

Document No. 74: Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Supplement
No. 2: Planned Activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs"

November 25, 1981

This document was prepared less than three weeks before the declaration of martial law. It is a supplement to a larger study, "Assessment of the Present Situation in the Country as of November 25, 1981," and deals specifically with measures the Ministry would take during a crackdown. After considering several possible scenarios, the document lists options for handling the opposition. Of most significance historically is Scenario 3 (see Document No. 36), one of several potential consequences of martial law. The very last sentence—"The assistance of Warsaw Pact forces is not ruled out"—is important for what it may reveal about Polish expectations in the event of violent popular resistance (see also Document No. 82).

Secret, for Special Use
Single Copy

Supplement No. 2
Planned Activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs

1. Taking into account the current course of events in the country as well as the need to discipline society and reinforce the execution of power, it is necessary to introduce a legislative act (without the introduction of martial law) on extraordinary means of action. The latter act foresees, among other things:

– a heightened responsibility for public goods which one is accountable for, including a prohibition on using factory goods for purposes not associated with the duties being carried out;

– an extension of the rights of workplace managers to give orders to employees, including [where this] exceeds their area of responsibility;

– attaching conditions to the rights that apply to strike actions such as the requirement for prior exhaustion of compromise approaches to settling arguments, pursuing secret ballots and receiving approval from a higher trade union organ;

– a complete prohibition of the right to strike in certain units of the national economy and [certain] institutions as well as authorization from the Council of State to introduce a prohibition on strikes and protests for a predetermined period, in part or all of the territory of the state;

– a limitation on the right to hold public meetings (also trade union meetings). Legal use of direct enforcement is provided for in order to disperse public meetings. The latter means may be used in case of illegal seizure of a building (apartment);

– the introduction of a curfew, a ban on artistic, entertainment and sports events as well as on public collections (except carried out by the Church), suspension of activities of selected associations as well as a limitation on post, telecommunications, personal and cargo traffic with foreign countries;

– an expansion of censorship of selected publications and a ban on leaflet-poster type propaganda;

– authorization for the voievodes to turn to the military for assistance in certain situations of danger to the public order;

– a transferral of cases concerning certain violations of law into the domain of military prosecutors and courts.

Passing the above legislation as well as its implementation will allow the government of the Polish People's Republic as well as the organs of state administration and units of the public economy to take special actions aiming at strengthening the national economy, preventing anarchy and hindering the activity of counter-revolutionary forces. They will also lead to an increase of social discipline and public order as conditions necessary for eliminating the consequences of the crisis, which threatens the normal functioning of the state and the vital needs of the people.

The legislative act will create conditions for the gradual (selective) introduction of bans and orders (limitations of citizen freedoms and assignment of obligations) on part or all of the territory of the country, depending on how the situation develops. Authorization to introduce certain degrees of limitations will also be given to the territorial organs of the authorities and the state administration (voievodes and mayors of voievodeship cities).

The passage of the act and its subsequent introduction will undoubtedly cause various social repercussions, both positive and negative. It will certainly strengthen the morale and attitudes of the party members and all advocates of the socialist system so as to participate in the defense of the state. On the other hand, it will stimulate greater activity by extremist and anti-socialist elements in the direction of destructive actions, for example by calling for a general strike and other things.

2. If the application of the act on extraordinary measures in the interest of protecting citizens and the state is not effective, the introduction of martial law will be necessary. The extension of preparations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in case of the introduction of martial law has been stipulated in relevant documents.

Among the fundamental tasks which will determine the efficient operation of martial law and which ought to be carried out at the moment of its introduction, or several hours in beforehand, are:

a) the internment of persons who threaten the security of the state—which is the principle endeavor. Two variations of implementing this operation are being considered:

Option 1

– the internment of particularly dangerous persons in the main centers of the opposition such as Warsaw, Katowice, Szczecin, Wrocław, Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk;

Option 2

– the simultaneous internment of all specified persons in the entire country. Internment would cover 1,500–4,500 persons. The feasibility of this operation will be determined by the course of events.

The most effective factor to ensure the successful conclusion of the operation would be if it came as a complete surprise to the adversary. It is only possible if the operation is carried out sufficiently in advance of the introduction of martial law.

The operation can also be carried out as a response to the specific activity of the adversary, although its impact would be limited.

It is assumed that the internment operation would be accompanied by the public use of telecommunications and preventive warning conversations with less sinister persons as well as seizing the initiative in the branches of Solidarity by people with moderate views (replacement structures—work is in progress on this question).

b) the remaining important endeavors are:

– the introduction of censorship of postal and telecommunications correspondence as well as control of telephone conversations, especially in the public network;

– the introduction of limitations on: cross-border traffic, changes of residence, the activity of selected associations, the freedom of movement and activity of personnel of diplomatic missions from capitalist countries, and correspondents from capitalist countries; [actions] to make it impossible for Polish citizens to enter diplomatic missions of the capitalist countries;

– the withholding of armed weapons as well as radio broadcasting and broadcast-receiving equipment from certain citizens;

– the extension of protection over 441 sites of the national economy by Polish armed forces and protection of over 891 sites, mainly of the food-supply sector, by the Citizens' Police (CP);

– the protection and defense of sites of the central authorities by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Defense Ministry forces;

– the mobilization of maneuver units of the Citizens' Police (CP), rural outposts of the CP, MFG and VMU MSW—a draft of about 46,000 reserves has been planned;

– engaging some selected VRCP members, including combined sub-units, in operations.

Some of the aforementioned endeavors will be carried out with the participation of the armed forces. Those questions have been agreed upon with the Ministry of Defense and an action concept has been jointly worked out.

The introduction of martial law may, among other things, cause the following development of events:

Scenario 1

– subordination of political and socio-economic organizations to the demands of martial law with the simultaneous possibility of a limited strike action and restricted hostile propaganda activity.

Scenario 2

– in some regions of the country, mass strikes are organized with a tendency to extend beyond the workplace. Sabotage activities take place.

Scenario 3

– a general labor strike, some workers go into the streets, there are street demonstrations and attacks on party and state administration buildings, as well as those of the Citizens' Police and others. This leads to harsh intervention by the CP forces and the military. The assistance of Warsaw Pact forces is not ruled out.

[Source: IPN, MSW II, 1022, Appendix No 2. Translated by Paweł Machcewicz.]