

~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

#14



WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: FEB 12 2018

17 FEB 1981
In Reply Refer to:
I-05475/81

POLICY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Polish Crisis (C)

POLAND

The internal situation in Poland has relaxed considerably since the appointment of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Minister of Defense, as Prime Minister. All concerned recognize the seriousness of the situation and know that if the new government is unable to restore order, the Soviets will. As a result, an uneasy truce currently exists. To wit:

-- the union seems likely to approve Jaruzelski's call for a 90 day moratorium on strikes on the condition that the government continues to negotiate and does not arrest union activities.

-- the farmers began talks with the government and dropped their demand for a union until after a new labor law is passed.

-- negotiations between striking students and the government continue, although they are still deadlocked.

The government's ability to restore order and stability in Poland will be dependent on a number of factors including:

-- Jaruzelski's ability to keep the Soviets at bay, while convincing government/party/bureaucrats to implement reforms and negotiate seriously with Solidarity so that trust toward the government is built up and the union's need to strike over every problem is removed.

-- Walesa and the trade union leadership's ability to control Solidarity's membership,

-- Kania and Jaruzelski's ability to rebuild the decimated and demoralized party structure,

-- Moscow, Prague and East Berlin's willingness to grant Warsaw time, while not pushing for a reverse of political reforms already granted,

-- the role of the Church as a moderating force,

-- the eventual resolution of the disastrous economic situation.

~~Classified By: Dir EUR & NATO Affairs~~
~~Declassify by: 17 February 1983~~

11 FEB 81

~~SECRET~~

18-M-0453

- 12865


~~SECRET~~

2

While the Soviets are probably pessimistic concerning Kania and Jakuzelski's ability to gain control of the situation in Poland over the long haul, the Kremlin hopes that they will be able to keep the lid on things in the short-run. The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is scheduled to open February 23 and the Soviets want to do everything possible to be sure it is not marred by events in Poland. As a consequence, the USSR has strongly endorsed Jaruzelski's appointment, and took the unusual step of sending a congratulatory telegram signed by party leaders as well as heads of government to him.

Meanwhile, the Kania-Jaruzelski government is carrying out some fence mending with its allies. Kania paid a surprise visit to Prague over the weekend, and there are rumors that he may also visit East Berlin in the next few days. The primary purpose of these visits is to calm Czechoslovak and East German fears over the situation in Poland prior to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Congress which will be attended by all East European communist leaders.

In sum, for the short-run, the internal Polish situation appears to have improved significantly. It is, however, a precarious situation which could deteriorate quickly at any time. If it does, Moscow may have no alternative but to move, and fast.


Franklin D. Kramer
Under Secretary of Defense
for Policy (Acting)

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WIIS + 5 USC 552
Date: 12 FEB 2018 Authority: EO 13526
Declassify: X Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 18 -M- 0453

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WNS
Date: FEB 12 2018

~~SECRET~~