

**July 1, 1981**

**Memorandum from Max Hugel to the Director of  
Central Intelligence, '[Redacted] Report'**

**Citation:**

"Memorandum from Max Hugel to the Director of Central Intelligence, '[Redacted] Report'", July 1, 1981, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA declassification, 2008  
<https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/165297>

**Summary:**

Report discusses contingency plans for implementing martial law, but only in relation to the possibility of extremist resistance from organizations such as Solidarnosc (Solidarity) and KOR (Workers Defense Committee).

**Credits:**

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English

**Contents:**

Original Scan

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[Redacted]

**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

July 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director of Central Intelligence  
FROM : Max Hugel  
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]

Max Hugel

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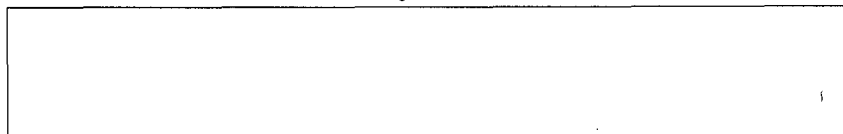
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RELEASE IN PART  
EXEMPTION: HR70-14  
DATE: 08-18-2008

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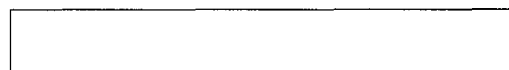
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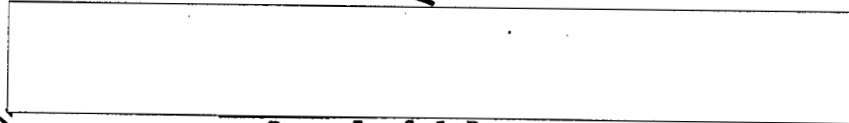
- The Director of Central Intelligence
- Director of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State
- The Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
- The Assistant to the Chief of Staff for Intelligence  
Department of the Army
- Director of Naval Intelligence  
Department of the Navy
- The Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence  
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# Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland

FIRDB-312/02092-81

DATE OF INFO. 5 May 1981

DATE July 1981

SUBJECT

Contingency Measures in the Event of  
Declaration of Martial Law

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish document, classified SECRET OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE, on a meeting of the Ministry of National Defense Policy Board held on 23-24 March 1981. The meeting focused on dangers posed by extremist elements (KOR, factions within SOLIDARITY) and on specific contingency measures to be taken by the armed forces in the event martial law is declared. This report provides a representative selection of these measures.

End of Summary

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SECRET OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE

APPROVED

for the Minister of National Defense, General of Arms  
Florian SIWICKI, Vice Minister of National Defense

Date: 5 May 1981

Meeting of the Select MND Policy Board  
Held on 23-24 March 1981\*

Meeting agenda: assessment of the current domestic situation in Poland and a review of recommendations concerning security measures that are to be taken in the event that KOR and factions within Solidarity decide to mount an open campaign of counter-revolutionary activity and the declaration--in this connection--of martial law.

A report was read to bring the participants up to date on the situation since 23-24 March 1981.

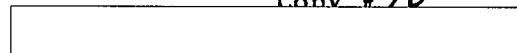
Reference was made to the especially dangerous nature of actions taken by KOR and Solidarity. In evaluating these actions it was concluded that these forces are now bent on engaging the organs of people's authority in a head-on confrontation. In particular, extremist forces in Solidarity, inspired and abetted by KOR, have instigated another, but not yet general, test of strength with the party, the organs of people's authority, and the socialist system.

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- \* A meeting of the MND Policy Board, presided over by the Chief of the General Staff, PAF, was held on 24 March 1981 for the purpose of drawing up recommendations--in light of the prevailing situation in the country--to be submitted to the Minister of National Defense; the meeting of the MND Policy Board held on 25 March was presided over by the Minister of National Defense.

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Special reference was made to the following factors: the desire of radical elements and officials in Solidarity to gain the upper hand over the authorities by gradually dismantling existing official institutions; the making of active preparations for taking control over communications and public information media; Solidarity's practice of setting impossible political demands during talks with the government commission; the intimidation of workers; the making of preparations for the mounting of an active resistance movement.

It was pointed out that the party and the government have shown and are continuing to show good will in their efforts to build a framework of cooperation with Solidarity in its capacity as a trade union. Unfortunately, these efforts have not been appreciated by the Solidarity leadership. In various parts of the country they are proceeding systematically, deliberately, and in a planned fashion to foment tension and conflicts with the organs of people's authority, using the working class to organize strike actions which run counter to its own interests.

This situation calls for the taking of appropriate contingency-preventive measures in line with prevailing political objectives.

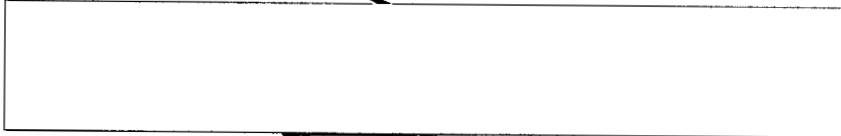
It was deemed to be necessary that a document should be submitted to the Minister of National Defense for review and proper endorsement, listing a series of specific measures\* to be taken by the armed forces in order to provide for effective transition to a state of heightened combat readiness and for actions to be taken in the event of the possible declaration of martial law. Included among these measures are:

a) the organization and activation of a (core) political-operational staff that would prepare situation reports and decisionmaking recommendations for the government;

\* The measures listed below, which were agreed upon at a meeting of the MND Policy Board on 24 March 1981, were debated again and--in terms of their general form--approved at a Policy Board meeting held on 25 March 1981.

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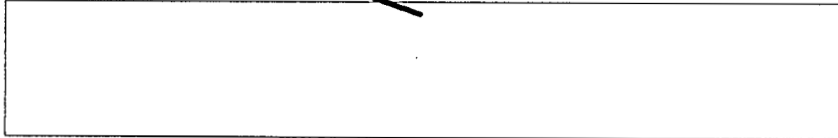
- b) the start of a 24-hour staff working schedule for operations groups (watch teams) in the central institutions of the MND (including inter alia, the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces [PAF], the Main Quartermaster HQ of the PAF, the Technical Services HQ);
- c) the rotation of operations groups between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense;
- d) the briefing of MND Policy Board members by the PAF General Staff on completed operational plans;
- e) the careful review and systematic planning of measures related to the possible future militarization of certain areas (e.g., the specification of troop contingents, holding accountability briefings);
- f) training military personnel to mount guards over sensitive points of the telecommunications system and POL supply facilities;
- g) notifying the commanders of military units and chiefs of staff of the objectives of the missions that have been planned for them (drafting of mission summaries; precise rundown of procedures to be followed in executing missions);
- h) the reinforcement of the system of transportation security services along the BRZESC-POZNAN and PRZEMYSL-WROCLAW superhighways (e.g., patrol operations);
- i) the drafting of plans for the external security of factories where weapons, ammunition, and explosives are manufactured. Issuing warnings to the management and workers of these plants to the effect that the calling of strikes on their part would run counter to the provisions of the draft Law on Trade Unions and would be regarded as a national security violation;

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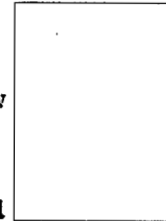


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j) doublechecking inventories of weapons and ammunition not under the control of the military and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (e.g., in the National Defense League);

k) the predesignation of specified (small) teams of military personnel to discharge duties in offices and institutions, including the office of provincial police review boards, to safeguard law and order, and to assist management personnel in the performance of their duties;



l) the preparation of military printing-graphics and printing-equipment centers assigned to the performance of direct public information services in the national interest;

ll) issuing of orders to soldiers engaged in training-production work on behalf of the national economy to return to their garrisons, with the exception of those soldiers performing services for the agricultural sector;

m) the suspension of plans for detailing of soldiers serving in the territorial defense forces (on 15 April) and in the military transportation service (on 1 April) to perform job assignments on behalf of the national economy. Decisions as to whether or not these job assignments will be performed by specified forces will be made on a case-by-case basis by the PAF General Staff;

n) providing training for the personnel of advance guard subunits (in firing, in conducting personal interviews designed to persuade interested individuals to volunteer for service in these subunits);

o) upholding the discretionary authority of commanders, chiefs, and commandants to make decisions as to the proper time:

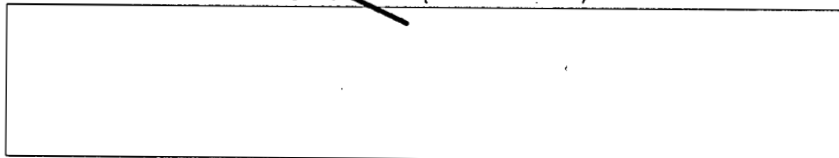
- to issue personal arms to career personnel--prior to the promulgation of a given level of defense readiness,

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- to authorize additional foot and motorized patrols in some garrisons (2- or 3-man patrols under the command of a career serviceman);

p) the holding of soldier assemblies (after the PUWP Central Committee plenum, i.e., after 29 March) to discuss the IX Plenum of the Central Committee and the current national situation;

r) establishing closer contacts with reserve officers and obtaining from them voluntary statements testifying to their commitment to give active (armed) support to the armed forces in their efforts dedicated to stabilizing the situation and to the defense of the socialist system;

s) the revision of plans providing for the security of military housing projects and the families of career military personnel.

It was pointed out at the same time that state public information organizations must work for the total political disarmament of our adversaries. The public must be made aware of the true goals and aspirations of KOR and the extremists in Solidarity, of their push for a confrontation with the organs of people's authority.

Acting Chief, Office of the Minister  
of National Defense  
Colonel Marian KOT

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