

**August 14, 1981**

**Memorandum from John Stein to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of the National Security Agency, 'The Current Political Situation in Poland; Polish Ministry of Defense Plans for the Possible Introduction of Martial Law'**

**Citation:**

"Memorandum from John Stein to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of the National Security Agency, 'The Current Political Situation in Poland; Polish Ministry of Defense Plans for the Possible Introduction of Martial Law'", August 14, 1981, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA declassification, 2008  
<https://wilson-center.drivingcreative.com/document/165302>

**Summary:**

Translated report discusses how the increased presence of Solidarnosc (Solidarity) warrants the introduction of martial law. However, it affirms that no formal steps to introducing martial law have been taken.

**Credits:**

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**Original Language:**

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

14 August 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary of State  
The Secretary of Defense  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
Director, National Security Agency

FROM : John H. Stein  
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT : 1. The Current Political Situation in Poland  
2. Polish Ministry of Defense Plans for the  
Possible Introduction of Martial Law

1. [ ] Comment: The following information is from an extremely sensitive source and, therefore, recipients should hold this report very closely.]

2. A reliable source who has excellent access in the Polish Ministry of Defense reported that as of mid-August there had been a significant change in the attitude of the leadership of the Polish Ministry of Defense regarding the present crisis situation. The situation demands more resolute behavior on the part of the Government vis-a-vis Solidarnosc, including the possible introduction of Martial Law. The Soviets are also asserting considerable pressure in the same direction. As a result of a meeting between Premier Jaruzelski and Marshal Kulikov on the 8th of August, the Soviets indicated that, while they accepted the current attempts at a political solution to the crisis, they nevertheless demanded more decisive action regarding the possibility of the introduction of Martial Law in Poland.

3. During a two-and-one-half-hour long speech in the Ministry of Defense, Premier Jaruzelski summarized the results of the meeting of the Military Council on 2 August. Jaruzelski spent a considerable amount of time justifying the present

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-2-

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activities of the Government, asserting among other things that the Government knows precisely what to do but that there was a feeling that the workers should not be punished for mistakes made by the previous leadership and that this was the reason why the present leadership was so patient. At the same time, Jaruzelski stated that if the present political counteroffensive produces no results, other means would be resorted to. These declarations of Jaruzelski were followed later by feverish practical preparations for the introduction of Martial Law. The Polish General Staff brought up to date and made specific all plans concerned with the introduction of Martial Law. On the 10th and the 11th of August the Polish General Staff coordinated these plans with representatives of the Soviet General Staff who accompanied Marshal Kulikov to Poland. The text of the announcement regarding the introduction of Martial Law has been drafted, including a Russian-language version of same. The document is entitled: "Announcement About the Introduction of Martial Law Concerning the Security of the Government".

4. As of 12 August there has been no political decision regarding the introduction of Martial Law. The critical moment which will impact on this decision will be the announcement of the "star" march or a subsequent wave of strikes. [redacted] Comment: The "star" march refers to a pattern of marches which are to originate from cities located in a radius of 90 kilometers from Warsaw.] The Polish General Staff and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are hoping that the march will not take place. Nevertheless, intensive preparations are being made in order to prevent the march from accomplishing its goal. The plans envision the mass participation of the Militia, supported by the military, in blockading the march routes. Four hundred Militia men will be assigned to each of the nine cities from where the protest marches are planned to start. In an exterior ring around the city of Warsaw, 800 Militia men will block each of the nine march routes. In addition, in Warsaw an additional 10,000 Militia men will be assembled. To assist the Militia, military units in battalion strength will be concentrated in proximity to the march routes leading to Warsaw. Source indicated that it was apparent from statements made by the leadership of the General Staff that "the spilling of blood is possible". At present comprehensive instructions are being prepared for actions to be taken by the Militia and the military. In addition, civilian prosecutors are holding talks warning the most active organizers of the march.

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-3-

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5. On 12 August Marshal Kulikov held talks in his quarters at Rembertow with General of Arms Florian Siwicki, Chief of Staff of the Polish Armed Forces; General of Arms Molczyk, Vice Minister of Defense; Division General Skalski, Deputy Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces; and Division General Jasinski, Deputy Chief of the Polish General Staff. Source is unaware of the results of these talks.



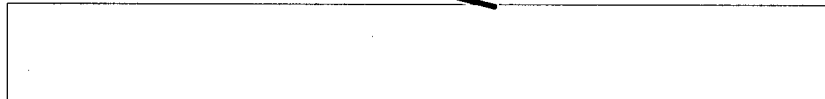
John H. Stein



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-4-

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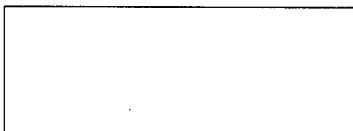
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