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**Memorandum from John Stein to the Director of
Central Intelligence, '[Redacted] Report'**

Citation:

"Memorandum from John Stein to the Director of Central Intelligence, '[Redacted] Report'", November 30, 1981, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA declassification, 2008
<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/165318>

Summary:

Translation of a classified report from the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs, covering the general sociopolitical situation in Poland, anti-government and anti-party activity, labor and farmer unrest, the situation in mass media and artistic circles, the activity of the Roman Catholic clergy, violations of public law and order, and other hostile activity. Opinions of Western diplomats and press correspondents are highlighted.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from MacArthur Foundation

Original Language:

English

Contents:

Original Scan

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[Redacted]

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

30 November 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director of Central Intelligence
FROM : John H. Stein
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]
John H. Stein

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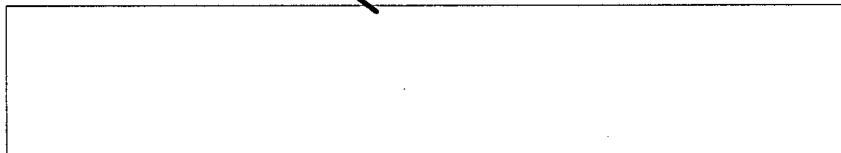
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DATE: 08-19-2008

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Page 2 of 10 Pages

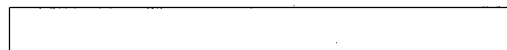
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Page 3 of 16 Pages

Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland/USSR

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DATE OF INFO. September 1981

DATE 30 Nov 1981

SUBJECT

Ministry of Internal Affairs Daily Report No 2,
22 September 1981

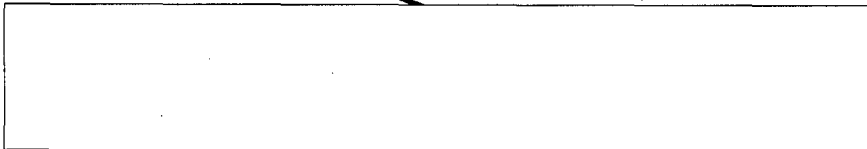
SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs "Daily Report No 2" for 22 September 1981, classified SECRET. The report covers the general sociopolitical situation in Poland, antigovernment and antiparty activity, labor and farmer unrest, the situation in mass media and artistic circles, the activity of the Roman Catholic clergy, violations of public law and order, and other hostile activity. Opinions of Western diplomats and press correspondents are also highlighted. Of particular interest is a report on the PAX society whose members and leaders believe that Soviet intervention in Poland is impossible, and that the USSR will plan on rebuilding the Party in Poland on the basis of Solidarity.

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 4 of 16 Pages

Warsaw, 22 Sept. 1981

MINISTRY OF
INTERNAL AFFAIRS

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DAILY REPORT NO. 2General Situation in the Country

The last 24 hours have seen no real changes in the sociopolitical situation of the country. Declarations of the Politburo of the CC PUWP, the CC CPSU, and the USSR Government still remain the main topic of discussion among factory workers.

In some industrial plants a wide scale propaganda campaign by Solidarity continues unabated. We note in these plants a more evident atmosphere of discontent and attacks on authorities by ordinary union members, particularly younger ones. Radicalization of views among this group is the result of disorientation as to the situation which has arisen in the country as well as apprehension of threats resulting from confrontation with the authorities. Among the leading activists of the Regional Chapters and Plants Commissions of Solidarity there is a growing conviction that the government will not allow the second round of talks of the National Congress of Solidarity to take place.

In the provinces the situation is as follows:

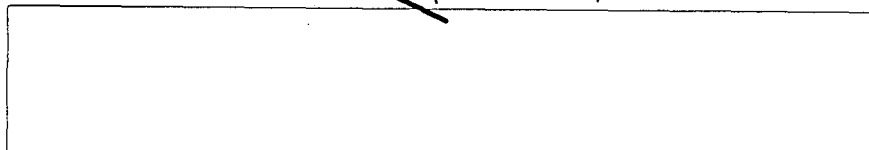
in BIELSKO-BIALA Province--Solidarity plant committees issued their new statements and resolutions condemning the declarations of the Politburo and the CC CPSU in the name of the working personnel of BIELKON Clothing Industry Plant, RYTEX Wool Industry Plant, SPOLEM Provincial Consumers Cooperative Branch at SKOCZOW, BISPOL Screw Products Plant at BIELSKO-BIALA, and FSM Plant No. 1. These statements also accuse the CC PUWP of conducting measures aiming at confrontation, breakup of NSZZ Solidarity, and arresting the process of renewal;

TS #818272
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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 5 of 16 Pages

in TARNOW Province--the majority of the plant committees of NSZZ Solidarity prepared resolutions addressed to the Politburo and the government of the Polish Peoples Republic in which they declare support for the Solidarity policy accepted by the National Congress. The Solidarity Plant Committee at the EMA-TAMEL Electric Motors Factory states in its resolution that the Politburo declaration constitutes an open provocation and intervention in the internal affairs of the union, while the Soviet government pronouncement is described as unfavorable to maintenance of good neighborly relations and constituting a denial of Polish sovereignty;

in KRAKOW Province--there is concern in various social centers in regard to the aggravated political situation in the country, whereas among the workers there is a decline in the psychosis of external threat. Solidarity activists collected yesterday in the KRAKOW Cable Factory signatures for the resolution condemning the Politburo declaration and demanding full implementation of social agreements which had been reached.

OTHER INITIATIVES PERTAINING TO THE POLITBURO DECLARATIONS

The Solidarity Plant Committee in KWB ADAMOW in TUREK (KONIN Province), after consultation with the work force, issued a statement denouncing the Politburo and government position, judging it to be aimed at sowing "dissension among the whole populace and particularly among the members of Solidarity." The Plant Committee also expressed its censure of the party and government leadership and demanded that the Polish public no longer be subjected to threats of loss of independence, that an end be put to the false information campaign of other countries on union activities, and that Solidarity be given access to the press, radio, and TV.

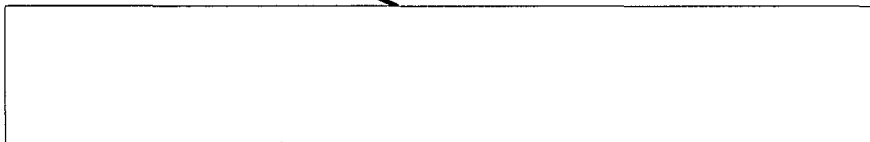
On 21 September there was a mass meeting at the PZL Filter Plant in SEDZISZOW (RZESZOW Province) organized by Solidarity at which the work force passed a resolution supporting all resolutions and statements adopted by the First National Congress of Solidarity. This resolution also demands that the authorities cease their disinformation campaign and slanderous attacks on the union.

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 6 of 16 Pages

The SLASKO-DABROWSKI Regional Chapter of Solidarity received a resolution from 87 Solidarity Plant Committees from the area of GLIWICE and PYSKOWICE fully supporting resolutions of the first round of the Congress and criticizing evaluations formulated in the Politburo declaration which is a "political provocation and is not in the interest of maintaining social harmony in the country."

The Solidarity Plant Committee of the POMET Metal Works (POZNAN Province) adopted a resolution pertaining to the Politburo declaration; the resolution asserts that activities of the union are in accord with the needs of the present economic situation of the country. Accusations that Solidarity is trying to take over power are rejected as being unjustified. The authorities are accused of threatening confrontation and injury to the Solidarity congress.

In the Institute of Nuclear Research the Solidarity Plant Committee published a declaration stating that the "Politburo position presents the latest step leading to imminent confrontation with the nation, a manifestation of contempt which the PUWP leadership has for the ten million-strong organization of Polish labor.

EVENTS SHAPING THE SITUATION IN WORK ESTABLISHMENTS

a) key work establishments

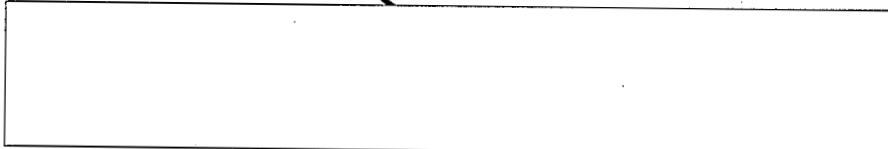
On 21 September miners from the first shift of KWK WIKTORIA in WALBRZYCH decided to remain in the mine pits until the arrival of the First Secretary of the CC PUWP, as well as the provincial governor and the chief of the commercial department. The reason for this action was the assertion that the approved food rations were insufficient and that there was a lack of detergents. At the same time the miners announced that they would go on a sit-in strike in case the above-mentioned individuals did not come for talks. At 1400 hours the second shift went down into the mine, but the miners did not start working. At its peak the strike involved 1,121 persons. When the governor arrived the miners formed a committee of 128 persons to conduct the talks. Other miners came to the surface and dispersed to their homes.

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Page 7 of 16 Pages

Solidarity activists in SKIERNIEWICE Province issued the local authorities an ultimatum that if within 24 hours there is no improvement in availability of basic consumer articles, a protest action (hunger march or strike) will be organized in the larger places of work.

The Southeast Regional Chapter of Solidarity decided to proclaim strike readiness in the region and proposed to announce strike readiness in the areas of KROSNO, RZESZOW and TARNOW. The reasons for this decision is the demand of the Military Weapons Plant management at ZURAWICA that Solidarity members must either quit the union or their jobs.

b) other work establishments

Rallies were organized in work establishments at TOMASZOW MAZOWIECKI during which resolutions were passed demanding improvement in the availability of food. If demands remained unfulfilled the workers announced their intention to initiate a protest action as of 26 September.

Strike readiness was announced on 21 September in the Gen. Walter Cotton Mill at ZGIERZ because of the insufficient supply of food in the city. A one-hour warning strike is planned for 28 September.

The NSZZ Solidarity at the FASTY Cotton Industry Mill at BIALYSTOK sent a letter to the Citizens Militia Provincial Headquarters in connection with the detention by Citizens Militia officers of Ryszard MARCIUK (member of Solidarity). The above-mentioned individual had been detained on 19 September in a train when he attempted to leave it through the window while the train was in motion. Because he was under the influence of alcohol he was detained until he sobered up. Solidarity demanded that the Provincial Citizens Militia Commandant and the Provincial Prosecutor come for talks. Since the demand was ignored, yesterday a group of 30 persons decided to occupy the conference hall of the FASTY mill and it was announced at the same time that permission was being sought from the Regional Chapter for a strike.

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25 May 1948

COPY NO. 31NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL INTELLIGENCE DIRECTIVE NO. 8BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON FOREIGN
SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PERSONALITIES

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 102 of the National Security Act of 1947 and for the purpose enunciated in paragraph d(4) thereof, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of Biographical Data on Foreign Scientific and Technological Personalities is assigned to the Central Intelligence Agency.

1. To implement this undertaking, the following procedures are established:

a. Departmental intelligence agencies shall continue to collect, analyze, and abstract biographical data on foreign scientific and technological personalities in accordance with their needs.

b. Departmental intelligence agencies shall forward to the Central Intelligence Agency, in the manner most satisfactory to the Department concerned, all biographical data originating within their respective Departments, or complete documentary references thereto, on foreign scientific and technological personalities.

c. The Central Intelligence Agency shall codify and index all such data received, including such data as may be received from all sources, and shall incorporate the actual material received in its files.

d. All biographical data on foreign scientific and technological personalities maintained by the Central Intelligence Agency shall be readily available to the participating Departments and Agencies.

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 8 of 16 Pages

In the ORGANIKA-ZACHEM Chemical Plant in BYDGOSZCZ a referendum was conducted among the workers on Solidarity's initiative in connection with the protest strike planned by the BYDGOSZCZ Regional Chapter and connected with the March events at the Provincial Administrative Office. Up to now the First Department of the plant has opted for the strike.

It is expected that by 22 September the majority of workers at the TONSIL ZWG plant in WRZESNIA will join the strike action planned in response to the bad market situation.

RURAL SITUATION

On 20 September during a country harvest festival at BRONISZEWICE (KALISZ Province) parish administrator Rev. WOZNIAK blessed the country wreath in the local church. In his sermon he stated that his sympathy is with Solidarity and he is surprised at those who had not yet joined it. He considers them to be an inferior type of Pole. He stressed also that he has great respect for his ideological adversary who has succeeded in stupefying part of society so much that they have not joined Solidarity. He concluded with the statement that a delegation will carry the blessed wreath to the county chief and hopes that shortly the chief will personally receive festival wreaths in the church.

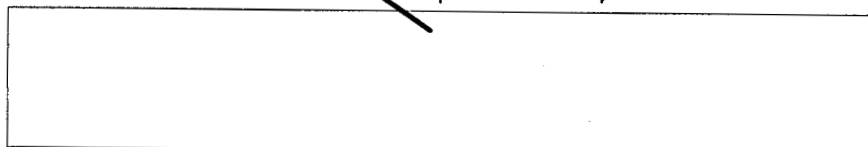
Also on 26 September the parish administrator in CZERNICE, County OSJAKOW (SIERADZ Province) Rev. PIETRUS blessed during the service a cross for the local Solidarity Private Farmers Union. In the sermon he said that the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives and Organizations had illegally declared itself to be the farmers' trade union since only the NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers is the authentic representative of peasant self-rule. He also asserted that "socialism has been brought in on the bayonets of Russian soldiers and constitutes a pestilence which should be destroyed."

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 9 of 16 Pages

On 21 September there was a meeting at the Dom Chlopa [Peasant's House] in WARSAW of the District Founding Committee Presidium of NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers. It was asserted that the government avoids talks with representatives of the District Founding Committee. After this the NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers met with the United Peasant Party (UPP) in the UPP National Committee building. During the talk KULAJ stated that he recognizes the guiding role of the Party, socialism, and the present government. He stressed that in his union activity he will not violate the statutory rights of the union and stated that if we wish to feed the country, the District Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers must have talks with the government and not with the Workers Defense Committee [KOR]. J. KULAJ is trying to arrange a meeting with Primate GLEMP and S. BRATKOWSKI.

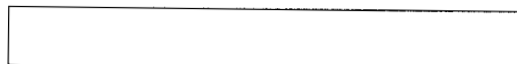
in private agriculture

On 21 September the Provincial Council of the NSZZ Peasant Solidarity and the National Founding Committee of the Rural Women Homemakers continued their session in WROCLAW. At the "Peasant Solidarity" session the following was asserted:

- all farm groupings [zespól] should be dissolved and in the event there are no prospective [buyers], separate farms should be formed;
- we support the just aspirations of NSZZ Solidarity pertaining to access to radio and TV;
- we support the proposal to organize plant and territorial self-governing bodies demanded by NSZZ Solidarity as well as the proposal to conduct a referendum by the Sejm on election to Sejm and to the people's councils. The Union is based on the manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation.

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 10 of 16 Pages

The following questions were also taken up: the problem of elections in rural and county centers; issue of meat ration cards by private farmers to workers using [Solidarity] Union channels; continuation of activity vis-a-vis the Agricultural Clubs Cooperatives.

At a meeting of the National Founding Committee of the Rural Women Homemakers a seven-member National Organizational Committee was created. Its secretary was Genowefa LAPKA, staff employee of the Regional Chapter of NSZZ Solidarity. Organizational and legal help for the National Organizational Committee will be provided by Citizen BOJAKOWA, a woman peasant movement activist from the period of [German] occupation. During the meeting a declaration of the National Organizational Committee of the Rural Women Homemakers Association was adopted.

On 20 September in WSCHOWA (LESZNO Province) there was a provincial congress of NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers. During the talks there was a speech by Citizen WAWRZEWIECKI, member of the National Consultative Committee of NSZZ Solidarity for Matters of National Food Supply who asserted that the government exports food at low and unprofitable prices, at the same time importing meat which is of poorer quality and more expensive. He stressed that meat warehouses are overloaded while its ration for October is to remain at the present level. Anti-Soviet and antisocialist publications, such as The Nationalities Problem in the USSR and The Polish Road to Socialism were distributed among the congress participants (about 300 persons) who were required to pay for them.

Agitational activity of Solidarity for Private Farmers continues throughout the country calling for refusal to pay the third quarter of private farmers land-value tax:

- in SIERADZ Province during the meeting of the Provincial Founding Committee Council of NSZZ for Private Farmers it was confirmed that only 7 percent of all farmers failed to pay the tax. In case of punitive action against these persons on the part of the provincial governor a protest activity will be

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 11 of 16 Pages

organized consisting of a blockade of access roads to SIERADZ and other provincial towns;

- the Provincial Founding Committee of LODZ Region declared that if there is a prosecution of farmers who refuse to pay taxes, the Committee will organize an action consisting of refusal to deliver agricultural products;
- WITOWSKI, Chairman of the Provincial Founding Committee of NSZZ for Private Farmers in CHELM, in coordination with Chairman MIKUS of the CHELM Regional Council of NSZZ Solidarity, determined that as soon as the farmers receive reminders and threat of action by the authorities [because of failure to pay land-value tax] they will select one work establishment in which to strike in the name of the farmers.
- protest activity of farmers in ZAKROCZYM continues. It does not, however, interest the local citizens to any great degree;
- in the BIALYSTOK Province the refusal to pay taxes did not find wide support. Some village elders, Solidarity members, refused to accept tax payments from the farmers. Because of this some farmers made direct payments at county offices.

SITUATION IN MASS MEDIA AND ARTISTIC CENTERS

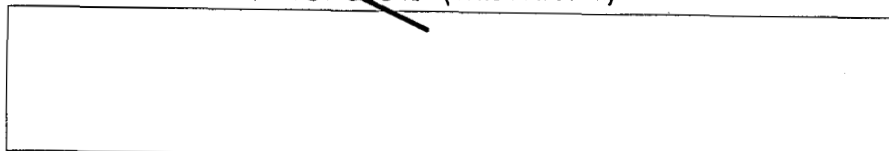
a) press

Most domestic journalists express the opinion that the Politburo declaration constitutes promise of a whole range of concrete action on the part of the authorities in the coming days and weeks. The internal situation certainly does not indicate that compromise solutions are realistic if for no other reason than the fact that any reform proposals of the State are immediately accompanied by difficulties raised by Solidarity. Some journalists assert that the internal situation is at present unusually dramatic in connection with the trend of the KSS-KOR activists who are influencing Solidarity to provoke the government to take strong measures. In their opinion the appeal sent by Solidarity during the first round of the GDANSK congress

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 12 of 16 Pages

was consciously provocative, calculated to produce a sharp reaction, and not simply a caprice of inexperienced youth. This is evidenced by the outline of the foreign policy program at the congress, which was explicitly directed to the West.

b) artistic community

At a consultative meeting of individuals who last year addressed to the PPR government and the Sejm the so-called Appeal of Intellectuals it was decided, because of the present situation in the country, to launch a new appeal to the PPR government and to the NSZZ Solidarity congress calling on both sides for a "ceasefire" and a return to negotiations. The initiator and author of the new appeal is Dr. Jerzy JEDLICKI from the History Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences who intends to initiate the collection of signatures for the appeal. According to information on hand the appeal has already been signed, by A. WAJDA, S. STOMMA, A. SZCZYPIORSKI, and H. SAMSONOWICZ.

INITIATIVES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

At 20 September church ceremonies the following pronouncements of bishops were worthy of note:

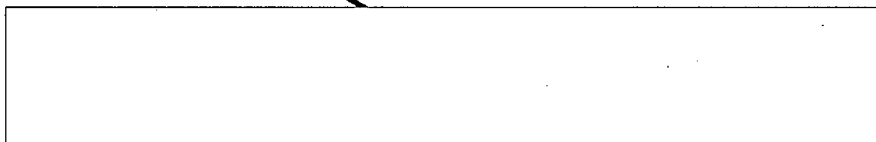
- Bishop BEDNARZ, the KATOWICE ordinary at RYBNIK blessed at the NOWINY settlement the NSZZ Solidarity banner from the Repair and Construction Plant and in the Sacred Heart of Jesus Church blessed the NSZZ Solidarity banner from the Rymer Hard Coal Mine. During his sermons he called on the construction workers to render honest work in order to improve the housing situation in the country. In regard to the situation in the mines he stated among other things that "the Council of Ministers resolution urges the miners to work on Sundays. This is a crime, genocide; the miner has no use for offal and extra pay in cash or dollars. This is an attempt to manipulate the miners, to bring them into the treadmill of a 7-day workweek. It is the duty of Solidarity to defend the miners from humiliation. On TV there is a call for more coal, but in order to get more the miners need more food. It cannot be extracted with bread and mushrooms [alone, i.e., without meat]."

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 13 of 16 Pages

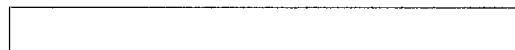
- Bishop ADAMIUK, an OPOLE suffragan, blessed the banner of the NSZZ Solidarity local organization within the grounds of the Szombierki Hard Coal Mine in BYTOM. In his speech he challenged the veracity of information spread by the mass media. He criticized the changes in law drafts on trade unions, censorship and higher education made by government commissions. He supported the demands put forward by NSZZ Solidarity.
- Bishop STROBA, Poznan ordinary in the Blessed Virgin Mary Church at POZNAN, during his sermon accused the mass media of not teaching citizens to be responsible for their actions. He asserted that in "the present situation in the country we should behave with deliberation and responsibility. We should not shout whatever appeals to us and think only about ourselves. We should think of our whole fatherland, of Poland, and her future. We should all feel responsible for her."

On 20 September while reading the letter from the 180th Conference of Polish Bishops during services on the subject of mass media some priests included a political emphasis. Rev. ZELAZNICKI, curate of a congregation at LOMZA, appealed to young men of draft age "that as soldiers they should not fire at their own people but should guard the borders and sovereignty of Poland." Rev. DABROWSKI, pastor of a congregation at SZPETAL GORNY (WROCLAW Province) appealed to the faithful to make donations for orphan children saying that "orphans in the WROCLAW Province are for the most part directed toward party dens, as for instance at ROZINOW and BRZEZIEL, that the children must live in inhuman and crowded quarters."

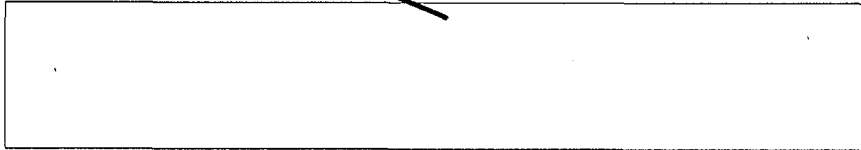
Opinions are expressed in the PAX circles that the association's leaders (including REIFF) follow more and more the Solidarity political policy. They see the Party losing authority in society and that newly-elected CC members are incapable of establishing contact with the working class and with other social groups. According to these sources REIFF does not want to be excluded from the political power play and acts on the assumption that the USSR, because of the impossibility of intervening in Poland, will rebuild the communist movement on the foundation of

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FIRDB-312/03548-81

Page 14 of 16 Pages

Solidarity. PAX intends to propose the idea of changing the current formula of the National Unity Front in order to concentrate in it all legal political trends in the country. PAX is to come out with the initiative of close collaboration with the Church, the Christian Social Association, the Catholic Intelligentsia Club, and the Polish Catholic Social Union in order to provide leadership for this social movement. At the next Sejm session PAX delegates are to vote against the government law on workers self-government and on education.

POLAND AS SEEN BY THE WEST

Opinions and commentaries of diplomats and foreign correspondents in Poland.

Some journalists from NATO countries consider the CC CPSU declaration as constituting an unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of Poland and a direct attack strongly affecting Polish national feelings. In the opinion of most Western diplomats the Polish situation is despite everything hopeless, and the path of contacts and negotiations between Solidarity and the government--though extremely narrow--offers the only possibility for avoiding confrontation. They expect that Solidarity will adopt the tactic of small steps and avoid grandiose declarations, as a result of which the second part of the Solidarity congress should be moderate. Western observers stress that it is only thanks to the Polish authorities that there have been no serious incidents; they express the hope that the government will continue to be restrained.

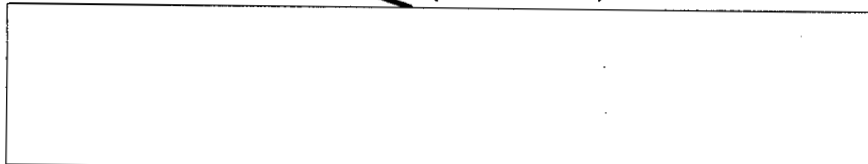
Some Western correspondents state that the many local conflicts connected with the problem of self-government and recall of directors is to be treated as a fait accompli which may lead to an unprecedented paralysis in the economy. In this context they cite the rumor that in an unpublicized note the USSR informed Polish authorities of its decision to reduce deliveries of oil and other raw materials to Poland and to continue future trade exchange on the basis of strict reciprocity.

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PKDB-312/03548-81

Page 16 of 16 Pages

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF PUBLIC ORDER VIOLATIONS

On 21 September between 1340-1410 hours in the village of RAWICZOW, County of NOWY KAWECZYN (SKIERNIEWICE Province) a 12-member group of village residents (members of NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers) dismantled the overhead line of the Provincial Telephone Office along a sector of 200 meters, digging out 4 telephone poles and cutting the wires. The reason for this action was the transfer of a telephone from the house of the former elder Henryka MIKULSKA to the house of the new elder MARIA KANIA. Preliminary investigation is being conducted by the Citizens Militia Provincial Headquarters in SKIERNIEWICE.

Drafted by
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