

**September 25, 1981**

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

**Citation:**

"Memorandum from John Stein to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of the National Security Agency, '[Redacted] Report'", September 25, 1981, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA declassification, 2008  
<https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/165309>

**Summary:**

Translation about a meeting of the National Defense Committee where they discuss several ways to implement martial law, and consider asking for assistance from the USSR or other Warsaw Pact states.

**Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from MacArthur Foundation

**Original Language:**

English

**Contents:**

Original Scan

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25 September 1981

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

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

FROM : John H. Stein  
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT : [ ] Report

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

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[ ]  
JOHN H. STEIN

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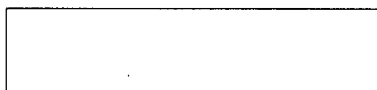
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**Distribution:**

The Secretary of State

The Secretary of Defense

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Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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## Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland

FIRDB-312/02927-81

DATE OF  
INFO. 14 September 1981

DATE 25 Sept 1981

SUBJECT

Report of General Siwicki at the Meeting of the  
National Defense Committee on 14 September 1981

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish document entitled "Report Delivered by the Chief of the General Staff, PAF, at the Meeting of the National Defense Committee on 14 September 1981" and classified SECRET OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE. General of Arms F. SIWICKI believes a political solution to the Polish crisis may not be possible, and he presented the committee with two basic options for declaration of martial law. The Polish General Staff is optimistic that Polish forces would suffice to maintain law and order in the event the committee decides to declare martial law, but he does not exclude the possible need to request assistance from the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states.

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R E P O R T

Delivered by the Chief of the General Staff, PAF, at the Meeting  
of the National Defense Committee on 14 September 1981

Comrade Generals!

Comrade Members of the National Defense Committee!

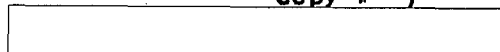
The General Staff of the PAF concurs with the assessment of the current national security and law and order situation as presented by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Comrade Major General Czeslaw KISZCZAK, including his assessment of the intentions of our adversary, who has layed his cards out on the table during the opening days of the Solidarity congress. In view of this new test of strength which the radicals are forcing upon us, we are coming to realize ever more clearly\* that political means alone will no longer suffice to put a stop to this adverse chain of events which is headed toward the counterrevolutionary transformation of our sociopolitical system and the seizure of political power by forces hostile to socialism.

Ever since the beginning of this conflict we have consistently adhered to the view that a declaration of martial law should be regarded as a measure of last resort. This is why we are all the more alarmed by this confrontation--for which large-scale plans have been made by the extremist wing in Solidarity--over access to the mass media and the establishment of a system of workers' self-management organized along anarcho-syndicalist lines, a confrontation which is bringing us dangerously closer to the point where we will have to resort to this extreme measure.

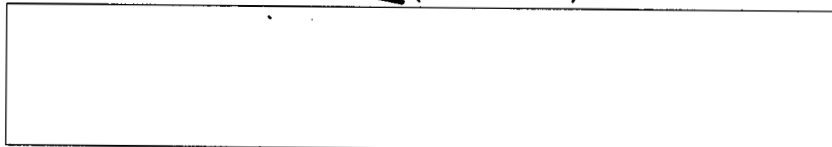
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\* or: "We are all agreed that . . ." rest as per text (pending  
General KISZCZAK's recommendations)

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In this connection the PAF General Staff is submitting for your consideration two basic options outlining possible courses of action to be taken by the State and its organs.

In the event that the Solidarity National Consultative Commission should declare a strike alert or a press, radio and television strike, probably in conjunction with the continuation of current forms of local and regional protest or the launching of new forms of such protest, strikes included, action could be taken, action which might be made public, to institute the adoption of higher-level combat readiness postures by the armed forces and forces at the disposal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and to place certain central and local organs of state administration on general alert --all of which would serve as a demonstration of the government's resolve to take radical steps aimed at stopping this campaign of destruction from going any further.

In conformity with the Law on Universal Military Service in Defense of the PPR, the National Defense Committee is the agency authorized to make a decision on this matter.

In the event that such a decision is made, the Armed Forces of the PPR, without leaving their permanent stationing areas (bases), would take those operational measures, as prescribed by Ministry of National Defense directive no 001/op, that are designed to enhance their readiness to perform plan-mandated actions. In this regard the following actions, among others, would be taken:

- reservists undergoing training and equipment requisitioned from the national economy would remain with the units to which they are assigned;
- soldiers who had fulfilled their basic military service obligations would not be discharged and, at the same time, the next draft of new soldiers would take place;

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- military leave and the performance of labor services on behalf of the national economy and the Ministry of National Defense would be cancelled;
- 24-hour operational duty alerts would be instituted in all command and control organs;
- the troop strength of units designated as being first in line to go into action would be selectively augmented;
- the mobilization system would be subjected to a full-scale test;
- the field communications system designed to meet the needs of the state wartime control system would be deployed and kept in a state of constant readiness.

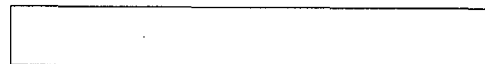
In addition, the military could begin performing special missions, per agreement and coordination with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, involving interface with the civilian population. Here I am referring in particular to:

- stepped up patrols of garrisons, including patrols in armored vehicles, to be performed independently or jointly with Ministry of Internal Affairs forces and stepped up patrols of garrisons where Soviet units are stationed, to be performed jointly with soldiers from these units;
- the deployment of security forces to protect key installations of the economic and defense infrastructure coupled with the possible military takeover of responsibility for the security of radio and television installations, or the making of conspicuous preparations to take such action.

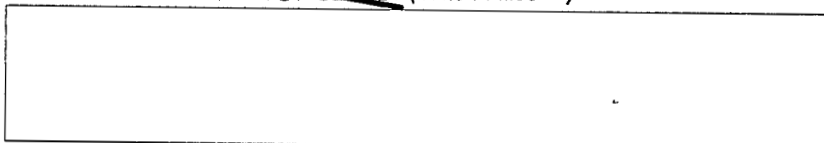
According to this option, the Ministry of Internal Affairs would be able to institute an additional mobilization buildup of its forces or, with increased support from the military, play a more active role in defense of the national security and public law and order. On the other hand, the other principal ministries and elements of the socialized sector of the national economy and

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local organs of the state administration could take a number of preparatory measures, including the following in particular:

- the setting up of 24-hour duty alerts;
- the cancellation of annual leave and business trips for certain workplace employees;
- the preparation and activation of courier and messenger services;
- checking the readiness of enterprises, especially transportation enterprises, to form units to be placed at the disposal of the armed forces;
- the preparation and initiation of the transfer of transport vehicles, machinery, and equipment for the use of the armed forces and components of the Ministry of Internal Affairs;
- making preparations for the provision of medical services for the armed forces.

Preparations for the defense of the national security which are conspicuously public and carried out with the utmost resolve may persuade the extremist forces to pull back or to temporarily ease up on their pressure and begin to look for solutions that are acceptable to the government without crossing the threshold of physical confrontation.

This option offers some slender chance that this impasse might be broken without the use of force. However, its main flaw is that it forfeits the element of surprise.

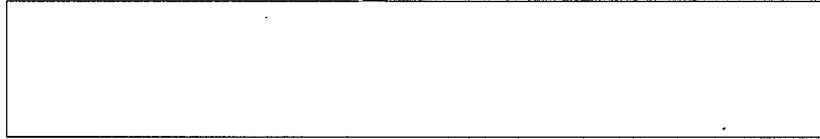
From the standpoint of efficient operation of organs and forces which carry out decisions on martial law, particularly in conducting the unusually important special operations, early disclosure of preparations is not indicated. For this reason the second variant, considered by the General Staff and also by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to be primary, proposes:

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- first--complete secrecy of preparations;
- second--such a selection of the moment for introducing martial law which would ensure the greatest surprise necessary both for operational reasons and for producing a strong impact on the population.

Guided by this thought and in accordance with decisions of the National Defense Committee, intensive work has been done for several months on comprehensive preparation of the state to operate according to this variant. Until now, with the Polish Armed Forces General Staff and the Ministry of Internal Affairs acting as coordinators, the planning phase was retained in principle at the central level and in the chief centers implementing the plans.

Analysis of available planning and implementation documents which are constantly being updated warrants the report that from the organizational standpoint it is presently actually possible in a very short time to carry out this method of defense of the state. Its main purpose is to neutralize the antisocialist forces, return to the normal rhythm of work, law and public order as well as ensuring the capability of effective functioning of the government, state administration and economy.

In case a final political decision is made regarding this matter, introduction of martial law--in accordance with the provision of Article 33, Subsection 2 of the Polish Peoples Republic Constitution--will be carried out through issuance by the Council of State of an appropriate resolution and decrees.\* The decrees of the Council of State will specify the consequences resulting from introduction of martial law. In regard to rights and obligations of citizens there will be an immediate limitation of freedom of movement, suspension of activities of trade unions and social organizations, suspension of the right to strike, introduction of the general obligation to perform work, and possibility of internment.

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\* The nature of all already drafted normative acts of martial law will be presented by the National Defense Committee Secretary, Comrade General of Arms T. TUCZAPSKI.

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On the basis of the resolution of the Council of State on martial law, all other executive resolutions of the Council of Ministers, the National Defense Committee, and individual ministries will be put into effect.

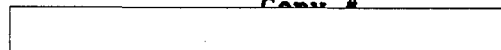
It is ascertained that immediately upon introduction of martial law the basic functions of state control will pass to the National Defense Committee and the appropriate Provincial Defense Committees. In connection with this the composition of the National Defense Committee may be broadened as needed on the basis of the decision of the Chairman of the National Defense Committee. At the same time there comes into being the National Defense Committee Operational Staff composed of designated representatives from the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and the leading ministries. A nucleus of this staff (DYSOR) is functioning in the Office of the Council of Ministers, while in local centers the authority of the Provincial Military Headquarters has been upgraded. Their chiefs are already performing the functions of deputies to the Provincial Defense Committees.

According to the prepared plans of action deposited with the General Staff, at a predetermined "H" hour, with the announcement by all mass media of the resolution and decrees of the Council of State regarding introduction of a state of martial law in Poland, main central and local administrative organs will make public all consequences of such a state and responsibilities of citizens during the time it is in force.

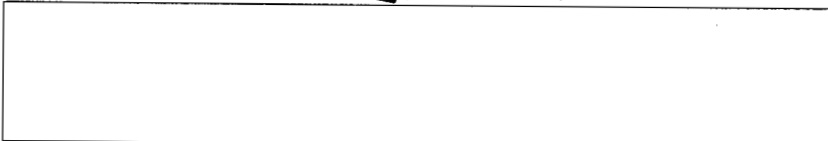
In specific areas of state activities the following principal measures are planned:

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In the field of publicity - initiation of a massive public campaign aimed at convincing the citizens that the introduction of martial law was necessary in order to avoid a national catastrophe, and putting the blame for this step on hostile, reactionary organizations and elements. The duties of citizens during the state of martial law are also to be explained. In order to ensure normal operation of at least one radio and television program, and publication of the daily newspapers Trybuna Ludu and Zolnierz Wolnosci, plans have been made to maintain military editorial staffs and radio, television, and printing technical teams.

In the diplomatic field - the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to deliver notes verbales informing chiefs of missions of the state of martial law. The Secretary General of the UN is to be informed of this state by the chairman of the Polish delegation at a UN session. Chiefs of Polish diplomatic missions are to receive encoded instructions to introduce a state of increased readiness at their missions.

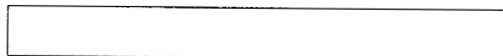
In the economic field - action to implement martial law is to be initiated without delay, strikes are to be counteracted or disrupted. A state-controlled system of supplying the public is to be introduced, and sale of liquid fuel for private use is to be suspended. Protection for main food warehouses and stores is to be assured and action against speculation intensified.

In order to ensure operation of the transportation and communications systems designated installations are to be militarized and armed forces deployed to protect them.

The efficiency of the equipment of the national power system is to be maintained by militarization of basic services and expanded protection of specified installations with the participation of the armed forces. Priorities for delivery of electric power and solid fuels, as well as selective power interruptions according to special provisions, are to be introduced.

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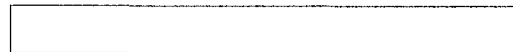
Withdrawals from saving accounts by the public are to be restricted.

In the area of security and public order - the main problem will be isolation of counterrevolutionary elements which threaten this security. The plans of action of the Ministry of Internal Affairs regarding this and other problems have been thoroughly explained by Comrade Major General Cz. KISZCZAK. I can only add that they are synchronized with the military operations.

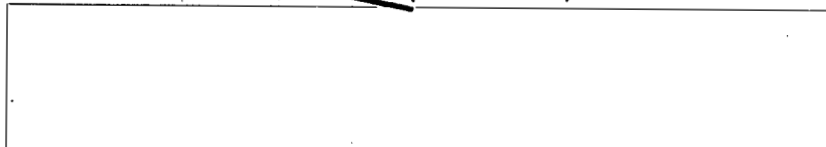
In the military sector essential measures are already being carried out increasing the continuous availability of command organs as well as units anticipated for action on a priority basis.

All armed forces tasks for the period of martial law have been assigned to elements carrying them out on the basis of tested operational plans, and personnel have been selectively retrained. In compliance with plans the following operations connected with the introduction of martial law are anticipated:

- immediate takeover under armed forces protection of over 400 special installations, to which about 10,000 troops will be assigned;
- deployment of an emergency system of secure and clear radio and radiorelay communications for needs of the armed forces command and control of the state, allocating about 100 medium-power radio stations and 150 radiorelays on the operational and tactical level;
- improvement of the operational position of the majority of ground forces large tactical units, and blockading areas of special importance in the Warsaw area as well as other large urban areas;

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- seizure of all civilian airfields and takeover of all civil aviation flying equipment;
- suspension of all air traffic in the PPR area and taking over full control;
- sealing the national maritime borders and reinforcing the combat alert duty system of the National Air Defense Forces;
- additional callup and deployment of courts and military prosecutors.

Comrade General!

Comrade Members of the National Defense Committee!

In my report I presented only an outline of possible action by the state in the event of the necessity to introduce martial law. It is extremely difficult and complicated. The fact that the authorities invoke such a means of defense can cause various unknown reactions by the population. As usual in such instances of particular importance is the question of use of arms. However, we do have the right to expect that only a small number of extremists will actively come out against the decision of the authorities, whereas the majority of society--greatly sensing the vexations of the present situation-- will maintain restraint and then support the authorities. In addition we must consider the fact that we are not alone. In the event of unfavorable development of the situation we can always depend on assistance from our reliable friends. Hence there is a need for still closer allied cooperation with the Soviet Union and the remaining countries of the Warsaw Pact. In the opinion of the Polish Armed Forces General Staff there still is great prospect of settling the problem with our own forces. To reach this goal, the decisive, offensive, and precise synchronization of activities of all forces remaining at the disposal of the state is essential. [The following sentence was crossed out in the original text: It will be the first minutes, not hours, of coordinated actions which will decide the effectiveness of operations during martial law.]

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