

January 27, 1982

Intelligence Information Cable, 'Soviet Pressure on Polish Leaders to Impose Martial Law'

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Summary:

Report details interactions between Polish and Soviet military officials, including angry phone calls between Gen. Jaruzelski and Brezhnev.

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DIST 27 JANUARY 1981

REPORT CLASS

COUNTRY POLAND/USSR

SUBJECT SOVIET PRESSURE ON POLISH LEADERS TO IMPOSE
MARTIAL LAW
(DOI: 1981)

SOURCE A FORMER POLISH GENERAL STAFF OFFICER WHO MADE THE
THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS BASED ON HIS PERSONAL OBSERVA-
TIONS, CONSIDERABLE PAST EXPERIENCE, AND CONTACTS. HE
HAS REPORTED RELIABLY IN THE PAST.

1. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS
PRIOR TO THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND ON 13 DECEMBER
1981, POLISH LEADER WOJCIECH {{JARUZELSKI}} WOULD OFTEN ATTEMPT
TO REBUT CALLS FOR DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST RAPIDLY SPREADING
COUNTERREVOLUTION. IN SUCH DISCUSSIONS, JARUZELSKI WOULD
USUALLY ARGUE THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO TAKE
"FIRM STEPS" AGAINST THE REGIME'S OPPONENTS BUT COULD NOT
IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW UNTIL A SOCIAL BASE COULD BE FOUND TO SUPPORT
SUCH ACTIONS. AT TIMES, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET PRESSURE FOR
ACTION WAS SO GREAT THAT JARUZELSKI WOULD EMERGE FROM DIS-
CUSSIONS RED-FACED AND EXHAUSTED. (SOURCE COMMENT: JARUZELSKI'S
AIDES WOULD OFTENTIMES REFER TO HIS "RED HOT" TELEPHONE CALLS--
INDICATING A JUST CONCLUDED CONVERSATION WITH EITHER SOVIET

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LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV OR DEFENSE MINISTER DMITRIY USTINOV. MOREOVER, THE FREQUENT VISITS OF WARSAW PACT COMMANDER VIKTOR {{KULIKOV}} TO JARUZELSKI'S OFFICE CAUSED HIS STAFFERS TO ACTUALLY LIE ABOUT HIS WHEREABOUTS IN ORDER THAT JARUZELSKI MIGHT EVADE MEETING WITH HIM.} THUS, IN THE SUMMER OF 1981, KULIKOV REMARKED TO POLISH GENERAL FLORIAN SIWICKI THAT JARUZELSKI WAS "THE MAIN IMPEDIMENT" TO MARTIAL LAW.

2. OTHER POLISH GENERALS WERE ALSO "PRESSURED" BY THE SOVIETS. SIWICKI, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS AT TIMES DESCRIBED AS TEMPORARILY "INCAPABLE OF WORK" AFTER TALKS WITH SOVIET MILITARY OFFICERS. {SOURCE COMMENT: SIWICKI WAS ALWAYS LOYAL TO AND SUPPORTIVE OF JARUZELSKI IN DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS.}

3. THE SOVIETS WENT SO FAR AS TO DRAW UP THEIR CONCEPT FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW, WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO POLISH LEADERS IN THE SUMMER OF 1981. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, THE DOCUMENT WAS SIGNED BY FORMER POLISH PARTY LEADER STANISLAW KANIA, JARUZELSKI, SIWICKI, AND ZBIGNIEW KISZCZAK, THE MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS. {SOURCE COMMENT: A COPY OF THE SIGNED DOCUMENT WAS TAKEN BY THE SOVIETS TO WARSAW PACT HEADQUARTERS IN LEGNICA AND THEN TO MOSCOW.}

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