

**September 4, 1981**

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

**Citation:**

"Memorandum from Clair George to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of the National Security Agency, '[Redacted] Report'", September 4, 1981, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA declassification, 2008  
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**Summary:**

Translation from a Defense Committee chaired by General Jaruzelski addressing the rising threat of Solidarnosc and other threats to national security.

**Credits:**

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English

**Contents:**

Original Scan

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

4 September 1981

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

FROM : Clair George  
Acting 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]  
Clair George

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**Distribution:**

The Secretary of State

The Secretary of Defense

Director of Central Intelligence

Director of Intelligence and Research  
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Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

Director, National Security Agency

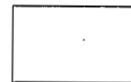
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Director of the National Foreign Assessment Center

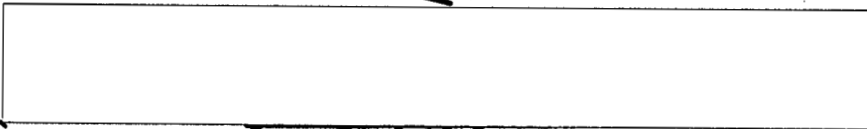
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## Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland

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DATE OF INFO. June 1981

DATE 4 September 1981

SUBJECT

National Defense Committee Meeting on Martial Law

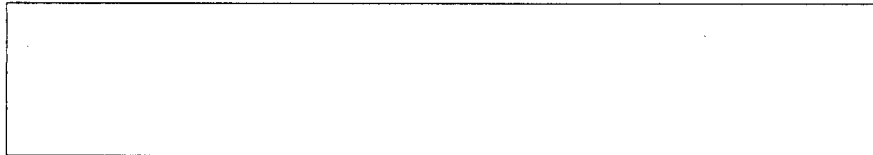
SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish National Defense Committee document entitled "Protocol No. 01/81 of the National Defense Committee Meeting held on 19 June 1981." The meeting was chaired by General of the Army JARUZELSKI and the proceedings focused exclusively on "threats to national security" within Poland, and a consequent possible need to respond to the domestic crisis by a declaration of national or, geographically, partial martial law, especially if SOLIDARNOSC escalates its activities into a general strike. The situation in the country is judged to require that security, police, and other public order resources be whipped into shape and given an improved public image through propaganda, and given a further boost to improved performance by a display of greater decisiveness by senior officials in the performance of their duties. A related concern at the meeting was fear of deterioration in Polish weapons industry, especially in the startup of T-72 tank production.

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PROTOCOL No. 01/81  
of the National Defense Committee Meeting  
held on 19 June 1981

1. The proceedings were presided over by the Chairman of the National Defense Committee, General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI--per the agenda which constitutes Attachment No. 1 to this protocol.

The meeting was attended by members of the National Defense Committee and invited guests who are named on the list which constitutes Attachment No. 2 to this protocol.

2. Re item 1 on the agenda--i.e., a review of the reports prepared by:

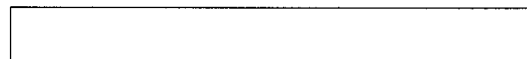
1) the Minister of Internal Affairs, Major General Miroslaw MILEWSKI--on the performance of defense-related functions within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in response to the threat to national security, which constitutes Attachment No. 3 to this protocol;

2) the Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, General of Arms Florian SIWICKI--on the performance of defense-related functions within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense in response to the threat to national security, which constitutes Attachment No. 4 to this protocol;

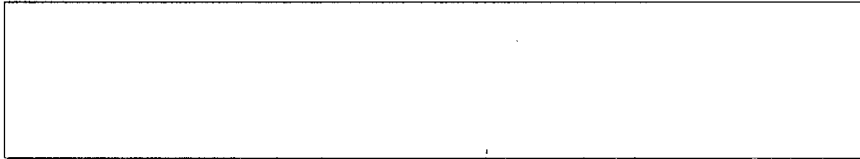
3) the Chairman of the Defense Industries Committee of the Council of Ministers, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Andrzej JEDYNAK--on the performance of ongoing tasks by defense industries, and on the operational status of the transportation, communications and power systems, and oil and gas pipelines, which constitutes Attachment No. 5 to this protocol;

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4) the Secretary of the National Defense Committee, General of Arms Tadeusz TUCZAPSKI--concerning the draft versions of statutory measures pertaining to martial law, in view of the threat to national security, which constitutes Attachment No. 6 to this protocol.

Following the presentation of the above reports, the following persons took the floor during the discussion period:

Major General Jerzy SKALSKI--who called attention to the need to develop a more precise and accurate definition of the problems raised by the following issues:

1) the implementation of planned measures concerning actions to be taken by organizational entities subordinate to the Central Civil Aviation Board with a view to maintaining the integrity of civil aviation services, especially at military airfields used by LOT;

2) the utilization of the public telecommunications network during a period when national security is in jeopardy, allowing for the possibility that strikers might resort to various means to shut down this network, including the interruption of its sources of electric power;

3) maintaining the functional integrity of the power system in the event of system breakdowns, taking into account the lessons learned in past years when crises of this nature occurred during the winter and when it was found that there was a shortage of backup power sources in the form of generators;

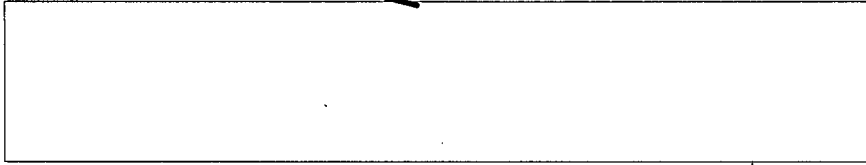
4) providing for the security of the oil pipeline network, a task for which--as was revealed by the presentation made by the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. JEDYNAK--the designated resources and manpower are woefully inadequate.

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Citizen Andrzej JEDYNAK, in commenting on these problems, stated that:

- 1) it is planned to resolve problems related to maintaining the functional integrity of civil aviation entities at principal airports through their militarization and subordination to appropriate military organs;
- 2) in connection with possible shutdowns of the public telecommunications network it is planned that in designated organizations so-called "trustworthy groups" will be formed and charged with seeing to it that certain lines of the telecommunications network are kept in service; with regard to radio communications, plans have been made which provide for the takeover of designated installations by the military, which will be called upon to maintain the integrity of radio communications services in specified channels;
- 3) disruptions could occur in the power system during strikes, and there could be major power outages, especially during a general strike. Countermeasures aimed at dealing with this problem call for the militarization of certain major powerplants located on Polish territory and the issuance of injunctions compelling them to remain in operation, as well as for drawing on the power generating capacities of neighboring countries, which, under the terms of existing arrangements, would altogether meet approximately 50 percent of current demand for electric power. However, in the event of a very serious crisis situation, it is necessary to anticipate that the entire power system could be shut down. If this were to occur, backup power-generating resources will play a role of critical importance;
- 4) the security of the oil pipeline system is based on patrol missions flown by a single aircraft, whose normal service life has already come to an end; it is therefore imperative that some immediate decisions be made with respect to the allocation of additional resources and manpower.

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Citizen Mieczyslaw JAGIELSKI--stated that the assessments and policy recommendations presented by the Minister of Internal Affairs covering the period between the present and the PUWP 9th Congress are appropriate. He suggested that consideration be given to the possibility of reinforcing the numerical strength of Citizen's Militia forces. In his remarks concerning the mass communications media, he proposed that, in addition to the tentative plans for the military takeover of selected facilities and personnel, another contingency plan should be prepared calling for total militarization and for the takeover of designated mass communications media by the military and security forces. In his remarks dealing with procedures to be followed in the event martial law is declared, he observed that, based on the plans which have been submitted, these procedures are too protracted; in this connection the necessary steps ought to be taken in order to cut down on the amount of time it would take to implement a state of martial law, primarily by finalizing the relevant documentary materials, including those of a political and propaganda nature (e.g., the proclamations), and placing them on file with the appropriate authorities. He also observed that in present circumstances the time has come to do something about the question of the chairmen of provincial defense committees, a problem which needs to be reexamined.

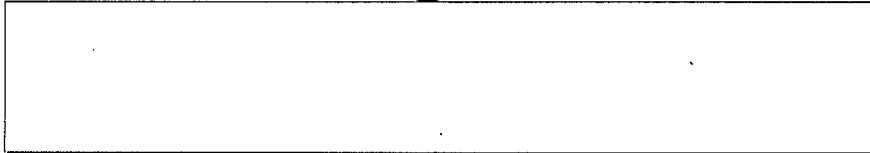
General of Arms Tadeusz TUCZAPSKI--reported that certain groups of persons in the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs have been appraised of the documents that have been prepared to deal with the question of martial law. The originals of these documents are on file with the PAF General Staff, and copies are on file, on a need-to-know basis, with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Secretariat of the National Defense Committee. This package of documents incorporates plans which are in conformity with the principles of due process arising out of the provisions of the PPR Constitution. However, the provisions for using these plans do provide for the possibility of flexible application in terms responsive to the situation that exists at any given moment. A separate ruling is required on the possible need to pass on certain of these documents to other agencies, i.e., to ministries concerned and, in particular, to provincial organs.

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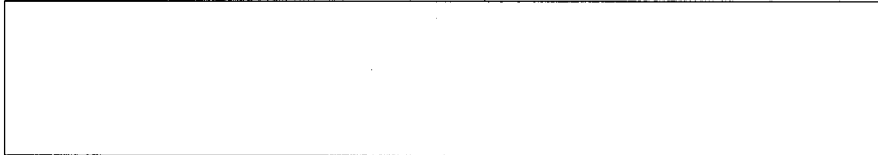
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On the question of functions of chairmen of the provincial defense committees, he reported that these matters were resolved by the provisions contained in Resolutions No. 2 and No. 3 (1981) of the National Defense Committee on the management of provincial defense committees, in accordance with which the responsibility for performing the duties of chairmen of these committees was conferred upon provincial governors (or their equivalents), while the offices of deputy chairmen would be filled by the respective chiefs of provincial military staffs. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has submitted a recommendation calling for the appointment of Citizens' Militia provincial commandants as deputy chairmen of the provincial defense committees. He also noted that the final resolution of this matter will require amending the text of Article 14, paragraph 2 of the Law on the Universal Service Obligation in Defense of the PPR, since this is the statute which provided that the office of chairman of the provincial defense committee is to be filled by the chairmen of the people's councils at the provincial level, while the position of deputy chairman is to be filled by the provincial governor (or his equivalent). At this time there is an urgent need to address the problem of what to do about organs concerned with defense affairs, i.e., the so-called military departments in ministries and central government agencies, a question that arises in conjunction with planned changes in the structure of executive and central organs of national public administration. An appropriate memorandum on this subject was submitted to the Minister of National Defense.

Major General Tadeusz HUPALOWSKI--observed that there is a need to agree upon a uniform interpretation of the text of Article 33, paragraph 2 of the PPR Constitution. It is the opinion of the PAF General Staff that this provision of the Constitution should be interpreted in such a way that the Council of State, which in this regard possesses the legal authority to declare martial law, is also endowed with the authority to decide what will be the consequences of such a declaration, including the powers to do so by way of the promulgation of decrees at any given point in time, regardless of whether or not the Sejm is in session (a matter which is addressed by Article 31, paragraph 1 of the PPR Constitution).

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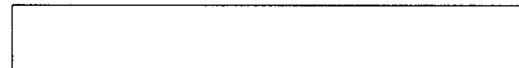
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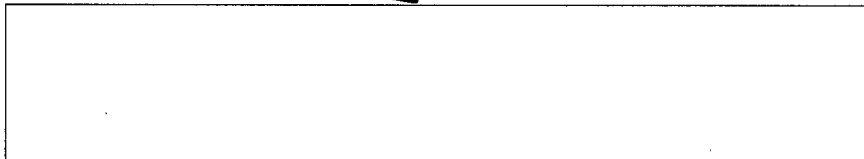
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Major General Miroslaw MILEWSKI--in reference to the recommendation of the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Citizen M. JAGIELSKI, concerning an increase in the number of Citizens' Militia officers--commented that the problem does not lie in increasing the number of TO slots, since at the present time there are approximately 6,000 vacant slots in the Citizens' Militia, but rather in finding personnel to fill them. He noted that this problem is largely attributable to the shortage of housing in certain urban centers and, to some extent as well, to problems having to do with pay, which, contrary to conventional wisdom, is not all that high in the Citizens' Militia.

General of Arms Florian SIWICKI--stated that vital documents related to actions that would be taken in the event of a threat to national security are on file with the PAF General Staff. A study that was recently made of the contents and formats of these documents by appropriate organs revealed that they are all well prepared, with the exception of those documents and materials dealing with propaganda programs wherein certain refinements need to be made. Appropriate organs of the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs are making sure that these documents are kept up to date, and they are working on the fine tuning and streamlining of the machinery that would be used in the event that a decision is made to put these plans into effect. In his remarks dealing with actions to be taken to maintain the integrity of radio and television broadcasting services in an extremely critical situation, he noted that the military has been placing in charge of ready reserve stocks of [broadcasting] service equipment which is to be used to insure uninterrupted service, in addition to permanent studios under the control of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. Solutions to problems related to insuring the continued publication of newspapers are now in the organizational planning stage using forces and assets at the disposal of the armed forces. It is urgently necessary that some solutions be found to the problems of providing for the security and protection of oil pipelines; the PAF General Staff is drawing up plans for appropriate actions in this regard. Contemplating a possible future escalation in actions taken by "Solidarity," and the deepening of the crisis in

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the country, he recommended the development and approval of a phased series of actions to be taken by organs of political and governmental authority based on the assumption that, in case of a warning strike, including localized ones, official actions would be taken aimed at instituting a given higher level of readiness in designated organs and forces, whereas a general strike would bring on a declaration of martial law, with all of its consequences, including changes in the way the nation's judicial system operates.

General of Arms Zbigniew NOWAK--referring to the report delivered by Vice Premier A. JEDYNAK--stated that representatives of the Combined Armed Forces Command, during talks that were held recently, expressed great alarm over the impending decline in the output capacity of our defense industries, especially in connection with efforts aimed at gearing up for the production of T-72 tanks, as well as in the case of other export sales commitments undertaken to meet the needs of Warsaw Pact armies, including, primarily, spare parts deliveries. He stressed that recent sessions of the Defense Industries Committee of the Council of Ministers provided an opportunity for assessing the current situation in defense industries and for making appropriate decisions on a number of important matters. Nevertheless, at the present time there is an urgent need to come to grips with the following problems:

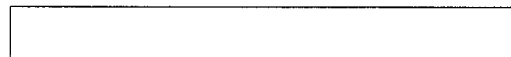
- preparing an evaluation of the record of performance in the fulfillment of capital construction projects associated with the startup of T-72 tank production in light of indications that this program is behind schedule and the settlement of problems associated with the anticipated contracting for equipment for this production program from Payment Zone II;

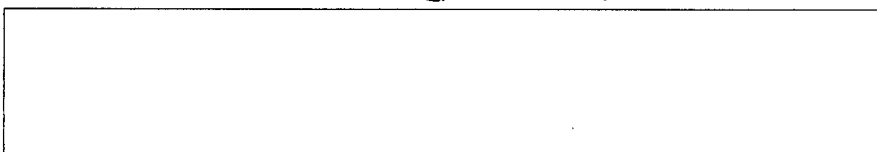
- streamlining procedures that are used to allocate foreign-exchange funds for the use of defense industries and laying the groundwork for these industries to draw on these funds;

- making adjustments in the system used to supply defense industry plants with scarce fabricated and raw materials;

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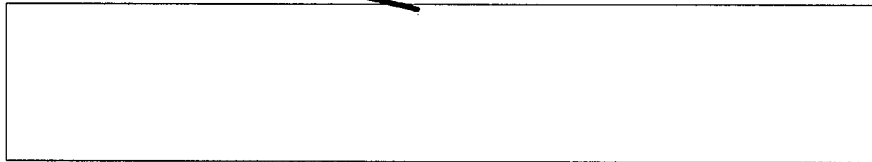
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- bringing greater order into the deliveries of spare parts for the armed forces. He shared the view that the draft resolution of the National Defense Committee on militarization should also cover defense industry plants and plant divisions. He also called attention to the need to start work on defining the missions and structure of military departments in connection with the proposed reorganization of the economic ministries.

Chairman of the National Defense Committee, General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI--requested that members of the National Defense Committee who are not in attendance at today's session receive from the Committee Secretary a complete briefing on its proceedings, including the reports submitted for its consideration. He went on to say that these reports provide correct assessments of the present situation in Poland. It should be noted that there is a great deal of evidence attesting to the fact that imperialist centers of subversion are taking an interest in the situation in Poland--inasmuch as this state of affairs is conducive to a takeover of political power by internal forces that are hostile to socialism. These hostile forces, especially those that have rallied around KPN [the Confederation for an Independent Poland] and KOR, including those who have infiltrated "Solidarity," are betting on the gradual erosion of our political power in a manner that will not provoke response from our allies. These forces, thriving on nationalism, are having an especially strong impact on university youth. An unfavorable climate of opinion has been stirred up around the trial of KPN leaders. This calls for appropriate countermeasures. General JARUZELSKI pointed out that more vigorous action must be taken against persons who are clearly breaking the law. Viewed against the background of these events, it is especially important that action should be taken aimed at improving the working conditions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The problem of building up the public reputation of the Security Services and the Citizens' Militia is becoming particularly significant. For the time being there is nothing that can be done to improve the material situation of these services, but perhaps considerations should be given to drawing advances on funds earmarked for rewards. Another typical problem is housing for staff members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; on this

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score it would be a good idea to take appropriate action by taking advantage of the services of contractors and manpower within the ministry's jurisdiction, in cooperation with the Ministry of Construction and the Building Materials Industry. The support of senior officials in the national public administration and economy, and, in particular, display of greater decisiveness in the discharge of their duties, is essential in order to bolster the performance efficiency of those organs and forces which were established for the purpose of safeguarding public safety and law and order. In this regard appropriate action has already been taken by the Council of Ministers, and it is planned that this matter will be taken up in the immediate future in collaboration with the Statutory Commission of the Union of Senior Management Personnel. Organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense should be taking a special interest in Citizens' Militia Motorized Reserve formations, in terms of recruitment, equipment, and supplies, and in the way in which these forces are used, including their assignment to patrol duties. An effort needs to be made, especially by the mass media, to generate a climate of public sympathy and support for law enforcement agencies; statistical data and other materials should be used to do this, including those materials prepared in June by the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. An effort also needs to be made to publicize the work being done by these forces in broader terms than has been the case heretofore. This also applies to the Citizens' Militia Volunteer Reserve. In keeping with resolutions of the 11th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee, an effort should be made to make sure that law enforcement agencies take firm action when dealing with all instances of violations of due process, public safety, and public order in this country. It is also necessary to take into account functions being performed by the military organs, including the Military Internal Service. Moreover, the activation of Civil Defense Forces and the performance of their assigned duties should also make a contribution to the enforcement of social discipline. It is to be expected that, in the wake of the 11th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee, stricter disciplinary measures will be applied. They should be spelled out in a comprehensive action plan. In this context the initiatives submitted by the Chief of the PAF General Staff are right and proper. In this matter the PAF General Staff should proceed without delay to prepare the necessary documents

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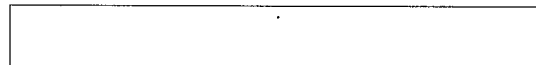
with provisions for the appropriate utilization of staff organs and the Government Alert Operations Staff. Plans should also be made for setting up operational groups at the ministry and provincial levels, and for maintaining an adequate communications system to support the effective transmission of decisions and information.

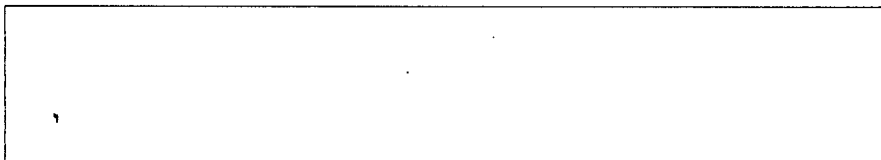
It is to be expected that a declaration of martial law will be preceded by the taking of certain actions, especially in the propaganda realm, as well as by appropriate measures of an organizational nature, including the establishment of control over centers that are deemed to play a critical role in the life of the nation. In this sphere of activity, in addition to the work that needs to be done on the drafting of a whole host of essential statutes, it is necessary to bear in mind the need to have on hand documents which prescribe a timetable of moves and measures that will have to be taken in conjunction with the declaration and subsequent enforcement of martial law. All of these documents should be kept on file with the PAF General Staff, and, as appropriate, some of them should be kept on file with the proper staff organs. Based on the provisions contained in these documents, special subordinate plans should be drawn up for certain organs responsible for a given area of action. Taking into account the way things have been going in Poland recently, it is essential that certain steps be taken to devise a system allowing for the possible declaration of martial law within area limits of one or more provinces. Acting under the coordinating guidance of the Chief of the PAF General Staff, responsible organs should address themselves to this problem on a top-priority basis.

There is still the problem of what to do about the appointment of new chairmen for the provincial defense committees. In addressing this problem it is to be understood that decisions on the appointment of provincial defense committee chairmen are the responsibility of the next highest ranking office, namely, the Chairman of the National Defense Committee. Also, the commandants of provincial Citizens' Militia organizations should take on the responsibilities of deputy chairmen of the provincial defense committees.

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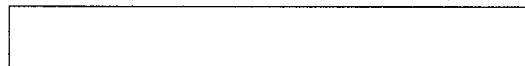
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All necessary measures should be taken to deal with the problems that were raised by the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. JEDYNAK, and the Inspector General for Technology, General of Arms Z. NOWAK, especially in connection with those portions of their remarks that dealt with the need to insure the startup of T-72 tank production and deliveries of goods supporting the fulfillment of obligations by defense industries, in compliance with the recommendations which they submitted. Concerning other matters, i.e., those having to do with providing security for railroad lines, the communications system, the power system, and the oil and gas pipeline systems, it is necessary to make further familiarization studies, and plan out and put into effect measures that will insure the continued operation of these services in emergency situations, on a scale which is, to be sure, reduced, but which is at the same time sufficient to meet the nation's essential security and defense requirements.

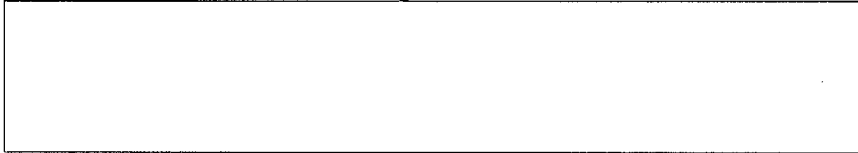
The National Defense Committee endorsed the policy recommendations and motions submitted by the Chairman of the National Defense Committee, General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI, and it enjoined all committee members to implement these policies and motions in their respective areas of official responsibility.

3. Re agenda item No. 2--i.e., a review of the draft of National Defense Committee resolution on militarization.

The general premises of this draft resolution were presented by the Deputy Chief of the PAF General Staff, Major General Antoni JASINSKI, who observed that the provisions of this resolution can also be used as a means of enforcing stricter discipline among certain circles of workers employed in organizations slated for militarization. In addition, he described the difficulties encountered in the implementation of Resolution No. 85 of the Council of Ministers, dated 18 September 1980, dealing with civil defense units to which people are assigned for the fulfillment of their basic civil defense service obligations. These difficulties stem in particular from the improper stance taken in this matter by the Central Command of Voluntary Work Detachments.

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After the discussion period, in which General of Arms F. SIWICKI and General of Arms T. TUCZAPSKI took part, the Chairman of the National Defense Committee, General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI, moved for the adoption of the resolution on the condition that the resolution's attachments should be supplemented with information concerning armament industry plants and plants with classified production contracts.

The National Defense Committee adopted the draft resolution as amended.

4. Re agenda item No. 3--i.e., a review of the National Defense Committee draft resolution on the revision of the resolution concerning the obligations of local governmental organs and certain workplaces affected by the requirement calling for immediate manpower for the Armed Forces:

The motion carried, and the National Defense Committee adopted the draft resolution.

Secretary of the National Defense Committee,  
General of Arms Tadeusz TUCZAPSKI

Chairman of the National Defense Committee,  
General of the Army Wojciech JARUZELSKI

[Attachments unavailable]

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