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December 24, 1981

Intelligence Information Cable, 'Possible Polish Strategy During the Present Phase'

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Summary:

Report takes information from a former Polish General. He discusses efforts to strike a deal with leaders of Solidarnosc (Solidarity) to oust extremists and set up a new "Worker's Solidarity" organization to take protests against the government off the streets.

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1K SECURITY INFORMATION

Intelligence Information Cable



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DIST 24 DECEMBER 1981

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REPORT CLASS

COUNTRY POLAND

SUBJECT POSSIBLE POLISH STRATEGY DURING THE PRESENT PHASE
{DOI: LATE DECEMBER 1981}

SOURCE

A FORMER POLISH GENERAL STAFF OFFICER WHO MADE THE FOLLOW-
ING COMMENTS BASED ON HIS PAST EXPERIENCE AND CONTACTS.
HE HAS REPORTED RELIABLY IN THE PAST.

1. THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH SITUATION WILL
DEPEND TO A GREAT EXTENT ON WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT CAN CONVINC
SOME LEADERS OF SOLIDARITY, INCLUDING LECH WALESZA, TO DENOUNCE THE
RADICALS WITHIN SOLIDARITY AND ESTABLISH A NEW ORGANIZATION CALLED
"WORKERS SOLIDARITY" WHICH WOULD WORK HAND IN HAND WITH THE REGIME.
THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO GET A PORTION OF THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP
TO COOPERATE WITH IT. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ALSO LIKE TO CONFINE
RESISTANCE ACTIVITIES TO THE FACTORIES, GET IT OFF THE STREETS, AND
STOP PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, SUCH AS DEMANDS
FOR THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS AND FOR CHANGES IN THE COMMUNIST
SYSTEM. IF RESISTANCE IS CONFINED TO THE LOCAL AREAS, THE POLISH

RELEASE IN PART
EXEMPTION: HR70-14
DATE: 08-19-2008

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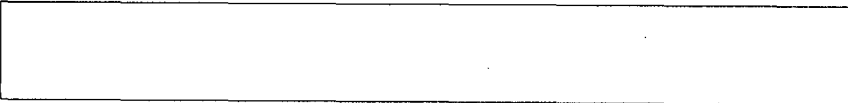


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ARMY CAN HANDLE IT. IF THE MILITARY REGIME DOES NOT PRESS TOO FAR, THE TROOPS WILL NOT BE COMPLETELY DEMORALIZED. THE SOLDIERS CAN BE COUNTED ON TO MAN ROAD BLOCKS, DIRECT TRAFFIC AND CARRY OUT PATROLS, BUT THEY CANNOT BE COUNTED ON TO FIGHT AGAINST THE PEOPLE.

2. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES THE SOVIETS HAVE INTERVENED IN POLAND. THEY HAVE ACCESS TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL, AND PRIME MINISTER JARUZELSKI AND THE COUNCIL ARE ACTING IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET ORDERS. THERE ARE SOVIET COUNSELLORS IN PLACE THROUGHOUT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, MAINLY IN THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS. KGB ADVISORS ARE STATIONED DOWN TO THE PROVINCE LEVEL. THE SOVIETS ALSO HAVE ADVISORS IN THE OPERATING ELEMENTS OF THE ARMY, E.G., IN THE DIVISIONS. THEY ARE SO-CALLED "REPRESENTATIVES" OF THE MAIN ADMINISTRATION OF THE WARSAW PACT WHO OBSERVE AND EVALUATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION AND ADVISE THE POLISH COMMANDERS ON HOW TO REACT.

3. THE PLAN NOW IS TO GAIN AND KEEP CONTROL OF THE SITUATION. THE SOVIETS UNDERSTAND THAT DIRECT INTERVENTION ON THEIR PART WOULD MAKE THINGS WORSE. IF THEY SEE THAT THE POLES ARE DOING WHAT THEY

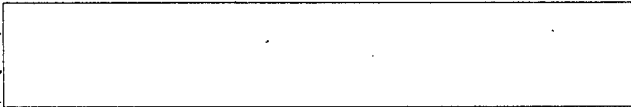
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ARE TOLD AND HAVE ENOUGH POWER TO DO THIS, THEY WILL LIMIT THEIR ROLE TO EXERTING THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE COUNCIL AND BY WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES. THE STATE OF MARTIAL LAW COULD LAST FROM SIX MONTHS TO TWO YEARS. THE CURRENT PHASE CAN LAST UP TO ABOUT THREE MONTHS AT THE MOST. THE GOAL OF THE CURRENT PHASE IS TO ARREST THE EXTREMISTS IN SOLIDARITY AND KEEP THEM IN CONFINEMENT, WHILE EVENTUALLY RELEASING THOSE SOLIDARITY LEADERS WHO COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THE SOVIETS ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THIS APPROACH. ANOTHER GOAL IS THE BREAKING UP OF STRIKES AND GETTING THE WORKERS BACK TO WORK. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WORKERS WILL FEEL LIKE SLAVES AND WILL NOT BE PRODUCTIVE, BUT THE SOVIETS FEEL THAT THAT WOULD BE BETTER THAN THE CURRENT UNREST. AFTER THE INITIAL PHASE OF RESISTANCE IS BROKEN, IT IS KNOWN THAT THERE WILL BE ISOLATED

INSTANCES OF RESISTANCE AND THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO HANDLE THESE. THE REGIME IS COUNTING ON JARUZELSKI BEING ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE NATION THAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS ARE IMPROVING. THIS IS THE KEY TO IMPROVING THE SITUATION -- THE POLES HAVE TO DO IT THEMSELVES. ANY FORM OF AID, WHETHER FROM EAST OR WEST, WILL NOT HELP IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS IN POLAND UNLESS THE WORKERS AND FARMERS ARE PRODUCTIVE.

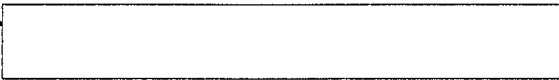
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4. BASICALLY THE APPROACH THAT IS BEING USED IS THE CARROT AND STICK. ONCE THE RESISTANCE IS BROKEN, THE STATE OF MARTIAL LAW WILL PROBABLY BE LIFTED IN CERTAIN SELECTED PEACEFUL REGIONS, PERHAPS AS EARLY AS CHRISTMAS OR NEW YEARS, TO SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE TO OTHERS. THIS RELAXATION WOULD BE A PRO FORMA MOVE ONLY AND WOULD BE USED AS A PROPAGANDA MEASURE. THE TROOPS AND SECURITY FORCES WOULD REMAIN IN PLACE, POISED TO CRUSH ANY NEW OUTBREAKS OF RESISTANCE.

5. SOLIDARITY HAS THE POWER TO CARRY OUT ACTS OF SABOTAGE. IF REPRESSION CONTINUES TO BE STRONG, SOLIDARITY CAN AND WILL FULFILL ITS THREAT TO DESTROY FACTORIES AND THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

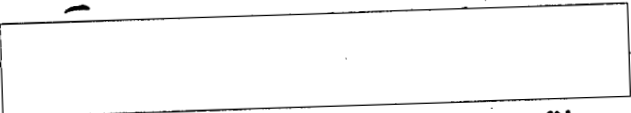
FOR EXAMPLE, THE PLOCK REFINERY IS ON STRIKE, AND SOLIDARITY HAS THREATENED TO SABOTAGE IT IF THE BRUTAL ACTIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT DO NOT STOP. DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF AGENTS AMONG THE WORKERS, SABOTAGE CANNOT COMPLETELY BE PREVENTED. IT IS POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT THESE AGENTS COULD REFUSE TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SOLIDARITY DEMANDS FOR SABOTAGE, AND THEY MIGHT CALL FOR ASSISTANCE OR PERHAPS TAKE CONCRETE STEPS THEMSELVES TO TRY AND PREVENT THE

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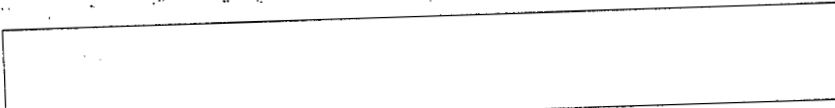
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SABOTAGE. SABOTAGE CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT AGAINST THE MOST VITAL INSTALLATIONS, SUCH AS RADIO STATIONS, POWER PLANTS AND ELECTRIC RELAY STATIONS, BECAUSE APPROXIMATELY 400 SUCH INSTALLATIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN OVER BY THE ARMY AND MILITIA. SABOTAGE WOULD THUS ONLY BE POSSIBLE IN THE LESS IMPORTANT PLACES, SUCH AS THOSE WHERE THERE ARE STRIKES AT PRESENT. IF IT APPEARS THAT THE STRIKES MAY BE BROKEN, THE UNION WILL RESORT TO SABOTAGE; THAT IS THEIR GREAT WEAPON. AS FAR AS ATTACKING THE FACTORIES, THE ONLY FORCES THAT WOULD TAKE PART WOULD BE THE MILITIA OR INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES. THE ARMY WOULD BE PRESENT TO FORM AN OUTER RING TO ISOLATE THE FACTORIES AND PREVENT FOOD AND OTHER MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE FROM ENTERING. THE POLISH PLAN FOR SUBDUING RESISTANCE AT A FACTORY ENVISIONED THREE LEVELS OF ACTION. THE FIRST INVOLVED PERSUASION, SUCH AS ATTEMPTING TO CONVINCE THE WORKERS THROUGH PROPAGANDA TO END THE STRIKE. IF THAT WAS INEFFECTIVE, THE SECOND PHASE WOULD INVOLVE CUTTING OFF FOOD SUPPLIES TO THE WORKERS AND KEEPING OUT ANY VISITORS, FAMILY MEMBERS OR OTHERS WHO COULD DELIVER FOOD OR NEWS. THE THIRD PHASE WOULD INVOLVE SELECTIVELY CUTTING OFF ELECTRICITY TO THE PLANT, THUS TURNING OFF HEAT, COMMUNICATIONS AND LIGHTS. THE TURNING OFF OF ELECTRICITY WOULD BE DONE VERY CAREFULLY AND IN A LIMITED MANNER TO PREVENT DAMAGE TO THE

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PLANT OR EQUIPMENT. WATER SUPPLIES WOULD ALSO BE SHUT OFF IN A SIMILAR MANNER. POLISH PLANS ALLOWED FOR A LIMITED NUMBER OF STRIKES FOR UP TO ONE TO TWO MONTHS AFTER THE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW. (THE SOVIETS, ON THE OTHER HAND, INSISTED ON THE IMMEDIATE USE OF FORCE AGAINST STRIKERS TO BREAK UP RESISTANCE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE USING WHATEVER FORCE WAS NECESSARY. THUS, IF MORE SHOOTINGS OCCUR, THIS WOULD BE A GOOD INDICATOR OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT.)

THE PLANS DID NOT SPECIFY WHICH FACTORIES OR AT WHICH INSTITUTIONS

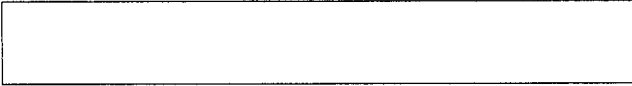
THE STRIKES WOULD LAST THE LONGEST, BUT IT WAS FELT THAT THE MINERS WOULD HAVE THE BEST CHANCES FOR SUSTAINED RESISTANCE. SUPPLIES OF FOOD AND WATER ARE LOCATED IN COAL MINES AND WITH THESE SUPPLIES, RESISTANCE COULD LAST FOR SOME TIME.

7. IN FORMULATING THE PLANS, SECURITY FORCES HAD VERY GOOD INFORMATION ON SOLIDARITY SINCE THE ORGANIZATION WAS INFILTRATED BY SECURITY AGENTS FROM THE BEGINNING. THE MAIN EFFORTS OF THE AGENTS WERE DIRECTED AGAINST FACTORY LOCALS. SINCE OCTOBER 1981, THE TOP LEVELS OF THE GOVERNMENT RECEIVED DAILY REPORTS CONSISTING OF 25-30 PAGES ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION. ABOUT HALF OF EACH OF THESE REPORTS DEALT WITH THE SITUATION EXISTING WITHIN FACTORIES. THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION WERE SO GOOD THAT THE REPORTS PROVIDED

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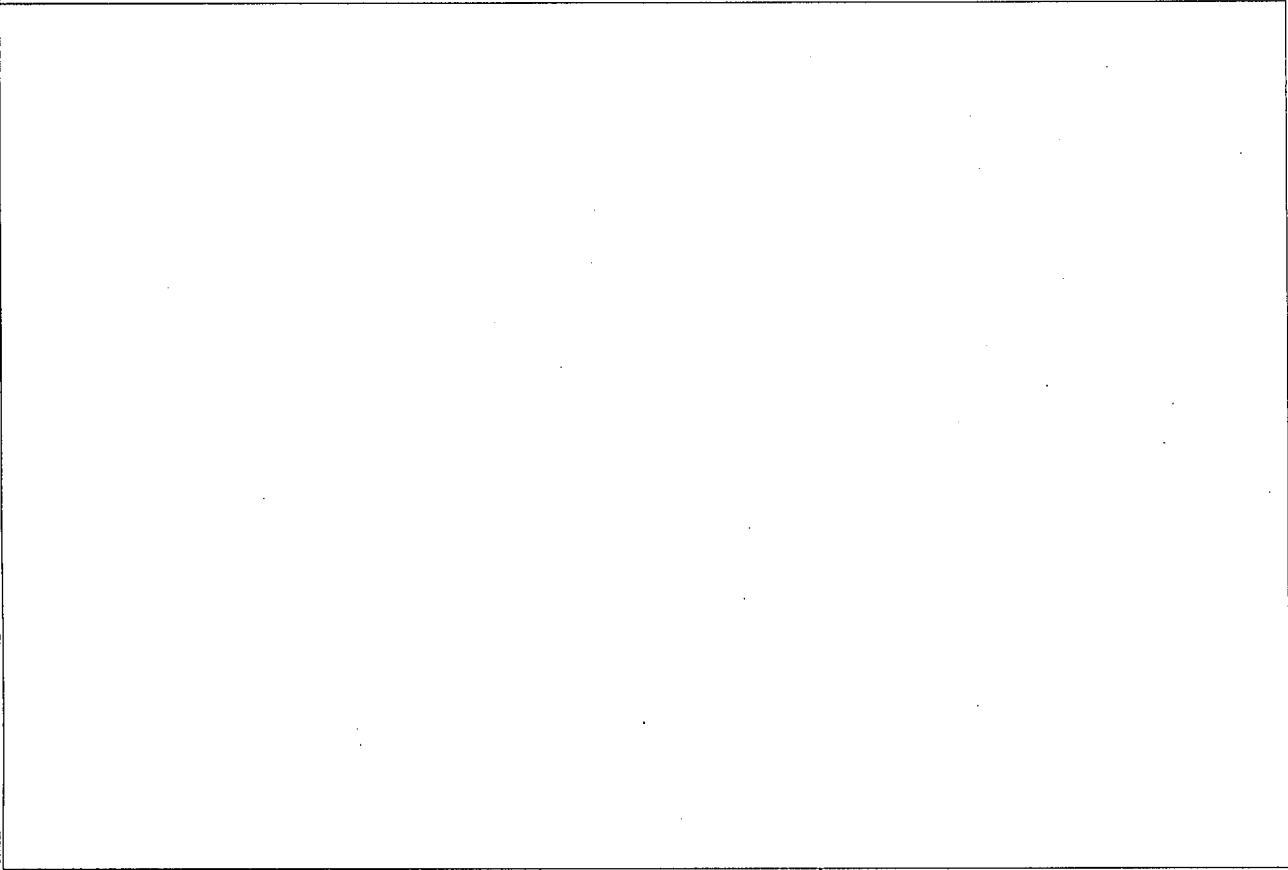
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ADVANCE INFORMATION ON ALL SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES. OTHER TOPICS COVERED INCLUDED CATHOLIC CHURCH ACTIVITIES AND SOCIAL UNREST.



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