1. The decision to impose martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981 could not have been taken by the military council of National Salvation (WRON) without the knowledge and approval of key members of the Politburo of the Polish Communist Party (PZPR). *Source Comment: It is possible, however, that newly appointed Politburo members Jan (Glowczyk), Zofia (Grzyb) and Hieronim (Kubiak) were unwitting of this decision.*

2. While the interpersonal contacts between military leaders and the PZPR Politburo are not easily discernible, some contacts do, in fact, exist. This was evident in the proceedings of the 11th Party Plenum (9-10 June 1981) where PZPR leader Stanislaw (Kania) and Premier Wojciech (Jaruzelski) were challenged by PZPR hard-liners. At about that time there was a remarkable similarity...
BETWEEN THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF HARDLINE POLITBURO MEMBER STEFAN OLSZOWSKI AND GENERAL EUGENIUSZ MOLCZYK, THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE. ANOTHER GENERAL WHO WAS PUBLICLY IN SUPPORT OF THE PZPR'S HARDLINE FACTION AT THAT TIME WAS GENERAL WŁODZIMIERZ SAWCZUK.

3. PRIOR TO 13 DECEMBER, HOWEVER, THE "DISTANCE" BETWEEN THE PZPR POLITBURO AND THE POLISH MILITARY WAS GREAT. ESSENTIALLY, ONLY JARUZELSII AND DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE FLORIAN SIWICKI (NOW A CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBER) HAD FREQUENT CONTACT WITH PARTY LEADERSHIP FIGURES.

4. AS FAR AS THE CURRENT SITUATION IS CONCERNED, IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT WHILE THE PZPR LEADERSHIP CAN BE DIVIDED INTO FACTIONS SUCH AS THE MODERATES (JARUZELSKI, KANIA, JOZEF CZYREK), KAZIMIERZ BARCIKOWSKI, HARDLINERS SIWICKI, OLSZOWSKI, ALBIN SIWAK, MIROSŁAW MIŁEWSKI, AND THE LIBERALS KUBIAK, GŁÓWĄŻYK, THE WRON HAS A MORE HOMOGENEOUS ORIENTATION. WITHIN THE WRON THERE ARE BASICALLY NO POLITICAL DIVISIONS. RATHER, THERE ARE TWO KINDS OF "ORIENTATIONS" -- THE "POLES" AND THE "RUSSIANS." THE "POLISH" (OR MORE NATIONALISTIC) WRON MEMBERS CONSIST OF: JARUZELSKI, SIWICKI, GENERAL TADEUSZ TUCZAPSKI, ADMIRAL LUDWIK JANCZYSZYN, GENERAL WŁODZIMIERZ OLIWA, GENERAL JOZEF UZYCKI, GENERAL MICHAŁ JANISZEWSKI, AND GENERAL JERZY...
The thoroughly "Russian" group consists of: Molczyk, Kiszczak, General Tadeusz {Chupalowski}, General Józef {Baryla}, General Henryk {Rapacewicz}, General Tadeusz {Krepski}, General Longin {Lozowski}, and Colonel Miroslaw {Hermaszewski}. (Source comment: the orientation of Colonel Tadeusz {Makarewicz} is difficult to assess.)

Comment on the orientation of the remaining four WROn members.

5. Politically the WROn is unified in its support of Jaruzelski's martial law policy. The Politburo, however, is unlikely to have such a homogeneous orientation. Because of the fact that the WROn currently controls the levers of power, it is likely to proceed ahead with the destruction of Solidarity and may even be able to bring about the removal of PZPR 'liberals.' The Soviets will obviously keep putting pressure on the WROn to realize these goals.