

Center

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**INTELLIGENCE GROUP**

**AL INTELLIGENCE GROUP  
INTELLIGENCE REPORT**

50X1-HUM  
50X1-HUM

**COUNTRY** Poland

**DATE:**

**SUBJECT** Survey of the Illegal Opposition in Poland

**DIST.** 1 JULY 1947

50X1-HUM

**PAGES** 811

**SUPPLEMENT**

50X1-HUM

**ORIGIN**

**DISTRIBUTION**

<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>					
STATE	WAR	NAVY	JUSTICE				

**1. Introduction**

The resistance movement in Poland can be divided roughly into two groups: the Partisans, who favor direct, armed resistance to the Government through guerrilla warfare; and the conspiratorial Underground, a broader but loosely organized movement which prefers to act indirectly through propaganda and infiltration of governmental agencies.

**A. Political Composition of the Resistance**

- 1. Politically, the Resistance includes all elements ranging from the anti-Stalinist to the reactionary groups. Generally, the extremists, particularly the Right extremists, are stronger among the Partisan formations, while the moderates and liberals are more likely to be found in the Underground.

50X1-HUM

Underground wants no return to the conditions of 1939 and is closer politically to the moderate socialist and land reform program of Mikolajczyk and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL). There are innumerable exceptions to and variations from this general pattern, to say nothing of those pseudo-Partisan bands which, although they profess to identify themselves with one anti-Government faction or another, must be considered as purely bandit groups with no political objectives whatever.

**B. Leadership**

- 1. Neither the Partisans nor the Underground have a unified central authority with well defined and universally accepted objectives. With no over-all leadership, the Polish Resistance is composed of numerous differing factions which have in common only their opposition to the current regime and to the Soviets.

This document is hereby regraded to CONFIDENTIAL in accordance with the letter of 13 October 1978 from the Director of Central Intelligence to the Archivist of the United States.  
Next Review Date: 201

Document No. 10  
NO CHANGE in Class.  
 DECLASSIFIED  
Class. CHANGED TO: TS S C  
Auth: DDA Memo. 4 APR 77  
Date: 12 APR 1978

50X1-HUM

**CONFIDENTIAL**

50X1-HUM

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

- 2 -

50X1-HUM

2.

The largest and most important groups, such as NSZ (National Armed Forces) and WIN (Freedom and Independence) are independent however, and have their own headquarters in Poland. To these latter groups belong also the numerous guerrilla bands which owe allegiance solely to their own chieftains. Sharp distinctions between internally-led factions and those controlled from abroad cannot, however, be made:

50X1-HUM

C. Government Agencies Combating the Resistance

The following agencies are concerned with anti-Resistance operations;

1. Milicja Obywatelska (Police) and Ochotnicza Milicja Obywatelska (Voluntary Police)

The MO and MOO perform ordinary police functions and have no authority in political matters. They are, therefore, only occasionally involved in anti-Partisan operations, and have even less to do with combating the Underground.

2. Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego (Public Security)

The UBP, like the MVD, acts as a higher police agency, and is charged with the detection and destruction of internal political opposition. It is thus more concerned with the suppression of the Underground than with field operations against the Partisans.

3. Główny Zarząd Informacji (Intelligence Service)

While the UBP is concerned with subversive political activity in general, the CI organs of the Informacja are interested in the Resistance primarily because some of its elements not only receive material support from abroad but provide assistance to foreign intelligence agencies in their anti-Polish and anti-Soviet operations.

50X1-HUM

4. Korpus Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego (Internal Security Corps)

The burden of anti-Partisan operations in the field falls on the KBW, a well-equipped and politically reliable elite formation which resembles the Waffen SS or the MVD Internal Troops. The KBW is organized in motorized regiments and independent battalions strategically stationed throughout Poland.

5. The Army

The Army takes part in anti-Partisan fighting only as a last resort in cases where Partisan strength is too great to be dealt with by the KBW or UBP. One reason for not committing the Army against the Partisans except when absolutely necessary is the questionable political reliability of the rank and file, who often sympathize with the Resistance and allow themselves to be disarmed without a struggle. To discourage this practice the General Staff issued an order prescribing the death penalty for those who surrendered their arms to the Partisans.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~

5

## II. The Partisans

### A. Organization

1. There is no standard organization for Partisan formations. The larger groups, such as that of Szary (see below), are well led and highly organized, whereas smaller bands may be quite without formal organization.
2. The leaders of Partisan bands -- particularly NSZ groups -- are frequently professional officers of the old Polish Army, with long experience in guerrilla fighting.
3. The composition of the ranks is heterogeneous. Although some join as a result of political conviction, some to escape the authorities and others for excitement and adventure, there are those attracted by mercenary considerations.

4. In some areas there exists a type of Partisan "mobilization" by which men are called up to serve for a month or two with one of the forest detachments.

### B. Strength

It is difficult to make even an approximate estimate of Partisan strength. On the basis of information at hand, however, it is felt that 40,000 to 50,000 men would be a reasonable approximation for the autumn of 1946.

### C. Equipment

1. The Partisans generally wear captured Polish Army uniforms and are indistinguishable from regular soldiers, except that they wear the crowned eagle on the cap instead of the crownless eagle of the present regime.
2. The Partisans are universally well armed, mostly with automatic and semi-automatic weapons. Most of these arms are of German origin, but many of Soviet manufacture have been captured from the Soviet and Polish military forces.

3. Some Partisans units have radio equipment which, for security reasons, is used sparingly. The larger formations have such heavy equipment as mortars, light artillery, and motor vehicles.

### D. Supply

1. The procurement of supplies appears to present no problem. Whatever cannot be obtained in any other way is gotten by holding up trains and looting public warehouses.

### E. Relations with the Civil Population

Many people, while sympathizing with the Partisans in principle, deprecate their activities on the grounds that they cause senseless bloodshed and will accomplish no permanent good. In such regions as Rzeszów, Bialystok, Lublin, and the Swietokrzyskie Mountains -- where Partisan activity is strongest -- the population is as much controlled by the Partisans as by the Government. There, even those elements which otherwise would be inimical are kept in line by fear of the Partisans.

### F. Identified Partisan Groups

In addition to those groupings listed below, there are numerous local bands,

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

-4-

of varying strengths, which are sometimes nameless, and sometimes identified only by the noms de guerre of their chiefs.

1. Armja Krajowa (Home Army)

The AK, which included all political groups except the Communists, no longer exists as an organization. Its members have joined other Partisan or Underground groups, associated themselves with the legal opposition parties, or gone over to the Government.

2. Armia Ludowa (People's Army)

The AL was the Communist-sponsored "official" resistance group which began its activity only after the German attack on the Soviet Union. Since the defeat of Germany and the coming to power in Poland of a Communist-dominated government, it has ceased to exist.

3. Bataliony Chłopskie (Peasant Battalions)

The BCH, as its name indicates, was a peasant Resistance organization associated with Mikołajczyk's PSL (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe) during the German occupation. It no longer exists.

4. Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces)

The NSZ appears to be the largest of the organized Resistance groups. Politically, it stands on the extreme Right, having developed chiefly out of such pre-war elements as the ONR and the Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Party) -- now outlawed. Although the NSZ officially deprecates mistreatment of the Jews, it has been responsible for anti-Semitic excesses in a number of cases. The head of the NSZ in Poland is reliably reported to be Bolesław Piasecki, successor to the late Stanisław Piasecki (no relation). Its military head is reported to be Colonel Andrzej Rutkowski (not identical with Colonel Rutkowski, Chief of Informacja).

5. Wolność i Niepodległość (Freedom and Independence)

Next to the NSZ (to which it is similar politically) WIN is considered the largest Partisan organization.

6. Polska Armia Wyzwolenia (Polish Army of Liberation) 50X1-HUM

50X1-HUM

The AW is a numerically insignificant group [redacted]. Claims have been made that the AW has from 300,000 to 400,000 organized troops with reserves of over a million, and that it is the successor to the AK.

50X1-HUM

[redacted] Comment: There has been no confirmation of these exaggerated estimates, and they seem to be the product of wishful thinking [redacted]

7. Wojska Powstańcze (Insurgent Troops)

50X1-HUM

One of the smaller rightist Partisan groups.

G. Areas of Partisan Activity

There is Partisan activity of one sort or another throughout Poland, but it is concentrated in terrain which affords protection and concealment, i.e., in areas which are forested or mountainous or both. Thus, the Partisans are strongest in the northeast, the southeast, along the Polish-Slovak border, and in the Kielce area of central Poland. The following is a more detailed account of activities by regions.

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL

7

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

-5-

1. Eastern Polanda) Białystok Area

Between Białystok and Brest-Litovsk lies the Puszcza Białowieska, one of the largest forests in Poland. There are numerous Partisan bands in the forest, and the Government has kept large military forces constantly in the area. When, however, large-scale punitive expeditions are undertaken against them, the Partisans withdraw across the new Soviet-Polish border, which bisects the forest. Northwest of Białystok, in the area between Łomża and the former East Prussian frontier, are strong, well-armed Partisan formations. One report estimated Partisan strength in this area at 10,000 but this is considered exaggerated. During the summer and early autumn of 1946 elements of the Polish 18th Infantry Division (HQ Białystok) were committed against the Partisans in this area.

b) Lublin-Przemysł Area

Since the war, many of the surviving peasants from this devastated area have resettled in the newly-acquired western territories. Others, as much from economic necessity as from political conviction, have joined the Partisans whose detachments are particularly strong and well organized in the forests of this region. The affiliation of these detachments is not known. So far, the only one identified is a WIN group, one of whose W/T sets was captured near Rzeszów in September 1945.

That the Partisans are present in strength is evidenced by the heavy troop concentrations in the Lublin-Przemysł area. Interrogations of demobilized officers and men of the Polish Army showed that the 3rd Infantry Division and elements of the 1st, 5th, 9th, and 13th Infantry Divisions took part in anti-Partisan fighting in this region during the summer and autumn of 1946.

Not only are Government military and security forces engaged in a continual campaign against the Polish Partisans in this area, but they must fight off constantly the raids and incursions of the Ukrainian Partisans, who freely cross the new Soviet-Polish frontier.

2. Southern Poland, between the San River and Silesia

Partisan activity is strong throughout the entire area between Przemysł and Cracow, particularly in the foothills of the Beskides Mountains along the Polish-Slovak border.

Just as there is a certain tacit collaboration with the Ukrainians, the Partisans in this area are assured of, at least, the sympathy of the unreconstructed Slovaks.

a) Sanok Area

There are several known Partisan formations operating along the upper reaches of the San River, between Sanok and Rostoki Górne. The strongest of them, the Zebeda group, is reported to number between five and ten thousand men, and is well armed with infantry weapons, light artillery, and mortars. In a battle with a Zebeda detachment near Sanok in June 1946, Government troops captured two Mark IV tanks.

b) Warnow Area

A Partisan group led by a certain Captain Kabat has been identified in this area. Kabat, whose brother is Deputy Mayor of Cracow, is a professional soldier.

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL

8

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

-6-

c) Nowy Targ-Nowy Sacz Area

There are many Partisan units in this area, which is one of the most mountainous in Poland. So far, only four or five Partisan groups totalling 500 men led by a certain Paszek (alias "Anius") have been identified.

d) Cieszyn (Teschen) Area

Two groups have been identified which operate between Cieszyn and Pszczyna. The strength of these groups is not known, but their leaders use the aliases of "Piorun" and "Wichura" respectively.

3. Central Polanda) The Góry Świętokrzyskie

Lying between Kielce and Opatów, the area of the Góry Świętokrzyskie, or Holy Cross Mountains, is wild and uninhabited, with peaks rising to 2,000 feet. Throughout the war it was an AK stronghold, and it is still the headquarters of Szary, one of the most famous Partisan leaders in Poland. [redacted] former deputy to the UBP Commandant of the Kielce area, Szary's forces number between 7,000 and 8,000 men.

50X1-HUM

Forces combating the Partisans in this area are the provincial district and local UBP and special KBW units, as well as components of the 2nd Infantry Division.

b) Czestochowa Area

Several Partisan bands are known to be operating in the hilly region southeast of Czestochowa and in the Lasy Lublinieckie (Lubliniec Woods) between Czestochowa and Opole (Oppeln). The leader of one of them is reported to be a woman.

c) Wielun-Konskie Area

In this area, north of Czestochowa, there are several strong Partisan bands. In the summer of 1946 they occupied Radomsko for two days and disarmed the local UBP and two companies of the 6th Infantry Regiment which were stationed there at the time. As a result, a number of officers and men were tried by courts martial for permitting themselves to be disarmed. Four officers were condemned to death, and many enlisted men were sentenced to long prison terms.

4. Polish Pomerania

Strong Partisan concentrations have been reported north of Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) in the Tuchola Forest (Bory Tucholski), but there has been no confirmation of this information.

5. Other Areas

There have been no reports of Partisan activity north of Warsaw.

The newly-acquired territories east of the Oder and in East Prussia seem relatively free from Partisan activity. This is explained by the strict regimentation of the new Polish settlers and their preoccupation with problems of adjustment in their new homes.

6. Attitude of the Soviets

Soviet units in Poland are forbidden to participate in battles against the Partisans. Only if they are attacked may they defend themselves. Even when the Polish authorities call on the Soviets for help, the answer is always,

~~SECRET~~

9

CONFIDENTIAL

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

50X1-HUM

-7-

"without specific instructions from Moscow we cannot join you"; this, in spite of the fact that many members of the Soviet army, among them high officers, have been killed by the Partisans. Such special units as the MVD have greater authority and a freer hand to engage in anti-Partisan combat, but even they rarely become involved.

## II. The Underground

### A. Origins

One reason for the early popularity of the Partisans was the general belief among Poles at home as well as abroad that war between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies would break out at any time and that, therefore, Partisan activity against the Warsaw Government and the Soviets would hasten the down fall of these regimes and pave the way for the armies of the West.

In the eighteen months following the end of the war, these hopes grew constantly dimmer until finally it was realized that there was small chance of their being fulfilled in the near future. With this realization, many Poles concluded that the Partisans were fighting in vain.

At the same time, political alignments became clearer: Behind the Partisans stood General Anders and the "London" Poles, and behind them stood the British. In the minds of the Polish people, Anders and the London group are identified with the large capitalists and feudal landowners. Although the "London" Poles have the sympathy and approval of the people for their stand against the Warsaw regime and the Soviets, it cannot be said that many Poles would want the London group in control of the Polish State. The workers and peasants especially feel that should the London group come to power it would mean a return to the intolerable conditions of 1939, with the current dictatorship of the Left supplanted by an equally distasteful dictatorship of the Right.

50X1-HUM

A certain feeling arose against the Partisans, based on the accusations that

by continuing their senseless struggle they were only aggravating the serious economic condition of the country, causing needless bloodshed, and providing the Government with an excuse for stricter measures of oppression.

Out of this dissatisfaction with the political philosophy and the methods of operation of the Partisans grew the clandestine Underground movement.

### B. Organization

Organized first among the intelligentsia, and especially in the universities, the conspiratorial Underground groups have steadily increased in number and influence. Although it is not possible to say that these groups are part of a single organization, they are becoming more closely-knit as their number increases, and eventually may form a tightly organized, long-term, clandestine opposition.

The usual form of organization in the Underground is that of the small cell. These are found throughout Poland, but are concentrated chiefly in the cities.

### C. Composition

The Underground includes all elements, but its chief support is among the moderate, middle-of-the-road groups akin to the PSL. A great many members of these are former AK men. The movement also embraces, however, anti-Communists from the Polish Socialist Party, and renegade Communists from the Polish Worker's Party.

### D. Strength

Because of the inchoate nature of the movement, no estimate can be made of Underground strength.

~~SECRET~~

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

-8-

E. Methods and Activities

The Underground envisages a long period of planning and preparation before it will be in a position to act decisively. At present, therefore, the chief concern of the Underground is the development of its organization. At the same time, great emphasis is placed on infiltrating the PPR and governmental agencies with reliable men on the widest and highest levels.

As distinguished from the overt operations of the Partisans, the Underground's operations are all clandestine. Occasionally a Soviet statue is blown up or a prominent official is assassinated, but this is done mostly for morale purposes, and not as a result of general policy.

F. Attitude of the Government

Aware of the growing importance of the Underground, the Government is bending every effort towards eliminating it. The Underground is considered more dangerous than the Partisans because it is more elusive and has the sympathy of the greater part of the Polish population.

Suppression of the Underground is one of the priority targets of both the UBP and the Informacja.

III. Comments on Developments in the Polish Resistance

The high point of Partisan strength in Poland was reached in the winter and spring of 1946. Since that time it has been steadily declining, partly because of Government action, but largely because more and more of the Partisans have become convinced of the futility of further Partisan activity, and have returned to their normal lives.

The ex-Partisans and former AK men have channeled their hostility to the Government into the Underground. Thus, as the Partisans have become weaker, the Underground has become stronger. Now that Mikołajczyk's "legal" opposition has been "defeated" in the recent elections and an amnesty proclaimed for the Partisans, it can be expected that this process will continue, and that the PSL as well as the ex-Partisans will increasingly turn to the Underground as the only remaining possibility of actively continuing resistance against the Government.

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50, U.S.C. 31 and 32 as amended. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

~~SECRET~~

SECRET