

January 8, 1982

Intelligence Information Cable, 'Possible Future Phases of Martial Law'

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Summary:

Report details further steps in the martial law process. Such as alleviating military pressure when regions are sufficiently calm, improving economic conditions and increased Soviet influence.

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Intelligence Information Cable



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DIST 08 JANUARY 1982

REPORT CLASS [Redacted]

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COUNTRY POLAND/USSR

SUBJECT POSSIBLE FUTURE PHASES OF MARTIAL LAW
{DOI: LATE DECEMBER 1981}

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

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. WHEN THE POLISH MILITARY COUNCIL BELIEVES THAT IT HAS ACHIEVED A SUFFICIENT LEVEL OF CONTROL IN A PARTICULAR REGION, IT WILL SELECTIVELY LIFT MARTIAL LAW IN THAT AREA. IT IS DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE A TIME FRAME IN WHICH THIS SELECTIVE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE--IT WILL DEPEND ON THE DEGREE OF APPROVAL THE MILITARY COUNCIL OBTAINS FROM THE POPULACE TO ITS RECENT MEASURES, SUCH AS THE INTERNMENT OF LARGE NUMBERS OF KNOWN AND RESPECTED CITIZENS, AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH WORKERS RETURN TO A MORE OR LESS NORMAL WORK PRODUCTION. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT EVEN IF MARTIAL LAW IS SELECTIVELY LIFTED, THE MECHANISM OF ENFORCING ITS CONTROLS WILL REMAIN IN PLACE AND THE REDUCTION OF RESTRICTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE GRADUALLY. THE PRIMARY REASONS FOR SELECTIVELY LIFTING SOME OF THE RESTRICTIONS ARE TO ENHANCE THE MILITARY REGIME'S

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STATUS IN THE EYES OF THE POLES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND TO USE IT FOR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PROPAGANDA PURPOSES.

2. AFTER ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO THE MILITARY COUNCIL POLICIES IS BROKEN, POLISH PLANS ENVISION A Milder FORM OF MARTIAL LAW. THE RESTRICTIONS WHICH AFFECT THE POPULACE AT LARGE (SUCH AS THOSE ON TRAVEL, CURFEW, TELEPHONE, TELEGRAPH AND POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS) WILL BE LIFTED; HOWEVER, THOSE WHICH HAVE THE GREATEST IMPACT ON THE WORKERS AND UNIONS WILL REMAIN IN FORCE, INCLUDING RESTRICTIONS ON STRIKES, UNION ACTIVITIES, PUBLIC GATHERINGS, ETC. THE EASING WILL ALSO INCLUDE FEWER RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS, ACTIVITIES OF DIPLOMATS, FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS AND TRAVELERS, AS WELL AS THE CONDITIONAL RELEASE OF SOME SOLIDARITY LEADERS. DURING THIS PERIOD, EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO LIQUIDATE SOLIDARITY COMPLETELY UNDER THE GUISE OF SAVING THE ECONOMY. SOLIDARITY WILL BE DISCREDITED IN THE EYES OF POLISH SOCIETY BY VISIBLY IMPROVING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. THE MILITARY COUNCIL IS CURRENTLY OPERATING UNDER THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE NATION IS EXHAUSTED FROM THE CONSTANT LACK OF FOOD AND CONSUMER GOODS AND DOES NOT NOW SUPPORT SOLIDARITY. THE REGIME WILL, THEREFORE, DO WHATEVER

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IT FEELS NECESSARY TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM WILL BE MODELLED ON THAT USED IN HUNGARY. AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM WILL BE THE FULL COLLECTIVIZATION OF POLISH AGRICULTURE. THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE WHATEVER MEASURES ARE NECESSARY TO ELIMINATE PRIVATE AGRICULTURE EVEN IF IT RESULTS IN A TEMPORARY DROP IN PRODUCTION. THE REGIME FEELS THAT IT MAY TAKE TWO TO THREE YEARS OF LOW AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION BEFORE THE POPULACE ACCEPTS COLLECTIVIZATION. THE MILITARY REGIME IS COUNTING ON THE EVENTUAL SUCCESS OF ECONOMIC REFORM TO PROVE TO THE POPULACE THAT IT CAN HAVE GOOD LIVING CONDITIONS WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF SOLIDARITY.

3. IT IS PROBABLE THAT SOME FORM OF MARTIAL LAW WILL REMAIN FOR AT LEAST ONE TO ONE AND ONE-HALF YEARS. AS STATED ABOVE, EVEN WHEN MARTIAL LAW IS OFFICIALLY DECLARED AT AN END, THE MECHANISM FOR ENFORCING THE WILL OF THE GOVERNMENT WILL REMAIN IN PLACE. WHILE THE MILITARY TROOPS WILL RETURN TO THEIR GARRISONS, THE ENHANCED MILITIA AND SECURITY FORCES WILL REMAIN IN PLACE. THE LAST PHASE OF MARTIAL LAW WILL INCLUDE AN APPARENT RETURN TO NORMAL PARTY ACTIVITIES AND

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RECONSTITUTED SOLIDARITY UNION WHICH WILL BE UNDER STATE CONTROL. THE NEW UNION WILL BE PERMITTED TO CONDUCT ACTIVITIES CONNECTED WITH THE WELFARE OF WORKERS, BUT IT WILL BE FORBIDDEN FROM ENGAGING IN STRIKES OR POLITICAL ACTIVITY. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW UNION WILL ALSO BE MORE AMENABLE TO FOLLOWING THE PARTY LINE.

4. WHILE THERE MAY BE INDICATIONS OF THE EASING OF MARTIAL LAW AT PRESENT AND CERTAIN MEASURES SUCH AS THOSE DESCRIBED ABOVE ARE BEING TAKEN TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT CONDITIONS ARE IMPROVING, THIS IS AN APPARENT, RATHER THAN A REAL, IMPROVEMENT. THE IMPRESSION THAT ALL IS GOING WELL WITH THE MILITARY COUNCIL IS A FALSE ONE. DEEP IMPORTANT SOCIAL PROBLEMS EXIST IN POLAND WHICH CANNOT BE SOLVED BY FORCE. THESE PROBLEMS WILL GET WORSE AND REACTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS NOT AS DRAMATIC AS MAJOR STRIKES. THE MILITARY COUNCIL RECOGNIZES THESE PROBLEMS AND WILL TAKE MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT ORDER IS MAINTAINED AND THAT THE PROBLEMS DO NOT RISE TO THE SURFACE.

5. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS PROBABLY QUITE SATISFIED WITH THE PROGRESS OF MARTIAL LAW THUS FAR, AND POLISH LEADER WOJIECH

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JARUZELSKI HAS CERTAINLY IMPROVED HIS IMAGE WITH THE SOVIETS. THE MAIN POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT BETWEEN THE POLES AND THE SOVIETS IS IF JARUZELSKI FAILS TO MAKE USE OF MARTIAL LAW TO ¹LIQUIDATE THE EXTREMIST ELEMENTS OF SOLIDARITY COMPLETELY, BRAKE AND ²LIMIT THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN POLISH SOCIETY, COLLECTIVIZE ³AGRICULTURE AND ⁴ELIMINATE ELEMENTS OF DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN THE PARTY. THE PARTY WILL CERTAINLY BE PURGED OF ALL ELEMENTS WHICH HAVE A SOCIAL OUTLOOK DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL AND SOVIETS. THE PARTY WILL BE RECONSTITUTED AS A RELATIVELY SMALL BODY WITH A PRO-SOVIET ORIENTATION, THE RELEASE OF ALL "UNRELIABLE" MEMBERS AND A CURTAILMENT OF DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES. IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT THE PARTY WILL BE REORGANIZED, PERHAPS UNDER A NEW NAME, THAN COMPLETELY DISBANDED AND REFORMED. THIS IS BECAUSE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND LOGISTIC PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FORMATION OF A NEW ORGANIZATION (E.G., ELECTION OF NEW OFFICIALS, PARTY CONGRESS, ETC.)

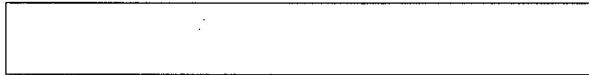
6. THERE IS LITTLE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND POLES ON THE SUBJECT OF ECONOMIC REFORM AS THE PLAN FOR THE LATTER RETAINS ITS CENTRAL PLANNING ASPECTS AND

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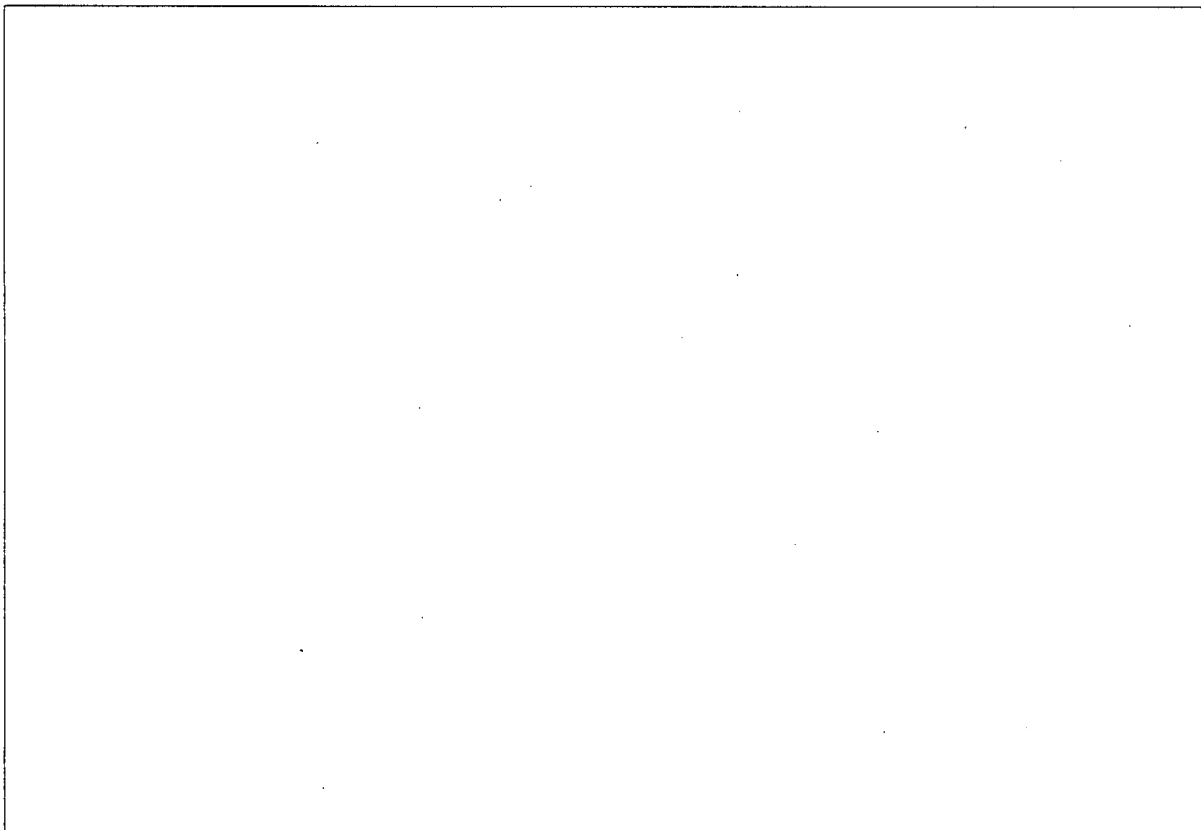
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THE ECONOMY WILL BE COMPLETELY CONTROLLED BY THE PARTY.
JARUZELSKI IS NOT INCLINED TO HAND OVER ECONOMIC POWER TO ANY
OTHER GROUPS.



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