

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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SIT229

DTG: 041705Z DEC 81 PSN: 018546
TOR: 004/1836Z

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5318

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ WARSAW 0069

NODIS
E.O. 12065: RDS-3 1-4-02 (MEEHAN, FRANCIS J.) OR-M
TAGS: PPDC, PL
SUBJ: (N) JARUZELSKI'S REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT
REF: 81 STATE 338787

1. (N - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. CZYREK HANDED THE AMBASSADOR THIS AFTERNOON, JAN 4,
A COPY OF JARUZELSKI'S REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF
DEC 23, NOTING THAT THE ORIGINAL WOULD BE CARRIED TO
WASHINGTON BY THE NEW POLISH CHARGE. AN EMBASSY TRANSLATION
OF THE JARUZELSKI LETTER FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
"I RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF DEC. 23, 1981. WITH DISTRESS,
I MUST STATE THAT ITS CONTENTS, JUST AS YOUR RECENT PUBLIC
STATEMENTS PERTAINING TO MY COUNTRY AND PERTAINING ALSO TO
POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS, AROUSE ANXIETY, ASTONISHMENT AND
EXCEPTION. MR. PRESIDENT, THE OPINIONS FORMULATED BY YOU

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NLRR F03-009 #16331
BY 101 NARA DATE 6/29/08

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ARE NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH THE REAL COURSE OF EVENTS, OF WHICH POLAND HAS BEEN THE SCENE THIS LAST YEAR.

" AS YOU KNOW, AFTER AUGUST 1980, WE ENTERED UPON THE REALIZATION OF AN EXTENSIVE AND UNUSUALLY RICH PROGRAM OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS. WE ASSUMED THAT THE NEW, LIBERATED SOCIAL ENERGY REPRESENTED BY THE TRADE UNIONS WOULD BECOME A HELPFUL FACTOR IN ITS REALIZATION.

" IN THE PROCESS OF STORMY CHANGES, IT TURNED OUT THAT EXTREMIST AND ANARCHISTIC FORCES, WHICH HAD GATHERED IN NSZZ SOLIDARITY, MANAGED TO DIRECT A PART OF THIS ENERGY ALONG DESTRUCTIVE PATHS. AS A RESULT, THE DISMANTLING OF THE POLISH ECONOMY AND WEAKENING OF THE STATE'S STABILITY FOLLOWED.

"CONSIDERED PRACTICALLY, DURING THE COURSE OF ALMOST THE ENTIRE YEAR OF 1981 THERE WAS NO DAY WITHOUT A STRIKE. I REGRET THAT IN THIS PERIOD NO RESPONSIBLE POLITICIANS IN THE WEST SENT WARNING SIGNALS ADDRESSED TO THOSE WHO WERE PUSHING THE COUNTRY TOWARD A NATIONAL CATASTROPHE. IN NUMEROUS CONVERSATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT, THINKING THAT THERE WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE UNDERSTANDING, WE DIRECTED ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS CONNECTED WITH THE DESTRUCTIVE ACTIVITY OF THE LEADERS OF "SOLIDARITY" TO THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE POLISH NATION, TO ITS INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE, AS WELL AS TO PEACEFUL RELATIONS IN EUROPE.

"THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW BY THE COUNCIL OF STATE IN A CONDITION FORESEEN BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WAS A NECESSARY SOLUTION IN THE EXISTING SITUATION. IT AVERTED THE DANGER OF A FRATRICIDAL CIVIL WAR AND PREVENTED POLAND FROM BECOMING A RAGING FIRE IN THE HEART OF EUROPE. IT WAS UNDERTAKEN AS A DECISIVE STEP WITH THE INTENTION OF AVOIDING WITH OUR OWN FORCES A NATIONAL TRAGEDY. IT IS AN INTERNAL, SOVEREIGN MATTER OF THE POLISH STATE.

"THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT FACTS WILL BEAR OUT YOUR STATEMENT ABOUT THE INCONTESTABLE CHARACTER OF POLAND'S POLITICAL SYSTEM.

NO DIS

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NO DIS

NO DIS

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AS WELL AS OF ITS ALLIANCES. ALL ATTEMPTS TO MEDDLE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS ARE HARMFUL FOR THE PEACE OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD.

"THE PROGRAMS OF VOICE OF AMERICA AND RADIO FREE EUROPE CONTAINING MUCH FALSE INFORMATION, DEFAMING THE GOOD NAME OF POLAND AND INTENDING TO AROUSE TENSIONS IN OUR COUNTRY, ARE LIKEWISE UNACCEPTABLE.

"THE SOONER INTERNAL PEACE AND RESPECT FOR LAW REIGNS IN POLAND, THE FASTER IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO CARRY OUT A MULTI-FACETED DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

"THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, WILL CONTINUE ITS ONGOING FOREIGN POLICY IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND THE CONTINUANCE OF INTERANTIONAL COOPERATION. WE ALSO WILL DO EVERYTHING SO THAT POLAND WILL NOT BECOME A SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION. IN THIS REGARD, MUCH DEPENDS ON THE POSITION OF OTHER COUNTRIES. I WANT TO BELIEVE THAT THEIR LEADERS WILL REFRAIN FROM INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OUR COUNTRY, AND WILL NOT MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT (FOR US) TO RESOLVE ENORMOUS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

"ECONOMIC RESTRICTIONS AND OTHER UNFRIENDLY STEPS ADOPTED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT DO NOT SERVE THESE ENDS. WITH DEEP SADNESS AND REGRET I LEARNED OF THE SUSPENSION BY YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, OF CERTAIN TRADITIONAL FORMS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. THESE SUSPENSIONS WILL NOT FACILITATE THE ATTAINMENT OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STABILIZATION WHICH THE POLISH NATION YEARNS FOR SO MUCH.

THEY WILL MAKE THE LIFE OF OUR SOCIETY MORE DIFFICULT.

"THESE DECISIONS RUN COUNTER TO THE TRADITIONS OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH LINK THE POLISH AND AMERICAN NATIONS.

"I NURTURE THE HOPE THAT, IN KEEPING WITH YOUR STATEMENT, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WILL ONCE AGAIN RECONSIDER, -- IN THE LIGHT OF BROADER AND OBJECTIVE CONSIDERATIONS -- THE DECISIONS ADOPTED.

"THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WILL REMAIN

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READY TO CONTINUE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONALLY
FRIENDLY AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED
STATES, BASED ON STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF
INTERNATIONAL COEXISTENCE.

"WITH RESPECT,

/S/

JARUZELSKI"

END TEXT.

3. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. MEEHAN

BT

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MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

16332
January 4, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD PIPES

FROM: WILLIAM L. STEARMAN *WLS*
SUBJECT: Jaruzelski's Reply to President's
December 23 Letter (U)

-- As in other public statements, Jaruzelski has something good to say about the post August 1980 reforms. (Also see his speech of December 24.) These statements are intended to convey the impression that he does not intend to turn the clock all the way back to pre-August 1980. In any case, he should be constantly reminded of this implied commitment to permit at least some of the post August 1970 reforms to be revived. (C)

-- Jaruzelski implies that martial law was imposed to head off Soviet military intervention "... avoiding with our own forces a national tragedy." Rakowski was more explicit in his December 30 conversation with Genscher. (C)

-- The charges against Solidarity are the same old hyperboles and distortions. (U)

-- RFE and VOA broadcasts are clearly a problem, and Jaruzelski is providing an excuse for jamming them. (C)

-- The economic sanctions are causing real concern, and Jaruzelski admits as much. He could just as easily have said the sanctions were unfriendly interference, but the Poles can get along, sanctions or no sanctions. (C)

-- I agree with you that the general tone of the reply is conciliatory -- "more in sorrow than in anger." (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Review on
January 4, 1988

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NLRR F03-009 # 16332

BY KML NARA DATE 7/14/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 6, 1982

~~SECRET~~ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES ^H

SUBJECT: Jaruzelski's Response to the President's Letter

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding the text of Jaruzelski's letter (Tab A) and setting forth the fallacies of Jaruzelski's arguments. The last paragraph of your memorandum suggests that a response might be in order. (S)

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign and forward the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Text of Jaruzelski's letter, dated January 4
Tab II Comments by William L. Stearman

~~SECRET~~

Review January 6, 1987.

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NLRRF03-009 # 16329

BY KML NARA DATE 7/14/11

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON~~SECRET~~

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NLRR E03-009 #16330

BY KML NARA DATE 7/14/11ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Jaruzelski's Response to Your Letter

General Jaruzelski's response (Tab A) to your letter of December 23 is couched in a "more in sorrow than in anger" tone. It adopts the standard line pursued by the Polish Government since December 13, namely that it had been bent on pursuing reforms but was blocked by "extremist and anarchist" forces and had no choice but to impose temporary repressive measures. What happens in Poland is an internal matter exclusively. It goes on to warn that the sanctions you have imposed on Poland will hurt the Polish people and make the resumption of reforms more difficult. It concludes with a request that you "reconsider" your sanctions. (C)

The argument, of course, rests on several fallacies:

- It is not true that the Polish Government had "entered" in August 1980 on a program of reform -- in reality it was compelled to launch such a program by massive resistance of the working class. (S)
- It is not true that the reform program was sabotaged by "extremist and anarchist" elements -- in fact, the Government deliberately radicalized the working class by its unwillingness to honor the Gdansk Agreement and withholding food from the market. (S)
- It is not true that the introduction of martial law had prevented a civil war -- in fact no such war was in the offing; rather the Polish Government acted on behalf of the Soviet Union to spare it the pains and penalties of an invasion. (S)
- It is not true that to raise questions about the Polish Government's actions constitutes intolerable "meddling" in internal affairs of a sovereign state -- Poland, along with its Eastern neighbor, has never felt any inhibition "meddling" in the internal affairs of countries like South Africa, Israel, or Chile. (S)
- There is no evidence, except of a verbal kind, that the Polish Government intends to resume the process of reform -- indeed, all indications point in the opposite direction. (S)

~~SECRET~~Derivative from State
Review January 4, 2002.

~~SECRET~~

-- It is moral blackmail to suggest that by imposing sanctions on the Polish Government the United States will "make the life of Polish society more difficult." (S)

It is important to make it unmistakably clear to the Polish Junta that you understand what they are up to and have no intention of reversing your sanctions until there is concrete evidence that martial law is being lifted, all the detainees released, and negotiations with Solidarity resumed. Hence, a response to the Jaruzelski letter may be in order. You may wish to raise this matter at the next NSC meeting. (S)

RECOMMENDATION

That the desirability of a response to Jaruzelski be raised at the next NSC meeting on Poland. (S)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

~~SECRET~~