. PERHAPS THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS CAN SUGGEST SOME PARALLEL HARASSMENT THAT WILL NOT REVERSE TO OUR DISADVANTAGE. AT THE SAME TIME THE US SHOULD CLEARLY EXPLAIN TO THE GOP THAT THE STEPS BEING TAKEN ARE IN RETALIATION FOR THE GOP'S ACTIONS AGAINST THE CONSULATES AND HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE LARGER, MORE IMPORTANT, ISSUE OF SANCTIONS AND BILATERAL RELATIONS.

12. IN SUM, EASING ON THE SANCTIONS AND RESPONDING FIRMLY TO GOP HARASSMENT MIGHT APPEAR CONTRADICTIONARY AT FIRST GLANCE. IN FACT, SUCH A FINE-TUNED POLICY OF CARROTS AND STICKS WILL DO MORE TO PROMOTE US OBJECTIVES AND MAKE THE GOP MORE AMENABLE TO FUTURE AMERICAN ACTIONS THAN THE CURRENT US POLICY. HOWEVER, BALANCE IS IMPORTANT. ONLY EASING SANCTIONS SIGNALS WEARINESS, WHILE ONLY RETALIATING FOR THE GOP HARASSMENT IMPLIES A DESIRE TO LET RELATIONS DETERIORATE EVEN FURTHER. DAVIS

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