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

FROM: John H. Stein  
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT: Report

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John H. Stein

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Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY  Poland
DATE OF INFO.  1981

SUBJECT  Discipline and Morale in the Armed Forces

SOURCE  Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a SECRET Polish document entitled "Selected Problems Pertaining to the Moral-Political and Disciplinary Status of Armed Forces Personnel." The document, prepared by the Main Political Directorate, assesses the armed forces as disciplined and capable of performing tasks placed before them. The reliability of conscripts, however, is questionable, since most of the new conscripts generally support Solidarity and the liberalization movement. In addition alcohol abuse and short-term AWOL still remain crucial problems in military discipline.

End of Summary

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Selected Problems Pertaining to the Moral-Political and Disciplinary Status of the Armed Forces Personnel

- The moral-political status of the cadre and the conscript soldier is satisfactory and ensures execution of tasks placed before the Polish Peoples Armed Forces.

- The professional cadre constitutes the most integrated social group in regard to political views. It is generally characterized by high ideological conviction and strong political adroitness. A decisive majority of professional officers, warrant officers, and NCOs carries credentials of the Polish United Workers Party and identifies itself with its objectives and current policies. This group assesses the current events in Poland as a matter of course from the class and Party standpoint. It recognizes the threat resulting from the provocation of internal antisocialist forces and their ties with international anticommunist centers. It is particularly responsive to all attempts to undermine the idea of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

- A particularly positive ideological-political posture is presented by the generals and the senior officer cadre. This group is monolithic in this regard. It favors explicitly and resolutely radical measures by political and state authorities aimed at overcoming the chaos and anarchy and leading the country out of the crisis. It is known for its distrust of Solidarity. It condemns the political aspirations of the leaders of this union as well as the destructive influence of their actions on the present situation. It doubts whether it is possible to cooperate as a partner with Solidarity's present leadership.
- Similar attitudes are displayed by the junior professional cadre. We observe, however, among the professional warrant officers and NCOs, a tendency toward a more critical appraisal of state administrative activities and a tendency to look at general problems of the population from the standpoint of market difficulties. There is also sporadic evidence in this group of the influence of Solidarity propaganda especially in regard to the source and cause of the present crisis. Nevertheless, this has little actual bearing on the attitude of this group toward the basic function and role of the armed forces. This view was confirmed among other things by the attitude of the cadre of units in which increased combat readiness was introduced during the time of tension connected with the transport workers' demonstration in Warsaw. They showed a general understanding of the gravity of the situation and of the necessity to defend socialism in Poland.

- Basic service personnel are a somewhat heterogeneous group. The two oldest conscript classes do not present any significant political-ideological difficulties. However, there appears to be a complicated situation among men of the most recent conscript classes. A large percentage of the new conscripts belonged to Solidarity and some of them had personally participated in strikes. As a rule they have a very vague concept of the Solidarity program but, under the propaganda influence of this union, many of them see in Solidarity a basic sociopolitical force capable of directing the process of renewal and bringing the country out of the crisis. As a result of political-ideological work in the armed forces a gradual revaluation is noted in their attitude towards Solidarity, particularly in regard to the forms and methods of operation of this union and the harmful behavior of certain local centers. This phenomenon became particularly evident during the latest wave of tension in the country.

- Political attitudes of cadets from the reserve officer candidate schools have not been fully determined because they are reluctant to make their views known in the presence of superiors or officers of the party-political apparatus. This is a group which strictly isolates itself from other groups. Nevertheless, during political studies or guided discussions
they betray an inclination toward radicalism and undue
generalization of events and problems. Statements made by
some of them give a clear impression of the peculiar
atmosphere reigning in part of our civilian higher schools.

- The state of discipline of the individual soldier in the armed
forces must be assessed as satisfactory. This is supported
both by results of checks and inspections and analysis of the
ratio of adverse occurrences. The highest level of discipline
is demonstrated by the professional cadre, particularly those
who are senior in service and age. Similarly there is no
general reservation concerning the discipline of a majority of
conscripts. Negative attitudes are in a distinct minority.

- Concern, however, is to be shown because of a definite
increase in the number of incidents which in previous times
occurred only in isolated instances, such as:

  - active attacks on higher ranks as well as self-inflicted
    wounds (twofold increase in the period June-August 1981 as
    compared with the previous year);

  - loss or theft of weapons (13 incidents);

  - illegal border crossing (4 cases).

  In addition instances of short-term AWOL and acts committed
while under the influence of alcohol remain a continual and
crucial problem in military discipline.

MAIN POLITICAL DIRECTORATE
OF THE POLISH ARMED FORCES