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Collection:
Dobriansky, Paula: Files
Folder Title:
Poland – Leaders/Bios (2 of 2)
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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer RBW 9/13/2012

File Folder POLAND - LEADERS/BIOS (2)

FOIA M434

Box Number 3

KINSTETTER 64

ID	Doc Type	Document Description			No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
143275	REPORT				2	4/3/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143276	REPORT				2	4/3/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143277	REPORT				2	4/3/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143278	REPORT				1	4/3/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143279	REPORT				1	4/3/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143280	REPORT				3	4/13/1981	B1
		PAR	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143281	MEMO	TO RECIPIENTS			1	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143282	REPORT	[W/ATTACHMENT]			3	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143283	REPORT				3	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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143284	REPORT				1	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143285	REPORT				2	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143286	REPORT				2	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143287	REPORT				1	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143288	REPORT				4	7/2/1981	B1
		PAR	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143289	REPORT				5	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143290	REPORT				2	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143291	REPORT				2	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143292	REPORT				1	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			
143293	REPORT				1	8/28/1981	B1
		D	4/11/2016	M434/4			

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
143294	REPORT		2	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143295	REPORT		1	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143296	REPORT		4	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143297	REPORT		2	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143298	REPORT		2	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143299	REPORT		4	7/2/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143300	REPORT		1	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143301	REPORT		1	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143302	REPORT		2	8/28/1981	B1
		D 4/11/2016 M434/4			
143303	FORM		1	9/28/1981	B1
		PAR 4/11/2016 M434/4			

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
143304	REPORT	[PGS. 5-7 ONLY] D 4/11/2016 M434/4	3	ND	B1
143305	REPORT	[PGS. 3-4 ONLY] D 4/11/2016 M434/4	2	ND	B1
143306	REPORT	PAR 4/11/2016 M434/4	3	10/19/1981	B1
143307	REPORT	D 4/11/2016 M434/4	2	11/3/1981	B1

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143276	REPORT	2	4/3/1981	B1

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143277	REPORT	2	4/3/1981	B1

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ID	*Document Type* *Document Description*	*No of pages*	*Doc Date*	*Restric-tions*
143278	REPORT	1	4/3/1981	B1

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ID	Document Type Document Description	No of pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
143279	REPORT	1	4/3/1981	B1

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ACTION: DCD-4 (226) INFO: CMASS-E ( ); EED/EEP-3; ODPS-S; ODPT-T; POLE-E ( ); RAD/RAU; USSR/E; USSR/F; USSR/I; USSR/M; USSR/SRA; FILE; RF; ODPN-N; CR/E-2; CRES/ARO; EPS/EG-2; IAD/SOG; NIC/AG; NICAG/URPE; NICAG/URPM; NIO/USSR; OCR-10; OSR/SE; OSR/SF; OSR/TF; PCS/INT; SE; (31/W)

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81 6225764 PAGE 001 [redacted]
TOR: 132011Z APR 81

RR RUEAIIA
DE RUEAIIH #3785 1032006
ZNY CCCCC
R 132004Z APR 81
FM CIA [redacted]
TO RUEAIIA/CIA
RUEKJCS/DIA//RTS-2B
RUEHC/DEPT OF STATE
RUETIAA/DIRNSA
BT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L/WNINTEL/NOFORN~~ [redacted]

DIST 13 APRIL 1981

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY [redacted]

THIS IS AN INFORMTION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE
REPORT CLASS ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L -- WNINTEL -- NOFORN~~
REPORT NO. [redacted]
COUNTRY: POLAND
SUBJECT: BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON PREMIER WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI [redacted]

[redacted]

1. [redacted] MINISTER OF DEFENSE WOJCIECH J A R U-
Z E L S K I TURNED DOWN THE PREMIERSHIP AT LEAST THREE TIMES BE-
FORE HE ACCEPTED THE POST IN EARLY FEBRUARY 1981. [redacted] COMMENT:
JARUZELSKI OBVIOUSLY REALIZED THAT HE WOULD BE IN A MUCH MORE VUL-
NERABLE POSITION AS PREMIER THAN IF HE REMAINED MINISTER
OF DEFENSE. INTERESTINGLY, HE RETAINED HIS MINISTERIAL POST,
WHICH IS NOT THE USUAL PRACTICE FOR POLISH PREMIERS. HE PROBABLY
INSISTED ON THAT AS A CONDITION FOR ACCEPTING THE PREMIERSHIP SO

ART
M434/4 #143280
BY RW 4/11/16

THAT HE COULD MAINTAIN CONTROL OVER THE ARMY.) [redacted] HAS KNOWN JARUZELSKI FOR MANY YEARS AS THEY WERE BOTH HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKER'S PARTY (PZPR). [redacted] JARUZELSKI WAS THE ONE WHO, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LABOR PROBLEMS IN GDANSK IN THE SUMMER OF 1980, DID NOT WANT TO SIDESTEP THE ISSUE.

2. DESPITE HIS ROLE IN THE PZPR, JARUZELSKI HAS ALWAYS RESISTED THE VIEW THAT THE ARMY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED THE POLITICAL WEAPON OF THE PARTY. HE HAS ALWAYS MAINTAINED THAT THE ARMY WAS PURELY A MILITARY FORCE. [redacted] COMMENT: THIS VIEW PROBABLY REFLECTS JARUZELSKI'S RECOGNITION THAT THE POLISH ARMY IS PRIMARILY COMPOSED OF CONSCRIPTS.) JARUZELSKI IS EXTREMELY WELL READ ON WESTERN MILITARY HISTORY, ESPECIALLY THAT OF WORLD WAR II. HE KNOWS WHICH ALLIED UNITS WERE STATIONED WHERE AND WHEN IN EUROPE DURING THE WAR. THE BEST WAY TO BUILD RAPPORT WITH JARUZELSKI IS TO HAVE A MILITARY EXPERIENCE TO DISCUSS WITH HIM. AFTER THE U.S. AMBASSADOR CALLED ON HIM IN LATE 1978--APPARENTLY THE FIRST TIME A WESTERN AMBASSADOR HAD MET WITH THE POLISH MINISTER OF DEFENSE AT OTHER THAN SOCIAL OCCASIONS--JARUZELSKI LET IT BE KNOWN THAT HE WAS GRATIFIED THAT HE COULD HAVE A GOOD SENSIBLE TALK WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WEST.

3. JARUZELSKI IS ON VERY GOOD TERMS WITH PZPR FIRST SECRETARY STANISLAW K A N I A BECAUSE THEY WORKED CLOSELY FOR MANY YEARS WHEN KANIA WAS IN CHARGE OF PARTY OVERSIGHT OF THE MILITARY, INTERNAL SECURITY AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS. MIECZYSLAW R A K O W S K I, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MEDIA AND LABOR, IS PROBABLY JARUZELSKI'S CLOSEST ADVISER ON EVERYTHING. RAKOWSKI IS ALSO ONE OF THE MOST LIBERAL MEMBERS OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

4. AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE JARUZELSKI LIVED AROUND THE CORNER FROM THE U.S. AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE IN WARSAW. IT WAS AN UNPREPOSSESSING, MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENCE IN CONTRAST TO THE MORE COMFORTABLE RESIDENCES IN THE WARSAW SUBURB WHERE MOST OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PZPR MEMBERS LIVE. JARUZELSKI USUALLY WALKED ABOUT HALF WAY TO WORK EACH MORNING WITH HIS OFFICIAL CAR FOLLOWING BEHIND HIM. AFTER HE HAD WALKED ABOUT A MILE, HE WOULD JUMP INTO HIS CAR. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY DELIGHTED WITH HIS OFFICIAL CAR, A BMW, WHICH HE HAD SELECTED.

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81 6225764 PAGE 003 [redacted]
TOR: 132011Z APR 81

5. [redacted] JARUZELSKI WAS MADE A SOVIET CITIZEN IN 1939 AFTER HE HAD FLED TO THE USSR IN THE WAKE OF THE GERMAN INVASION OF POLAND. THE CITIZENSHIP WAS LATER LIFTED WHEN HE VOLUNTEERED FOR THE POLISH FIRST ARMY. [redacted] JARUZELSKI IS THE SON OF A MINOR NOBLEMAN. [redacted] COMMENT: THIS MAY BE THE SAME AS THE INTELLIGENTSIA.) DURING THE LATE 1940S JARUZELSKI PARTICIPATED IN THE CLEAN-UP OF THE "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PARTIES," A EUPHEMISM FOR THE PEASANT PARTIES. HIS WIFE, BARBARA, IS THE DAUGHTER OF THE LATE MARSHALL MARIAN SPYCHALSKI, WHO HAD BEEN MINISTER OF DEFENSE DURING THE 1950S AND 1960S. JARUZELSKI, WHO IS SLIGHT IN STATURE, KEEPS IN GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION.

6. REFERENCES: [redacted]

REPORT CLASS ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ --WARNING NOTICE - INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED--~~NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS~~-- [redacted] [redacted] ALL PORTIONS CARRY CLASSIFICATION AND CONTROLS OF OVERALL DOCUMENT.

END OF MESSAGE

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143281	MEMO TO RECIPIENTS	1	8/28/1981	B1

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143286	REPORT	2	8/28/1981	B1

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25

Wojciech JARUZELSKI (Phonetic: yahrooZELskee)

POLAND



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Chairman, Council of Ministers; Minister of National Defense; Member, Politburo, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party

Minister of National Defense since 1968, Wojciech Jaruzelski was named Premier at the Eighth Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) in February 1981. He replaced Jozef Pinkowski, who had served in that position only since August 1980. A brilliant military officer with a reputation in Poland for professional and personal integrity, intellectual independence, and unquestioned patriotism, Jaruzelski came to the premiership highly regarded by the Polish party leadership. He also seems to have been warmly supported at the time of his appointment by the Soviets, who evidently felt that his military background would convey a law-and-order image and that this, coupled with his general popularity in Poland, would help quell the labor unrest that had begun in mid-1980. The unrest has continued, however, and there is evidence that Jaruzelski's stock with the Kremlin has declined.

The announcement of Jaruzelski's appointment to the premiership was also well received by officials of the trade union association Solidarity, who were aware that the new Premier, throughout successive labor crises during his career as defense chief, had always resisted using the Army to control Polish workers. Rather than regarding the Army as a domestic political arm of the PZPR, he has considered it to be purely a military force to be used only against external enemies. These aspects of Jaruzelski's reputation and the personal influence he has exerted during the current crisis have probably been major factors in the restraint the Polish Government has shown toward the workers and that Solidarity's leaders have in turn shown toward the government.

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Military Ties

Another advantage that Jaruzelski brought with him to his new post was his ties to local military commanders throughout Poland. By keeping his ministerial position (an unusual practice for Polish premiers), he not only maintains operational control of the Army but also retains access to an extra source of information about popular opinion beyond that available through party channels to other Politburo members. [redacted]

Party Ties

Jaruzelski has been a full member of the PZPR Politburo since 1971. [redacted] the Premier is on very good terms with PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania, with whom he worked closely for many years when Kania was in charge of party oversight of military, internal security and religious affairs. [redacted] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski--one of the most liberal members of the PZPR Central Committee--is probably Jaruzelski's closest adviser. [redacted]

Would Jaruzelski Fight Back?

None of the current PZPR leaders would be likely to head a national armed resistance against Soviet invaders, but Jaruzelski seems to have the most potential for doing so, given his personal popularity and his military connection. There is nothing in his background, however, to suggest that he would lend himself to such a quixotic, if not suicidal, venture. His actions during past labor crises have always reflected accommodation, restraint, and a desire for "political" solutions rather than a use of force, often in the face of serious political pressure to act differently. [redacted]

Admittedly, Jaruzelski's attitude toward labor crises does not necessarily have any connection with how he might feel about using force to resist Soviet invaders. His remarks [redacted] suggest that he fully appreciates the international ramifications of any prolonged violence within or against Poland. He told [redacted] in February 1981 that the destabilization of Poland would lead to the destabilization of all Europe. In March he told [redacted] that any attempt to change the geopolitical situation in Europe would be a "catastrophe." Even though these statements were made to influence Western

[redacted]

policymakers, they may truly reflect Jaruzelski's awareness that any resistance he might mount in the face of Soviet military intervention could have catastrophic consequences for all Europe.

Early Life: Forced Labor in the Soviet Union?

There are events in Jaruzelski's early life that cloud the issue of how he would react today to a Soviet invasion. He was born on 6 July 1923 in Kurkow, Lublin Province, into the family of a minor nobleman and landowner. The part of Poland in which he grew up was seized by invading Russians in the opening days of World War II, and the 16-year-old Jaruzelski thus found himself a newly declared Soviet citizen on Soviet territory. His official biographies either skip his activities during 1939-43 or merely state that he worked in the USSR during that period. He was probably one of the approximately one million Poles who were forced laborers in the Soviet Union.

The complete details of what Jaruzelski experienced at the hands of the Soviets during 1939-43 are not available. Jaruzelski witnessed his father's execution by a Soviet firing squad in 1939, it was common knowledge in Poland that several members of Jaruzelski's family had perished at the hands of the Soviets at that same time.

Whatever the facts are concerning his early wartime experiences, the rest of Jaruzelski's history is clear. In July 1943 he was permitted to enter the pro-Communist Polish 1st Army, formed in the USSR, and was sent to infantry officers' school in Ryazan'. After being commissioned a second lieutenant in December, he rejoined the 1st Army and fought with it during its entire combat history, including the liberation of Warsaw, the capture of Berlin, and the drive to the Elbe.

After the war Jaruzelski took part in military operations against anti-Communist guerrillas in Poland. He later attended the Polish General Staff Academy, graduating with honors in 1955, and was promoted from colonel to brigadier general in July 1955. He then occupied a variety of increasingly important positions in the Ministry of National Defense. He was chosen as chief of the Army's Main Political Administration in June 1960, and a month later, the Council of State promoted him to major general. In May 1962 Jaruzelski was designated a vice minister of national defense. By February 1965 he was Army Chief of Staff. Six months after his selection as

Minister of National Defense in April 1968, Jaruzelski was promoted to lieutenant general. In May 1972 he was elected to the significant, but largely ceremonial, position of vice chairman of the Supreme Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, the Polish veterans' organization.

Political Activities

In addition to his military duties, Jaruzelski has had a fairly active political career. He joined the Polish Workers' Party in 1947 (it became the PZPR in December 1948) and subsequently held various party posts. He was elected a candidate member of the Politburo in 1970 and a full member in 1971. He has been a deputy to the Sejm (parliament) since 1961.

Personal Data

Jaruzelski is quiet, industrious and friendly. He makes a striking appearance in uniform. In addition to the several military citations for bravery that he received during World War II, Jaruzelski has twice been honored by the Soviets. He received the Order of Lenin in October 1968 and the Order of the October Revolution in October 1973. He speaks fluent Russian and some French. He is an avid hunter. Jaruzelski is married; he and his wife have no children.

2 July 1981

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143290	REPORT	2	8/28/1981	B1

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143299	REPORT	4	7/2/1981	B1

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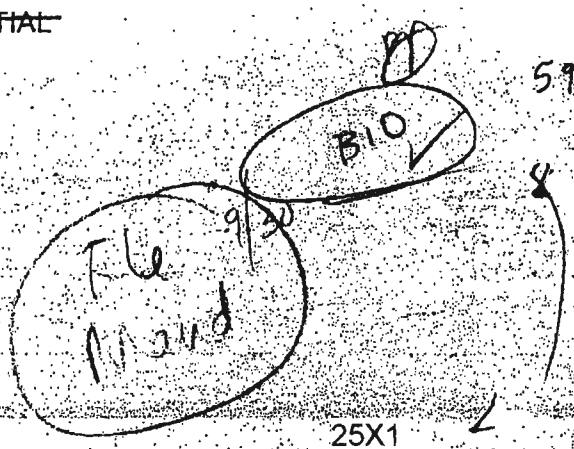
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143304	REPORT [PGS. 5-7 ONLY]	3	ND	B1

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B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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143305	REPORT [PGS. 3-4 ONLY]	2	ND	B1

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Intelligence Information Cable

Poland (BIOS)

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(classification)

DIST 14 OCTOBER 1981

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
NLRR M434/4 #143306
BY LW NARA DATE 4/11/16

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET/WNINTEL/NOFORN~~

COUNTRY POLAND

SUBJECT 1. COMMENTS BY POLISH POLITBURO MEMBER ON THE LEADERSHIP
2. OBSERVATIONS BY POLITBURO MEMBER ON POSSIBLE SUCCESSORS TO THE PRESENT FOREIGN MINISTER

1. IN EARLY AUGUST 1981, POLISH POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT MEMBER MADE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS:

A. HE DOES NOT WANT THE PARTY FIRST SECRETARY POSITION AND INDICATED THAT HE FAVORS COMBINING IT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S JOB. HE IS NOT AVERSE TO ACCEPTING BOTH JOBS.

B. HE HAD BEEN GREATLY DISTURBED THAT TADEUSZ GRABSKI AND STANISLAW KOCIOLEK HAD NOT BEEN REELECTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. SAID THAT THEY ARE GOOD WORKERS AND SUPPORT HIS POLICIES OF PARTY SUPERIORITY AND CLOSE CONNECTIONS WITH THE USSR.

C. CZESLAW KISZCZAK, THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR, IS LED DIRECTLY BY MOSCOW. HE DOES NOT REPORT TO OR RECEIVE ORDERS FROM PARTY LEADER STANISLAW KANIA OR PREMIER WOJCIECH

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JARUZELSKI. [ ] IMPLIED, BUT DID NOT PROVIDE DETAILS, THAT HE HAS A SIMILAR CONNECTION WITH THE SOVIETS. [ ]

COMMENT: [ ] IS EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT, CLEVER AND WILL NEVER "PLAY AGAINST THE USSR." HIS CLOSEST FRIENDS ARE POLITBURO MEMBERS MIROSLAW MILEWSKI, KAZIMIERZ BARCIKOWSKI AND JARUZELSKI. OF THESE MEN, MILEWSKI AND JARUZELSKI ADVOCATE CLOSE TIES WITH THE USSR.)

2. IN AUGUST 1981, [ ] MADE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON PERSONNEL IN THE POLISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: UP TO THAT TIME, ALL EFFORTS TO REPLACE JOZEF CZYREK AS FOREIGN MINISTER HAD BEEN FRUITLESS. MINISTER OF CULTURE JOZEF TEJCHMA, A FRIEND OF OLSZOWSKI AND BARCIKOWSKI, WAS TO HAVE BEEN THE SUCCESSOR, BUT AT LEAST 120 SEJM MEMBERS HAD REFUSED TO SUPPORT HIS APPOINTMENT. THEY CONSIDERED HIM TOO WEAK AND GAVE AS EVIDENCE HIS INABILITY TO CAMPAIGN SUCCESSFULLY FOR MORE FUNDS FROM THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE. [ ] ADDED THAT THERE WAS ALSO ABSOLUTELY NO CHANCE THAT CZYREK WOULD BE REPLACED BY UNDERSECRETARIES OF STATE MARIAN DOBROSIELSKI, TADEUSZ OLECHOWSKI OR JOZEF WIEJACZ. AT THAT TIME, THE FRONT RUNNER FOR THE JOB WAS BOHDAN LEWANDOWSKI, ASSISTANT TO UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM.

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3. [redacted]

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~--WARNING NOTICE--INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED--~~NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS~~--[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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143307	REPORT	2	11/3/1981	B1

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