

**March 16, 1981**

**Memorandum from John McMahon to the Secretaries  
of State and Defense and Director of the National  
Security Agency, '[Redacted] Report'**

**Citation:**

"Memorandum from John McMahon to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of the National Security Agency, '[Redacted] Report'", March 16, 1981, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA declassification, 2008  
<https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/165280>

**Summary:**

Translation discusses the preparation for martial law through appointing Defense Council and committee members, martial law paperwork, increasing the defense budget from Soviet loans, and expanding military exports.

**Credits:**

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**Original Language:**

English

**Contents:**

Original Scan

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[Redacted]

**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

16 March 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary of State  
The Secretary of Defense  
Director, National Security Agency

FROM : John N. McMahon  
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT : [Redacted] Report

1. Enclosed is a [Redacted] report. For convenience of reference by NFIB agencies, the codeword [Redacted] has been assigned to the product of certain extremely sensitive agent sources of CIA's Directorate of Operations. The word [Redacted] is classified [Redacted] and is to be used only among persons authorized to read and handle this material.

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[Redacted]  
John N. McMahon

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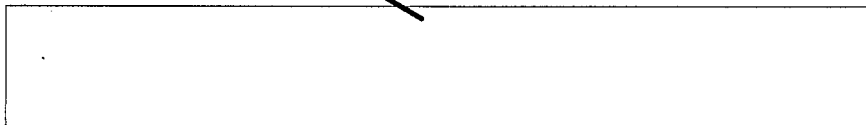
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Distribution:

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## Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland

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DATE OF INFO. February 1981

DATE 16 March 1981

SUBJECT

Meeting of the National Defense Committee  
Held on 12 November 1980

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish document entitled "PROTOCOL NO. 01/80 on the Meeting of the National Defense Committee Held on 12 November 1980," and classified SECRET. The report provides information on proposals of individual members of the Committee pertaining to appointment of a Defense Council, appointments to higher positions of provincial and national defense committees, preparation of legal documents for the event of declaration of state of martial law, increase in the defense budget by 25 percent, obtaining a loan of 870 million rubles from the USSR, and expansion of military production for export.

End of Summary

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PROTOCOL NO. 01/80  
on the Meeting of the National Defense  
Committee Held on 12 November 1980

1. The Chairman of the National Defense Committee, Citizen Joseph PINKOWSKI, presided over the deliberations in accordance with the agenda which constitutes Attachment No. 1 to the protocol [not available].

In the meeting participated members of the Committee and invited persons enumerated in lists which constitute Attachments No. 2 and No. 3 of the protocol [not available].

2. Reference to point 1 of the agenda, i.e., principles for directing national defense operations:

Secretary of the National Defense Committee, General of Arms Tadeusz TUCZAPSKI--described the national defense system based on the main areas of defense operations (political-defense, economic-defense, internal order and public security, and civil defense). Next, he presented the standing principles pertaining to defense matters controlled by organs of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), the Sejm, and the State Council, as well as the Council of Ministers and the National Defense Committee (NDC) and by ministers (equivalents), provincial defense committees, and governors of provinces (equivalents). In the final part of the presentation he submitted for study the following proposals resulting from the accepted or planned changes in the national control system, pertaining to:

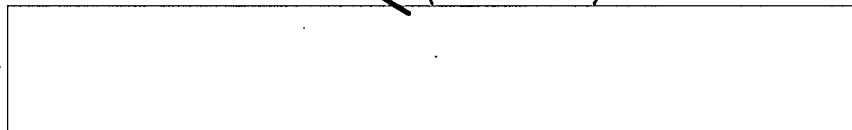
1) possible appointment of a Defense Council of the Polish Peoples Republic (PPR) operating under the leadership of the First Secretary of the Central Committee, PUWP, in view of the established contingency of limiting the composition of the NDC exclusively to persons included in the composition of the Council of Ministers (principle of separation of political and administrative authority);

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- 2) chairmen of provincial defense committees, in conjunction with accepting new solutions pertaining to filling positions of chairmen of national councils on provincial level;
- 3) preparation of legal solutions pertaining to effects relating to constitutional declaration of martial law\*;
- 4) taking into consideration defense needs in legal regulations which are to be published in the near future, pertaining to: ensurance of fulfillment of defense tasks by state enterprises; excluding defense matters from activities of labor self-management; trade unions (in the part pertaining to strikes); and censorship (in the part pertaining to broadening the scope of the subject matter for the duration of martial law).

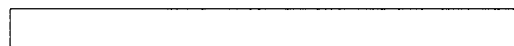
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\* [Translator's Note: The expression "martial law" is an arbitrary translation of the Polish stan wojenny, literally "military or wartime state." This is a state of law covering situations of threat from abroad and from domestic anti-government forces. The normal Polish term for martial law (stan wyjątkowy) has been declared as inapplicable under socialism-communism and only used in reference to capitalist countries which were reportedly prone habitually to suspend rights of citizens indefinitely. Stan wojenny is defined by the Encyklopedia Powszechna (General Encyclopedia), published in 1973, as a state of law, the introduction of which suspends temporarily certain civil rights and increases government authority and obligations of citizens. The propaganda-based concept-straddling stan wojenny introduced linguistic confusion and the Leksykon Wiedzy Wojskowej (Military Lexicon), published in 1979, already noted that it was sometimes used (particularly in Poland) synonymously with the purged stan wyjątkowy. The term seems to have been rehabilitated for use in the present crisis situation in Poland.]

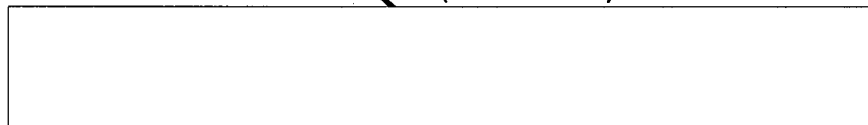
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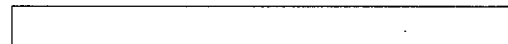
Deputy Chairman of the NDC for Armed Forces and Strategic-Defense Planning Matters, General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI--proposed planning the appointment of a Defense Council of the PPR for the duration of threat to state security and for time of war, with established capability of the Defense Council to operate in time of peace according to needs, while preserving the present function of the National Defense Committee. On the subject of leadership personnel of the provincial defense committees, he proposed that the functions of the chairmen of these committees be entrusted to provincial governors (equivalents), and the functions of deputy chairmen of the committees, to secretaries of provincial committees of the PUWP. Further on he stated that a list of drafts of indispensable legal documents pertaining to martial law has been prepared, which after final review would ensure the capability of initiating undertakings related to declaration of martial law. However, it is necessary to finalize the regulatory solutions related to the effects of declaration of this state as viewed from the point of imposition of additional obligations and limitation of the constitutional rights of citizens. Drafts of documents on the above-mentioned matters, including legal documents which would be studied during subsequent meetings of the NDC, should be prepared by the Chief of General Staff, PAF, Secretary of the NDC, Minister of Internal Affairs, as well as other appropriate state organs.

Deputy Chairman of the NDC for Political-Defense Matters Kazimierz BARCIKOWSKI--supported the proposal of General of the Army W. JARUZELSKI, to entrust the duties of the chairman of the provincial defense committees to provincial governors (equivalents).

Committee Member Stefan OLSZOWSKI--stated that the problems of the state of martial law require urgent examination and decision, provided that official solution of this matter can take place only under more favorable political and social conditions.

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Deputy Chairman of NDC for Economic-Defense Matters

Mieczyslaw JAGIELSKI--raised the question of the necessity to examine the validity of appointing provincial governors (equivalents) to the positions of chairmen of provincial defense committees, keeping in mind that not only members of the PUWP are appointed to these duties whereas, the problems of the state of martial law require definition and agreements particularly from the point of view of internal national security needs. He also stated that matters related to prohibition of strikes in those economic fields which are closely related to national defense capability, e.g., in sea ports, should be resolved.

Chairman of the NDC Jozef PINKOWSKI--stated that proposals presented by the Secretary of the NDC require urgent study. In this connection, it is necessary to prepare indispensable documents for NDC's consideration, including drafts of appropriate legal acts. With reference to the Defense Council of the PPR, the chairmen of provincial defense councils, and the state of martial law, the courses of action presented by General of the Army W. JARUZELSKI should be accepted, taking into consideration comments made during the discussion. The matter of prohibition of strikes in plants and under conditions dictated by defense considerations should be taken up during the work on the law for trade unions. The remainder of problems pertaining to ensurance of fulfilment of defense tasks by national enterprises, exclusion of defense matters from the authority of labor self-management, and broadening the subject matter of censorship in consideration of national defense--should be resolved during preparation of appropriate drafts of legal regulations. In order to fulfil tasks on the above-mentioned matters, the Secretary of the NDC should prepare, in coordination with concerned organs, an appropriate schedule encompassing all subjects of the drafts and designating the organs engaged in their preparation. Envisaged in this schedule should also be the preparation of proposals pertaining to changes in the provisions of the PPR Constitution, to be used at a convenient time, when initiation of such changes becomes possible. In the process of preparing the vital documents, it is necessary to strive to give the problem area more thorough attention, and to take into consideration the interdependence of the documents and decisions already in force.

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The National Defense Committee accepted the above proposals.

3. Reference to point 2 of the agenda, i.e., information on the state and policies for development of the PPR Armed Forces:

Information was presented by the Chief of General Staff, PAF, General of Arms Florian SIWICKI. Discussed in the presentation were the important developments in NATO countries pertaining to increased armaments, the intensive expansion of their armed forces and troop training, and the threat resulting from this to PPR. This was followed by discussion of the main tasks of the PAF within the allied distribution of tasks, the basic organizational structure of the PAF, and matters related to their combat readiness.

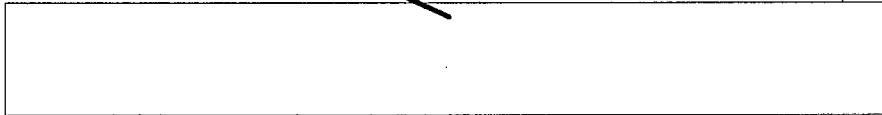
In the later part of the presentation, he discussed the attitude of the troops during the recent tension and unrest in the country, and the effects of lowered industrial production related to support of combat readiness and requirements of the armed forces, primarily in the field of deliveries of spare parts and new weapons and equipment. Then he presented--against the background of decisions of the Political Consultative Committee specified in resolutions of the Committee of Defense Ministers, and recommendations of the Combined Command of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces--the main trends of development of the PPR Armed Forces in the next 5-year period, underscoring the fact that very thrifty planning indicates the need to allocate for this purpose 25 percent more means than in the current five-year plan, and also that advantage should be taken of the opportunity to negotiate a loan from the USSR in the sum of 870 million rubles with a 5-year grace period. He also pointed out that in the above aspect, of particular importance is further development of the defense industry, thanks to which import can be reduced and profitable export increased, not only to the Warsaw Pact countries, but also to countries of the second payment area.

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In conclusion, he discussed the control system of national defense and of PPR armed forces assigned to the composition of the Combined Armed Forces and remaining on national territory, using as a basis crucial defense objectives of the PPR.

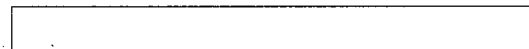
Committee Member Stefan OLSZOWSKI--requested an explanation as to whether the 25 percent increase of budgetary expenditures for defense given in the presentation applies to a 5-year period or to a shorter period.

Deputy Chairman of the NDC for Armed Forces and Strategic-Defense Planning Matters, General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI--explained that the increase of defense expenditures in the amount of 25 percent applies to a 5-year period, although recommendations of the allies indicated the need for a 40 percent increase in defense expenditures. As is apparent from past experience, the accepted agreements were not always kept, as a result of which disproportions between the needs of the PPR Armed Forces and their support widened. This is also related to the price increases on the domestic and foreign markets. All this caused specific, unfavorable effects on equipping the forces with modern ordnance. However, to a certain degree, this is offset by appropriate organizational solutions and good military training. Still, organizational differences, particularly apparent on the regimental level, also influence other matters, such as e. g., the command and control system.

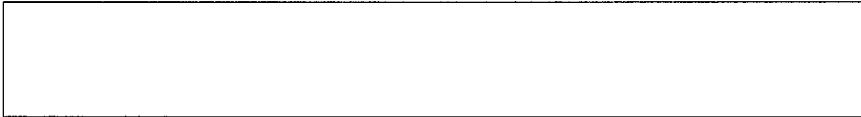
Next, General of the Army W. JARUZELSKI--related to our doctrinal solutions presented in "The Crucial Defense Objectives of the PPR"--accepted by the NDC on 19 October 1978, and proposed that its contents be presented as soon as possible to the members of the present composition of the NDC.

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Committee Member Henryk KISIEL--stated that the matter of the proposed increase in budgetary expenditures for defense by only 25 percent bespeaks of the very good public spirit of the armed forces, indicating great understanding of economic difficulties which our country is experiencing. However, in the future, it would be inadvisable to impose such far-reaching budgetary limitations on national defense needs; in view of well understood national interest, it will be necessary to increase these expenditures. Of great help in this field can be constantly improved specialization in armament production and, related to it, increased export. Therefore, it would be advisable to concentrate the problems of the armament industry under the management of one vice president of the Council of Ministers. In addition, he proposed that specific steps be taken to eliminate, from the budget of the Ministry of National Defense, expenditures which are not closely tied to defense expenditures, for example, expenditures for health service, whose services to a great extent concern the social health service.

Chairman of the NDC Jozef PINKOWSKI--expressed thanks to the Minister of National Defense and the Chief of General Staff, PAF, for prudent stipulation of armed forces needs, and expressed approval of the requested percentile increase of outlays for development of the Armed Forces of the PPR during the next 5-year period. He also stated, that the principle task of the NDC is to appreciate the defense needs of our country and mainly, the needs of the Armed Forces of the PPR, keeping in mind elimination of disproportions in their equipment in comparison with armies of the other countries of the Warsaw Pact. These undertakings are met by the proposal of the USSR leadership, granting us long-term credit for carrying out essential defense objectives. The proposal to produce the SU-25 assault aircraft calls for urgent attention, taking into consideration the very friendly position of the Soviet partners towards us, and our capabilities which do not require engagement of sizable investment means. In conclusion, the chairman stated that in the information and discussion, it was fittingly brought out that the armament industry should be fully utilized in our endeavors to emerge out of the economic crisis, including export, and to obtain hard currency for the country, at the same time to better meet the needs of our armed forces.

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The National Defense Committee accepted the information and courses of action outlined in the presentation of the Chairman of the NDC, and accepted the level of budgetary increase for defense purposes.

4. Reference to point 3 of the agenda, i.e., evaluation of the PPR armament industry situation, and operational principles of the Defense Industry Commission:

Member of the NDC Aleksander KOPEC--discussed the status of fulfillment of specific tasks by the armament industry during the past 10 months of 1980, including the status of fulfillment of tasks in accordance with provisions of Resolution No. 62/79, Council of Ministers, dated 27 April 1979, pertaining to starting production of the T-72 tank and the MT-S tracked primemover, and Resolution No. 10/78, Council of Ministers, dated 25 January 1978, pertaining to deliveries of weapons and military equipment during 1978-80, and ensurance of conditions for developing a capability for starting special production and production of operational equipment. Subsequently he stated that in view of the decisions, the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers will not directly control matters pertaining to fulfillment of production--there exists a possibility and necessity to appoint a special organ for these matters, and the Defense Industry Commission of the Council of Ministers should be this organ, operating under the direction of the vice president of the Council of Ministers who is concerned with matters of this industry. In this connection, he submitted proposals pertaining to:

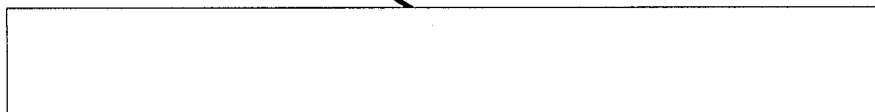
- 1) acceptance by the NDC of a draft resolution of the Council of Ministers on the appointment of a Defense Industry Committee of the Council of Ministers;
- 2) discussion of the problem of this Committee and other matters of the armament industry with appropriate organs of the USSR, as soon as possible;

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3) examination during next year's meeting of the National Defense Committee of the matter of concentration of the armament industry for the aspect of national security threat and its conversion;

4) preparation of a statute of the armament industry workers, taking into consideration the aspect of strikes in this industry.

Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Armed Forces and Strategic-Defense Planning Matters, General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI--stated that the draft of the resolution presented to the committee is correct in its proposals, and that it was coordinated with the Ministry of National Defense. Considering the present role of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers in the Defense Industry Commission of the CEMA, additional examination of this problem is necessary, in light of paragraph 4 of the draft of the resolution, which correctly proposes that the committee should work in coordination with the Defense Commission of the CEMA. In accordance with the proposal of Vice President of the Council of Ministers A. KOPEC, this subject should be discussed in the USSR. In addition, he stated that against the background of rules of the drafted resolution referring to the executive body of the Defense Industry Committee at the Council of Ministers, it can be concluded that there exists a need for a more comprehensive examination and determination of the so-called military departments in the ministries (equivalents). In this matter, it is necessary to depart from the present designation of these departments, because the designation suggests a wrong field of their activities, and to change their organizational structure according to actual needs and from the point of view of saving military table of organization positions. This problem should be resolved by changing the standing regulations, in the draft of the resolution of the Council of Ministers, or in another document. This matter requires urgent examination by appropriate organs.

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Chairman of the National Defense Committee Jozef PINKOWSKI--proposed acceptance of the presented draft of the resolution of the Council of Ministers pertaining to appointment of a Defense Industry Committee of the Council of Ministers, provided that comments made during the discussion be included in the draft. Final editing and discussion of this matter with appropriate USSR organs will be accomplished by Vice President of the Council of Ministers Alexander KOPEC, who as Chairman of the Defense Industry Committee of the Council of Ministers will also present proposals for the personnel composition of the Committee (included in the composition should be Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, PUWP--Director of Industry, Construction and Transportation Department of the Central Committee, PUWP, Citizen Zbigniew ZIELINSKI), as well as appropriate proposals pertaining to organizational structure of the executive body of the Committee. On the subject of military departments of the ministries (equivalents), he proposed that this matter be included in the schedule of work related to implementation of resolutions of today's meeting which will be prepared by the Secretary of the NDC in coordination with pertinent organs.

The National Defense Committee accepted the above proposals. The Committee ended the deliberations at 2000 hours.

Secretary  
National Defense Committee

General of Arms  
Tadeusz TUCZAPSKI  
Vice Minister of  
National Defense

Chairman  
National Defense Committee

Jozef PINKOWSKI

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