

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
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Summary:

Translated memorandum reports the coordinated efforts of the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Defense, and Central Committee Propaganda Department to implement martial law in Poland.

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[Redacted]

[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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RELEASE IN PART
EXEMPTION: HR70-14
DATE: 08-18-2008

[Redacted]

John N. McMahon

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Distribution:

The Secretary of State

The Secretary of Defense

Director of Central Intelligence

Director of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

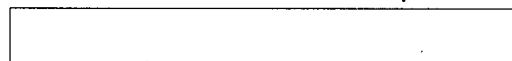
Director, National Security Agency

Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Director of the National Foreign Assessment Center

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Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland

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DATE OF
INFO. February 1981

DATE 16 March 1981

SUBJECT

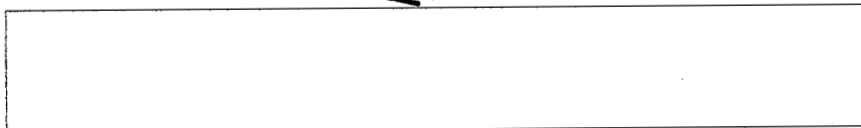
Government Exercise in Connection with Possible
Declaration of Martial Law

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish Government document entitled "Report on Interministerial Decisionmaking Game," and is classified SECRET OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE. The exercise was conducted on 16 February 1981 by representatives of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense, Committee of the National Defense Secretariat, and Central Committee Propaganda Department. The exercise consisted of studying the modus operandi of state power and authority during the period of preparation and introduction of martial law in case state security should demand it.

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SECRET OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCECOMMITTEE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE
MINISTRIES OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENSEREPORT
ON INTERMINISTERIAL DECISIONMAKING GAME

An interministerial decisionmaking game was conducted on 16 February 1981 in the framework of a review of the present state of preparation of the nation in case of necessity to promulgate a state of martial law*; the game was devoted to the operation of state power and administration during the period of preparation and introduction of this state in the interest of state security. Participating in this project were operational groups of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, and the Committee of National Defense Secretariat as well as a representative of the Propaganda Department, Central Committee,

* [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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Polish United Workers Party--a total of 38 persons. In addition to this, as a separate action but within the framework of the game, problems of the economic ministries were presented by ministers and directors of military departments of the Ministries of Transportation, Communications, Power Industry and Atomic Energy, as well as Domestic Trade and Services. The game was conducted in two stages.

During stage I, dedicated to activities prior to introduction of the state of martial law, there was general verification and unification of views on the substance, content, and results of introduction of this state in the interest of state security; also at that time there was made--in the light of hypothetically assumed variants of developments in the country--a precise restatement of the main circumstances, conditions, and of the best method of introducing this state in the national territory. Against this background there was conducted a comprehensive review of preparation of individual organs of power and administration for implementation of tasks connected with introduction of the state of martial law; a study was also made on how to synchronize the plans of activities and possibilities of effective cooperation.

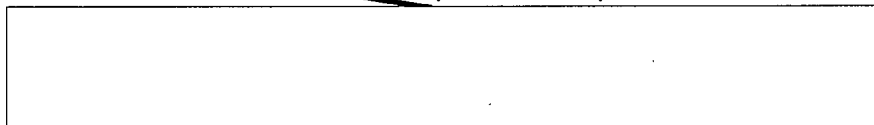
During stage II a study was made of operational concepts after introduction of the state of martial law when special attention was given to those projects which conditioned the attainment of the chief objective, namely, to secure normalization of the country's life during the period when martial law is in force.

Substantive analysis of problems, opinions, assessments, and proposals presented, forms the basis for reporting the following:

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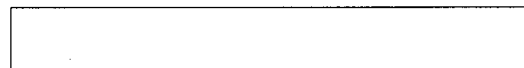
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1. In the opinion of those who participated in the game, introduction of the state of martial law must be our last resort and its single objective must be restoration of the disturbed constitutional order of the Polish Peoples Republic [PPR]. Calling attention to the need for further preparation of the nation in case of emergency introduction of the state of martial law it was stressed that--taking into consideration the social repercussions of such a step which are hard to estimate as well as the negative politico-economic internal and international results-- the chief task of all organs of state power and administration in the present crisis situation must be recognized to be the energetic action on behalf of elimination of conditions which brought on the crisis and introduction of martial law through the meticulous execution of provisions of the law, strengthening of social discipline and restoration of normal rhythm of work and study.

2. The game revealed the existence of an advanced, although not yet full, degree of national preparation for emergency need of introduction of martial law.

In the normative and legal sphere, an end was put to the stage of drafting and coordinating the package of legal acts for the state of martial law containing drafts of resolutions and decisions of the PPR Sejm (taking into consideration the possibility that the need may arise for introduction of this state while the Sejm is in session), resolutions of the Council of State on introduction of the state of martial law and decrees establishing this entity in the interest of safeguarding state security and public order as well as administration of justice during the period when martial law is in force, and also basic executive acts supporting these decrees which are to be issued by the Council of Ministers, the National Defense Committee, and by the Ministers of National Defense, Internal Affairs, and Justice. In the opinion of participants of the game, these documents, upon acceptance by the leadership of the Party and Government may serve as the basis for initiation of necessary organizational and legal actions during preparation and introduction of this state. Attention was also called in this connection to the fact that since certain of these documents contain legal formulations and

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constructions which are not always understood by the average citizen, there is a need for drafting simple and readable explanations for the general public.

Among more complicated problems is the legislative procedure of the main normative and legal acts of the state of martial law. General opinion was for the greatest possible simplification of the procedure through utilization of constitutional authority of the Council of Ministers to issue decrees which have the power of law. Such solution would enable us to preserve the secrecy of preparation and, consequently, would provide a greater guarantee to effective operation of governmental organs during the initial phase of the process of introduction of the state of martial law.

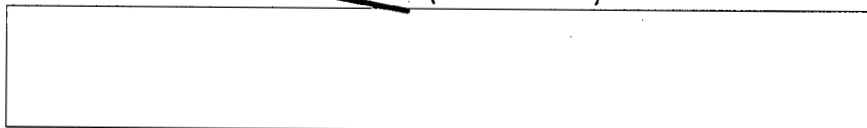
It was pointed out at the same time that in the light of presentation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers at the PPR Sejm session on 12 February 1981 there is the possibility of an alternate procedural variant consisting of taking up at the PPR Sejm forum together with the whole package of laws pertaining to implementation of social agreements of 1980 also the problems dealing with support for activities of organs of the state and of the citizens in event of undermining of the constitutional order. In such a case the PPR Sejm could examine the necessary legal measures guaranteeing orderly procedures during the period when martial law is in force. We could also consider at this forum the preparation and study of changes in existing regulations in the direction of establishing martial law [stan wyjątkowy] more suitable to the existing situation in the country. Study of these matters by the PPR Sejm together with the package of laws pertaining to implementation of social agreements could become a discipline factor enhancing on the one hand the feeling of responsibility by the public and, on the other hand, being a real trump card which the organs of state power and administration could use in matters involving law and order.

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Choosing the [right] time for introduction of the state of military law was recognized as being particularly important. In regard to this, general conviction was expressed that from the standpoint of operational effectiveness of organs enforcing provisions pertaining to this state, the period of aggravated tensions, particularly during sit-in strikes would be most unfavorable. But the most favorable time--specifically in conducting Operation WIOSNA [SPRING]*--would be the period preceding this state or after the strike wave subsides. In this case we should, however, recognize the possibility of negative public reaction. In any case it would be important that an appropriately early warning be given to the directors of appropriate departments, particularly in the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense regarding the political decision on these matters some 3 days before announcement of the state of martial law. This period could be used for secret and selective deployment of necessary military forces and the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and also for supplying all those involved with execution of the decision with normative documents; this period could also be used for initiation of propaganda action.

A very real, but not yet fully solved problem is the material and technical preparation of information for the public about consequences following introduction of the state of martial law. Printing of notices under conditions of normal work of a printing shop would require at least 3 days. Because of the complicated situation prevailing in the printing business we must forego doing early printing because this would invariably lead to revelation of the preparations. In such a situation the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense will study the possibility of early printing of notices and prepare an emergency system for initiation, at a given signal, of a closed printing facility with utilization of permanent and field printing presses.

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It was generally agreed that propaganda presents a separate problem in the whole field of preparations. Thus, there is an urgent need for acceleration of effort aimed at all-around preparation of activity in this field giving special attention to creation of conditions for emergency expansion of editorial and technical teams capable of assuring, after introduction of martial law, a normal functioning of at least one central radio and TV program and daily publication of Trybuna Ludu and Zolnierz Wolnosci. The Central Committee Propaganda Department in cooperation with the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense should make up as soon as possible for the existing lost time and work at these problems from the standpoint of organization (together with consideration for possible mobilizational expansion of military editorial staffs and technical teams of radio, TV, and press) as well as substance in the sense of preparing content of appropriate propaganda materials (drafts of proclamations, appeals, pronouncements, leaflets, posters, etc.). For the propaganda work we should draft people who have great social, moral, and political authority.

The degree of preparing ministries for activity in case of need to introduce the state of martial law will differ from one ministry to another.

The Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense, basing themselves on provisions of "Key Defense Premises of PPR," have defined and coordinated among themselves operational concepts of subordinate forces and means; they have also established principles of cooperation and had defined the extent and forms of mutual personnel and material services. Both ministries had compiled ministerial timetables for projects planned for implementation during the period of preparation and introduction of martial law; the tasks based on these projects were incorporated in appropriate operational plans and in some cases were tested in practice. The ministries in the framework of their current activities have implemented the necessary undertakings and practical measures raising the fixed authority of command organs as well as certain units expected to take initial actions. On the basis of analysis of needs during the state of martial law the following are expected to be called up:

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- for the Ministry of Internal Affairs--over 45,000 soldiers and about 2,200 motor vehicles, mainly into the Citizens Militia and also to the Border Guard units as well as the Nadwislanskie units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs;

- for the armed forces--about 40,000 reservists, more than 5,500 motor vehicles as well as a small number of engineering machines (about 50).

The initial plan calls for calling reserves in two stages, the first of which could occur in the period preceding introduction of martial law done secretly in the framework of annual limits for reserve retraining.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs in its first stage would call up about 25-30 percent of needed personnel and in the second stage--the remaining 70-75 percent.

In the first stage the armed forces expect to expand, through mobilization, their units of Internal Defense Forces and Military Internal Service as well as military organs of prosecution and justice and in the second stage--four tactical large units [~~of the Internal Defense Forces~~] (1st, 2d, and 9th Mechanized Divisions and 6th Airborne Division).

In cooperation with other ministries the Ministry of National Defense elaborated the concept and necessary documents pertaining to militarization, out of concern for state security needs, of certain selected organizational units of state administration and national economy as well as drafts of appropriate normative and legal executive acts. On the basis of these documents the ministries (equivalent offices) prepared the necessary planning and organizational projects.

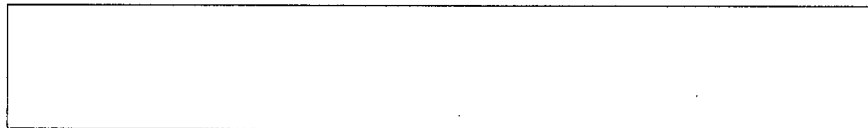
During the game, representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs gave positive evaluation of the already implemented and coordinated military assistance to the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the period of martial law but also proposed consideration of additional services, including:

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- assignment of appropriate military forces for organization of already existing joint patrols in the areas of larger urban concentrations;

- extension of protection over all radio and TV centers;

- anticipation of a blockade by military forces of national economy installations designated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs;

- planning to use military forces for restoration of violated public order in a case of large antigovernment demonstrations;

- safeguarding of communications centers which contribute to maintenance of communications between direction of the state and command of the armed forces;

- callup to service of older conscripts from certain institutions of learning and of individuals engaged in hostile activities who cannot be detained and interned, and strengthening beyond present provisions our militia forces with armored transporters.

Due to the complicated nature of certain problems the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces will shortly make a thorough analysis of the whole package of proposals and will present its stand in this regard in a separate report.

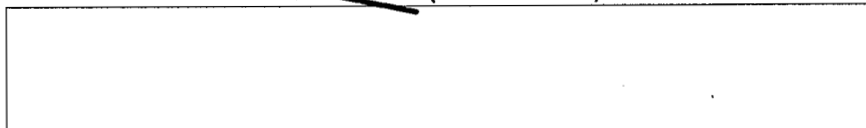
The Ministry of Transportation has implemented tasks pertaining to organization of intensified protection of the railroad lines, installations and equipment. The system covers 40 percent of the general length of the key railroad net which carries 80 percent of the transport. In 87 organizational units of the ministry, cells of authorized representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Peoples Militia Provincial Headquarters were formed. Additional headquarters for military transports were formed and the net of military railroad commands was broadened. This move resulted in improvement of work discipline on the railroad. However they do not guarantee the continuity of work of the railroad in case of a general strike.

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Among the most serious unsolved problems of the ministry are the following: exclusion in the trade union law now in the process of preparation of railroad workers' right to strike, installation in the offices of director of Polish Railroad districts of wartime "WCz" [expansion unknown] telephones, and enlarging the number of authorized personnel in the Railroad Security Service.

In the course of further preparations directors of the ministry intend to establish transportation priorities during the period of martial law and also to prepare analysis of how to support the railroad traffic in case of lack of electrical power on electrified lines.

The Ministry of Communications had strengthened its permanent alert duty service for telecommunication allocation as well as radio stations and TV; it also strengthened the protection of communications installations guarded by the industrial guards of the ministry. Plans were made for assumption of guarding parts of these installations by the military. Organization and decisionmaking groups were formed in the basic organizational units of the ministry, and trustworthy teams were selected to provide technical and operational service of the equipment. Signal troops officers were brought to man sensitive positions in the ministry. Plans were made to strengthen with the forces of security and public order operational and patrolling protection of selected installations. Drafts were written of ministerial ordinances based on the decree on safeguarding state security and public order in the period of martial law.

In the course of further preparations directors of the ministry intend to intensify--in cooperation with the USSR Ministry of Communications--the effective jamming of Radio Free Europe broadcasts on the territory of central and western Poland as well as in the maritime region.

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The Ministry of Power Industry and Atomic Energy prepared drafts of directives on preservation of effective operation of electrical power facilities in the national power grid and on militarization of basic services safeguarding the functioning of the power system. The ministry coordinated with the General Staff the assumption of military protection of power installations particularly susceptible to sabotage and diversionary activity. Plans were made in agreement with ministries concerned for initiation of activities aimed at safeguarding operational efficiency of electric power generators (presently they are only about 60 percent efficient). The selection process of employees was completed using more demanding criteria pertaining to their estimated disposition to implement given tasks in the period of martial law.

Among the most important and still unsolved problems is formation of armed guards to provide protection to the building of the State Power Allocation Authority.

In the course of further preparations directors of the ministry intend to introduce on 18 February 1981 a state of emergency [stan pogotowia] in one of the Provincial Power Allocation Authorities which is planned to take over the alternate function of the State Power Allocation Authority and to train personnel in taking over the function of managing the national power grid from the [new] alternate position of the State Power Allocation Authority.

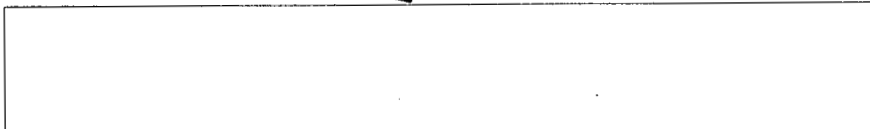
The Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services has prepared a transitional sales control [reglamentacja=rationing] during a 2-week period using the rationing coupons (about 31 million of them) stored at Peoples Militia Provincial Headquarters in cities which were provincial capitals prior to the administrative reform. Controlled sales will apply to: baked goods, meat, smoked meat products, butter, wheat flour, cereals, rice, macaroni, sugar, salt, eggs, soap and washing powder; appropriate differentiation of assorted goods will be made between sales for the urban population and agricultural and nonagricultural populace living in the country. The time needed for introduction of transitional sales control sales--about 6-7 days.

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Among the most important thus far unresolved problems is the making of a decision to print the ration coupons needed for the period following the first two [transitional] weeks of sales control (time needed to print them--about 14 days) and the militia or the military takeover of protection of 110 installations (bakeries and consumer stores), mainly in urban population centers.

In the course of further preparations directors of the ministry intend to determine the means to retain, during the period when martial law remains in force, the orderly operation of the warehouses, domestic trade transports, consumer industry transports, as well as parts of agricultural transport.

3. The following proposals are made on the basis of finished information reports presented during the game:

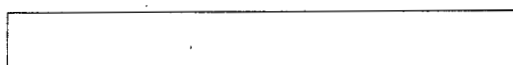
1) To study at the next session of the National Defense Committee the whole complex of matters pertaining to martial law in order to evaluate the state of the nation's preparation in regard to the martial law and possibly to approve an appropriate package of normative and legal acts and also to establish the legislative procedure.

2) To obligate the party organs and the state power and administration organs engaged in work on the state of martial law to continue to improve appropriate plans of their operation; the Secretariat of the National Defense Committee is to coordinate these plans and to elaborate after the National Defense Committee session a central timetable of actions implemented in the country in case of need to introduce the martial law.

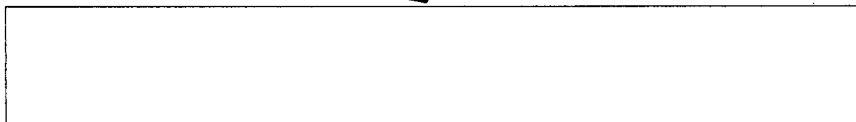
3) To consider in the framework of defense training an early conduct of ministerial decisionmaking games aimed at testing the practicability of the prepared operational plans.

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4) To inform the First Provincial Secretaries of the PUWP and the Provincial Governors about the intent of national activity in case of necessity to introduce martial law and about their obligations to elaborate methods of operation which are well thought out and suitable for the local situation. These matters may be taken up in the course of the next scheduled consultations.

MINISTRY OF
INTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINISTRY OF
NATIONAL DEFENSE

SECRETARIAT OF
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

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