

**November 9, 1981**

**Memorandum from John Stein to the Secretaries of  
State and Defense and Director of National Security,  
'[Redacted] Report'**

**Citation:**

"Memorandum from John Stein to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of National Security, '[Redacted] Report'", November 9, 1981, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA declassification, 2008  
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**Summary:**

Translated report entails a crisis management plan for introducing martial law. It details in chronological order what's to be done before announcing martial, how to subtly implement martial law, and maintain the element of surprise at announcement.

**Credits:**

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**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

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9 November 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary of State  
The Secretary of Defense  
Director, National Security Agency

FROM : John H. Stein  
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT : [ ] Report

1. Enclosed is a [ ] report. For convenience of reference by NFIB agencies, the codeword [ ] has been assigned to the product of certain extremely sensitive agent sources of CIA's Directorate of Operations. The word [ ] is classified [ ] and is to be used only among persons authorized to read and handle this material.

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[ ]  
John H. Stein

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## Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland

FIRDB-312/03386-81

DATE OF  
INFO. October 1981

DATE 9 November 1981

SUBJECT

Crisis Management Plan for Introducing  
Martial Law in Poland

SOURCE Documentary

### Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish document, classified SECRET OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE, entitled "Outline of Crisis Management Plan." The document in chart form lists in chronological order the steps:

- to be taken prior to the promulgation of martial law,
- to bring about this state gradually and without public announcement,
- to gain the element of surprise by creeping toward martial law.

It also outlines actions to be taken by civilian and military authorities at the time of promulgation, and subsequently, and in the event of a general strike or civil disorder.

End of Summary

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OUTLINE OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT PLAN  
1. Heading (ilegible)

SECRET OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE

ACTION PHASES (CYCLES)	TIMEFRAME	PARTY-POLITICAL	IMPLIC INFORMATION	NATIONAL POLITICAL LEADERSHIP BODIES	NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE & ECONOMIC BODIES	LEGAL, POLITICAL, & ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES	MIN. OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS (MIA)	MIN. OF NATIONAL DEFENSE (MND)	REMARKS
1 (Phase preceding declaration of martial law)	2 Seven days up to M-24	3	4 1. Run security checks on news and public information personnel. 2. Ascertain scope of and opportunities for exploitation of public information institutions during state of martial law. 3. Check texts of proclamation by Council of State chairman, address by Council of Ministers chairman, and appeal of PMRP and coalition parties. 4. Issue directive on accelerated public information campaign directed against anti-socialist forces and incidents.	5 1. Sign principal legal documents on martial law (by Council of State, Council of Ministers, National Defense Committee, Council of Ministers) and principal ministerial enforcement institutions. 2. File appropriate regulatory documents with PMF General Staff (on behalf of ministries) and with commands of military districts, armed forces branches, Citizens Militia provincial HQ. 3. Brief Citizens Militia provincial commanders, chiefs of provincial defense committee secretariats. 4. Update control plans of action.	6 Update central and ministerial action plans for state of martial law with special reference to: - supply of basic foodstuffs, power, water, and fuel; - operation of local public services.	7 1. Carry on normal socioeconomic activities. 2. Organize provincial defense committee meetings to assess current situation. 3. Prepare task forces for duties related to declaration of martial law and provincial government operations during time martial law is force. 4. Check readiness for mobilization tasks in economic and government institutions.	8 1. Test readiness of components for special operations. 2. Confiscate firearms from selected natural persons and corporate bodies. 3. Issue firearms to members of party-government active. 4. Prepare to confiscate radio transmitter-receiver devices from selected natural persons and corporate bodies. 5. Prepare components for expansion of censorship. 6. Prepare units for physical security of installations. 7. Reinforce protection of national maritime borders. 8. Mobilizational expansion of MIA units.	9 1. Bring units scheduled to go into operation first up to full strength including courts and public prosecutors' offices, and redeploy selected units to training grounds in Warsaw Mil. Dist. 2. Increase availability of command-control organs and troops. 3. Coordinate inter-ministerial action plans. 4. Issue firearms to selected members of Association of Ex-Cancer Servicemen. 5. Prepare for conversion to wartime supply system in armed forces. 6. Establish staff task forces on provincial military staffs. 7. Withdraw to partisan units scheduled for physical security duty and units in training and temporary labor service for the national economy.	10

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								8. Deploy emergency radio and radiotelephone communications system.  9. Prepare teams of career officers assigned to supervisory duties (military supervisory task forces) in economic sectors and governmental institutions, especially in plants and institutions subject to militarization.	
Phase prior to declaration of martial law.	H-24			1. H-24: Make political decision to declare martial law and inform leadership of Min. of Int. Affairs & Min. of Natl. Defense of this decision.			H-10 <sup>a</sup> : Relay orders on execution of special operation to units.		<sup>a</sup> Critical time (min time required)
	H-12			2. H-12: Emergency meeting of Natl. Def. Com.				Increase readiness of units to assume physical security duties.	
	H-6	1. Control Staff for News and Public Information goes into operation.  2. Begin printing leaflets in military print shops.		Shut down selected channels in national communications system.			H-6 <sup>a</sup> : Execute special operations.	Begin operation to assume physical security at H-6.  H-1: Begin sealing off critical areas in metropolitan Warsaw and other urban centers.	
Declaration (promulgation) of martial law.	H-hour	1. Promulgate resolution of Council of State and other principal acts of law related to declaration of martial law over radio and television "Progna 1" channels.	The Natl. Def. Com. is to meet once a day (or as often as necessary) in order to assess the current situation and make appropriate decisions based on reports submitted by Natl. Def. Com. leaders representing:	1. OPEN PACKETS CONTAINING LEGAL INSTRUMENTS 2. AT H-HOUR PLACE EXECUTIVE PERSONNEL OF MINISTRIES AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS ON 24-HR ALERT 3. Begin issuing material martial law directives. 4. Begin dissemination of legal documents pertaining to	3. Convene emergency meetings of provincial defense committees in order to make decisions in	PERTAINING TO MARTIAL LAW 2. Mobilizational expansion of MIA forces. 3. Quarter close formation units of Citizens Militia Volunteer Reserve (ZMO) in barracks. 4. By H-.... place selected special		2. By H+5-8 seal off critical areas in metropolitan Warsaw and other urban centers.  3. By H+6 place selected government installations under military guard*	* Including critical installations placed under guard at H-1.

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	<p>2. Chairman of PWR Council of Ministers delivers radio and television address.</p> <p>3. Impose restrictions in collaboration with Min. of Foreign Affairs on activities of correspondents from capitalist countries.</p> <p>4. Shut down in collaboration with MIA forces and governmental agencies--all civilian printing establishments.</p> <p>5. Activate provincial news and public information staffs.</p>	<p>4. PWR Central Com.</p> <p>- Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers</p> <p>- Min. of Internal Affairs</p> <p>- Min. of Natl. Def.</p> <p>- Crisis Management Staff</p> <p>- Min. of Foreign Affairs</p> <p>Standing organs of the Natl. Def. Com. are:</p> <p>the Natl. Def. Com. Secretariat and DPMO performing assigned tasks under the direction of Natl. Def. Com. Secretary in conformity Directive No. . . . of Natl. Def. Com. Chairman.</p>	<p>5. Implement economic measures mandated by central plan and special plans for the period of martial law including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- militarization of selected economic and administrative entities;</li> <li>- physical security measures.</li> </ul> <p>6. Suspend unrestricted PW sales.</p>	<p>6. Take of declaration of martial law.</p> <p>4. Begin issuing local enforcement directives.</p> <p>5. Post public notices of declaration of martial law.</p>	<p>Installations under guard.</p> <p>5. Institute censorship.</p> <p>6. Impose restrictions on telecommunications services.</p> <p>7. Reinforce border security and restrict cross-border traffic.</p> <p>8. Restrict activities of diplomatic mission personnel and foreign nationals from capitalist countries.</p> <p>9. Secure communications in factories and small-scale print shops.</p> <p>10. Set curfew hours (optional).</p>	<p>4. Begin detail of military supervisory task forces to selected civilian industrial plants and institutions.</p> <p>5. By 0600 take over (secure) civilian airports**</p> <p>6. At 0800 activate emergency radio and radiotelephone communication system.</p> <p>7. At 0800 suspend all air traffic in PWR airspace and take over ATC system.</p> <p>8. At 0800 close all gaps in national air defense system.</p> <p>9. At 0800 seal off national territorial waters.</p> <p>10. At 0800 begin moving armed forces into improved operational positions***</p> <p>11. Place armed forces in increased combat readiness posture.</p> <p>12. By 0900 begin special mail delivery service.</p>	<p>** Narrow airport at 0800.</p> <p>*** Upon receipt of special order.</p>		

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Martial law in force:  1. In case situation changes for better.		1. Place Central News and Public Information Staff in charge of all public information activities. The following entities work under Staff direction: - News and Public Information Task Force (leaflets, brochures, etc.) - Special Project Public Information Task Force ("black propaganda") - Program 1 of Polish Radio and TV; publications: TRYBUNA LUBRI, ZWANIETZ, WOLNOSC, consolidated edition under separate mastheads of ZWOLI, MAUSZARY, TRYBUNA, MAZOWIECKA and EKSPRES WILKOWY; one daily newspaper per province.  2. Provincial news and public information staffs locally direct activities of agitprop brigades.  3. Conduct political self-evolution (samukreslenie) campaign in all public information institutions.		1. Regulate economic activities in compliance with instructions of Operational Crisis Management Staff giving special priority to maintaining flow of supplies to the public, operation of the power system, and local public services, in addition to maintaining output of specially classified products and medicines.  2. Provide for efficient performance of defense industries infrastructure, giving special priority to completion of projects mandated by contractual obligations to allied nations* in conjunction with active participation of military supervisory task forces in these projects.  3. Gradually expand rationing of consumer goods.	Provincial defense committees are to meet once a day (or as often as necessary) in order to assess current situation in their jurisdictions and make appropriate decisions.  Maintain effective control over subordinate forces and means with active assistance of staff task forces established by provincial military staffs.	Ensure security and law and order in conformity with policy goals set for time martial law is in force.		- Continue to seal off critical areas in metropolitan WARSAW and other important urban centers. - Maintain guard around selected installations and cordon off plants producing armaments. - Support Citizens Militia operations, primarily with Military Internal Service forces and Internal Defense Forces units. - Order mobilization expansion of designated units and redeployment of forces and means to areas where needed. - Perform services on behalf of national economy, including transport operations. - Activate armed forces wartime supply system.	*Transit lines of communication by rail, road, air, and sea.

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			4. Immediately resume activities of public information institutions and their support services in pace with the favorable progress of self-evolution action.  5. Close public information institutions which do not guarantee that they will follow the party political line during a state of martial law.						
II. In case of general strike.			Take same action as outlined above, making striking plants the main focus of public information effort.	As above; make decision to move armed forces into improved operational position.	As above; also selectively shut off supply of power and water to striking plants.	As above; also take firm action aimed at stopping strikes and gradually resuming production. Application of repression against strike leaders.	1. Conduct operations commensurate with requirements of current situation.  2. Institute stricter physical security measures.  3. Use various forces to seal off selected plants occupied by strikers.  4. Maneuver reserve forces as required by current situation.	1. Provide air transport services for movement of Military Internal Service forces.  2. Call up additional forces as required by current situation.	
III. In the event of general strike-related mass rioting in the streets involving assaults on party and government buildings.			Public information campaign based on proclamations, communication, leaflets, and exploitation of accessible media.	Make decision on degree to which militia and military forces will be used in conformity with provisions of the Decree on Martial Law.	1. Organize defense and direct relief operations.  2. Make provision to keep the public supplied with water and basic foodstuffs.		1. Intensify joint defense of party and government buildings; order special security measures for party institutions.  2. Utilize forces as required by current situation and decisions of executive organs.		

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INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW IN A SITUATION OF DIRECT THREAT OF SIT-IN STRIKES									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
After announcement of strike readiness or after confirmation of sit-in strike preparations.	For survival days prior to 11-hour.	1. Completion of all measures planned to be implemented during the period preceding introduction of martial law.	2. Initiation of forceful propaganda activity exposing the threat of antisocialist forces.	2. Publication of a Directive of National Defense Committee Chairman on takeover under special protection of national economy installations within the framework of safeguarding public order and security (based on NIK Resolution No 1/76 of 18 March 1976) and on decision for possible improvement of operational situation of the troops.	3. By 11-24 reaching a political decision on introduction--at the time of preparation for large-scale organizational strikes--of martial law for reasons of state security.	2. Initiation of energetic activities aimed at prevention of strikes.	2. Implementation of measures planned for in the period directly preceding introduction of martial law.	2. Implementation of all measures planned to be taken in the period directly preceding introduction of martial law.	
							3. By 11-3 placing under protection main installations of the food industry, railroads, and fuel depots (not taken over by the military) as well as installations planned to be placed under protection of industrial guards.	3. By 11-hour placement under military protection of designated installations.*	*Polish Radio and TV.
							4. Conduct of operational projects in regard to anti-socialist elements (after special action).	4. By 11-hour implementation of blockade of areas of special importance.	
							5. Lifting restrictions against foreign trips of elements politically and socially undesirable in Poland.	5. Possible initiation of operational improvement of situation of the troops.**	**on special order.
							6. Preparation of Citizens Militia forces for possible transportation to threatened areas.	6. Ensure air transport for maneuver of Ministry of Internal Affairs forces.	
During initiation of organized large-scale sit-in strikes in various parts of Poland.	At 11-hour	1. Implementation of all measures planned for execution during the introduction (publishing) of martial law for reasons of state security.*							*In Min. of National Defense, except for items 2 and 3.

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## III. INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW (DURING ENDING SIT-IN STRIKES)

(After implementation of basic measures planned to be taken during preceding periods)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
During the period directly preceding introduction of martial law.	At 11-24		1. Initiation of activities in support of a ban on strikes and anti-socialist propaganda.  2. Initiation of organizational activities aimed at formation of propaganda institutions structured to operate during martial law.	1. At 11-24 making political decision on introduction of martial law.  2. From 11-24 to 11-18, extraordinary session of the National Defense Committee to study the plan putting into operation the political decision which was made and to relay to heads of main ministries (executive centers) the NK's directives and guidelines.			1. From 11-24 to 11-12 updating the ministry action plan in accordance with the NK's guidelines and transmittal of necessary directives to organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Citizens Militia Main Command, Border Guard and MIA RAMWISLANSKI military units.  2. By 11-16 transmittal to Citizens Militia Provincial (R) decision on special action.  3. From 11-6 to 11-1 conduct of special action.  4. If situation requires, transfer of Citizens Militia forces to threatened areas.  5. Conduct, as part of special action, of operational tasks directed chiefly at centers affected by the strikes.	1. From 11-18 to 11-6 updating the NK's action plan in accordance with the NK's guidelines and transmittal of necessary executive directives to the troops.  2. At 11-6 implementation of measures planned to be taken in the period directly preceding initiation of martial law, except for taking over installations involved in the sit-in strikes.  3. Improvement of operational situation of the troops.	Following special order.
During period of introduction of martial law.	At 11-hour	1. Implementation of all planned measures for the period of introduction of martial law.				2. Initiation of strict measures aimed at ending strikes followed by startup of production.	1. Implementation of measures planned for the period when martial law is introduced.  2. Jointly with the military forces	1. Implementation of measures planned for the period when martial law is introduced, except for takeover of installations involved	

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						<p>3. Taking measures to sequester strike leaders.</p> <p>4. Selective cutoff of power and water for industrial processes to the striking plants.</p>	<p>Blockade installations affected by the strikes.</p> <p>3. Implementation of measures like those which apply to the martial law period (applicable to the general strike variant but in regard to plants involved in the strikes).</p>	<p>In the sit-in strikes.</p> <p>2. Placement of external blockades of installations involved in the sit-in strikes, but planned to be protected by the military.</p> <p>3. Placement of external blockades of urban centers involved in the strikes and social unrest.</p> <p>4. Insure air transport for movement of MIA forces.</p>	
IV. GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW MEASURES PRIOR TO PUBLICATION OF THE LAW (CREEPING INTO MARTIAL LAW)									
<p>Prior to introduction (publication) of martial law.</p>	<p>Several days prior to 11-hour</p>	<p>1. Sharpening the tone of propaganda against antisocialist danger.</p> <p>2. Increasing control of press, publications, and public performances within the framework of the laws in force.</p> <p>3. Initiation of organizational activities aimed at formulation of propaganda institutions within martial law structure.</p> <p>4. Initiation in all institutions of propaganda for</p>	<p>1. From about 12 days to several days before 11-hour making a political decision on gradual implementation of martial law measures prior to its publication.</p> <p>2. NK session for consideration of a plan to put in force the political decision made and to issue appropriate NK resolutions (guidelines).</p>	<p>1. Ensuring with active assistance of military supervisory teams an efficiently functioning economic-defense infrastructure with particular emphasis on implementation of measures called for by allied obligations.*</p> <p>2. Militarization of selected economic and administrative units.</p> <p>3. Strengthened protection of installations of national economy and state administration.</p>	<p>1. Operative direction of activities of subordinate forces and means with active participation of staff teams organized in the provincial military headquarters.</p>	<p>1. Implementation of measures planned for the preparatory period.</p> <p>2. Lifting of ban against foreign trips by politically and socially undesirable elements in the country.</p> <p>3. Gradual mobilization expansion of forces of Citizens Militia, Border Guards and MIA NAUMISLAWSKI military units.</p> <p>4. Intensified patrols of endangered areas and installations performed alone or jointly with the military.</p> <p>5. Selective deployment of special and diversified protection using Security Service and Citizens Militia forces for installations particularly important for the functioning of</p>	<p>1. Implementation of all measures planned for the preparatory period.</p> <p>2. Placement of military supervisory teams in selected civilian plants and institutions.</p> <p>3. Startup of intensified patrols of particularly significant garrisons and areas.</p> <p>4. Selective deployment of special and diversified protection of following installations:**</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- those which produce weapons and military equipment,</li> <li>- Polish Radio and TV,</li> <li>- power and communications,</li> <li>- others.</li> </ul>	<p>*Transit railroad, highway, air and sea transportation routes.</p> <p>**On the basis of NK resolution.</p>	

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			political self-evaluation.				the state and national economy.	5. Gradual militarization-disguised as exercises--of key organizational units: - economic-defense infrastructure; - mass information media.	
							6. Necessary redeployment of militia forces (central MIA reserves).	6. Improvement of operational situation of the troops (regrouping of troops selected to go first into action to training areas located close to the areas of future operations)."	copy special order.
							7. Establishment, jointly with the military, of blockades of endangered areas.	7. Deployment of blockades of specially important areas.	
							8. Reinforcement of Security Service and Citizens Militia operations with the forces of Voluntary Reserve of the Citizens Militia and of MIA retirees and pensioners.	8. Placement of armed forces in increased combat readiness.	
							9. From II-6 to II-1 conduct of special action.	1. Remaining planned activities during the period when martial law remains in force.	
After introduction (declaration) of martial law.	At II-hour.	1. Performance of remaining activities (measures) planned for the period when martial law is introduced.					1. Remaining activities planned for the duration of martial law.		

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