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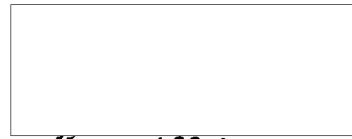
25 June 1986

**TO:** Mr. Thomas K. Latimer, Staff Director  
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Tom:

Per our conversation on the 1983  
New York Times article.

Hope you find it useful.



House Affairs  
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Enclosures

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NEW YORK TIMES  
DEC 6 1983 P.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1983

## Warsaw Arrests 2 as U.S. Spies; Walesa Wants Sanctions Ended

STAT

WARSAW, Dec. 5 (Reuters) — The Polish authorities today disclosed the arrest of two men who were said to be spies for the United States, and they accused the Warsaw embassies of some North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries of conducting intelligence activities and subversion in Poland.

In a speech before Parliament, the Interior Minister, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, identified the two men as Jacek Jurzak, a Polish scientist in Bielsko-Biala near the Czechoslovak border, and Norbert Adamachek, a West German visiting Poland on business.

General Kiszczak said the activities of the two, who were arrested last month, were "dangerous and extremely harmful" and involved gathering military, defense and political information for the United States. The two will be tried for espionage and risk the death penalty if convicted.

Their capture followed the arrest in August at Bytom in southern Poland of a woman, also said to be working for the United States, who was caught handing instructions and money to a Soviet citizen.

General Kiszczak also accused Western intelligence of stepping up efforts to recruit Poles in Poland and abroad as part of a campaign to disrupt relations between the Communist authorities and the Roman Catholic Church and to foment civil unrest by sabotaging the economy.

### Walesa Worried About Economy

At a news conference in Gdansk, meanwhile, Lech Walesa, the head of the banned Solidarity trade union, urged Western countries to lift economic sanctions that the Polish leaders have said are crippling the economy.

Mr. Walesa said the sanctions, imposed after the Polish Government declared martial law in 1981, had been a propaganda success but could now cause the country serious economic damage.

"Sanctions should be ended," he said, "because what Poland needs at the moment is not losses of millions of dollars but aid of billions of dollars."

Mr. Walesa, this year's Nobel Peace Prize laureate, said he was eager to negotiate with the Prime Minister, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, adding, "I expect talks will take place."

He said if the Government could convince him that Solidarity's challenge to Communist rule, which prompted martial law, was wrong he would admit it and apologize.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

# Solidarity Does Not Exist?

Unreported statements by a Treasury official that Poland is beyond American help and that Lech Walesa's Solidarity movement "does not exist" are infuriating Polish American leaders.

Harvey Shapiro, the respected deputy director of the Office of East-West Economic Policy, pulled no punches in describing Poland as a basket case nearly beyond economic redemption. He shocked the International Human Rights Committee of the American Bar Association, which sponsored his March 17 talk, by saying that although martial law "has been lifted in form, it has been essentially retained in substance."

When he followed that up by saying that "Solidarity does not exist," Jan Nowak, the knowledgeable former Radio Free Europe official, jumped to his feet. "It does!" he proclaimed.

That rebuke exposes the chasm between a dynamic policy aimed at encouraging change in the client state Moscow knows is its most vulnerable point and a quiescent policy expected of Treasury's numbers-crunchers.

With the disclaimer that his views were not necessarily those of the Treasury or the administration, Shapiro seemed to rule out any U.S. aid or easing of sanctions for Poland's ravaged economy. He did not mention President Reagan's pledge, made on three separate occasions, that if the military-communist regime of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski eased up on human rights, the United States would reciprocate, starting by easing sanctions.

But Shapiro told the lawyers that "it would be very difficult to justify" aid with commodity credit loans, with Export-Import Bank loans, with farm surplus loans, or with the Treasury's Economic Stabilization Fund. With those methods out, only a congressional aid package, unlikely in the era of Gramm-Rudman, would be left.

Shapiro insisted U.S. aid would "simply aggravate" Poland's economic mess unless "underlying structural changes" were made. Yet with Secretary of State George Shultz's strong backing, the United States is trying to arrange a multibillion-dollar loan package to Mexico with no real prospect of "structural changes" in Mexico's economy.

Poland is not Mexico. But to leaders of the Polish American community, Mexico makes the case that politi-

cal considerations can outweigh economic factors in terms of America's own interest. Moreover, what happens in Poland, the fulcrum of Moscow's Eastern European empire, could be as important in terms of East-West relations as the future of Mexico is to the United States.

That was the original case made by President Eisenhower in 1956. After the first major anti-Soviet upheaval swept Poland, Eisenhower launched the carrot-and-stick policy to edge Poland into a closer relationship with the West. Every president since then has pushed the same strategy, but probably none so motivated by anticommunist convictions as Ronald Reagan.

There has been no public response from the State Department or the White House to Shapiro's talk. He ignored post-martial-law changes such as record numbers of churches being built, the visit to Poland by the pope, the fact that Solidarity founder Lech Walesa holds regular press conferences and has never been brought to trial. None of these is conclusive. Together they suggest subtle U.S. responses are needed, but not of the type suggested without rebuttal by Shapiro.

As for Solidarity's "death," one underground Solidarity newspaper has a circulation of 20,000, is financed by thousands of small contributions from Solidarity underground members and gives its readers a bi-weekly summary of world news. Another, with a circulation between 28,000 and 40,000, reports details of political and economic life inside Poland.

If Solidarity is dead, Polish American leaders ask, how is it able to publish whatever it wants underground? And despite several amnesties, they privately ask Shultz whether Poland should get some credit arrangements of the kind granted Moscow, where sanctions for the Afghanistan invasion and Poland's martial law have ended.

To the Soviets, such reluctance to loosen American purse strings may be a political bonus. To Jaruzelski, it is a sweet propaganda excuse for economic deterioration. To Treasury money-men, it is business as usual. But to Polish Americans, it is a symptom that the administration's policy is in a rut when it should be bobbing and weaving, looking for subtle openings to exploit.

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muscular target. Canada and, in a strictly will probably work Britain of old, we are barely worth pi walls of country chu

A team of CIA sh is crazy. And so, app worse than that, h criminally insane. Hi cunning evil. Instead evidenced in the blo of international a botched attempts to ing countries. Ruler holds a press confer tor seat and then, li throws his John De furrows his way into the tractor and its d oil change.

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Qaddafi drew a li

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is not yield easily to ie very election that ance of forces. Had impaign to create a is now advocating, tible in Congress.

y way to a landslide, e to go its own way hreatens a personal ident, whose power

984 victory lack the he embedded in his ked the coattails that before. In 1980 Rea- d campaign carried n in the House and a . In 1984, though his the Republicans lost d came up 10 seats be House.

vy political editor of is observed, Reagan e in the House back 10 more Republicans lected with Reagan, t in the House on aid would have been

increases the conse- l choice of tactics in overn without a man- uously without cour- ing him effectively. rerun the last cam- dge the reality of his seek accommodations s needed to achieve urtherright defeats that ing season.

oretz

# gning End of a 'Truly Godly Life'

se world died this at home, in his own fe and children. He e allotted Biblical . He died full of of many. Neverthe- y. He died hard. it good night / Rage, e light," wrote Dylan d to his father. Like as a Welshman, and ly but full of rage. I it with my own eyes, xurs who quoted ribing for me how

nent death with a ferocious determination to live and live and live until the moment he died.

With every passing day he grew weaker and weaker, but day after day he forced himself to do things that no one around him could believe he had the strength to do. He was in unendurable pain, but he would take only enough medication to dull its edge because more than that insulated him from the only life he had left to live.

In deciding to die in this way, my friend never, I think, doubted that he was making the right choice. And yet the last time I saw him, about three months ago, I could see that he was in spiritual torment over his inability to resign himself, to make his peace with death.

That much underrated philosopher, George Santayana, once said: "There is no God and Mary is His mother." My friend would never have said flatly: "There is no God"—he would

tain the literal faith of his fathers, still he never lost his belief in the spiritual truth of Christianity. Specifically, he never lost his belief in the idea that the reason we are here on Earth is to serve God and to praise Him.

Serving God as my friend came to understand it translated into devoting oneself to the service of something greater than self—in his own case it was a great national institution, but almost anything large would do—and praising God translated into praising life.

Although hymns and hosannas were certainly necessary to glorify what deserved to be glorified, one was not mainly supposed to praise life by verbal affirmation. Mainly one praised it through a readiness to enjoy what there was to be enjoyed, to relish what there was to be savored, and most especially to accept every invitation to a good laugh that the world had to offer

men. His own laugh was so loud and b that—I do not exaggerate—it became from one end of England to the other. exaggerate when I say that his entry invariably made everyone in it smile, i ticipation of the laughter he was sure

That such a man—a man so alive ing of him dead seems a contradictio —should rage against death is not s But why should such a man torment over dying in a state of rage?

He hinted at the answer in telling r day, when his physical pain was at its bearable, he turned in a desperate sea- help to a cantata about dying by Joha. Bach, *Ich habe genug*—"I have had e And he asked himself: "If Bach can s can't I?" He meant that if Bach, in hi haps the greatest of all men, was per yearn for death as an escape from th life, why should he

turn into unconditional balance-of-payments financing and, in effect, a subsidy to cover up problems caused by a borrower's poor economic policies. On the other hand, individual project loans can be rendered useless or even counterproductive if overall economic policies are undermining the project.

A new irrigation system may bring water to farmers. But if prices for crops are fixed below the market, out of deference to politically powerful city dwellers, the project will not live up to its expectations; furthermore, if farmers are not charged for the cost of maintaining the canals, the waterways will rapidly deteriorate and silt up, a notorious problem in certain Indonesian projects. Sometimes political goals are more important than money. Stop thinking in

greater consequences. Using economic policies bearing on agricultural prices, interest rates and government monopolies. Thus was born the structural adjustment loan.

The record of such lending is mixed. In some cases, such as Turkey, substantial inflows from the World Bank and other lenders, conditioned upon the adoption of broad policy changes, have helped—but only because the government in power basically agreed with the premises and likely outcome of the policy prescriptions. In other cases, such as Bolivia and Jamaica, the bank misjudged the commitment of the government; funds were disbursed and relatively little of substance has happened, other than an increase in the country's debt to the bank.

broad policy matters has brought it into greater contact with the IMF. With substantially different boards of executive directors, frequently representing different ministries in their governments, and staff-mixed, staffs, the issue of bank-IMF collaboration is increasingly discussed, and the likely merits of a merger have also been considered.

In short, it may be even more important for the bank's new president to chart a strategy for its lending operations before undertaking the familiar ride, hat in hand, up Pennsylvania Avenue to Capitol Hill.

The writer, a senior vice president at Mellon Bank, served as U.S. executive director of the World Bank, 1982-85.

R. T. Davies

4/8/80 WP

# Credits for Poland Make No Sense

It is astounding to find Rowland Evans and Robert Novak arguing in favor of rewarding Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski for his policy of repression, which began and today continues with the futile effort to eliminate Solidarity from Polish political life. ["Solidarity Does Not Exist" op-ed, March 26].

Solidarity certainly does exist. But so long as Jaruzelski refuses to give it or other elements of the opposition movement any role in planning the future of the country, including the use to be made of Western assistance, it defies logic to cite its existence in support of the argument that he should be given such aid. Because Solidarity and its leaders will not acquiesce in their exclusion from public life, Jaruzelski continues to put them on "trial," as he did last June with Bogdan Lis, Adam Michnik and Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk, and to have them arrested, as he more recently has Czeslaw Bielecki, Bogdan Borusewicz and Tadeusz Jedynek, as well as the founders of the unofficial peace movement, Jacek Czaputowicz and Piotr Niemczyk, and many more.

In December 1984, the U.S. government made a significant concession to Jaruzelski. It announced the withdrawal of its veto on Poland's application to the International Monetary Fund. Initially, the withdrawal of the veto was predicated upon the amnesty announced at the end of July 1984, following which about 650 political prisoners were freed. But Lis and Piotr Mierzejewski were not among them. When, in December, Jaruzelski finally let them go, the United States announced the lifting of its veto. Whereupon, having trapped Lis in a secret-police provocation, the communist authorities in February 1985 rearrested him, Michnik and Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk, and "tried" and sentenced them in a farcical process.

Since then, many of the other prisoners arrested in 1984 have been rearrested. At the March 17 meeting sponsored by the American Bar Association's International Human Rights Committee, to which Evans and Novak refer, a State Department official said that Jaruzelski had cheated on fulfillment of the quid pro quo for IMF membership. But the U.S. government has not reexamined its policy.

The circulation figures of the underground press, cited by Evans and Novak, the number of churches being

## Taking Exception

built, Pope John Paul II's 1983 visit to Poland and the fact that, after trying with the idea of putting Walesa on trial, the communist regime at the last moment very sensibly thought better of it, are hardly virtues of Jaruzelski's rule. They are legacies of the "peaceful revolution" of 1980-81, which the Warsaw regime has been unable to eradicate, or tactical moves as the communist leadership seeks support of "normalization" in a society where it is isolated from every politically and economically significant group. So far, however, Jaruzelski has also cheated the church on the agreement-in-principle reached during John Paul's 1983 visit, in accordance with which a church foundation, financed with Western funds, was to be set up to help Poland's private farmers.

In the light of this record, concern that the regime will cheat the donors of new Western aid and the grantors of new credits seems fully warranted. That is why, in expressing his support for aid to Poland, Walesa has said that the West must be sure such new assistance reaches the people and is not used, as

was so much of the \$25 billion in credits extended in the 1970s, simply to keep the communists in power. That is why underground Solidarity in February 1985 issued a statement asking that the IMF insist upon Jaruzelski's meeting certain minimal conditions before being readmitted to membership.

When they met last October in Washington, American, Canadian and West European bankers and academic researchers specializing in the study of Poland's indebtedness concluded that Poland could not receive treatment as favorable as that accorded Brazil or Mexico because, in the words of the conference's organizer, Paul Marer, a professor at Indiana University, that country's communist leaders "have been talking about economic reform for 30 years," but have still not made the necessary reforms.

The answer is not to give more credits to the communists in Moscow or, as Evans and Novak so surprisingly recommend, in Warsaw. Rather, before further credits are extended to the Soviet Union, we should insist that the Gorbachev leadership stop the genocide in Afghanistan, release Andrei Sakharov and the thousands of other political prisoners now in prison, camp and exile, and lift its veto on reform in Poland. In Warsaw, Jaruzelski should release the political prisoners, finally permit the church to start its fund to help private farmers, begin that dialogue for which Lech Walesa has not ceased to call, and undertake the reforms about which his government, like every other Polish government since 1956, has talked so much while doing so little. Until these things happen, new Western aid and credits for Poland would make no sense.

The writer, ambassador to Warsaw from 1973 to 1978, is chairman of the board of the Solidarity Endowment.

# Oil Pair

At last, the truly n hungry, about whom is the domestic oil inc the name of national the old Sophie Tpacke you're gonna miss me

It is a Washington cites national securit let. National security man cries about the c trict or the loss of a coincidence!—happe same sort of coince Gov. Mark White an take the long view w pay a little bit more when you need it. N

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In the meantime, security of some th

## Rowland E And Rober

## ... Oil

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# NRA

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transport of firearms  
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in the House bill that  
tribution of weapons  
criminals, and 2) to  
fires gun dealers to  
des, thus preserving  
race firearms used in  
ke senators. On the  
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enforcement family—  
s everywhere—must  
hese reasonable pro-

Rambo, but you do not speak for  
Britain.

PAMELA C WILKIE  
Washington

Mr. Aitman tries to give the im-  
pression that the vast majority of  
Britons support President Reagan's  
attack on Libya. This is quite untrue.



4/28/84

Jan Nowak ["Credit for Poland  
Does Make Sense," op-ed, April 17],  
while bringing many valid arguments  
for lifting economic sanctions against  
Poland, used one argument com-  
pletely out of line: "... further de-  
terioration of living conditions could  
lead to an uncontrolled popular  
explosion, which Jaruzelski might not  
be able to suppress without Soviet  
help. The political repercussion of a  
blood bath in the heart of Europe  
would not be confined to Polish  
borders.

Mr. Nowak should know that for  
some people such a blood bath would  
look so bad. As a matter of fact,  
if an expert such as Mr. Nowak  
is accepting such a possibility, quite  
a few "patriots" will say, Right

*Letters should be signed and  
must include the writer's home  
address and home and business  
telephone numbers. Letters of  
this kind should be published  
and subject to abridgment. Al-  
though we are unable to pub-  
lish them, we appreciate the in-  
terest and valuable views of  
those who take the time to send  
us their comments. Letters in-  
tended for publication should be  
addressed to Liberty in the Editor.*

opposed President Reagan's invasion  
of Grenada and oppose U.S. support  
for the contras.

I regret, Mr. Aikman, that for the  
British as for most of the world Presi-  
dent Reagan remains nothing more  
than a bandit.

JOHN ALVEY  
Annandale

## Credit for Poland

Oh! Let's starve Poland a little longer!

It is obvious that this argument of  
Mr. Nowak is wrong. The message  
that Polish people received during  
Solidarity times is clear: the Soviets  
will go to war in order to prevent the  
emergence of free Poland; the West  
will not send troops to help fight such  
an invasion; and the West will not  
even impose any meaningful eco-  
nomic sanctions against the Soviet  
Union.

The main thrust of Mr. Nowak's  
article calling for credits for Poland is  
absolutely incorrect. It is wrong. The  
views of Mr. Walese, Cardinal Jozef  
Glomp, Pope John Paul II, all seg-  
ments of the Polish society and the  
vast majority of Polish exiles. We  
should also remember that the Polish  
people are probably the only ones in  
the world to whom we owe gratitude  
and not vice versa. Recently, they  
have been repeatedly called "the  
most pro-American people of any  
country—standing in the United  
States."

Any notion that Gen. Jaruzelski has  
power to make significant conces-  
sions to the dissident group is similar  
to the famous blunder of President  
Ford when he stated that Poland is a  
free nation. Quoting Mr. Nowak:  
"Open opposition—without, of  
course, any legal sanction—does  
exist in today's Poland," and, "The

If indeed the party intends to jetti-  
son its liberals, and if the party  
doesn't stand up for the so-called  
"constituencies of discontent," then  
the Democrats can't, won't and  
don't deserve to win anything in  
1988.

H. K. CAMPBELL  
Alexandria



STATSTAT

Polish people enjoy greater freedom  
of expression than in any other com-  
munist country."

Therefore, continuing economic  
sanctions against Poland is like beat-  
ing a dog on a chain in anger. The  
only purpose is to inflict pain.

ZBIGNIEW PIATER  
Baltimore

## The Washington Post

WALTER DILL SCHEIDT, 1878-1959  
PHILIP L. GRAHAM, 1915-1963  
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through in the book. His colleague—who no longer trusted him—became “hangmen” at worst and “fiscal and economic advisers” at best. He assails James A. Baker III, then chief of staff at the White House, as not “very versed on matters of policy, nor intensely interested in them.” Baker, along with other top aides, “never read anything. They lived off the [TV] tube.” Donal Reagan is a yes man, toadying to Reagan. Caspar Weinberger, Alexander Haig, and Rep. Jack Kemp all take their lumps.

Stockman descends into such petty and vindictive stuff as a reference to House Speaker Tip O’Neill’s “massive corpulence and scarlet, varicose nose” and to House Majority Leader James Wright as “a snake-oil vendor par excellence, a demagogue of frightening rhetorical powers.”

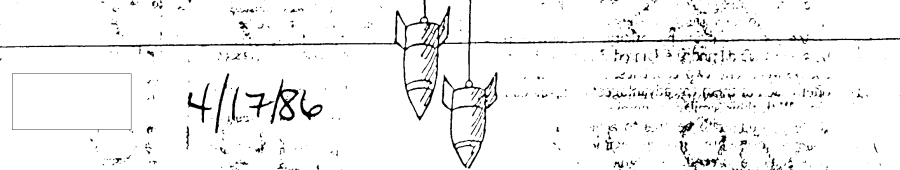
Yet, the self-portrait reveals Stockman had no real rivals in dispensing snake oil. “I soon became a veritable incubator of shortcuts, schemes and devices to overcome the truth now upon us—that the budget gap couldn’t be closed except by a dictator,” Stockman writes. “The more I flopped and staggered around, however, the more they went along. I could have been wearing a sandwich board sign saying: Stop me! I’m dangerous! Even then they might not have done so.”

At another point in the narrative: “Only later would I appreciate the vast web of confusion and self-delusion I was creating. I instilled so much confidence by appearing to know all the answers, but I was just beginning to understand the true complexities of the federal budget.”

One has to ask, after the Greider article and now the Stockman book, how any part of Stockman’s colleagues can deal with him in confidence in the future. In an *Newsweek* excerpt, he says that in the Wall Street game, “You can cover up errors for [only] about five minutes.”

He may have already made one that he can’t cover up. Wall Street investors no less than Washington politicians may feel vulnerable dealing with a man, who—in former Economic Council Chairman Murray L. Weidenbaum’s phrase—is prone to publish “back-and-forth” memos.

the cost of inter Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2011/04/20 : CIA-RDP90B01390R000400510012-7  
and that reaffirming the 1971 treaty in the face of violations would send a clear signal that



ditions predictably would result in the early American revolution in the General Assembly. Two hundred years ago, our fledgling republic was being terrorized by Barbary pirates. From Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis they preyed upon shipping in the Mediterranean. Thomas Jefferson was caught in the clutches of the Barbary pirates. We are not impotent now, and our

Jan Nowak

## Credit for Poland Does Make Sense

It sounds paradoxical when R. T. Davies claims that “credit to Poland makes no sense” [op-ed, April 9] while the Polish pope, the Polish Episcopate and Lech Walesa have called for the lifting of remaining economic sanctions, particularly those on access to still available sources of credit. Is the leader of Solidarity “defying logic,” as Davies suggests, or is Walesa trying to help his cause?

Poland is not an independent state. The legal structure of Solidarity was smashed under the direct threat of a Soviet invasion. The chance of a compromise that could have restored a dialogue with Solidarity was lost when the West European nations refused to join the United States in any meaningful economic pressure on the Soviet Union. Even symbolic sanctions against Moscow, introduced after the invasion of Afghanistan and the crackdown on Solidarity, were quietly lifted.

This year, four leading American banks lent the Soviet Union \$400 million at unusually low interest rates to buy American and Canadian grain. In 1984 alone, East Germany received \$2.5 billion in Western credits. Last year, even Bulgaria received \$125 million from Western banks. Rumania, which has the most repressive regime in Eastern Europe, was admitted to membership of the IMF and enjoys most-favored-nation status in its trade with the United States.

Economic restrictions against Poland alone can be effective only within the narrow margin of freedom that Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski is either willing or compelled, to exploit. President Reagan made sanctions reversible and offered aid if the Polish

government would reach a modicum of reconciliation with its people. This policy of carrot and stick has not been totally unsuccessful.

In an effort to lift the economic blockade and regain respectability, Jaruzelski allowed the pope to visit Poland in 1983. Soon after, 2,000 political prisoners were released and martial law was lifted, at least on paper. Because other repressive measures were introduced at the same time and top leaders of Solidarity remained in jail, the response of the Reagan administration was limited to concessions of marginal impact. One year later, all 600 political prisoners—including 11 leaders—were released. (One of them, Jacek Kuron, went directly to the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw to express his appreciation. He and his colleagues recognized that they owed their freedom to American policy.) Washington responded by withdrawing its veto against Polish membership in the IMF.

Those who follow Polish affairs had little doubt that the Polish regime might rearrest or some of the Solidarity activists. This did happen in the case of Michnik, Lis, Frasnjuk, Moczulski and several others. With these few exceptions, however, most of the released prisoners remain free. Like Walesa, they daily walk a tight rope by engaging in above-ground activities in a twilight zone between a legal and illegal life. They are subject to considerable harassment, but the constant reminders of their presence in public life are met with a kind of angry tolerance by the regime. This means that open opposition—without, of course, any legal sanction—does exist in today’s Poland.

Lech Walesa faces a difficult dilemma. He is opposing the totalitarian government, but he wants to avoid anything that could hurt the Polish people more than it hurts their rulers. A continued freeze on Western credits (with the exception of loans granted to help repayment of old debts) will make Poland the pariah of Eastern Europe. The progressive impoverishment of its people is not conducive either to stronger

### Taking Exception

resistance or to greater independence from the Soviet Union. According to Walesa, the Polish regime should not be provided with an excuse for blaming its approaching economic disaster on sanctions and U.S. policy.

America has its own strategic stake in Poland. Developments there have largely destroyed the international communist movement. The French and Italian communist parties have attributed their precipitous decline to the suppression of Solidarity. The northern flank of the Warsaw Pact has been weakened. Popular resistance has continued to frustrate the Jaruzelski government’s efforts to bring Poland back to socialism, as demanded by Mikhail Gorbachev. The church remains strong and independent. Most of the agricultural land now belongs to private farmers. The Polish people enjoy greater freedom of expression than in any other communist country. Last year, between 5 million and 7 million Poles boycotted the Soviet-style general election.

Solidarity has survived as the bely massive underground organization in the Soviet orbit. It refrains from violence, but further deterioration of living conditions could lead to an uncontrolled popular explosion, which Jaruzelski might not be able to suppress without Soviet help. The political repercussions of a blood bath in the heart of Europe would not be confined to Polish borders.

Nobody, including Walesa, recognizes a repetition of the errors committed in the ‘70s when R. T. Davies was our ambassador in Warsaw and Western credits were pumped into an inefficient and overcentralized Communist economy with no strings attached. Jaruzelski cannot expect the lifting of remaining sanctions unless he can improve the political climate in the U.S. Congress, the Western media and public opinion by revealing the true owners of conscience still kept in his inhuman conditions. Nor can he expect aid unless he takes advantage of the fact that he is not hope to get credited from the IMF or the World Bank unless economic reforms make the system less wasteful.

Jaruzelski should, however, be in a position in which he has nothing to lose or to gain in his dealings with the West. Solidarity and the Polish people will be better served by a dialogue rather than by the present deadlock.

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