

December 18, 1981

**Intelligence Information Cable, 'Soviet Influence
Among the Current Polish Leadership and
Composition of the Council of National Salvation'**

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Summary:

Report elaborates on how the imposition of martial law makes the Polish government more reliant on Soviet authorities.

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DIST 18 DECEMBER 1981

REPORT CLASS [Redacted]

COUNTRY POLAND/USSR

SUBJECT 1. SOVIET INFLUENCE AMONG THE CURRENT POLISH LEADERSHIP
2. COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION
{DOI: DECEMBER 1981}

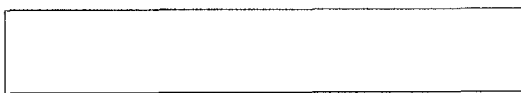
SOURCE A FORMER POLISH GENERAL STAFF OFFICER WHO MADE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS BASED ON HIS PAST EXPERIENCE AND CONTACTS. HE HAS REPORTED RELIABLY IN THE PAST.

1. THE SOVIETS HAVE MANIPULATED THE STRUCTURE OF THE CURRENT MARTIAL LAW REGIME IN A WAY WHICH ISOLATES THE POLISH LEADERSHIP FROM ITS DOMESTIC POWER BASES AND INCREASES ITS DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES.

2. THE TWO PRIMARY PURPOSES FOR THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW, FROM THE SOVIET PERSPECTIVE, WERE TO REESTABLISH THE PRE-SUMMER 1980 DOMESTIC SITUATION IN POLAND AND TO REPLACE THE EXISTING GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES {AND LEADERS} WITH A STRUCTURE WITHIN WHICH THE SOVIETS COULD EXERCISE A DIRECT INFLUENCE. THE ORIGINAL POLISH PLAN FOR MARTIAL LAW WAS SOLIDLY BASED ON THE POLISH CONSTITUTION. ARTICLE 33 OF THAT CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR TWO METHODS OF IMPLEMENTING MARTIAL LAW: A DECREE OF THE SEJM OR, IF THE SEJM IS NOT IN SESSION, BY DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IN THE CURRENT CASE, THE LEADERSHIP REQUESTED A

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MARTIAL LAW DECREE FROM THE SEJM AND WAS REFUSED. THE LEADERS THEN ISSUED A DECREE INSTITUTING MARTIAL LAW, ALTHOUGH THE SEJM WAS SITTING. THUS, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, THE ACTUAL DECREE IS OF QUESTIONABLE CONSTITUTIONALITY, AND HE ASCRIBES THIS ACTION TO DIRECT SOVIET PRESSURE ON THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO INSTITUTE MARTIAL LAW REGARDLESS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL SITUATION.

3. THE ORIGINAL POLISH PLAN CALLED FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE (KOMITET OBRONY KRAJU - KOK) TO BE THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY UNDER MARTIAL LAW. THIS BODY IS A LEGALLY CONSTITUTED ORGAN EXISTING IN PEACETIME, THE MEMBERSHIP OF WHICH WAS DEFINED BY SEJM LEGISLATION AND DETERMINED BY POSITIONS WHICH THE MEMBERS HELD WITHIN THE POLISH PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. THIS ORGAN WAS SPECIFIED IN THE ORIGINAL POLISH MARTIAL LAW PLAN PRECISELY IN ORDER TO LINK THE MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY TO THE CONSTITUTIONALLY ESTABLISHED, PERMANENT INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD HAVE PRESERVED NOT ONLY THE TIES OF INDIVIDUALS TO THEIR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS, BUT ALSO THE POWER RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE KOK'S MEMBERS. FURTHERMORE, AS INTENDED BY THE POLISH GENERAL STAFF PLANNERS, THE ORIGINAL PLAN WOULD HAVE FORCED THE

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SOVIETS TO EXERCISE THEIR INFLUENCE INDIRECTLY ON THE POLISH LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE SEJM AND THE POLISH PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

4. THE ACTUAL DECREE OF MARTIAL LAW, HOWEVER, BYPASSED THE KOK AND ESTABLISHED AN AD HOC BODY, THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION, AS THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY. SOURCE BELIEVES THAT THIS CHANGE WAS DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO PRESSURE BROUGHT PERSONALLY ON PRIME MINISTER WOJIECH JARUZELSKI BY SOVIET LEADERS, INCLUDING BREZHNEV, IN LATE OCTOBER AND EARLY NOVEMBER. FUNDAMENTALLY, THIS AD HOC BODY IS NOT CONSTITUTIONALLY BASED, HAS NO LEGAL RELATIONSHIP TO ANY PERMANENT POLISH GOVERNMENTAL OR PARTY INSTITUTIONS, AND CAN RECONSTITUTE ITSELF AT WILL. THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COUNCIL INCLUDES A STRONG PRO-SOVIET ELEMENT, THROUGH WHICH THE SOVIETS CAN EXERCISE DIRECT INFLUENCE ON THE POLISH DECISIONMAKING PROCESS FOR THE DURATION OF MARTIAL LAW, POTENTIALLY EVEN TO THE POINT OF OUSTING JARUZELSKI AND HIS SUPPORTERS, AND ALTERING THE POST-MARTIAL LAW STRUCTURE OF POLISH PARTY AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.

5. SOURCE DIVIDED THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION INTO THREE GROUPS: THOSE WHO ARE CLEARLY IDENTIFIED

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AS FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF JARUZELSKI, THOSE WHO ARE CLEARLY IDENTIFIED AS PRO-SOVIET AND AS OPPONENTS OF JARUZELSKI, AND THOSE ABOUT WHOM SOURCE DOES NOT KNOW ENOUGH TO MAKE AN ASSESSMENT.

6. JARUZELSKI'S DIRECT SUPPORTERS INCLUDE LT. GEN. FLORIAN SIWICKI, DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF; MAJ. GEN. MICHAL JANISZEWSKI, CHIEF OF THE OFFICE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; LT. GEN. CZESLAW KISZCZAK, MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS; LT. GEN. JOZEF BARYLA, DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER AND CHIEF OF THE MAIN POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION; LT. GEN. CZESLAW PIOTROWSKI, MINISTER OF MINING AND POWER; LT. GEN. JOZEF UZYCKI, COMMANDER OF THE POMERANIAN MILITARY DISTRICT; AND MAJ. GEN. JERZY JAROSZ, COMMANDER OF THE 1ST MECHANIZED DIVISION. AMONG THE ABOVE, SIWICKI AND JANISZEWSKI ARE LONG-STANDING PERSONAL FRIENDS OF JARUZELSKI AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE REPLACED ANY TIME THAT JARUZELSKI MIGHT LOSE HIS POSITION.

7. THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION IS LT. GEN. EUGENIUSZ MOLCZYK, DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER AND CHIEF INSPECTOR FOR TRAINING. MOLCZYK, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, IS STRONGLY PRO-SOVIET IN EVERY RESPECT (MARRIED TO A FORMER SOVIET CITIZEN) AND HAS BEEN AN

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IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITE OF JARUZELSKI THROUGHOUT THE CAREERS OF THE TWO MEN IN THE POLISH MILITARY. THOSE COUNCIL MEMBERS WHO ARE CLEARLY IDENTIFIED AS MOLCZYK SUPPORTERS INCLUDE LT. GEN. TADEUSZ HUPALOWSKI, MINISTER OF ADMINISTRATION; LOCAL ECONOMY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION; LT. GEN. HENRYK RAPACEWICZ, COMMANDER OF THE SILESIA MILITARY DISTRICT; LT. GEN. LONGIN LOZOWSKI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF AIR DEFENSE FORCES; LT. GEN. TADEUSZ KREPSKI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AIR FORCE; LT. GEN. WLODZIMIERZ OLIWA, COMMANDER OF THE WARSAW MILITARY DISTRICT; AND LT. COL. HERMANZIEWSKI, POLISH COSMONAUT. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, HERMANZIEWSKI HAS NO PARTICULAR BACKGROUND WHICH WOULD QUALIFY HIM FOR MEMBERSHIP ON THE COUNCIL. SOURCE STATED, MOREOVER, THAT HERMANZIEWSKI WAS ENROLLED AT THE SOVIET GENERAL STAFF ACADEMY AS OF EARLY NOVEMBER AND MUST HAVE BEEN RELEASED SPECIFICALLY TO SERVE ON THE COUNCIL. HE IS A POPULAR FIGURE IN POLAND, AND PRESUMABLY THIS POPULARITY AND SOVIET TRUST IN HIM ARE THE REASONS FOR HIS BEING ON THE COUNCIL. HE IS KNOWN TO BE A FRIEND OF MOLCZYK'S.

B. SOURCE IDENTIFIED TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WHO DO NOT FIT DIRECTLY INTO THE CATEGORY OF MOLCZYK SUPPORTERS.

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BUT CANNOT BE COUNTED AS JARUZELSKI SUPPORTERS EITHER. LT. GEN. TADEUSZ TUCZAPSKI, DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER AND CHIEF INSPECTOR OF TERRITORIAL DEFENSE FORCES IS A PERSONAL ENEMY OF JARUZELSKI. THE TWO WERE FRIENDS UNTIL 1978, WHEN THE STATUTE ON WARTIME COMMAND OF THE WARSAW PACT WAS NEGOTIATED. TUCZAPSKI, WHO IS VERY LIBERAL POLITICALLY AND ANTI-SOVIET IN OUTLOOK, REGARDS JARUZELSKI AS HAVING SOLD OUT TO THE SOVIETS ON THAT ISSUE. SINCE THAT TIME, HE HAS BEEN A CONSISTENT OPPONENT OF JARUZELSKI. TUCZAPSKI PUBLICLY OPPOSED IMPLEMENTING MARTIAL LAW THROUGH ANY MEANS OTHER THAN A SEJM DECREE. SOURCE BELIEVES THAT TUCZAPSKI WOULD SUPPORT JARUZELSKI ONLY IN THE CASE OF A CLEAR PRO-POLISH VS. PRO-SOVIET SHOWDOWN WITHIN THE COUNCIL, BUT THAT HE WOULD WORK TO REMOVE JARUZELSKI UNDER ANY OTHER CONDITIONS. ALSO, SOURCE IDENTIFIED COL. TADEUSZ MAKAREWICZ AS A POLITICAL OPPORTUNIST. HE IS REPUTED TO BE A PARTY HARDLINER, BUT ONLY BECAUSE HE FEELS THAT THIS IS BENEFICIAL TO HIS CAREER. HE IS ALSO KNOWN TO BE UNCONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET INFLUENCE ON POLISH AFFAIRS. FINALLY, SOURCE STATED THAT COL. KAZIMIERZ GARBACIK'S MEMBERSHIP ON THE COUNCIL IS A PUZZLE. SOURCE HAS KNOWN THIS OFFICER FOR A LONG TIME AND SAYS THAT HE HAS NO BACKGROUND AT ALL THAT WOULD QUALIFY HIM FOR SUCH A POST.

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GARBACIK WAS FORMERLY A MIDDLE LEVEL INTELLIGENCE OFFICER ON THE POLISH GENERAL STAFF. SOURCE SUSPECTS THAT HE WAS APPOINTED AS A REWARD FOR SOME PAST SERVICE TO ONE OF THE FACTIONS OR TO THE SOVIETS.

9. SOURCE ALSO REFLECTED UPON THE ABSENCE OF CERTAIN OFFICERS ON THE COUNCIL. THESE INCLUDED THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF FOR OPERATIONS, GEN. SKALSKI, AND THE CHIEF OF DIRECTORATE I OF THE GENERAL STAFF, GEN. SZKLARSKI. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, BOTH OF THESE OFFICERS WERE SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE POLISH MARTIAL LAW PLANNING TEAM AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO THE COUNCIL AS THEY WOULD HAVE SERVED ON THE KOK. SOURCE SPECULATED THAT EITHER SOVIET PRESSURE OR A LOSS OF CONFIDENCE BY JARUZELSKI WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR NOT BEING NAMED TO THE COUNCIL AS THEY WOULD HAVE SERVED ON THE KOK. SOURCE SPECULATED THAT EITHER SOVIET PRESSURE OR LOSS OF CONFIDENCE BY JARUZELSKI WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR NOT BEING NAMED TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION. HAD THEY BEEN, THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN CLOSE SUPPORTERS OF JARUZELSKI.

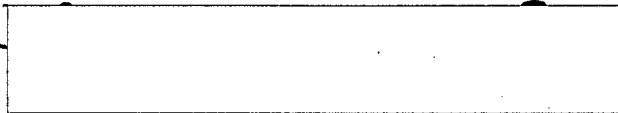
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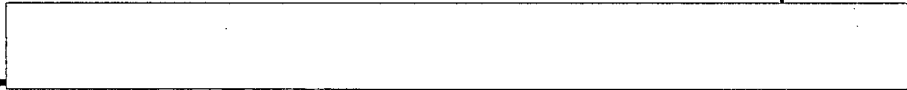


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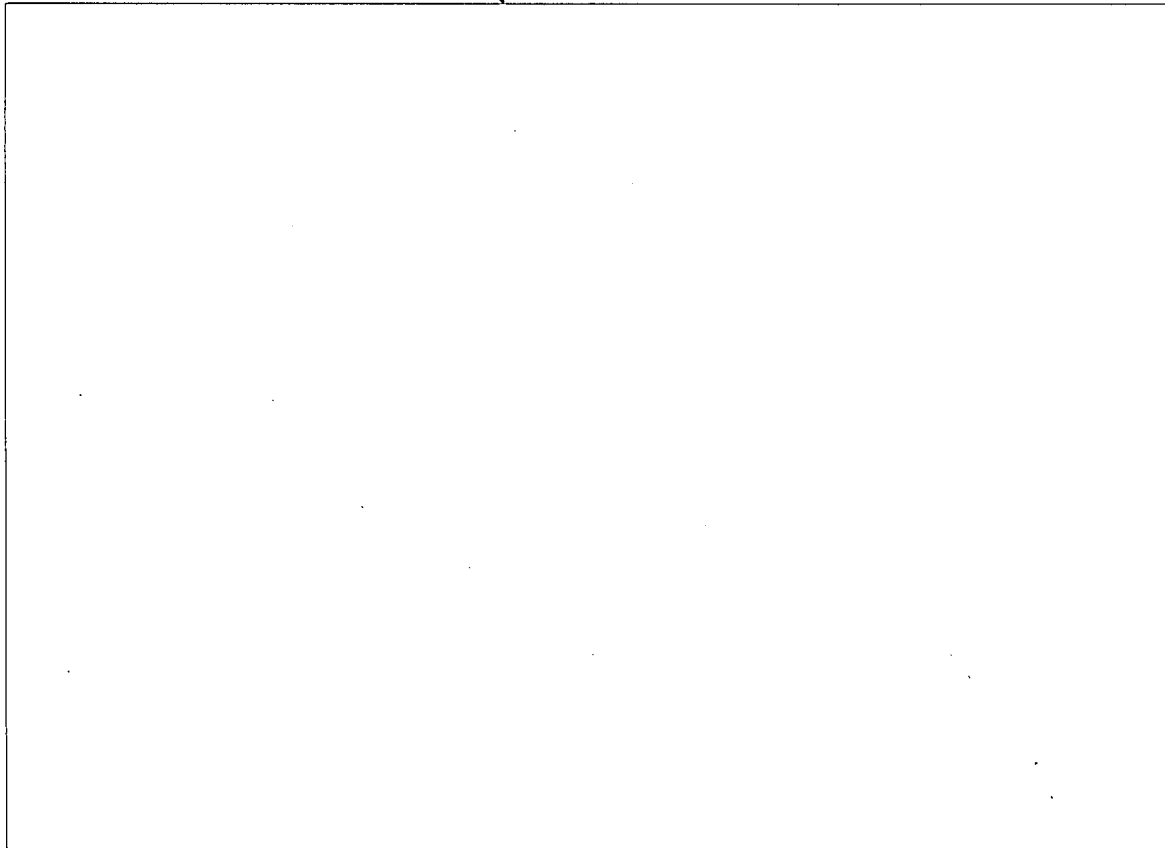
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