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US Strategic Early Warning: A Case Study in Poland (1980-1981)

The US Army Intelligence Center Europe warned US/NATO manders of Polish Martial Law contingency planning in 1980 and the imminence of Martial Law in the fall 1981 allowing leaders to act from a factual basis.

Mr. Gail H Nelson, Ph.D.

April 2010

US Strategic Early Warning:
A Case Study in Poland (1980-1981)

The US Army Europe
Intelligence Estimate

By

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For my lovely wife, Semay,
A survivor of the Ethiopian Red Terror
And the interrogations that killed many

About The Author

Dr. Gail Nelson is a veteran US Strategic Intelligence Officer with over 45 years in geopolitical studies including 37 years in the US Air Force Ready Reserve, 26 years in the European Command Civilian Excepted Service, and four years in US-sponsored advisory missions to Afghanistan, the Philippines, and Iraq. He remains active in senior intelligence consulting including contract support and mentoring. He completed advanced degrees in Political Science from the University of Colorado at Boulder and copyrighted several academic papers including a thesis on *German SS Indoctrination & Training Techniques* and a dissertation on *Soviet Decisionmaking for Defense*. He contributed to the *Encyclopedia of Intelligence & Counterintelligence* published by M.E. Sharpe Publishers and the *Encyclopedia of Bioterrorism* published by Wiley & Sons. Responsible for assessing Soviet/Warsaw Pact Political Affairs, he served 13 years at the US Army Intelligence Center at Heidelberg, West Germany during 1977-1990. Mr. Nelson received numerous awards spanning several decades including the Decoration for Meritorious Civilian Service (Legion of Merit) from General Frederick A. Kroesen, USA, Commander-in-Chief, United States Army Europe, for providing strategic early warning of Polish martial law

during 1980-1981. He is a member of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, the Air Force Association, and the University of Colorado Alumni. Mr. Nelson resides with his wife in Boulder, Colorado. He can be contacted at NelsonSD_83@msn.com for further enquiries.

How happy is he born and taught

That serveth not another's will;

Whose armour is his honest thought,

And simple truth his utmost skill!

- *Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639)*

Table of Contents

Figures & Tables

Executive Summary

The Polish crisis posed the greatest threat to the Warsaw Pact Alliance since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The crisis forced the establishment of a strategic early warning problem on US/NATO observers in which Polish Martial Law Contingency Planning reinforced by possible Soviet military intervention was rapidly discernable. Polish internal security operations from 1953 to 1976 exposed the historical precedents for Martial Law Contingency Planning. These precedents led to the firm conclusion that Martial Law containment strategy would take primacy over Soviet/Warsaw Pact intervention planning during the full period of the crisis.

Warsaw Pact military maneuvers in December 1980 and March-April 1981 were exercises of the second tier contingency option and not imminence of intervention. We believed these military maneuvers were intended to strike fear in the minds of Poles that Moscow would intervene to defend communist control of Poland. Soviet propaganda and strategic deception played a major part

throughout but at no time was it believed that Soviet intervention planning would take primacy over the Martial Law option.

Strategic early warning of Martial Law proved successful because the Polish Internal Front forces since 1945 had already proven their reliability and capability to contain threats against Polish communism thus avoiding the need for Soviet preemption.

Acknowledgements

My deepest appreciation goes to the US Army Europe Intelligence Center at Heidelberg for their exceptional professionalism during the protracted Cold War years and their landmark performance during the Polish Crisis. My thanks go to the Commander-in-Chief of US Army Europe, General Frederick Kroesen, for insisting on authoritative intelligence estimates governing Soviet intentions in Poland. It allowed this author singular latitude in assessing Polish contingency planning for martial law and Warsaw Pact contingency planning for intervention should the imposition of martial law fail. Special tribute goes to US Army Europe Chief of Intelligence, General James A. Williams, for his exemplary leadership during the heat of crisis. He never wavered even during the darkest moments when Soviet intervention appeared to preempt the Polish internal solution. Other critical thinkers included the Chief of Production-Analysis, Colonel Richard C. Martin and the Chief of Current Intelligence, Lieutenant Colonel Bud Saint Germain. Both seasoned military intelligence leaders, they ensured the complete integrity of the analytical process even when national agencies appeared on a different track.

The mainstay in assessing Warsaw Pact military readiness for intervention in Poland was Major William O'Malley, a premier Russian Foreign Area Officer. Always calm within the chaos, his daily assessments proved completely reliable, allowing for a broader vision of Soviet-Polish security strategies against Solidarity. Moreover, his military assessments on Soviet intervention theory allowed for more detailed examination of the Polish internal security system, a path that exposed the Martial Law option.

My admiration, respect, and friendship are extended to Mr. Richard Eland, Senior Counterintelligence Officer at Heidelberg from 1952 to 1985. He was a walking encyclopedia on Soviet/Warsaw Pact Hostile Intelligence Services (HOIS) modus operandi and invaluable advisor regarding Soviet and Polish intelligence systems. He experienced the fog of Cold War first hand and knew the history of East European services in detail as divided Europe transitioned from Occupation to bipolar confrontation.

Strategic early warning of Polish Martial Law could not have been accomplished without significant a priori insights by scholars devoted to the study of totalitarian systems including the Soviet and

Polish security systems. They represented the pool of experts that fled both German and Soviet tyranny during the 1930s and 1940s. One among them, the late Professor Emeritus Edward J. Rozek, provided the modus operandi of Soviet diplomacy including the ruthless pragmatism governing Moscow's control over Eastern Europe. He revealed the complex command & control links between postwar Soviet and Polish security services that would dominate bilateral relations throughout the Cold War. These links would also guarantee conformity to Moscow's contingency plans in the event of crisis. Given the overwhelming strategic military strength of the Soviet armed forces, Rozek discounted the need of their use as a first option. He believed the crisis could be easily managed by the Polish internal security system. He was confident these Stalinist internal organs were more than capable of dealing with internal Polish dissent including Solidarity. It would be these elements backed by the Polish Army that would prove to be the backbone of the Martial Law Contingency Plan, leaving the Warsaw Pact forces as a last resort.

Other postwar scholars revealed the full extent of NKVD/KGB control over the "Polish Internal Front" and Polish communist

enhancements to the internal security organs after 1956. Professor Peter Raina of the Frei University Berlin published a 1978 masterpiece on *Polish Underground Movements*, allowing researchers not only an insight on the full extent of active anti-communist opposition to the regime but also by extension a full comprehension of the extent of penetration by the Polish security services. Raina's expose enabled authoritative assessments of the viability and strength of the "Internal Security Front" under crisis conditions and the unlikely need for Soviet intervention before the imposition of Polish martial law.

George Blazynski of BBC published a critically useful book in 1979 on *Polish Flashpoints*, outlining the Polish military and internal security modus operandi during the former crises of 1970 and 1976. These "warm-up" scenarios for 1980-1981 also revealed the path of Polish contingency planning in former clashes against workers in the late 1940s, 1953, 1956, and 1968. It was Blazynski's outline that made the doctrinal link between past practice and martial law contingency planning during 1980-1981 most probable.
The Reuter News Service-Warsaw reporter, Mr. Brian Mooney, allowed for authoritative daily assessments of Polish decisionmaking

throughout the crisis. He reported the pronouncements of Polish authorities in a comprehensive manner allowing for accurate judgments regarding the status of negotiations with workers and other leadership commentary impacting assessments of Martial Law contingency planning and imminence. Reuters would remain a critical open source throughout the full period of the crisis.

Finally, I want to thank Colonel Les Griggs, USA for encouragement in breaking silence after a hiatus of 30 years. As US Defense Attaché to Warsaw, he had unique insight on developments in Poland from many sources. He visited Heidelberg on several occasions in which a close exchange of views were always accomplished. He will remain one of the few men today with a most unique insider's view of events as they actually unfolded in Warsaw.

Intelligence services seldom release the whole story and this monograph on the Polish crisis is no exception. Bureaucracies alter perceptions. Where you sit often dictates and determines what you see. There are many professionals in other US agencies and foreign services that have their own story about crisis decisionmaking

whether in Warsaw, Moscow, or Washington. These variants are complicated further by sources, methods, and compartmentation. The US Army Europe Heidelberg story is no different. However, I want to assure the reader that there is nothing in this essay that would be altered with the addition of classified information.

Fritz Ermarth appealed many years later to US national security thinkers the necessity for enhanced deductive and inductive reasoning in the preparation of estimative intelligence papers. Indeed, Polish-Soviet scholars, open sources, decision theory, and normative geopolitical estimates allowed US/NATO leaders strategic early warning of Polish Martial Law over one year prior to its imposition in December 1981. What follows is a severe exercise in memory. Errors in fact and perception are solely the responsibility of this author.

G.H. Nelson

Forward

Strategic Early Warning is a subject revisited in many books and this Cold War monograph is no exception. Much has been written about Soviet Intervention Policy during the Cold War years including US Intelligence Indications & Warning (I&W) successes and failures against Soviet military operations. A generation of scholars entered the "*Second Oldest Profession"* with every expectation of accurately estimating, and indeed, anticipating the next move from Kremlin leaders. Yet many US/NATO commanders were discomfited by perceived weak intelligence reporting during the 1960s and 1970s in the aftermath of Soviet military interventions in Eastern Europe and south Asia. Some believed US Intelligence could have performed better in warning US/NATO Commanders of Soviet interventions in Czechoslovakia during 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979. Hence the eruption of Polish unrest in 1980 was more than a contest between the popular Trade Union Solidarity fronting for the Polish people against communist rule. It was a serious test of the US/NATO Intelligence Community (IC) whether it was up to the mark in accurately assessing Soviet crisis decisionmaking and intentions. The outcome would determine the appropriate level of

confidence US/NATO military leaders would hold for intelligence services responsible for the much larger *Warning of War* scenario between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces. In brief, it was a full spectrum test of the US/NATO warning system and whether Soviet and Polish intentions could be accurately estimated. All sources and methods would be mobilized to satisfy these critical *Red Team* requirements. Regional scholars applied every methodology to penetrate the formidable Soviet/Warsaw Pact propaganda screen in order to discern the most probable Soviet-Polish courses of action (COA). In effect, it amounted to the highest form of risk analysis within the estimative intelligence genre. The seminal strategic question(s) were framed as follows:

(1) Would Polish Martial Law Contingency Planning take precedence over the *Brezhnev Doctrine* and Warsaw Pact military intervention?

(2) Would the *Brezhnev Doctrine*, Soviet/Warsaw Pact intervention policy, and the element of strategic surprise preempt Polish Martial Law Planning?

The US Army Europe Crisis Action Team (CAT) accepted that challenge in the fall 1980 by giving primacy to the Polish Martial

Law option, a steadfast position that would remain unchanged through December 1981. Indeed, CAT monitoring of Martial Law preparations remained integral to all reporting to General Kroesen and DOD agencies for the duration of the crisis based on estimative intelligence strategic assumptions.

Cold War history is the passage for discerning Polish-Soviet intentions during 1980-1981. Communist leaders in Moscow and Warsaw emerged from the ravages of World War II and the Stalinist Terror with a mutual understanding of a terrible past and a sober conviction that another bloodbath in Eastern Europe had to be avoided. It was understood that, agreeable or not, Polish communism was rooted in time and geostrategic place, in the *East*. Russians and Poles were hostage to the totalitarian imperative and there was no vision in Moscow that dared consider the alternative. As for the Polish communists, they were quite aware of the historical weight two totalitarian regimes imposed on the Polish people in rapid succession meant for the national psyche. They knew that rebellion was always just below the surface and measures were in place to contain it. Indeed, internal security measures against the Polish people were an open secret in which mutual understanding be-

tween the perpetrator and the victim had become normalized. Polish apparatchiks exercised autocratic rule with the understanding that ideological orthodoxy was absolute, and Polish citizens conformed to communist rule with the understanding that ideological orthodoxy was not absolute. Within this tenuous national environment, it came as no surprise that the Polish communists backed by Soviet mandarins would establish pervasive internal security organs capable of penetrating most opposition groups and underground cells. Communist Poland would become a virtual Secret Police hive in which dossiers on all levels of society were common place and informants even within trusted dissident circles would be exposed decades later as former SB or KGB sources.

The Polish Intelligence & Security System did enjoy greater freedom from Soviet controls after 1956 but the strength and capability of Soviet tradecraft would remain pervasive throughout the Polish system at the dawn of crisis in 1980. It would be the Polish security system that penetrated the anti-communist underground. The KGB by proxy would be the beneficiaries allowing Moscow an authoritative insight not only on the anti-communist threat within Poland but also a clear vision of the Polish internal security

capabilities to contain it. The rest is annotated in open source literature in which the regime response to labor unrest is well documented including substantive improvements in internal security doctrine, methods, and capabilities. A chronology of development and maturation is clearly visible from 1945 to 1976. Summary proceedings dominate Polish operations during the 1945-1947 civil war under the watchful direction of Soviet NKVD and Red Army supervisors. However, the early 1950s reveals a higher proficiency for independent operations and even a capacity to impose martial law at tactical and operational echelons, enforced by ready militias and internal security troops with the sole mission of maintaining Polish internal security. From 1956 to 1970 the doctrine had expanded to include Polish Army elements. The Army was to provide reinforcement to the militia and internal security troops even though military leaders were vocal in their opposition to use of the Army in operations against Poles.

These internal security disputes revealed the direction of doctrine and the systemic weaknesses within the internal security structure. The Polish Militia and Internal Security Troops were to be strengthened while the Army sought relief from internal security mis-

sions. These issues would be resolved by 1980 in open debate including the standard operating procedures embraced by the regime against the popular opposition. There would be no doubt in future crises that the Secret Police, Polish Militia, and Internal Security Troops would be the mainstays in future deployments against regime opponents in major confrontations. The elements of power were arrayed against the Solidarity Trade Union even before its formation in July 1980.

The totalitarian imperative had thus been well embedded in Polish institutions long before 1980 in which the pillars of internal security were postured to crush threats to communist orthodoxy at tactical, operational, and even strategic echelons. Warsaw simply improved internal security operations through incremental reform taking the lessons learned from each crisis as they unfolded from 1953 to 1976. It was Warsaw's incremental approach that allowed Western observers insight on Polish internal security history, doctrine, and practices in defeating potential threats to the communist order. Notorious for repeating operational patterns, Polish internal security methods enabled the preparation of estimates with a prob-

ability, if not certainty, that doctrine would repeat itself during 1980-1981.

Decision theory including institutional momentum and bureaucratic politics enhanced confidence in the strategic assumptions noted above. It facilitated the preparation of a Red Team Net Assessment in which Polish *Graduated Response Doctrine* against the internal threat preceded Soviet/Warsaw Pact "external" decisionmaking for intervention. The decision matrix included all aspects of Soviet/Warsaw Pact and Polish decisionmaking nodes including declaratory policies, practices, anomalies, doctrine, command & control processes, intelligence & security organizations, personnel strengths & capabilities, modus operandi, and any other events indicating imminence of force against the Solidarity Union. From the perspective of Western observers, it appeared to be the optimal methodology in penetrating the *Fog of Crisis* that preceded the eventual imposition of Polish Martial Law. The relative chaos of daily events reinforced the assumptions implicit in the Decision Matrix. Warsaw planned for a national state of emergency early in the crisis when it correctly concluded based on the *correlation of forces* that the scope of organized opposition was well beyond any-

thing they had experienced in previous internal crisis scenarios. The elements of internal power were available but Polish military and internal security planners required time to develop strategic vice operational plans to meet the threat. Implicit in this "exercise" was the understanding that Warsaw Pact forces would intervene to ensure continued Polish communist rule if the imposition of martial law failed. It would be this strategic vision and risk calculation that dominated CAT reporting from October 1980 to 13 December 1981 providing US/NATO commanders strategic early warning of Martial Law.


Poland
International boundary
Province (województwo) boundary
National capital
Province (województwo) capital
Railroad
Expressway
Road
A province has the same name as its capital except where noted.
0 50 100 Kilometers
0 50 100 Miles
Lambert Conformal Conic projection, SP 40N/56N
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Gdansk
Pomeranian Bay
Bornholm (DENMARK)
SWEDEN
GERMANY
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
BELARUS
UKRAINE
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
ROMANIA
Helsingborg
Kristianstad
Karlskrona
Copenhagen
Malmö
Ystad
Trelleborg
Rønne
Sassnitz
Stralsund
Świnoujście
Szczecin
Kołobrzeg
Koszalin
Ustka
Słupsk
Gdynia
Sopot
Gdańsk
Elbląg
Tczew
Kaliningrad
Klaipėda
Šiauliai
Panevėžys
Kaunas
Vilnius
Alytus
Suwałki
Olsztyn
Hrodna
Vawkavysk
Białystok
Łomża
Ostrołęka
Ciechanów
Toruń
Bydgoszcz
Piła
Gorzów Wielkopolski
Berlin
Frankfurt
Cottbus
Zielona Góra
Leszno
Poznań
Włocławek
Płock
Warsaw
Siedlce
Brest
Konin
Kalisz
Łódź
Skierniewice
Sieradz
Biała Podlaska
Głogów
Radom
Lublin
Kovel'
Chełm
Piotrków Trybunalski
Legnica
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Dresden
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Wałbrzych
Prague
Hradec Králové
Bytom
Katowice
Gliwice
Kraków
Tarnów
Rzeszów
Przemyśl
L'viv
Ostrava
Bielsko-Biała
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DECISIONMAKERS

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Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Yuri Andropov

Soviet Chairman

Committee of State Security

(KGB)

Dmitri Ustinov

Soviet

Minister of Defense

(MOD)

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Commander-in-Chief

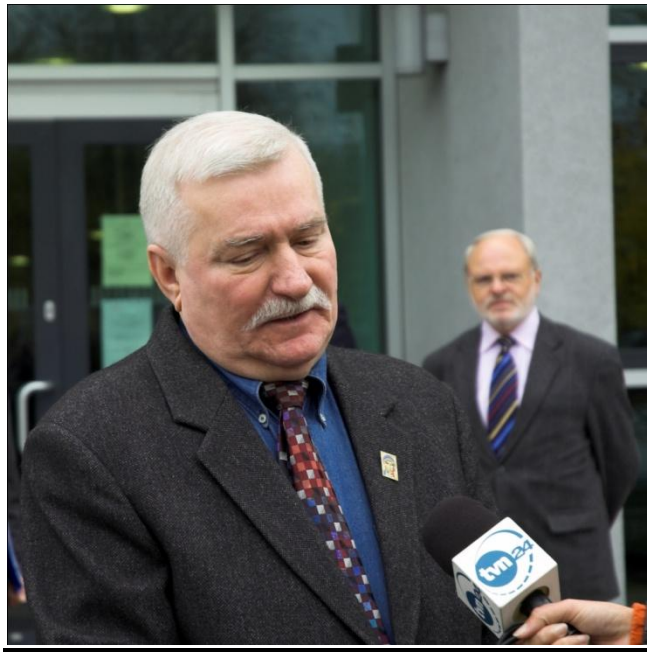
Warsaw Pact

Wojciech Jaruzelski

Prime Minister
Peoples Republic of Poland

First Secretary
Communist Party of Poland

Polish
Minister of National Defense
(MOD)



Lech Walesa

Leader

Polish
Independent Trade Union
(Solidarity)

I

Polish Internal Front History

The best way to suppose what may come,
Is to remember what is past.

George Savile
(1633-1695)

There was no strategic indication in the spring 1980 that the Polish economy would once again erupt into major crisis with the potential for Soviet/Warsaw Pact military intervention. It was only coincidental that the academic press had published a flurry of contemporary Polish studies outlining political-military and internal security operations since 1945. I had become dangerously informed of the key Soviet and Polish decisionmaking nodes just in time for the onset of crisis. Authoritative literature spanning several decades did allow for informed judgments about Polish and Soviet security policies. Regional scholars detailed Polish inter-war and wartime institutions and exposed security developments since 1945 that enabled insight on Soviet-Polish complicity in the development of internal security organs with the sole purpose of repress-

ing Polish dissent. With the Soviet hand in the Polish glove, Warsaw's operational planning against internal threats was an open book from the 1940s onward, giving observers every opportunity to anticipate not only the primacy of a Polish graduated response against dissent but also a national strategic response in the form of Martial Law if and when decisionmakers perceived the need to do so. Indeed, the primacy of Martial Law contingency planning during 1980-1981 could not have been systematically developed and foreseen without a priori maturation of Polish intelligence & internal security institutions from 1945 to 1979.

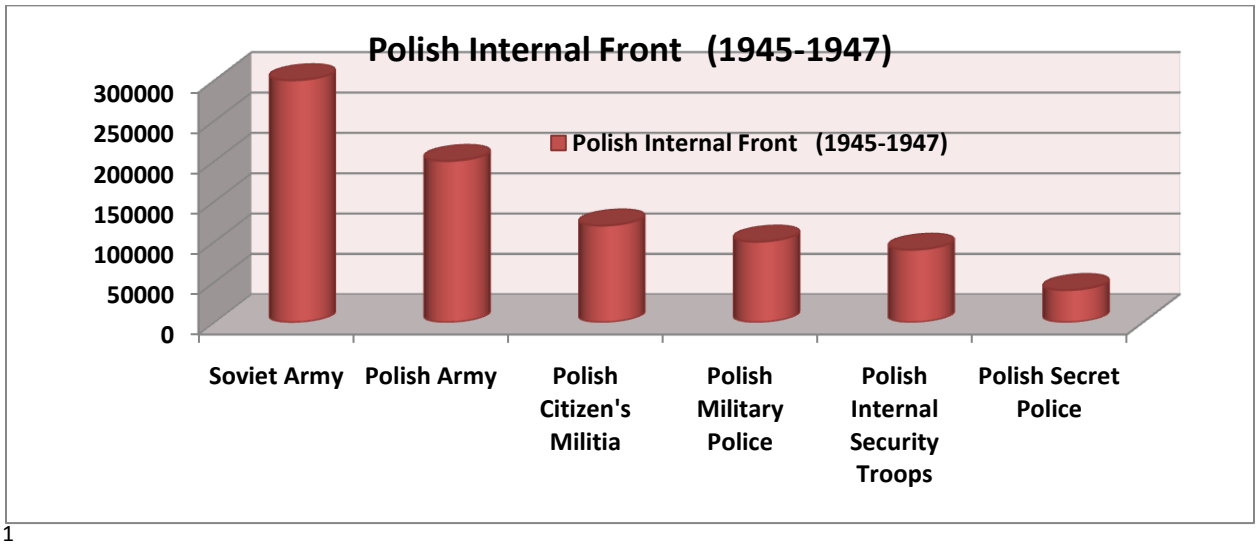
Soviet direct intervention and subsequent absolute control of Poland's national affairs was fait accompli since the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in August 1939. It received strategic political-military certainty as the Red Army approached the Polish frontier in 1944 and the Allied Powers recognized Soviet dominion over Eastern Europe in 1945. Indeed, the Eastern Front from 1939 to 1945 set the foundations for Soviet postwar control of Poland and the imposition of Soviet-style intelligence & security systems throughout the new communist infrastructure. Within the new totalitarian order, Polish communists would conform to So-

viet NKVD/KGB procedures to such an extent that reliability, in Moscow's view, was never in doubt. Moscow viewed the chaos of wartime Poland a hotbed of opposition to the imminent communist takeover. The remnants of Polish resistance to Nazi rule had already been decimated by the German occupation and surviving Polish forces after the Eastern partition remained suspect in Stalin's plans for dominion over the region. Moscow also viewed with suspicion the surviving Polish underground loyal to the Polish Government-in-Exile and skilled in intelligence & security operations not only against the Nazis but potentially against the new communist order – motivation enough for NKVD/KGB plans for a new Polish intelligence & security system. Indeed, Stalin's fears were confirmed when Polish veterans in the West joined forces with the underground to oppose postwar Soviet dominion, underground networks that would persist through the communist era and set the stage for protracted division between Polish communists and covert Polish freedom fighters.

The antecedents of Polish communism are fundamental to the institutions that later would dominate national life for the next 45 years. Pillars of Polish national security in wartime were divided

along ideological lines. It would influence Soviet governance of Polish institutions later. For example, the Polish Home Army (AK) was the mainstay of underground operations against German forces during World War II. Operating since 1942, it had an estimated strength of 250,000 to 350,000 personnel. While loyal to the Polish Government-in-Exile, it operated independently. The AK symbolized Polish resistance to German occupation but also possessed the potential for anti-communist resistance as the war came to a close. Stalin anticipated resistance from the AK after the war and withheld support to them during the 1944 Warsaw uprising that decimated 250,000 occupants including over 18,000 Polish combatants.

In the East, Polish refugees including pro-Soviet factions caught in the 1939 German-Soviet partition joined the partisans (AL) after Hitler ordered the launch of Operation Barbarossa in June 1941. Others joined what later became the Polish People's Army (PPA) under Red Army command & control. The PPA would become the military wing of the Polish Communist Party (PCP) alias Polish United Workers Party (PUWP/PZPR) after World War II with an estimated strength in 1945 of 190,000 personnel.



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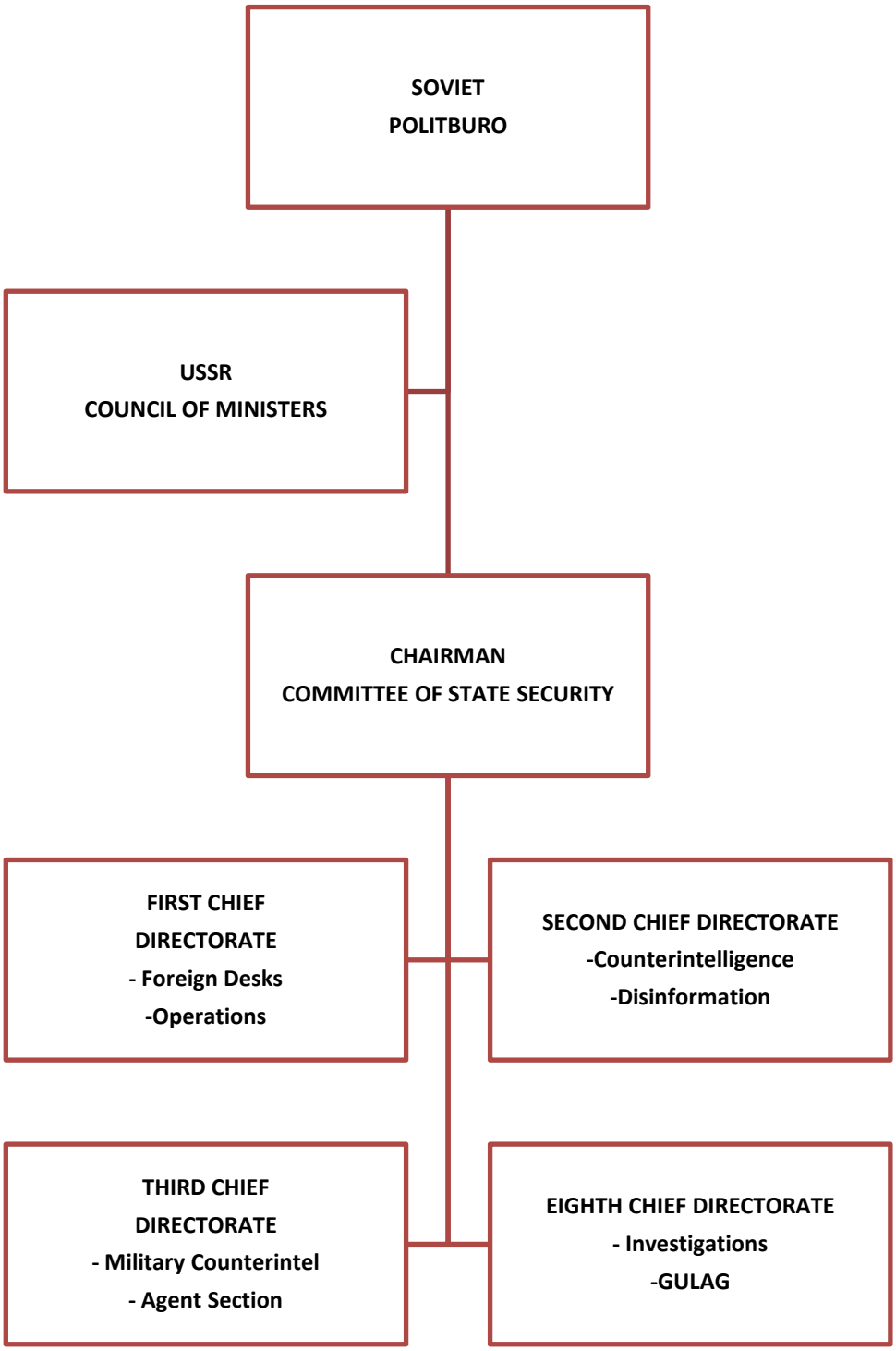
Stalin's vision of the Soviet Empire stretching from Asia to Central Europe was realized with the fall of Berlin in May 1945. The next decade required massive strategic planning that consumed Soviet occupation forces in what Moscow called *Socialist Construction*. Soviet security specialists drawn mainly from the NKVD/KGB and Military Intelligence (GRU) drafted the architectures and doctrine for all the East European satellite intelligence & security organs. Of course, the Polish services would not be spared. It would be a proxy system of terror guaranteed to conform to Soviet ideology, policy, doctrine, directives, and functions. It would be a system of control capable of crushing anti-communist sentiment in all its

[1] Edward J. Rozek, Allied Wartime Diplomacy, Wiley & Sons, 1958.

forms and from whatever quarter, a system that would be tested in numerous scenarios and under varying crisis situations in Poland's near future. To ensure complete conformity with Stalin's guidelines, NKVD/KGB and GRU advisors exercised command & control over the formation, construction, and operations of the Polish intelligence & security services from 1945 to 1956. Nothing could have been done without Soviet awareness and nominal consent. It would be under these tutorial conditions and by strategic design that the Polish communists developed their own totalitarian structure composed of a well-trained cadre of secret police, militia, army, and strategic reserve forces capable of crushing internal dissent if required. It would become the "Polish Internal Front" – a capability designed to repress national aspirations for the four decades without the need of Soviet/Warsaw Pact military intervention. But the Polish early years were brutal including purges of significant numbers of wartime veterans and leaders deemed unreliable in communist eyes. Many were simply executed in the manner of Polish officers at Katyn. Others just disappeared into Stalin's GULAG like Raeol Wallenberg or left to starve in the desperate postwar economy.

Historians estimate that 80,000 armed insurgents operated in Poland by the war's end despite the decimation of AK elements in 1944. Moscow viewed these insurgents as enemies to Soviet post-war order and took immediate steps to ensure their destruction as an effective force in Soviet occupied territory. It was recognized that the new Polish Provisional Government under Soviet control suffered from a narrow social base. It would need Red Army bayonets to impose its will on the Polish people. Red Army commanders also demanded rear area security as the Eastern Front closed on Berlin. It would be the task of the veteran Polish People's Army and ragtag pro-communist militia modeled after NKVD special units to ensure the liquidation of these Polish "insurgents." The ever present NKVD directed these operations including summary executions whenever insurgents were captured. These activities would also spill over into the Polish civil war period during 1945 to 1947.



[2]

[2] Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Soviet Intelligence & Security Services, Volume II, Washington DC, Government Printing Office, 1975.

The end of the war intensified the counterinsurgency throughout Eastern Europe as Red Army units consolidated control and established garrison locations. It was a period in which the Soviet NKVD directed execution squads worked closely with the Red Army, Polish People's Army, and Polish Militia in consolidating communist control over all administrative aspects of the region. What then developed from the ashes of postwar Poland would be a communist infrastructure well adapted to Stalinist doctrine, organization, leadership, and training, under the watchful supervision of Soviet NKVD and Red Army officers. Subsequent Polish personnel promotions and assignments would be dependent on the explicit recommendations from Red Army and NKVD supervisors. It was a period of maximum subservience to Soviet rule in which the Polish cadre was required to reach the highest state of reliability from Moscow's perspective. It was a time when the slightest sign of independent thought carried the greatest risk of not only professional demotion but also physical termination. Stalinist purges in those times would even go after a group associated with an individual brought under suspicion thus in the Soviet mind eliminating a cancer by also excising healthy tissue. It was a time when there was no doubt as to the original architects of Polish in-

stitutions and no doubt that those administering policies and programs would be under unremitting scrutiny in Moscow. More than once, East European leaders, even communist leaders, and second tier officials, were executed by ever present NKVD squads if Stalin believed it served his strategic interests. Under these conditions the Polish cadre demonstrated their reliability, and subsequent events showed that Moscow's confidence in them was not misplaced.

Polish Internal Front Ready Forces (1945-1980)				
Annual	**Polish Army**	**Internal Security Troops**	**Militia + Reserves**	**Remarks**
1945	331,000	30,000	60,000	Rozek
1946	331,000	30,000	145,000	Rozek
1947	331,000	30,000	145,000	Rozek
1948	331,000	30,000	145,000	Estimate
1949	400,000	-	-	Authorized
1950-1959	-	-	-	No Data
1960	200,000	-	-	IISS
1961	200,000	-	-	
1962	200,000	45,000	-	
1963	200,000	45,000	-	
1964	215,000	45,000	-	
1965	215,000	45,000	-	
1966	185,000	45,000	-	
1967	185,000	45,000	-	
1968	185,000	45,000	-	
1969	185,000	45,000	-	
1970	195,000	45,000	-	
1971	190,000	65,000	-	
1972	200,000	73,000	-	

1973	200,000	73,000	-	
1974	220,000	73,000	350,000	
1975	210,000	80,000	350,000	
1976	204,000	80,000	350,000	
1977	220,000	58,000	350,000	
1978	222,000	77,000	350,000	
1979	210,000	77,000	350,000	
1980	210,000	77,000	350,000	
Edward Rozek, Op Cit; IISS; Military Balance, et passim.				

The Soviet takeover of Polish institutions including the formation of intelligence & security organs experienced its greatest period of turbulence during 1945 to 1956. Polish manpower constraints underwent major peacetime fluctuations while security systems faced major reorganizations, some involving disputes over doctrine and command & control. These disputes involved not only infighting among Polish leaders striving for political dominance but also Moscow's growing reliance on East European armies and postwar restructuring of Soviet occupation forces that would become integral to Warsaw Pact contingency planning against NATO. For example, the Polish People's Army despite provision for a manpower ceiling of 400,000 in 1949 would in fact decline from 330,000 in 1945 to 200,000 by 1960. Meanwhile, the Internal Security Troops (KBW) would increase from 30,000 in 1945 to 45,000

in 1962, a major indicator of future Polish internal security contingency planning and central to major mechanized deployments against internal threats. The Polish Citizen's Militia (MO) combining civil police and local internal security duties would rise from 60,000 in 1945 to 145,000 in 1948 and 350,000 by 1974. The MO would later be integral to the 1980-1981 Martial Law contingency plans. Annual personnel figures for the Polish Secret Police (SB/UB) are not available but it is estimated their manpower strengths declined from 40,000 in 1945 to 25,000 in 1956. Informant numbers by region and by institution also are not available.

The general trend from 1945 to 1980 indicated a postwar decline in Polish Armed Forces conventional strength but a significant buildup of "Internal Front" capabilities – most notably the peacetime Citizen's Militia structure. It also is noteworthy that the Internal Security Troops were mechanized and capable of significant force against internal threats whenever deployed to do so. All four instruments of power, the secret police, militia, internal security troops, and the army deployed against Polish citizens throughout the full period of communist rule by design including routine operations against members of the underground, student dissidents,

and workers. The institutional framework for defeating a national uprising was well in place long before 1980.

Polish Internal Front operational patterns during 1945-1976 indicate a rough application of doctrine even by Soviet standards and expectations. Professional coordination among the "power ministries" appeared fragmentary in which command & control of operations in specific crisis scenarios was irregular and open to criticism. The call for Army reinforcements were always contentious and indicated confirmation that the Militia and Internal Security Troops had failed in their primary containment tasks. Even as Warsaw Pact joint-combined operations improved against the NATO "External Front" from the 1950s to the 1970s, Polish Internal Front command & control exercises and planning appeared limited if nonexistent at the strategic and operational echelons. Indeed, operational command & control appeared limited even with disproportionate forces allocated for Polish Internal Front tasks against what were then 49 regions. Yet we know these forces were under Soviet direct authority at least to 1956 and all of them received close supervision and mentoring by Russian officers. Many

Polish officers deemed reliable by Soviet supervisors attended special schools in Moscow before and after the Stalinist era.

These same Polish officers returned from the USSR prepared to carry out their assigned tasks in counterintelligence, counterespionage, counter-subversion, tradecraft, policing, personnel, and force management. It was assumed this cadre had comprehensive knowledge of Polish internal threats at tactical echelons and could adjust to operational and strategic threats in short warning scenarios. The presence of Soviet officers within this high security infrastructure was seen to enhance the professional skills of Polish officers to such an extent that by 1956 the Poles themselves felt confident in taking full responsibility for their own internal security affairs. The practice of Soviet integration ended but significant influence remained. Now the daily burden of repression fell directly on the shoulders of the Polish communist cadre for operations against the Polish people.

ESTIMATE INTERNAL FRONT FORCE DEPLOYMENTS								
	SECRET POLICE	CITIZENS MILITIA	SECURITY TROOPS	POLISH ARMY	SOVIET RED ARMY	SOVIET EXTERNAL FORCES	WARSAW PACT	REMARKS
1945-47	X	X	X	X	X	X	NA	Civil War
1953	X	X	X				NA	Regional Martial Law
1956	X	X	X	X				Poznan Riots
1968	X	X						Student Protests
1970	X	X	X	X				Labor Unrest
1976	X	X						Labor Unrest

The primary instrument of terror aside from the postwar NKVD/KGB was the Polish Secret Police (SB). It experienced several reorganizations under Stalinist and post-Stalinist direction. Yet it was primus inter pares in managing communist repression including vigilance against ideological heresy throughout Polish society. It was the one organ capable of penetrating all institutions and, as such, far more powerful than the rank and file communist party cadre or even the elite Nomenklatura. Contemporary scholars have provided an authoritative outline of Polish Secret Police history during the Stalin era but there were ample postwar writers even more familiar with the essentials of totalitarian theory and practice. It would be they that enabled a conception of unshakeable internal control and iron grip on power; a certainty that internal

threats could be crushed without Soviet assistance. Survivors of the concentrations camps and GULAGS combined with the intellectual refugees from wartime Europe set the authoritative foundations for, and insight in, the inner nature of Secret Police operations. Hannah Arendt, Bruno Bettelheim, T.W. Adorno, Carl Friedrich, Arthur Koestler, Jacques Ellul, Marie Jahoda, Jay Lifton, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Frank Meyer, Leo Alexander, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Peter Raina and a myriad of others provided us with an intimate knowledge of totalitarian methods. The theoretical and empirical allowed for a sober assessment of SB capabilities against individual regime opponents, dissident writers and scholars, workers, and the ever-present underground networks. Finally, the cryptic history of the SB from the 1940s to the 1970s provided ample evidence of their covert power against opponents, a power they would demonstrate again in a dramatic way when Polish leaders resolved to impose Martial Law without warning in 1981. Indeed, their extensive informant files on significant numbers of the adult population allowed for the easy apprehension of victims whenever the authorities wished to take action against suspected opponents. The SB could also threaten potential adversaries by blocking employment eligibility, a threat that extended to the extended family

and relatives. It would be a collective guilt guaranteed to limit overt opposition to the regime except for those most desperate and with little perceived to lose.

The Soviets never conceived in the early days of occupation that the Polish Secret Police would act alone against a mass uprising. Moscow was quick to form Polish militias behind Red Army lines to overtly crush anti-communist insurgents, a mission that would remain integral to Militia doctrine throughout the communist era. Initial Polish Citizens Militia (MO) operations during the 1945-1947 civil wars were only successful due to NKVD and Red Army oversight. Significant work remained to improve doctrine, organization, leadership, personnel vetting, and training. It was normal then for Red Army officers to take leadership of these formations under the worst of conditions while all the while planning for an Internal Front doctrine that would include utilization of reinforcements from the Polish People's Army, Motorized Militia, and even Soviet reinforcements in worst case scenarios. Even though Polish MO doctrine was to approximate Soviet Internal Security (MVD) practices, it more often than not resembled a national police/guard force with wide-ranging general duties including polic-

ing and traffic control. During periods of unrest, it was capable of imposing curfews including riot police provided that reinforcements were available to deal with extended labor strikes, demonstrations, and organized resistance. Overall, it was important doctrinal component in Polish force management and would exercise a constant presence in future internal security operations.

Soviet-Polish planners did not believe that Secret Police and Militia by themselves were sufficient to meet anticipated confrontation scenarios against Polish workers on strike or in street demonstrations. They knew the Poles would be tough opponents whenever uprisings occurred and for whatever reason, a mechanized force was essential to neutralize and contain the threat when SB and Militia proved incapable of doing so. Moscow installed the Polish Internal Security Troops (KBW), modeled after NKVD Special Detachments, under the new Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs. They were designed to be a motorized infantry capable of rapid response against armed resistance. The KBW proved quite reliable in the most difficult of tasks including the liquidation of anti-communist partisans and the expulsion-deportation of German civilians from Silesia now inside Poland's new western frontier. They would re-

main a force multiplier in militia operations against labor unrest throughout the Cold War years. Other KBW missions included integration with Soviet/Warsaw Pact operational plans in coordination with the Polish Army and Soviet Northern Group of Forces (NGF), insuring lines of communication (LOC) security from the Soviet Western Military Districts to the Soviet Northern Tier and Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG).

Polish Internal Front operations during actual deployments against workers are fragmentary. Militia and KBW order of battle (OB) was not available during the postwar period leaving description of events to individual observers, communist propaganda organs, and sporadic news feeds. Often media focus was solely on the strikers and protestors leaving operations of the security organs quite obscure. Regional scholars often required several years to piece together the scenario which even then would be incomplete. Nevertheless, the picture was sufficient for a respectful understanding of events and allowed sufficient insight on security operations to assess Polish security perceptions, procedures, and modus operandi – prerequisites for assessing intentions during crisis. Moreover, sufficient information crossed over the Iron Curtain to reveal the

[3]

Note: NGF dormant during Martial Law period.

regime's concept of operations for internal crisis scenarios, a pattern founded on institutional momentum, mission focus, prescribed response, doctrine, organization, training, and standard operating procedures. It was a Stalinist plan determined to ensure regime survival interests not only in Poland but throughout the new Soviet sphere of influence in which the new communist satellites would be capable of maintaining internal control without the immediate need for Red Army reinforcements. The Polish civil war

[3] Edward J. Rozek, Op Cit; IISS Military Balance, et passim.

was merely the initial stage of a similar campaign of Soviet takeovers throughout Eastern Europe. It would be the beginning of a new communist order in which the all the Soviet satellites would undergo the formation of internal security structures guaranteed to secure permanent regime control over subject populations. But for Poland, it set the precedent for combined Soviet-Polish operations against insurgents and whatever threats would emerge in coming years. Indeed, by the 1950s, Polish internal security institutions had stabilized and Warsaw was ready for independent operations without Soviet tutelage. However, Moscow would insist on maintaining direct supervision over Polish operations until 1956.

The much anticipated Polish opposition to communist ideology, collectivization, and anti-catholic dogma finally reached boiling point in 1953. Press reports via West Berlin revealed that on 17 June 1953, Warsaw, Krakow, and Silesia were under a regional state of Martial Law and that 17 tanks belonging to the Soviet NGF garrison at Chorzow had been destroyed. Rioters reportedly stormed the Krakow City Hall on 30 June and lynched several communist officials. While the facts of these events remained unclear, it did provide precedent on Polish internal security opera-

tions against anti-communist demonstrations in which the Secret Police, Militia, and Internal Security Troops were enforcing Martial Law provisions including curfews, crowd control, detentions, and arrests long before the buildup to 1980-1981. It also revealed the primacy of Polish internal security operations against Polish workers in all future internal crisis scenarios. The unrest of 1953 while obscured by the Iron Curtain was the first major trial of Polish internal security forces after the Polish civil war in which over 8,700 citizens were killed and another 32,800 were reportedly arrested.

Soviet de-Stalinization enhanced by Khrushchev's Secret Speech to the CPSU Central Committee during 14-25 February 1956 sparked unintended consequences in Eastern Europe. It inspired intellectual ferment and reformists wrongly concluded that communist regimes could be transformed "on scale" to redress political, economic, and social ills without threatening Soviet strategic interests. Popular political-economic expectations in Poland expanded well beyond the boundaries of communist orthodoxy pushing the regime to the brink of collapse. Polish workers mistaking themselves as revolutionaries rioted in Poznan on 28 June for "Bread & Free-

dom".*[4] Militia and internal security troops were deployed against the workers by design but failed to contain rioting, forcing decisionmakers to send army reinforcements untrained for crowd control into the fight. Backed by the army, the security troops were able to rally their forces using armored personnel carriers and tanks to end the siege, but at least 74 protestors were killed and 575 wounded. While internal security was successful in crushing the rioters, it was a political disaster. It heightened popular opposition to the regime further polarizing the society between the vested communist establishment and the population at large. Realizing their peril, the regime promised reforms including de-collectivization, freedom of religion, and freedom of expression – guarantees well beyond the Marxist-Leninist mantra and when unfulfilled certain to incite future confrontations. Polish leaders themselves were appalled by the fatalities in 1956 and fearful of a future anti-communist backlash if lethal force were again employed against workers. The regime initiated a review of internal security measures that included enhanced non-lethal methods of riot control and anti-strike tactics. It allowed Internal Front planners an

[4] It sparked sympathy demonstrations in Budapest and armed uprising well beyond internal security to cope leading to the Soviet invasion of Hungary in November 1956.

opportunity to revise operational plans by region and district, and set the rules of engagement in the event of future confrontations.

The Polish student protests in 1968 offered the Secret Police and Militia a much easier challenge at a much smaller scale and application of force in comparison with "Hard Helmet" confrontations with workers in 1953 and 1956. No longer under the direct thumb of Stalinist supervisors, it allowed the SB and militia greater freedom to manage internal security operations with rules of engagement more suitable to Polish vice Soviet methods. The students were inspired by the Czechoslovak Prague Spring that unlocked a new wave of hope for "Socialism with a Human Face" and even the potential for democratic pluralism. Romantic tales of the Polish World War II underground flourished among students eager themselves to engage in anti-communist projects including the underground press and the excitement of posting graffiti in nighttime forays. The student rebellion was easy prey for SB penetration and many young dissidents paid the ultimate price with dismissal from university status and a derogatory file within SB archives leaving future prospects in doubt. Yet as in postwar Poland, the student underground was part of the popular culture and the intel-

lectual elite enjoyed special access to underground circles – as did the SB. Indeed, underground Poland was so well known that even Western scholars were able to publish authoritative texts about the Polish underground history, organization, and structure through the 1970s. In effect, the Polish underground was literally an "open book" for Polish, Soviet/Warsaw Pact, US/NATO, and other authorities monitoring Polish security affairs.[5] Meanwhile, the intellectuals, dissidents, professors and students initiated their strike actions in March 1968 without coordinating with the Polish workers, a strategic blunder that doomed the reformist enterprise from the beginning. The SB and Militia easily confronted the student strikers, identifying and arresting ringleaders while disbursing the followers. Ringleaders identified as professors or members of faculty were not only detained but removed summarily from their teaching posts, many to remain destitute through 1989. This disenfranchised faculty also joined the underground universities giving lectures on political theory and democracy to dissident students and proposing Western ideas of pluralism in a post-communist society. The student protests in the wake of the Prague Spring and the sub-

[5] See Professor Peter Raina, Polish Underground (1954-1977), Painters Press, Paris, 1978.

sequent Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 gave new meaning and force to the underground cause.

The implication of 1968 included the realization by the Polish intellectuals that they could not act against the regime without the active support of the Polish working class. Intellectual arrogance and elitism was self-defeating. A strategy for combining intellectual and worker interests would dominate underground activities during the next 12 years. But the renewed underground activity did not go unnoticed within the SB and other Warsaw Pact intelligence services. For example, SB learned the scope of underground networks through easy access to academic publications in the West and particularly in Paris where émigré journals flourished. It was common for Secret Police personnel to pose as students in order to penetrate the popular hideouts including the bars and taverns common to these would-be counter-revolutionaries. The result would be a "one way mirror" and symbiotic relationship between Polish intellectuals and the Secret Police that would continue through 1989. It would also be this flurry of underground literature devoted to East European liberation movements that allowed Western intelligence services a better understanding not only of

the Polish underground but also a prudent understanding of Polish internal security capabilities and modus operandi.

Polish Internal Front planners did not have long to wait to test new restructuring theories meant to remedy operational inefficiencies encountered during confrontations in 1953, 1956, and 1968. Sparked by Poland's economic woes and the regime decision to raise the price of basic food commodities, workers in the port cities of Gdansk and Szczecin rioted in large numbers during December 1970. Militia forces deployed to confront the rioting workers but containment failed and the situation turned ever more violent. Once again, elements of the Polish Army untrained in crowd control were ordered to reinforce the Militia cordons. Soldiers opened fire on the workers leaving an official deathtoll of 45 dead and 1,165 workers wounded. The exact role of the Internal Security Troops (Mechanized) is unclear. However, the application of deadly force by the Polish Army would have policy implications throughout the 1970s and even through the turbulent 1980s. It opened leadership debate on the role of the Army in Internal Front operations and led to a declaration that "never again" would the Army fire on Polish workers.

Planners commenced work on a revised doctrine that placed greater responsibility on the Militia and Internal Security Troops for direct engagement with striking workers or rioters in future confrontations at tactical and operational echelons. In worst case scenarios the Army was to provide only logistics support and LOC security. Meanwhile, the bloodbath forced the regime to suspend price increases leaving Poland's economic tribulations unsolved, a basket case for Soviet and Western creditors, and a recipe for future confrontation scenarios.

The Polish economy remained a chronic burden to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) during the full period of the Cold War and no more so than the 1970s when Warsaw even sought special aid and assistance from the US, an erstwhile adversary to Soviet Bloc cohesion. The Polish debt burden within CMEA was to such an extent by 1976 that Warsaw once again attempted to raise the price of essential goods, this time by as much as 60 percent, in the hope of achieving economic recovery. It was a risk management decision on 24 June 1976 that failed. Protest strikes immediately erupted in Ursus and Radom factories and soon spread to other industrial centers. The Communist Party

headquarters in Radom was burned to the ground. Warsaw recoiled immediately by suspending the price increases on 25 June thus ending the strikes. However, the regime commenced a massive roundup of strike leaders using SB informants to reveal key activists within the labor movement. Many were simply expelled from their jobs with no hope of alternative employment. These punitive measures intensified cooperation between Polish intellectuals and labor to the extent that the emerging foundation of an independent labor movement was possible by the late 1970s. On 23 September 1976 the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR) led by Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, future advisors to the Solidarity Movement, was founded to assist disenfranchised strikers with legal, financial, and medical assistance. KOR would grow to even greater influence as a point of contact for overt resistance to regime authority. Indeed, it was a lucrative target for SB penetration allowing for complete dossiers on KOR networks and other extended underground organizations. It would be a useful counter-subversion database when the massive crackdown on Solidarity later proved necessary.[6]

[6] See George Blazynski, Flashpoint Poland, Pergamon Press, New York, 1979.

The 1970s inspired by Soviet Bloc dissident writers and New Left thinkers set the foundations for an ever bolder Polish underground press. The *Flying Universities* became a popular focal point for student activism, anti-communist debate, and free thinking. It inspired renewed thought about Poland's legacy under German and Soviet occupation, comparative ideologies, and the surreal but parallel worlds of Orwellian rule. Taken from the page of anti-establishment student movements in the West, these young idealists with no formal training in underground or revolutionary tradecraft were easy prey to SB penetration as noted earlier and the substantial compromise of network information that followed. It would be a systematic vulnerability that facilitated the paralysis and collapse of these underground networks after Martial Law was declared on 13 December 1981.

On the threshold of systemic crisis in 1980 the Polish Internal Front including the SB, militia, internal security troops, and the army had amassed 35 years of experience, even if flawed, in containment theory and repressive doctrine. During this period these control organs had undergone numerous institutional reorganizations and refinements to ensure ever greater efficiencies in opera-

tions against potential labor unrest and popular uprisings. Indeed, each of these historical precedents revealed a microcosm of Internal Front planning and doctrine with ever greater clarity of purpose. Operational reforms inevitably followed with ever more sophistication to the point that security upgrades in the event of a national emergency converged with Soviet/Warsaw Pact contingency planning for the External Front in the event of confrontation with the West. These historical factors set the conceptual foundations for assessing Polish and Soviet intentions during the turbulent months that lay ahead including a decision model that incorporated both Polish contingency planning for martial law as *primes inter pares* and Soviet contingency planning for Warsaw Pact intervention should martial law fail.

II

The Crisis in Poland

(July 1980-December 1981)

God damn it Major,
I know what the Soviets are capable of doing!
What I want to know is what they are going to do!

General Frederick Kroesen, USA
Commander-in-Chief
US Army Europe & 7th Army
October 1980

Where force is necessary,
There it must be applied boldly, decisively, and completely.
But one must know the limitations of force;
One must know when to blend force with a maneuver,
A blow with an agreement.

Leon Trotsky
(1879-1940)

The Cold War map of Europe ensured a deadly disposition of military forces poised for Armageddon in the event of global confrontation. Theater forces were arrayed along both sides of the Iron Curtain ready for 48-72 hour "warning of war" conditions. It was

all the more dangerous knowing that the element of surprise was factored into Soviet/Warsaw Pact offensive doctrine, a conceptual risk assessment the Soviet High Command believed would provide the edge in a land war against NATO. It was all the more critical that NATO's intelligence services maintain a strategic early warning capability. The "warning problem" would buy time for maximum alert and readiness of NATO forces in a state of war. Indications of Hostilities (IOH) were the essential components of the Warning of War paradigm involving the full array of intelligence sources & methods. It would be the classic requirement for assessing adversary intentions and capabilities, East Bloc political-military decisionmaking for crisis, and Soviet/Warsaw Pact military power, that dominated the warning problem. Aligned with classical thought, political, diplomatic, and military decision nodes were deemed essential monitoring targets in assessing intentions. It assumed additional warning time if the "political leadership crisis decision" could be identified early, thus providing insight on military actions that would follow, in effect a complete political-military decision model. Also consistent with classical thought, the Western services assumed that strategic deception could screen "The Decision" from view thus directly contributing to strategic military

surprise. Given NATO's prudent fear of the Warsaw Pact "Bolt from the Blue", Western intelligence services were more than interested in East Bloc military maneuvers even if only "annual exercises". The political-military correlation of forces was in constant play not only in terms of NATO/Warsaw Pact net assessments but also in terms of East Bloc cohesion and internal unity. It was imperative that any signs of political turmoil within the East Bloc be identified early to determine the scope and implications of the crisis for alliance cohesion, internal unrest, or the potential use of Warsaw Pact forces in containment operations. Soviet/Warsaw Pact decisionmaking against rebellious Alliance members were integral to the early warning problem, with Soviet options, courses of action (COA), and probable intentions an essential component of daily assessments, reassessments, and political-military estimates. All these factors were not only integral to classical Tsun Tzu, Machiavelli, and Clausewitz decision theory, but were well incorporated into the US/NATO Indications & Warning System, an empirical process given even greater authority when supported by normative historical precedents and estimative intelligence methodologies. It would be these mechanisms and methodologies that

moved into synchronous play with the imminent crisis unfolding in Poland during the summer 1980.

Soviet crisis decisionmaking had been the focus of study for many years before 1980 including exemplary studies of the Soviet High Command during World II.[7] It was imperative that political-military parameters, ideological tripwires, leadership dynamics, political psychology, threat perceptions, and other factors impacting Soviet intentions and capabilities be well understood by Western observers well before the emergence of new crisis scenarios.[8] These sources provided tentative insight on Soviet organization for crisis and war should the requirement so arise.

<table>
<tr><th>Communist Party Oversight</th><th>Political-Military Oversight</th><th>Wartime</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>CPSU
Central Committee</td><td>POLITBURO</td><td rowspan="8">State Committee
Of Defense
(GKO)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Main Political
Administration</td><td>POLITBURO
Defense Council</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Ministry of Defense</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Main Military Council</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td rowspan="2">Stavka</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>General Staff</td></tr>
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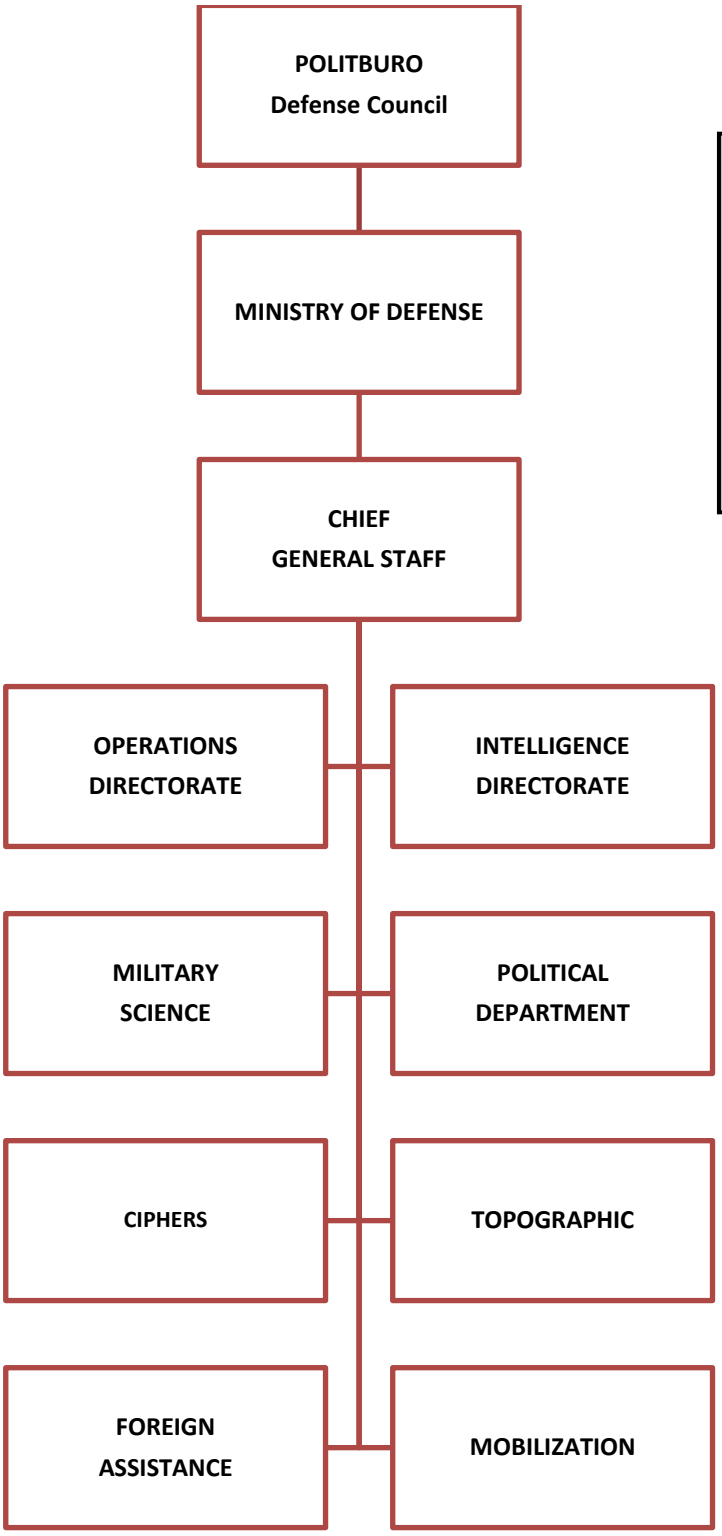
[7] See Professor John Erickson's collection of works while Director at the Defense Studies Institute, University of Edinburgh.

[8] Gail H. Nelson, Ideological Constraints on Soviet Decisionmaking for Defense, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Colorado at Boulder, University Microfilms International, 1979.

The Soviet crackdown against rebellious workers and political heretics in East Germany and Hungary in the 1950s, and destruction of Czechoslovakia's reform movement in the 1960s, provided a sober reminder of Moscow's capacity for brute force if and when they perceived a threat to their strategic vital interests. Eastern Europe was hostage to Allied wartime agreements and would remain so.[9] The Brezhnev Doctrine declared after the Czechoslovak invasion reminded Warsaw Pact allies of the limits to communist reform:

> "When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries."[10]

[9] Edward J. Rozek, Allied Wartime Diplomacy: A Pattern in Poland, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1958.
[10] Leonard Brezhnev Speech, Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, 13 November 1968.



SOVIET GENERAL STAFF[11]

A formidable Soviet High Command structure provided substantive evidence of Moscow's capability and readiness to intervene in Eastern Europe whenever ordered to do so.

[11] Central Intelligence Agency, CR 75-14, Washington D.C., April 1975 (U)

East Bloc crisis scenarios were part of the larger requirement for comprehensive insight on totalitarian systems posing a threat to the free world. Evident cracks in Warsaw Pact cohesion were of strategic interest to US/NATO political and military leaders. Alliance disputes could affect the balance of power in Europe and even reverse or implode the threat from the East. Declared heresies from communist orthodoxy, leadership succession, party purges, institutional infighting, High Command changes, and whatever indicated disputes among the national masses, were critical components for assessing Warsaw Pact strengths and weaknesses. Unusual activities of the secret police and other internal security organs were always an indicator of foreboding in which dissident writers and various groups were always the imminent victims. But the actions of the security organs provided insight on the institutional durability of communism and a tipoff of imminent national crisis that could expand into leadership collapse and/or counterrevolution. From this perspective, any signs of division within the Warsaw Pact whether it be infighting among political or military authorities or popular discontent were of immense importance in assessing East Bloc cohesion. Hence, the imminence of a popular uprising in Poland required answers to the following stra-

tegic questions: What will the national authorities do about it? What is Warsaw's political, economic, and security strategy to defuse the crisis? What national contingency plans are underway to contain the uprising? Are Polish internal security and military assets capable of containing a national uprising? What will be Moscow's stance in containing the Polish crisis? Will both capitals agree or disagree on a resolution to the crisis? What are the options open to Soviet planners and decisionmakers? Does Moscow intervention with military force preempt Warsaw contingency planning for Martial Law? If so, why?

It was paramount that the foregoing questions take primacy in all daily assessments including Polish political intention and military capability to contain counterrevolution and Soviet political intention and military readiness to intervention. It was the equivalent of a crisis decision model in which Polish "graduated response" against the internal threat was balanced against the Soviet military response in accordance with the Brezhnev Doctrine. Penetrating the East Bloc propaganda screen and perceiving the two strategic options was essential for accurately predicting Soviet/Warsaw Pact and Polish intentions. Meeting the initial challenge of accurately es-

timating intentions required identification of best case, middle case, and worst case. The history of Polish internal security operations provided the answer for best case including the ultimate national imposition of Martial Law. The middle case not clearly defined involved some combination of Polish and Soviet forces engaged in Martial Law enforcement. Soviet military intervention in the mode of the Czechoslovak Scenario was immediately cast as the worst case option and only likely to occur as the last resort. But compounding the classical challenge of accurately assessing adversary intentions was the chaff of Soviet strategic deception. It served Moscow's interests to promote the threat of Soviet military intervention as integral to the propaganda war against the counter-revolutionary forces threatening communist control of Poland. Soviet denials of contingency planning for intervention only reinforced fears that military intervention was imminent. These propaganda tactics included the manipulation of Western media, ever ready to enlarge the Soviet threat and the "Evil Empire", an image that in light of the Polish Crisis served the cause of Soviet disinformation against Solidarity with as much purpose as it served Western leaders in the propaganda war against the Soviet Union. Indeed, the media seized on the intervention scenario consistent

with the larger East-West propaganda campaign. It was a crisis period in which peering through the chaff was made all the more problematic when clarity in reporting on Soviet/Warsaw Pact and Polish strategic planning was all the more critical.

A strategic early warning success depended on a correct perception of three strategic players within the crisis scenario including the morphology of each player's perceptions as the crisis dynamics changed. It was the daily triad of scorpions in which misperceptions and miscalculation of one could have lethal consequences for all. The law of unintended consequences prevailed. The Western observer was not immune if misperception led to strategic surprise and an intelligence warning failure. The first player, the Solidarity Trade Union, was objectively a threat to the communist order not only in Poland but to the whole Soviet strategic panoply in Eastern Europe. It could incite labor unrest at will within the national confines of Poland but the danger of spillover to other communist satellites was ever present -- a potential domino the Soviets had no intention of gaming. The second player, the Polish Communist Party (PZPR), knew the mortal danger posed by Solidarity to the regime. It threatened the very existence of Polish communism. It

was in the Polish government's survival interests to commence contingency planning for containment based on their native expertise and extended prior knowledge of the subversives. It already possessed a capable internal security system that had demonstrated the skills for successful repression in the past. It would be their ultimate test to demonstrate these same skills once again. Third player, the Soviet Union, had intimate knowledge of the Polish culture, aspirations, and political institutions. There would be no misunderstanding of the strategic threat posed by Solidarity to the larger constellation of communist satellites and the Soviet sphere of influence. Moreover, the geostrategic position of Poland was fundamental to the Soviet/Warsaw Pact correlation of forces against NATO. Polish political-military reliability had to be an absolute defense of communist ideology. Further, Poland was responsible for the strategically important Soviet military lines of communications (LOCs) from the USSR to East Germany's Soviet Group of Forces (GSFG). It was integral to Soviet/Warsaw Pact war plans against Western Europe that the lines of communication through Poland are secure. Moscow's strategic military posture was not going to be put at risk by insurgent Poles with remote aspirations for Western style democracy. But Moscow understood that the

Polish heresy did not emanate from the PZPR leadership. This would not be a repeat of the Hungarian or Czechoslovak scenarios in which reformist communist party leaders were merely decapitated. The Polish communists remained loyal to Soviet ideology and were not pushing a heretical line. Instead, the issue would be the suppression of a popular uprising by Polish authorities, hopefully with minimum bloodshed, and hopefully, without the need of Soviet/Warsaw Pact forces. As for the Western observer in the midst of daily chaos, it allowed for what Winston Churchill called in 1941 "conditions of creative anarchy" in which the *fog of crisis* gave way to unchartered thinking, conceptual mayhem, and borderline hysteria. Indeed, when the heat of crisis rudely entered the inner sanctums of prognostication and foresight, Western authorities of Soviet behavior rapidly descended to the worst case scenario without consideration of the best case option. Strategic thought would remain at a premium for the duration of this warning problem.

Soviet/Warsaw Pact Dual Track Security Paradigm			
Track I		**Track II**	
Martial Law		**Soviet Intervention**	
Event	Forces	Event	Forces
Polish Civil War 1945-47	Red Army; NKVD; GRU; SB; Militia; Internal Troops; Army	Soviet Occupation (1945-1956)	Belorussian Front; NGF; NKVD/KGB; GRU
Labor Riots 1953; Region Martial Law	SB, Militia; Internal Troops	Berlin Uprising (1953)	Soviet Group of Forces, Germany
Labor Riots Poznan 1956	SB; Militia; Internal Troops; Army	Hungary 1956	Soviet Carpathian MD Soviet Southern Group of Forces
Student Demonstrations 1968	SB; Militia	Czechoslovakia 1968 Brezhnev Doctrine	Western Military Districts Soviet Central Group of Forces; Airborne; Polish 2nd Army
Labor Riots 1970	SB; Militia; Internal Troops; Army	Afghanistan 1979	Soviet 40th Army Turkestan Military District
Labor Strikes 1976	SB; Militia		

The Polish communists suffered from a severe case of amnesia during the pleasant summer of 1980 under international pressure to resolve debt burdens with Western as well as Soviet creditors. Knowing the risk to social stability, they gambled as they had done in 1970 and 1976 by announcing 100% price increases on meat and basic food commodities. Strikes immediately erupted throughout major industrial centers. KOR leaders established a coordinating committee to bring the nation's protestors under synchronized response. The regime was completely unprepared for the scale of

the workers' revolt. By 16 July, workers demanded pay increases to meet the rising cost of goods, and panicked authorities quickly honored worker demands in the hope of pacifying the rebellion. Polish leaders, shaken by the sheer scope and size of the national protests, commenced close coordination with the Soviet POLIT-BURO including highly visible state visits to Moscow. The implications were clear. Actions taken in Warsaw would be coordinated and approved in Moscow. There would be no ideological or security daylight between the two capitals in containing the free-wheeling Polish labor contagion. Of course, well into the August 1980 timeframe, the SB rounded up "the usual suspects" in what was viewed as customary procedure for Secret Police operatives immune from popular retaliation. But this time it would be different. The workers were prepared to confront authorities with protracted and coordinated national strike action until their comrades were released from the SB's grasp. For the first time since 1939 the totalitarian regimes governing Poland had been put on the defensive by a population no longer paralyzed by superior might. Some Western observers detected a Polish-Soviet dual track decision model emerging from the confrontation that could prove useful in estimating intentions. Track I involved the Polish Internal Front,

historical precedents for suppressing labor unrest, and institutional momentum. The doctrine was explicitly "graduated response" decision theory tailored to the size of the threat by industrial enterprise, district, city, or region. Track I involved a relatively low risk of international censure since external forces would not be at play. But it did involve high risk of failure in a civil war scenario placing the regime ever more on the defensive and possibly forcing eventual intervention by Soviet/Warsaw Pact forces. Track II was the Soviet/Warsaw Pact intervention option already understood as the Brezhnev Doctrine. It was a Soviet Decision Model already tried and tested in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. It involved the certainty of superior military force over Poland but the uncertainty of protracted conflict, a never ending bloodbath, the destruction of a unified Warsaw Pact alliance system, and the law of unintended consequences. It would guarantee Western economic sanctions against the East Bloc, the end of a diplomatic dialogue under the mantra of *Peaceful Coexistence*, and a heightened state of Cold War already at the brink after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It also involved heavier economic burdens on the USSR for the Polish economy and renewed direct involvement of Soviet officials in Polish governance, a Soviet commitment not seen in Poland since

the 1950s. Clearly Track II represented the option of last resort and discriminating Western observers proceeded from that assumption. Nevertheless, to ignore the Soviet intervention option would have been imprudent. The requirement for strategic early warning included intensive monitoring of both Tracks I and II options in what was viewed as the overriding mandate to avoid strategic surprise. Indeed, the potential for Soviet strategic deception, Soviet miscalculation, or simple misperception by Western observers was an ever present danger.

Confirmation of the Dual Track Decision Model was realized on 15 August when the Soviet News Agency TASS announced that "routine" Warsaw Pact maneuvers in the Baltic Area and East Germany were underway. Moscow's propaganda and disinformation machine went into action long before the objective necessity for a Track II intervention decision. Meanwhile, under Track I, Polish authorities cut the land lines to the port city of Gdansk in an effort to isolate the striking shipyard workers. It revealed an essential element of Internal Front operations against regime opponents and imminence of the use of force. Secret Police operations continued unabated with the arrest of KOR leaders and strike ac-

tivists. But this SB activity did not deter the striking workers in Gdansk from establishing the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS). The formation of MKS staffs soon spread to all major industrial centers throughout Poland. Solidarity's use of the national power grid had simply outpaced the capability of Poland's internal security structure to respond. The regime was simply on the defensive until a national containment model involving a comprehensive use of Internal Front assets could be planned, coordinated, and embedded. Western observers called it "Martial Law contingency planning" while Polish leaders identified it publically as "Extraordinary Measures", a signal term Warsaw would use more than once during 1980 and 1981.

The Solidarity Trade Union required an iconic leader to centralize the workers' rage against communist tyranny. On 19 August, Lech Walesa, a shipyard electrician, was elected leader of the Gdansk MKS. He would become not only the lightening rod for nationwide labor strikes against the regime, but also the target for SB penetration and collection operations against the rebel union. During 21-23 August, Solidarity organized a 15-member presidium elected by 500 delegates from 261 factories, commenced publication of a

Daily Bulletin representing 400 factories, and issued 21 demands against the regime. Strike action would continue until the regime approved the demands. The 21 Demands instantly became Solidarity's Charter, reflecting the aspirations of Poles for democracy and freedom.

SOLIDARITY - 21 DEMANDS, AUGUST 1980	
1	Acceptance of Free Trade Union (Solidarity) independent of the Polish Communist Party
2	Guarantee the Right to Strike and security of strikers & supporters
3	Compliance with the Constitution governing Freedom of the Press and Freedom of Religion
4	Reinstatement of people removed from place of employment following 1970 and 1976 strikes
5	MKS access to the Mass Media and publication of the 21 Demands
6	Provide public information about economic conditions and open debate about reform measures
7	Compensation for all workers on strike & holiday pay from the Central Council of Trade Unions
8	Salary increase of 2000 zlotys per month for all workers in compensation for price increases
9	Guaranteed automatic pay increases indexed to inflation and decline in real income
10	Guarantee requirements for domestic food consumption before surpluses can be exported
11	Issue food coupons for meat rations until the market is stabilized
12	Abolish "Commercial Prices" and hard currency sales in "Internal Export" shops
13	Establish merit selection system for management on the basis of qualifications not PZPR membership; abolish privileged status to the PZPR Nomenklatura, Secret Police, and Internal Security Troops by eliminating their special stores and subsidies
14	Reduction of retirement age for women to 50 and for men to 55; Women who have worked for 30 years and men who have worked for 35 years are entitled to immediate retirement benefits
15	Bring pensions and retirement benefits for those in the "Old Portfolio" to the level of those paid now

16	Improve Health Service infrastructure to ensure full medical care to the working people
17	Provision for openings in daycare nurseries and preschool for working class children
18	Establish a three-year paid maternity leave for women raising children
19	Reduce waiting times for apartments
20	Increase per diem from 40 to 100 zlotys and provide cost of living increases
21	Day off on Saturdays; those on shifts compensated by increased holiday leaves or paid holidays

The Soviet POLITBURO viewed the 21 Demands as tantamount to a declaration of ideological war, heresy against communist orthodoxy, and a threat to Soviet strategic interests in Eastern Europe. Now the Moscow-Warsaw axis had no doubts and could proceed with a contingency planning process with the certainty that the dual-track approach against Solidarity was vital to their bilateral strategic security interests. The containment plan would be essential to prevent the contagion from spreading to other East Bloc labor movements.

It was never in doubt that the accords agreed to by the regime on 31 August were merely a communist tactic to buy time. It was no secret that hardliners were entering the Polish POLITBURO including those with specialized experience in directing Internal

Front operations. In effect, the hardliners were converging on the Polish government's key decisionmaking positions in preparation for Internal Front strategic, operational, and tactical deployments once the national decision to execute the plan was approved. For example, on 5 September the PZPR Central Committee replaced First Secretary Eduard Gierek with Stanislaw Kania, a former chairman for coordinating Secret Police, Army, and Church affairs. On 11 September, other Polish leaders met with Soviet POLIT-BURO leader Leonid Brezhnev to coordinate "next moves" and ensure no gaps existed in joint strategy. The dual-track linkage was unfolding and similar "leadership movements" between Warsaw and Moscow dominated bilateral relations. In effect, Soviet-Polish crisis decisionmaking had been normalized.

Solidarity warning strikes pounded the communist regime throughout the fall 1980, accusing the regime of stalling on their commitment to the accords. The workers now were determined to show a united front against decades of oppression including a re-curring test of coordinated action in advance of future confronta-tions. The national crisis was escalating and for the moment, Soli-darity was ascendant.

Warsaw Pact control over the Eastern media ensured the onset of a well orchestrated and massive propaganda campaign emanating from all the major communist capitals. Strategic deception was well under way including closer media coverage of all regular Warsaw Pact executive sessions. The mere intensity of press coverage increased, as intended, fears of Soviet military intervention. Massive propaganda and Warsaw Pact contingency planning worked jointly, challenging Western observers to distinguish fact from fiction.

A regular session of the Warsaw Pact Military Council (WPMC) in Prague during 15-17 October 1980, a forum for directing planned exercises, allowed for coordination of the announced combined exercise Soyuz-80 in and around Poland during December. Since the WPMC function was to approve all planned joint and combined exercises, the Soyuz-80 maneuvers were not in themselves unusual. The fact that the focus of the military activity would be in and around Poland, however, was not coincidental. Prudent Track II contingency planning was perceived as well underway even if a Warsaw Pact political decision to intervene was not imminent. In addition to the WPMC, the Warsaw Pact announced that a regular

session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers (WPCFM) would meet in Warsaw during 19-20 October. While the press communiqué indicated the WPCFM agenda would focus on the Madrid Follow-up to the 1975 Conference on Security & Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) agreements, an exchange of diplomatic views about developments in Poland almost certainly dominated sidebars. The WPCFM session in Warsaw also reinforced the view that the Warsaw Pact would dominate events in Poland and the Polish PZPR publically endorsed Soviet/Warsaw Pact security guarantees. To dramatize what already appeared to be a grim security situation, Erich Honnecker, the First Secretary of the East German Communist Party, announced travel restrictions along the East German-Polish border in what appeared to be an overt measure condemning the Solidarity movement and warning that copycat labor activities would not be tolerated in East Germany. The measure also indicated that the isolation of Poland was underway as part of Track II contingency planning. On 30 October Polish leaders once again met with Brezhnev in Moscow to coordinate joint plans. The atmospherics left the impression that Martial Law contingency planning would continue on Track I while the Soviet/Warsaw Pact would continue contingency planning for Track II – all within the

drama of a well orchestrated propaganda campaign against the Solidarity threat to communist rule.

These crisis developments with the daily interplay of Solidarity strikes versus Polish and Soviet/Warsaw Pact posturing forced the need, and indeed the imperative, for the primacy of estimative methodologies governing Soviet-Polish crisis decisionmaking and intentions. A *graduated response* decision matrix served this purpose for the duration of the crisis and reduced the need for "reactive assessments" as intense current events unfolded (below).

Western fears of Soviet unilateral intervention reached new heights during the November-December 1980 timeframe without full comprehension of Soviet decisionmaking options including the synergy of a Polish Track I graduated response operation backed by a Soviet Track II strategic reinforcement plan. These Western fears were reinforced when Romanian Communist Party leader Nicolae Ceausescu publically warned against Soviet interference in Poland's internal affairs – the Bucharest mantra for warning Moscow to stay out of Romanian internal affairs. Nonetheless, it raised the specter of yet another Soviet invasion, this time not against

Hungary or Czechoslovakia, but against Poland. Soviet strategic deception played these fears to maximum effect through skillful orchestration of press releases and communiqués announcing planned Warsaw Pact military exercises. Of course, these communiqués reached Western press sources, a perceptive Soviet calculation to surround Solidarity not only with communist propaganda but also Western-based sources of information. Western governments were eager to play the media game and warned Moscow on several occasions not to intervene. These US/NATO declarations gave credence to the Soviet threat against Solidarity, precisely the message Moscow wanted delivered to Poland's rebellious workers.

The Polish Communist Party was not immune to the national consensus for change. Party reformers boldly wanted revisions to the Nomenklatura system, secret ballots, and abandonment of failed Stalinist management methods. But not forgetting the fate of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak communist parties, the hardliners backed by the Soviets were ready to crush the heresy within party ranks. Reformers were quickly identified and purged. It was clear that the PZPR was engaged in a serious internal struggle increasing the need for Polish leaders to suppress the Solidarity contagion be-

fore other government institutions were contaminated. If not, the virus could cripple Polish decisionmaking and force a Soviet preemptive intervention.

DECISION MATRIX GRADUATED RESPONSE									
THREAT	SECRET POLICE	ACTIVE MILITIA	RESERVE MILITIA	INTERNAL SECURITY TROOPS	ARMY ACTIVE	ARMY RESERVE	SOVIET NGF	SOVIET WMD	WP
NETWORKS									
INCIDENTS									
SUBURB									
CITY									
REGION									
REGIONS									
NATIONAL	ML TRACK I	ML TRACK I	ML TRACK I	ML TRACK I	ML TRACK I	ML TRACK I	INTERVENTION TRACK II		
Assumes Internal Front incremental response to expanding Threat.									
CONDITION ALPHA									
CONDITION BRAVO									
CONDITION CHARLIE									
CONDITION DELTA									

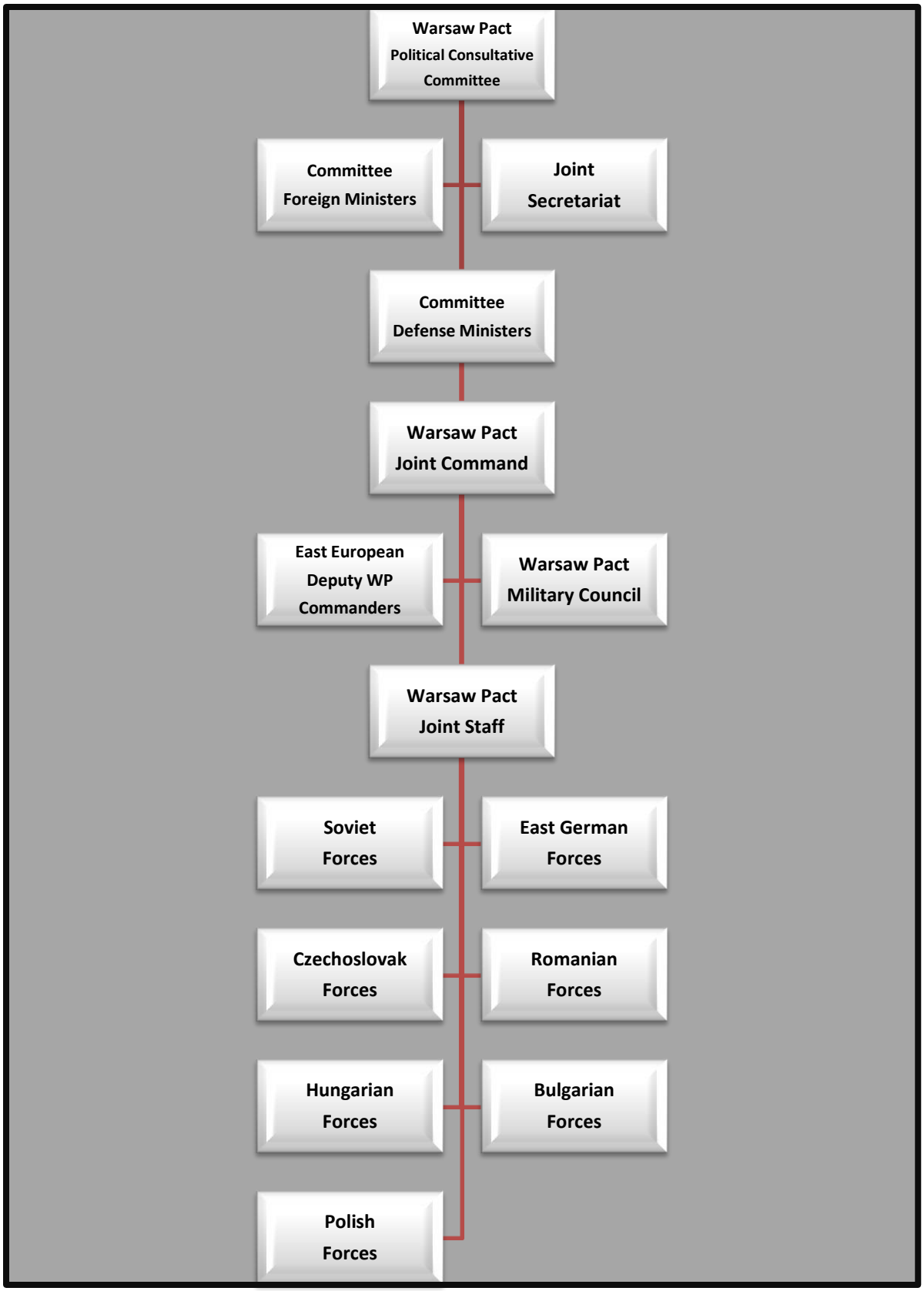
Soviet/Warsaw Pact contingency planning combined with a well designed propaganda campaign dominated the front page media in early December in what appeared to be a debate between hardliners advocating premature Soviet intervention versus pragmatists seeking Polish graduated response. The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee (WPPCC) composed of Alliance leaders met in Moscow in early December including Romanian leader Ceausescu for a baseline review of strategic options open to the East Bloc regarding Poland. It allowed for open debate between those endorsing the "inevitability" of intervention such as East Germany's Erich Honnecker versus those most vocally opposed such as Romania's Ceausescu. The final decision would be made in Moscow and Western observers were split on Soviet-Polish intentions.

Meanwhile, the Warsaw Pact Committee of Defense Ministers (WPCDM) met in Bucharest[12] during 1-3 December in what some viewed as a decisive moment in Soviet decisionmaking. It occurred simultaneous with the planned Warsaw Pact combined military ex-

[12] The Warsaw Pact rotation system for regular meetings followed this order: Sofia; Budapest; East Berlin; Warsaw; Bucharest; Moscow; Prague. The Political Consultative Committee, Committee of Defense Ministers, and Warsaw Pact Military Council generally followed this sequence during the full period of Warsaw Pact history (1955-1990).

ercise, Soyuz-80, ongoing in and around Poland. The combined Warsaw Pact political-military activity and media attention given to it appeared to overwhelm Track I decisionmaking. Either the Soviets were bent on a COA intended to obliterate Polish anti-communism once and for all despite the strategic costs to the Alliance and East-West relations, or Moscow was engaged in a sophisticated deception & propaganda campaign designed to fix Solidarity's gaze on the external threat while Warsaw continued work on the Martial Law Plan. The graduated response decision matrix favored the latter as did a higher Soviet logic that perceived no basis for unilateral intervention before Polish internal security capabilities were fully committed, consistent with Polish Internal Front doctrine and planning. Given these risk calculations, the formulation governing US strategic early warning of Polish Martial Law prevailed over fears of Soviet military intervention during the Soyuz-80 exercise despite the media play that accompanied the military activity. Soviet propaganda may have swayed Solidarity activism in Poland but it had not succeeded in terrifying Western observers familiar with Polish internal security operations.

The crisis of leadership within the Polish government reached a new high by February 1981 when Defense Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski assumed the additional duty of Prime Minister, yet again a consolidation of executive powers in advance of Martial Law. He then attended the Soviet Communist Party Congress in Moscow on 23 February in what was viewed as affirmation of the dual-track security strategy while updating Soviet leaders on the Martial Law Plan. The visibility of Warsaw Pact Commander-in-Chief, Marshal Viktor Kulikov, in Warsaw and within the media also suited Soviet propaganda as the icon of intervention. Kulikov's presence indicated closer military coordination not only for another major Warsaw Pact exercise in and around Poland but also as the Soviet monitor of Polish Martial Law contingency planning. Indeed, his routine presence confirmed joint Polish-Soviet coordination for the crackdown on Solidarity even though the political decision and date for imposition of Martial Law remained unclear.


Warsaw Pact
Political Consultative
Committee
Committee
Foreign Ministers
Joint
Secretariat
Committee
Defense Ministers
Warsaw Pact
Joint Command
East European
Deputy WP
Commanders
Warsaw Pact
Military Council
Warsaw Pact
Joint Staff
Soviet
Forces
East German
Forces
Czechoslovak
Forces
Romanian
Forces
Hungarian
Forces
Bulgarian
Forces
Polish
Forces

Once again on 11 March 1981 Moscow announced a large-scale Warsaw Pact exercise, Soyuz/Zapad-81, in and around Poland that was even better coordinated and advertised than the December 1980 maneuvers. To dramatize the event, it was even extended through March and into April, raising once again fears that Track II would preempt Track I. However, the political facts in Poland simply did not support a Soviet case for intervention. Jaruzelski had assumed the reins of power and appeared to be in full cooperation with Soviet leaders. Further, no effort had yet been initiated to fully utilize Polish internal security capabilities and resources. It appeared extremely unlikely that the Soviets would be eager to intervene in a quagmire without first insisting that the Polish communists clean up their own house. These observations forced the conclusion that once again Soviet strategic deception was at play against the Solidarity movement using Warsaw Pact military maneuvers as a weapon of intimidation. Indeed, while the Czechoslovak leader Gustav Husak warned the Poles on 7 April that Warsaw Pact forces would intervene to save to save communist rule, Soviet leader Brezhnev expressed confidence that Polish leaders had the means to solve its problems with Solidarity. Track I still had primacy over Track II and would remain so through December 1981.

Fears of Warsaw Pact intervention receded after Soyuz/Zapad-81. However, the protracted contest of nerves persisted between the Solidarity Trade Union and the Polish regime. Further, the battle within the PZPR between hardliners and reformers was unrelenting. Indeed, the internal PZPR conflict appeared to weaken resolve within the Polish leadership regarding Track I and may account for the inexplicable delay in decisionmaking for Martial Law. The net effect was to push back ultimate confrontation with Solidarity and the date for imposing a State of Emergency. Hardliners in Warsaw and Moscow went silent and Western observers wondered as to where all of this was going.

The erosion of Polish communism dominated events during the summer 1981. PZPR reformers persisted in their call for fundamental reforms and hardliners continued purges of party rank and file. The situation threatened not only Polish party orthodoxy but also Soviet/Warsaw Pact strategic interests. A justified Soviet fear of spillover permeated Warsaw Pact deliberations and increasing East Bloc frustration with what appeared to be slothful decisionmaking in Warsaw was clearly beyond doubt. The Poles appeared to be moving past a point of no return. By late August Polish pop-

ular enthusiasm for Solidarity had waned due to "strike fatigue", fears of Warsaw Pact intervention, dependence on Soviet economic largesse, and concern over potential winter famine. Indeed, even Lech Walesa's authority over MKS national activities was weakening in which individual enterprises were beginning to take matters into their own hands with wildcat strikes. A process of disintegration was permeating both PZPR and Solidarity operations.

Poland in September 1981 appeared quite chaotic in which the PZPR leadership, dazed by months of stalling and defensive tactics, was unable to establish a solid front against the Solidarity movement. Solidarity for its part was showing signs of infighting within its ranks while simultaneously mounting ever greater demands against the regime. The situation reached a new low when Solidarity demands for "worker self-management" was countered by fierce government propaganda. It was a dialogue of the deaf in which both sides exchanged declarations without either side intending serious negotiations, compromise, or resolution of disputes. Solidarity had moved well beyond the bounds of totalitarian communism and the government itself was barely able to hold a party ideological line acceptable to Moscow. Indeed, Soviet leaders

sent a warning letter to the PZPR threatening economic sanctions unless Solidarity was brought to heal. Meanwhile, Solidarity naively offered a two-year program for national economic recovery including limits to Polish military spending, a grandiose gesture certain to enrage communist leaders in Warsaw and Moscow.

The Martial Law contingency plan had almost certainly been completed by the fall 1981 and General Jaruzelski replaced Kania as First Secretary of the PZPR in October. Now Jaruzelski was Polish Prime Minister, Defense Minister, and head of the Communist Party, a signal that all executive powers were firmly under Polish communist, and indeed, Soviet control. The leadership mechanisms were now in place for the imposition of Martial Law under conditions of strategic, operational, and tactical surprise. It was a moment in which the Solidarity programs had moved beyond redemption through negotiation or compromise. The convergence of Jaruzelski's consolidation of power, the notion that the Martial Law Plan had been completed, the idea that further compromise with Solidarity would be catastrophic for Polish communism, and the unremitting pressure from Soviet/Warsaw Pact authorities to crush the Polish heresy, led to the conclusion that the imposition

of Martial Law was imminent. US/NATO commanders were warned that Martial Law was imminent in October 1981.

Jaruzelski's first act as PZPR First Secretary was to ban further labor strikes in a move certain to invite confrontation and defiance by Solidarity. Union activists once thought immune from SB harassment were now being arrested once again and Polish Army patrols, thought to be a precursor to Martial Law, commenced deployments throughout Poland. On 4 November a Polish Summit hosted by Jaruzelski was attended by Lech Walesa and Archbishop Glemp. On 7 November major wildcat strikes erupted in Zielona Gora involving 160,000 workers. On 9 November Solidarity demanded control over economic decisions, access to the media, economic reform, government democratization, legal reform, and pricing reform. Warsaw officials responded with counterproposals and recommended a "Front of National Accord." On 24 November Jaruzelski consulted with the CINC Warsaw Pact, Marshal Viktor Kulikov, but knowledge of the meeting was not clear to Western observers at that time. A strike at the Firefighter Cadet School in Warsaw on 25 November and Solidarity attempts to eliminate PZPR organizations in 21 of 49 provinces were viewed with dis-

may. During 1-2 December the Warsaw Pact Committee of Foreign Ministers met in Bucharest in a regular session of that forum. The agenda reportedly was arms control and the Madrid CSCE but almost certainly included the Polish situation. During 1-4 December the Warsaw Pact Committee of Defense Ministers met in Moscow in what was viewed as a regularly scheduled meeting but Poland was almost certainly on the agenda. On 7 December Walesa was accused by regime authorities of advocating the overthrow of the government and on 10 December the Soviets warned the PZPR Central Committee that no further retreat against Solidarity was tolerable. On 11-12 December Solidarity endorsed a nationwide strike to protest the police takeover of the Firefighters Academy and advocated a national referendum calling for a vote of confidence on communist rule, a temporary government to hold free elections, and guarantees to Moscow allowing continued Soviet military presence in Poland based on the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). On Friday afternoon, 12 December 1981, all communication lines not under Polish military control were cut. The imposition of the Martial Law Plan had commenced.

MARTIAL LAW MEASURES
Imposed 12-13 December 1981 Midnight Hours
Communications Blackout
Army Precision Deployments
Major Cities & Towns Cordoned Off
Solidarity & KOR Leadership Arrests
Intellectuals, writers, journalists detained
Army Council of National Salvation (WRON) established
Free Speech, Press, Assembly, Civil Rights Suspended
Public Meetings, Demonstrations, Strikes Banned
Curfew: 2200-600 Hours
Printing Equipment & Distribution Banned
Mail Censorship
Telephones Tapped
Mandatory Identification Cards
Polish International Borders Closed
Official Radio/TV Only
Direct Army Control over Police, Civil Defense, Fire Departments
Military Control of Defense Industries
Legalization of Coercive Methods/Law & Order
Martial Law Violations include Death Penalty
MULTIPLE OPEN SOURCES; POST FACTUM

The days and weeks that followed the declaration of Martial Law revealed Polish Internal Front doctrine in full form including the Polish Army encirclement of shipyards, steel mills, and factories. The Army secured lines of communications including roads and rail while the militias and internal security troops conducted their assigned task of direct engagement with resistance, breaking strikes, beating demonstrators, and arresting opponents. SB managed the special arrests and detentions of Solidarity and KOR leaders placing them in special detention centers. The subjugation of Solidarity under Martial Law conditions was complete. It would not quickly recover from the experience even after Martial Law's suspension on 13 December 1982 and the formal end to it on 22 July 1983. The hardliners viewed Martial Law a success and the Soviet/Warsaw Pact intervention plan under Track II was consigned to the Soviet General Staff archives.

Conclusion

What experience and history teach is this – that nations and governments have never learned anything from history, or acted upon any lessons they might have drawn from it.

G.W.F. Hegel
1770-1831

The Polish crisis posed the greatest threat to the Warsaw Pact Alliance since the Prague Spring and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Foreign intelligence services alerted to the crisis moved assets into place to provide real time monitoring of Soviet-Polish intentions. While Soviet-Polish governments focused on crisis management and contingency planning, Western agencies focused on strategic early warning. The middle world was dominated by the open media, East-West propaganda campaigns, and Soviet strategic deception. The strategic warning problem placed estimative intelligence methodologies at the forefront of Western intelligence reporting including daily assessments of geopolitical and military developments. Observers scrambled during the next 18

months to accurately determine Soviet-Polish intentions with some quick to identify the imminence of worst case scenarios. Actual events proved that crude stereotypes of Soviet behavior were irrelevant. Instead, the Rational Actor Model retained primacy including a vision of Soviet behavior that included the application of Polish force without the need of Warsaw Pact intervention.

Estimating Warsaw Pact intentions required the formation of a Crisis Action Team composed of experts in Soviet and Polish political-military affairs. It routinely performed the role of "Red Team" in explaining Soviet and Polish behavior. A multidisciplinary approach aided in meeting the challenge including regional and functional methodologies. The regional approach was grounded in Polish history, politics, ideology, government, intelligence & security, sociology, and strategic geography. A similar vision governed examination of Soviet behavior in bilateral relations with Poland allowing for enhanced understanding of Moscow's perceptions and decisionmaking parameters. The functional approach involved a much wider body of knowledge but no less valuable in understanding Soviet-Polish perceptions. This approach included the broader aspects of contemporary political ideologies,

totalitarian political theory, comparative communist systems, strategic military thought, intelligence & security practices, political psychology, and crisis decision theory.

The functional approach enabled a close examination of the bureaucratic nature of totalitarian systems and cautious predictability in estimating their intentions. The historical practices of communist intelligence & security organs exposed the bluebook for future operations. Transposing Stalinist practices in the 1930s could be applied with some certainty to East European practices during the Cold War. A monolithic determinism pervaded Soviet and Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact power ministries including defense and interior in which doctrine and standardization allowed for predictable responses. It was the perfection of the authoritarian decision model. Bluebook contingency plans were already in place to meet identifiable threats to internal order. These ready plans enabled trained internal security forces to rapidly respond to various crisis scenarios from tactical deployments against localized threats to operational deployments against regional scenarios. Admittedly, strategic planning against national threats would take longer including the application of martial law against mass uprisings. In both function-

al and regional terms, common security practices allowed for estimative judgments governing future courses of action against internal enemies including rough estimates and the probable levels of force necessary to neutralize the threat. Former deployments in previous crises served as the guidebook for future crisis management responses. Indeed, historical practice served as the critical reference point for estimating future action. It would be a risk calculation reinforced by intense examination of internal security tradecraft including leadership, doctrine, organization, training, personnel, materiel, and when possible, order of battle. The implication is this: comprehension of the crisis scenario from the planner's perspective allowed for a full form preparation of the Decision Matrix, an estimate in which graduated response options were cascaded from probable to improbable and included force applications appropriate to neutralizing the threat at each echelon. From this approach the planner was in position to manage and contain the threat within tactical, operational, and strategic parameters and the observer without direct access was also positioned to anticipate Polish-Soviet COA. It was a force model effectively applied throughout the Stalinist era and remained a common practice for

East European communist regimes in crushing internal resistance throughout the Cold War.

It is the nature of totalitarian systems to block open access to information regarded in the West as public domain. East Bloc government institutions including their national security agencies were particularly impenetrable. Our Kremlinologists attempted through the uncertain art of reading tea leaves the proposition that findings could approximate communist reality. Certainly penetrating the fog of East European regimes was somewhat less difficult than peering into the Kremlin's daily deliberations. Western scholars did enjoy relatively easier access to the satellite countries due to proximity, geography, and more relaxed academic exchange programs. Yet the challenges remained awesome in penetrating decisionmaking processes effecting national security issues. It was an intellectual world in which perceptions, even if true, were governed only by fragmentary information, hearsay, and shadows. Highly subjective sources kept observers on guard not only for distortions in fact but also out of prudent fear of disinformation either from the source or from the source's source. Eastern press was notoriously unreliable and the Western observer had to be well armed with a dialec-

tical world view to brave the formidable mass of communist propaganda permeating Soviet-East European media. The crossover of information from East to West was always tenuous and skepticism was an essential component of daily review. The only defense against the magnitude of mass propaganda during the crisis was reliance on trusted scholars and reliable frontline investigative journalists. They could openly evaluate daily events with brevity and some certainty. Combined with estimative methodologies and national historical precedents, the effects of propaganda, disinformation, and strategic deception were minimized. The amount of official junk produced in Western capitals also was awesome but surmountable. When all else failed, it meant taking a position and braving the consequences even when the evidence was thin. It proved to be a normal condition in this crisis when the necessity for strategic early warning was paramount. From this unlikely environment a strategic vision germinated that would be useful when the Polish Tsunami flooded office spaces and work areas.

Strategic early warning is arguably the most important function intelligence services can provide to their national leaders. The Cold War balance of terror and mutual assured destruction made the

warning problem more than a mere "tipoff" activity but potentially a matter of national survival. Moreover, US/NATO confidence in the reliability of agencies to provide accurate and timely intelligence was always under close scrutiny whenever or wherever Soviet/Warsaw Pact forces may be deployed. Hence, the warning of war problem in Europe was central to US/NATO strategy and calculations. Given the importance of warning, Soviet decision-making for defense, strategic surprise, and strategic deception were given primacy in daily assessments. Organic to the strategic warning problem was the requirement for strategic estimates. While aspects of the warning process were empirical, the estimative process governing intentions was normative. The estimative judgments governing the deliberations of East Bloc political-military institutions fell into the latter category. The preparation of geopolitical estimates permitted significant latitude in assessing the intentions of Soviet/Warsaw Pact leaders, commanders, crisis managers, and planners. It assumed the "Rational Actor Decision Model", a Decision Matrix that lessened the risk of worst case escapism.

There is clarity in national histories denied to decisionmakers amidst the chaos of crisis. A close study of national disputes re-

veals decision models already in place useful for future contingencies and crisis scenarios. These could include Sam Huntington's ideological, ethno-territorial, and boundary disputes endemic throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Known geostrategic flashpoints are rich targets for the development of scenarios and estimative intelligence papers. However, once the alarm is sounded, the time for scholarly reflection and research is past. *Red Teams* enters the ring of chaos armed only with their wits, experience, and whatever reference materials are readily at hand. The planner on "the other side" enters the ring with one advantage, possession of former contingency plans, operational plans, and standard operating procedures. The planner's world includes the usual reference tools customary for modern security systems and general staffs. If the *Red Team* has some insight on these plans, even if vague, then the risks associated with providing accurate strategic early warning are reduced. It was no surprise that the Warsaw Pact militaries including Soviet and Polish authorities were guided by the planning process for internal threats, a certainty that allowed for *Red Team* focus on historical precedents to point the way.

The literature on Poland produced from 1945 to 1980 is enormous. Of all the East European communist regimes, there probably was more written about Poland than any other satellite. Authors covered the spectrum from former prime ministers, communist party first secretaries, wartime veterans, intellectuals, and Western writers. All topics were an open book including Polish-Soviet wartime diplomacy; World War II underground operations; Polish communist party history, theory, and practice; Polish People's Army History; Polish postwar underground organization & theory; Polish crises during 1945-1976; and general histories of Polish politics from 1945 to 1980. These scholars revealed intimate knowledge of Polish-Soviet affairs with minimum vulnerability to communist disinformation or cloak & dagger manipulations. Most important, these eminent area specialists understood the security dynamics governing Polish-Soviet relations and Moscow's strategic interests in the region. From their works, the foundations of Polish-Soviet internal security relations were clearly visible leaving no doubt that in 1980 there would be no conceptual split between crisis planning in Warsaw and crisis planning in Moscow. It was Polish-Soviet mutual understanding that minimized the risk of

miscalculation or unilateral action by Moscow during the full period of the crisis.

Polish Internal Front history from 1945 to 1980 was outlined in several texts noted above even though the full operational capability was unclear. Many open source texts focused on the victims not the perpetrators. SB, MSW, and even Polish Army doctrine were not easily obtained in Western book stalls. Most that could be obtained was not historical or linear. The strategic landscape governing internal security was fragmentary in which "connecting the dots" were often arbitrary and superficial. Yet it allowed for a strategic insight on Soviet-Polish options in the event of threats to communist orthodoxy, a security superstructure built expressly for the purpose intended when Martial Law was imposed on 13 December 1981. It was architecture expressly intended to avoid the use of Soviet forces in every contingency and placed the burden of control on Polish authorities. The control hierarchy was a massive undertaking constructed against Polish citizens in such a way that even Western scholars could view the dynamic laydown with cautious respect. Indeed, it was a security system in place that simplified the challenge of estimating Polish-Soviet intentions in crisis

conditions. Most important, it was an edifice tried and tested from the 1940s to the 1970s and was certain to be used again in crushing the Free Trade Union Solidarity and their supporters.

History again came to the rescue in decision modeling for Polish *graduated response doctrine* identified here as Track I and Soviet *intervention doctrine* identified here as Track II. It allowed for clarity within a dual-track decision matrix in which crisis management in Warsaw could be distinguished from crisis management in Moscow. From the perspective of comparative communism, it allowed for clarity in distinguishing internal and external tripwires, that is, internally induced graduated response activity from externally induced Soviet/Warsaw Pact intervention maneuvers. Track I decision theory was almost linear from the early Stalinist years through the 1970s including examination of Internal Front operations in 1945-47, 1953, 1956, 1968, 1970, and 1976. These operations were well documented in professional journals and by regional scholars well versed in Polish and Soviet politics. It simplified the preparation of pattern analysis governing Track I and increased the certainty that Polish leaders had initiated contingency planning for the imposition of Martial Law.

Soviet Track II decision theory governing Warsaw Pact military intervention involved a different set of assumptions. For example, the Soviet POLITBURO had to determine whether or not the national communist leaderships, as in Budapest or Prague, were engaged in ideological heresy or the formulation of possible foreign security policies hostile to Soviet vital interests in Eastern Europe. In the case of Poland, the Soviet Track II contingency process never took primacy over Track I simply because the Polish communist party was not engaged in ideological heresy, defection, or the formation of foreign security policies threatening Soviet strategic interests. Indeed, Polish leaders stayed in close coordination with Soviet officials at every stage of the crisis and under these conditions Moscow prudently viewed the Polish problem as primarily an internal matter for Warsaw to resolve. Meanwhile, Western media speculation warning of Soviet military intervention, often without comprehension of the Martial Law option, were simply taken as misperceptions of the warning problem and set aside.

Soviet/Warsaw Pact military exercises during December 1980 and March-April 1981 were assessed as Track II contingency planning. East Bloc media coverage of Warsaw Pact meetings and maneuv-

ers served the purpose intended, to strike fear in the minds of Poles and particularly the Solidarity leadership if they did not retreat from demands hostile to Soviet vital interests. Soviet strategic deception was a major component of Soviet military activity during the period December 1980 to April 1981 but at no time during this strenuous period did Track II decisionmaking supersede Track I contingency planning.

Strategic early warning was successful because historical precedents dominated Polish decisionmaking and these precedents were readily available to Western observers. It significantly reduced concerns over the imminence of Soviet military intervention. Moreover the Polish "Bluebook" governing internal crackdowns reduced the fog of peace and the ambiguity of intentions that dominate most crisis scenarios. Finally, within the open sources noted above, it allowed for *Red Team* assumptions and construction of a "Decision Matrix" that synergized graduated response with external intervention. It remained the reference estimative tool for assessing both Polish and Soviet decisionmaking from October 1980 to December 1981. There is one element in this strategic warning problem that cannot be accounted for – Polish regime failure to grasp the strategic im-

plications of price increases on basic food commodities by 100%, already proven in the 1970 and 1976 scenarios to incite serious internal crises and even the turnover of Polish leaders. The Polish communist gambit a third time in July 1980 goes beyond the scope of this monograph and the warning problem. It affirms Hegel's critique that governments can indeed be their own worst enemy and can repeat their strategic mistakes with amazing consistency.

There are lessons learned from this strategic early warning problem with application for future crises. First, foreign area studies are essential prerequisites in identifying past and future crisis scenarios. A strategic regional vision is better than functional categories in identifying enemy intentions. Second, national histories of crisis decisionmaking are important insights on future courses of action. Scenarios can be properly catalogued by type in accordance with Sam Huntington's faultlines and International Boundary Research Unit at Durham Studies. For example, internal security threats can be distinguished from external threats and catalogued in such a way as to enable a laydown for planners if such a situation again arises. In the planner's world, the use of force is enormously unimaginative and doctrine usually points the way for the future em-

ployment of assets. Third, future flashpoints can be discovered in the historical record in the form of ideological, cultural, economic, ethno-territorial, and boundary disputes. It is a way forward in simplifying the warning problem. Fourth, foreign security policies and alliance systems allow observers insight on regional as well as national decisionmaking parameters. It is one more paradigm reducing the ambiguity of responses in crisis situations. Finally, a pragmatic study of national institutions, organization, and decision theory allows for a realistic vision of purpose and capabilities from the view of the planner and decisionmaker. It will reduce the odds of strategic surprise and enhance the likelihood of estimates that accurately anticipate and identify intentions. A well prepared regional scholar will have already documented these strategic faultlines in readiness for the day when strategic early warning is mandatory. It almost certainly will be a crisis scenario plagued with limited current information and within a tradecraft that always will be dominated by fog and risk.

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Postscript

The Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) under the direction of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars is singularly empowered in bringing to light Soviet/Warsaw Pact documents unavailable to researchers during the Cold War. The Polish archives also are under scrutiny. It is now possible for historians to evaluate Cold War strategic early warning estimates of intentions against the actual secretive deliberations then underway within Warsaw Pact capitals. The exceptional CWIHP paper by Mr. Mark Kramer highlights the complex atmospherics at play during the full period of the crisis including the controversy that still surrounds the Kuklinski Collection. Mr. Malcolm Byrne at the George Washington University National Security Archive has written the most authoritative history of the crisis thus far based on original source documents. It is certain that 2nd, 3rd, and 4th editions will follow. He noted the lack of brevity in US Intelligence reporting prior to the imposition of Martial Law. Indeed, US National Security historians will be challenged in answering the following questions that remain obscure:

- How often was Martial Law Contingency Planning mentioned in the National Intelligence Daily (NID) from July 1980 to December 1981?

- Did the NID provide Strategic Early Warning of Martial Law at any time during 1980-1981?

- What National Intelligence Estimates (NIE) placed primacy of Martial Law Contingency Planning over Soviet intervention in 1980 or 1981?

- What Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) Warning Reports provided notification of Martial Law Contingency Planning during 1980-81?

- What DIA Report warned of imminence prior to the imposition of Martial Law on 13 December 1981?

These questions inevitably will be resolved by declassification and further historical research. Indeed, the following histories would add significantly to our knowledge of Communist Poland:

- Polish Secret Police History (1945-1989) including the evolution of doctrine, modus operandi, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel, and facilities.

- Polish Citizen's Militia History (1945-1989) including the evolution of doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel, and facilities.

- Polish Internal Security Troops History (1945-1989) including the evolution of doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel, and facilities.

The CWIHP already has within its collection many of the Warsaw Pact documents listed below. However, the collection is by no means complete and Soviet and Polish archives still conceal the contingency plans governing Soviet military intervention and Polish Martial Law. The annual histories of Polish Internal Front operations from 1945 to 1981 including leadership, doctrine, organization, training, materiel, and order of battle also are missing. These documents will bring empirical support to what in Cold War times could only be framed within strategic geopolitical estimates, country studies, and risky normative calculations. Let the historians now judge with the clarity of hindsight the true state of affairs as

leaders in Moscow and Warsaw struggled to resolve this crisis at minimum risk to their respective communist regimes.

SOVIET/WARSAW PACT & POLISH CONTINGENCY PLANS	
1	Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee Meetings (1980-81) minutes
2	Warsaw Pact Committee of Foreign Ministers Meetings (1980-81) minutes
3	Warsaw Pact Committee of Defense Ministers Meetings (1980-81) minutes
4	Warsaw Pact Military Council Meetings (1980-81) minutes
5	Warsaw Pact Joint Staff Intervention Contingency Plans (1980-81)
6	Soviet POLITBURO minutes (1980-81)
7	Soviet Defense Council minutes (1980-81)
8	Soviet MOD Chief of the General Staff minutes (1980-81)
9	Soviet MOD General Staff Operations Directorate Intervention Plans (1980-81)
10	Soviet Northern Group of Forces Contingency Plans (1980-81)
11	Soviet Red Army (Poland) Occupation Plans (1945-1956)
12	Soviet Red Army (Poland) Internal Front Plans (1945-1956)
13	Polish Ministry of Defense Martial Law Contingency Plans (1980-81)

14	Polish Ministry of Interior Martial Law Contingency Plans (1980-81)
15	Polish MOD Internal Front Contingency Plans (1945-1981)
16	Polish MOI Internal Front Contingency Plans (1945-1981)
17	Polish Secret Police (UB/SB) Operational Plans (1945-1981)
18	Polish Internal Security Troops Contingency Plans (1945-1981)
19	Polish Militia Forces Contingency Plans (1945-1981)
20	Polish Internal Front After Action Reports: 1953, 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976

Glossary

TERMINOLOGY	DEFINITION
ACSI	DA Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence
AK	Polish Home Army – (1942-1945)
AL	Polish Partisan's WWII Eastern Front (1941-1944)
Blackbook	CINC USAREUR's Daily Current Intelligence update journal
Black Propaganda	Propaganda purporting to emanate from a source other than the true one
CAT	USAREUR Crisis Action Team
C3	Command & Control
CENTAG	NATO Central Army Group
CIA	US Central Intelligence Agency
CGF	Soviet Central Group of Forces, Czechoslovakia
CINC	Commander-in-Chief
CINCEUR	Commander-in-Chief Europe, Mons, Belgium
CINC USAREUR	Commander-in-Chief, USAREUR, Heidelberg
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COA	Course of Action
CWIPHP	Cold War International History Project
CONPLAN	Contingency Plan
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DA	US Department of Army

DAISUM	USAREUR Daily Intelligence Summary Cable
DCSOPS	Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, USAREUR
DCSINT	Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, USAREUR
Deception	Those measures designed to mislead the adversary by manipulation, distortion, or falsification of information to induce reactions prejudicial to his interests
DIA	US Defense Intelligence Agency
Doctrine	A body of thought that guides security institutions in their leadership actions and objectives including command & control, operations, organization, training, and infrastructure
DOTMLPFF	Doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel, facilities, and funds
Early Warning	Early notification of adversary intentions
Estimate	Analysis of a foreign situation or crisis development that identifies major decisionmaking options, implications, and probabilities
EUCOM	US European Command
FBIS	Foreign Broadcasting Information Service
G2	Military Intelligence
Gray Propaganda	Propaganda that does not specifically identify any source
GRU	Soviet Military Intelligence
GS	General Staff
GSFG	Soviet Group of Soviet Forces, Germany
GOF	Soviet Groups of Forces
Heidelberg	Location of USAREUR Headquarters and the US Army Europe Intelligence Center
Heidelberg Team	Polish Crisis Action Team on the ODCSINT USAREUR Staff

HUMINT	Human Intelligence
I&W	Indications & Warning
IC	US Intelligence Community
IO	Information Operations: Actions taken to affect adversary information systems while protecting commander's decision cycle
J2	Joint Military Intelligence
KBW	Polish Internal Security Troops
KGB	Soviet State Security
KOR	Committee for the Defense of the Workers
LOC	Lines of Communications
MBP	Polish Ministry of Public Security (1945-1954)
MD	Soviet Military District
MI	Military Intelligence
MKS	Interfactory Strike Committee
ML	Martial Law
MO	Citizen's Militia
MOD	Ministry of Defense
MOI	Ministry of Interior/Internal Affairs
MSW	Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs (1954-1989)
NGF	Soviet Northern Group of Forces, Legnica, Poland
NID	CIA National Intelligence Daily
NIE	US National Intelligence Estimates
NKVD	Stalinist Era Soviet State Security
NSWP	Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact

OB	Order of Battle
ODCSINT	Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Intelligence, United States Army Europe, Heidelberg, West Germany
OPLAN	Operational Plan
ORMO	Polish Citizen's Militia Reserve
OSINT	Open Source Intelligence
PCP	Polish Communist Party
PDN	Production & Analysis Division, ODCSINT USAREUR
PUWP/PZPR	Polish United Workers Party
PPA	Polish People's Army
PSZ	Polish Armed Forces – London (1940-1945)
Propaganda	Any form of communications in support of national objectives designed to influence the opinions and behavior of any group in order to benefit the source either directly or indirectly
Red Team	USAREUR Crisis Action Team
Regional Martial Law	Selected Regions within Poland under Martial Law
ROE	Rules of Engagement
SB	Polish Committee of Public Security (after 1954); subordinated to MSW in 1956; disbanded in 1989
SGF	Soviet Southern Group of Forces, Hungary
SHAPE	NATO Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SNIE	US Special National Intelligence Estimate
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
Strategic Deception	A political-military strategy that conceals its true goals
Strategic Warning	A warning prior to the initiation of a threatening act

UB	Polish MBP Regional Offices
UDIR	USAREUR Daily Intelligence Report - Cable
USAREUR	United States Army Europe & 7th Army, Heidelberg, West Germany
USCOB	US Command Berlin
USEUCOM	United States European Command, Stuttgart, Germany
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Warning	The intelligence communication of adversary activities involving planning and increased force readiness and preparations
White Propaganda	Propaganda disseminated and acknowledged by the sponsor or source
WOP	Polish Border Guards
WP	Warsaw Pact Alliance
WPCFM	Warsaw Pact Committee of Foreign Ministers
WPCDM	Warsaw Pact Committee of Defense Ministers
WPJS	Warsaw Pact Joint Staff
WPMC	Warsaw Pact Military Council
WPPCC	Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee
WSW	Polish Military Police & Counterintelligence (1957-1990)
ZOMO	Polish Citizen's Militia (MO)

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The bibliography is that collection of selected works available to most scholars specialized in totalitarian systems before the Polish crisis. These works provided the conceptual framework for assumptions governing Soviet and Polish decisionmaking for defense, intentions, Internal Front operations, and contingency planning for Martial Law. These works combined with authoritative media sources such as Reuters Warsaw, BBC shortwave, and the Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS), allowed for daily monitoring of events and minimal dependence on sensitive sources and methods. It validated the direction of Polish-Soviet intentions, setting the foundations for strategic early warning. The Second Oldest Profession demands multiple sources during crises and the Polish Warning Problem proved the strategic value of open sources. Indeed, intelligence demands interdependence of the two worlds and the wisdom to know the difference. Historians will not be burdened by these gaps once the archives are fully mined, but then, their task is not crisis management. They will look to the past with astounding clarity and our best future analysts will de-

vour these histories to prepare themselves for the next early warning problem.

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ANNEX A

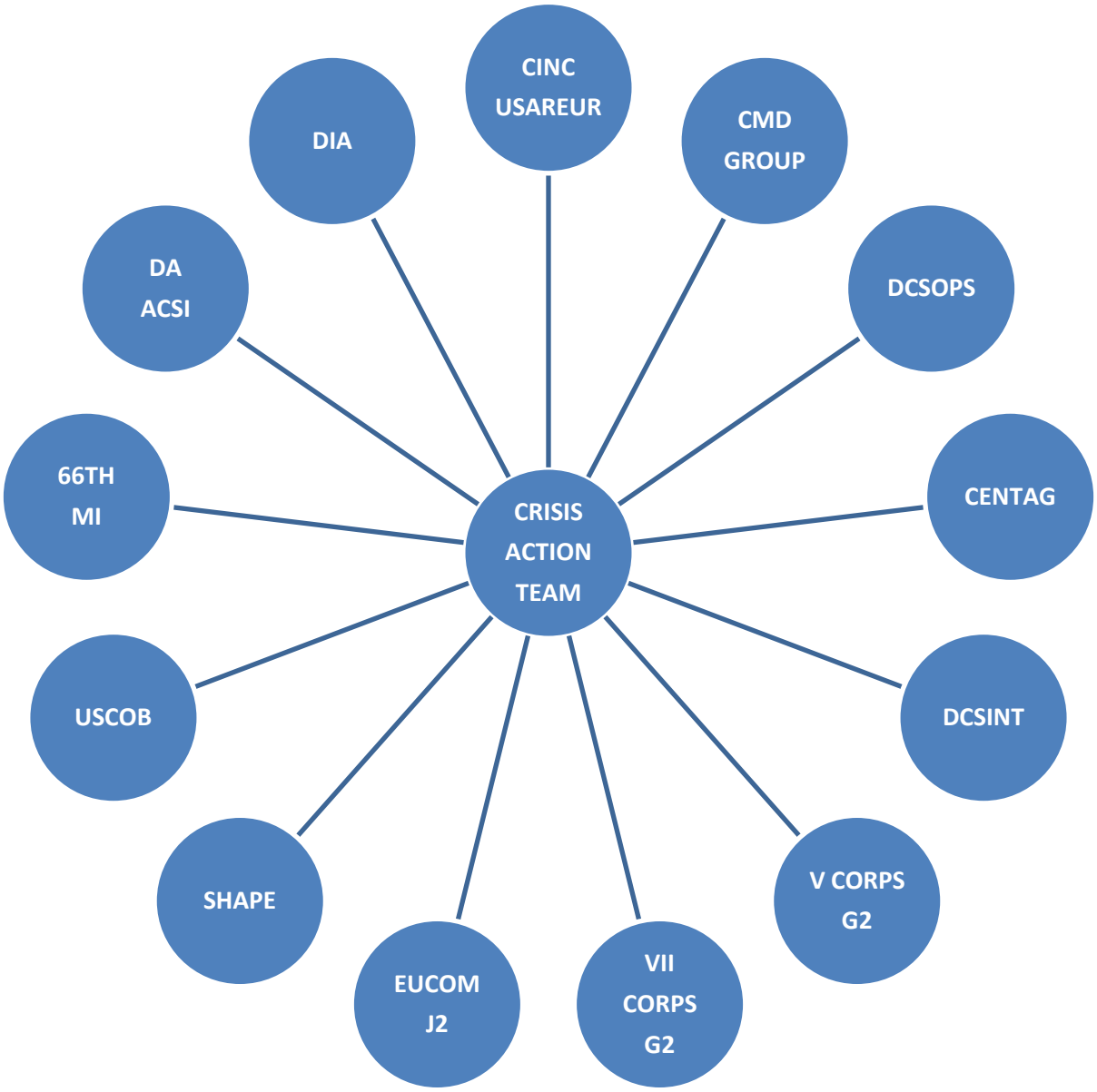
OPEN SOURCE INTELLIGENCE SCHEMATIC

Open source intelligence proved the most valuable commodity during the full course of the crisis including primacy in the preparation of estimates that accurately captured Polish and Soviet/Warsaw Pact contingency planning for Martial Law. It allowed for strategic warning of martial law planning in the fall 1980 and continuous monitoring of the scenario through its imposition on 13 December 1981. A schematic of these sources are outlined below.

ANNEX B

CRISIS ACTION TEAM

DISSEMINATION



ANNEX C

ESTIMATIVE TERMS

TERMS	PERCENTAGES
Almost Certain	90-100%
Probable	60-90%
Possible	40-60%
Unlikely	10-40%
Remote	0-10%
Note: Percentages may vary by agency but terminology prevails in Intelligence Estimates	