

**June 15, 1981**

**Memorandum from Max Hugel to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of National Security, 'Polish Military and Security Reactions to the Current Political Situation in Poland'**

**Citation:**

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**Summary:**

Memorandum from Max Hugel to the Secretaries of State and Defense and the Director of National Security. The document details the conflict between several high military officials. It also mentions several places where Soviet military servicemen are incorporated into the Polish army.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

GPP

15 June 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary of State  
The Secretary of Defense  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
Director, National Security Agency

FROM : Max Hugel  
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT : Polish Military and Security Reactions  
to the Current Political Situation in  
Poland

1. [redacted] Comment: The following information is from an extremely sensitive source and, therefore, recipients should hold this report very closely.]

2. A reliable source with excellent contacts in the Polish Ministry of Defense reported that Party meetings in the Polish Armed Forces are stormy sessions and that at a recent Party meeting five of seven general officers of the Polish General Staff who were candidates for higher Party positions received very few votes in secret balloting and were not elected. One of the five general officers included the Deputy Chief of the Polish General Staff. According to source, the young officer cadre are the ones who set a very militant tone at these Party meetings. Source indicated that the majority of the general officers in the Polish Armed Forces are conservative in political outlook and are only interested in maintaining their own status.

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3. Marshal Kulikov, Commander-in-chief of the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, arrived in Poland on 6 June and along with the rest of the Soviet Warsaw Pact leadership, are still based at Rembertow. Before the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, Kulikov and other unidentified Soviet officers held several meetings with the leadership of the Polish Ministry of National Defense. Source heard that the Soviets have ordered the evacuation of Soviet families with children to the Soviet Union by 15 June. Source heard that these were the families of the official Soviet representations in Poland.

4. Source heard that before the July Party Conference that there will be a new Warsaw Pact exercise on Polish territory in which Polish troops will not participate. Only designated staff groups from the Polish Armed Forces will participate in these exercises. [ ] Comment: Source did not provide a date, the nationality of the participants, nor the scenario of the Warsaw Pact exercise.] Source believed that one should anticipate the introduction into Poland of new contingents of Soviet troops and probably those of other countries prior to the beginning of the exercise.

5. At some Polish military barracks where equipment and mobilization materials are stored (e.g., in Lublin) Soviet guards are stationed in addition to the Polish guards.

6. The citizens militia (MO) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is not meeting the demands of the current political situation. After Bydgoszcz, they do not want to participate in controlling any demonstrations. Since 1 June they have refused to participate in joint patrols with the Military Internal Service (WSW) of the Ministry of National Defense. [ ] Comment: The WSW is responsible for counter-intelligence and security in the armed forces. WSW personnel are involved in military police activities, including guard and public order duties.] Militia personnel have threatened to organize trade unions. There is information that entire commands have joined Solidarnosc. This reportedly took place in Warsaw and the district commands in the Zoliborz and Ochota. The ringleaders are the young militia officers.

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7. The WSW is being expanded. WSW officers in the reserves are being recalled to active duty. New units of the WSW "law enforcement service," both at WSW headquarters and in the military districts, are being created. [ ]

[ ] Comment: The term "law enforcement service" is believed to refer to the WSW's military police component.] Consideration is being given to the desirability of creating something similar to the previous Internal Security Service Corps (KBW), using as its basis part of the WSW plus units of the Military Internal Defense Forces. [ ]

Comment: The KBW, which existed from the end of WWII until at least the mid-1950s, was subordinate to the Ministry of Public Security, an organization which at the height of its power encompassed all the major arms necessary for controlling the population and maintaining the power of the Party.] There are many rumors about a change in the position of Minister of Internal Affairs; the present WSW Chief; General Czeslaw Kiszczak, allegedly would be the new Minister.

8. The previous WSW Chief, Brigadier General Tedor Kufel, was recalled from Berlin in a disciplinary action. An investigation is being carried out against him and its not excluded that he will be punished for abusing his office and "economic matters." [ ] Comment: General Kufel was WSW Chief from 1964-1979. He then became Acting Head of the Polish Military Mission with the rank of Minister in West Berlin.]

9. According to source, the Soviet inspired "Katowice forum," the uncovering of hard-liners at the recent Central Committee Plenum, and the publication of Brezhnev's letter will have serious consequences on future developments in Poland. The plan of the "Soviet group" at the Party Plenum failed; however, in source's opinion this does not mean that their activity has been terminated. They will continue to apply various pressures, primarily economic. The principal leader of the Moscow group is Olszowski. Grabski -- a man of many limitations in the opinion of source -- was designated to do the "dirty work." Grabski was responsible for the activity at Bydgoszcz.

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10. Changes in leadership positions in the Polish Party continue to take place. Two-hundred and four individuals are being recalled. Of these, approximately 100 are secretaries and deputies in the provinces. In the state apparatus 245 individuals are being recalled, of which approximately 55 are ministers and vice-ministers. In general, from the central apparatus 635 people were recalled. New appointments number over 600. Source believes that after the July Party Congress that there will even be greater changes.

Max Hugel

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