

## A RAND NOTE

THE MEDIA AND INTRA-ELITE COMMUNICATION IN  
POLAND: THE ROLE OF MILITARY JOURNALS - ANNEX

Michael Sadykiewicz

February 1983

N-1514/6

35<sup>th</sup>  
Year



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PREFACE

This Annex supplements Section I, "Organization of Polish Military Media," of Rand Note N-1514/3, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland: The Role of Military Journals, December 1980, by A. Ross Johnson. The Annex was prepared by Michael Sadykiewicz, a Rand consultant. The author, a former Polish army officer, has published articles in many Polish military journals and served on the editorial board of the ground forces journal, Przegląd Wojsk Lądowych.



GLOSSARY

|        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ASG    | Akademia Sztabu Generalnego (General Staff Academy)                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| GZP    | Główny Zarząd Polityczny (Main Political Administration)                                                                                                                                                                              |
| KDOP   | Kursy Doskonalenia Oficerów Piechoty - obecnie Centrum Doskonalenia Oficerów im.gen. St. Popławskiego (Infantry Officers' Continuing Education Courses, currently the General S. Popławski Center for Officers' Continuing Education) |
| LOK    | Liga Obrony Kraju (National Defense League)                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| MO     | Milicja Obywatelska (People's Militia)                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| MON    | Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej (Ministry of National Defense)                                                                                                                                                                          |
| MW     | Marynarka Wojenna (Navy)                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| OPK    | Obrona Powietrzna Kraju (National Air Defense)                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| ORMO   | Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej (People's Militia Voluntary Reserves)                                                                                                                                                        |
| POW    | Pomorski Okręg Wojskowy (Pomeranian Military District)                                                                                                                                                                                |
| PRL    | Polska Rzeczypospolita Ludowa (Polish People's Republic)                                                                                                                                                                              |
| SOW    | Śląski Okręg Wojskowy (Silesian Military District)                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| TWO    | Towarzystwo Wiedzy Obronnej (Defense Information Society)                                                                                                                                                                             |
| WAM    | Wojskowa Akademia Medyczna (Military Medical Academy)                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| WAP    | Wojskowa Akademia Polityczna (Military Political Academy)                                                                                                                                                                             |
| WAT    | Wojskowa Akademia Techniczna (Military Technical Academy)                                                                                                                                                                             |
| WIH    | Wojskowy Instytut Historyczny (Military Institute of History)                                                                                                                                                                         |
| WL     | Ground Forces                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| WOP    | Wojska Ochrony Pogranicza (Border Security Forces)                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| WOPK   | Wojska Obrony Powietrznej Kraju (Air Defense Forces)                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| WOW    | Warszawski Okręg Wojskowy (Warsaw Military District)                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| WP     | Wojsko Polskie (Polish Armed Forces)                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| WSO    | Wyższa(e) Szkoła(y) Oficerska(ie) (Higher Officer Training School(s))                                                                                                                                                                 |
| WSMW   | Wyższa Szkoła Marynarki Wojennej (Higher Naval Training School)                                                                                                                                                                       |
| WSW    | Wojskowa Służba Wewnętrzna (Military Security Service)                                                                                                                                                                                |
| WW     | Wojska Wewnętrzne (Internal Forces)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| ZBOWID | Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację (Veterans' Organization)                                                                                                                                                                    |
| ZG     | Zarząd Główny (Main Administration)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |





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## I. TYPOLOGY OF THE POLISH MILITARY PRESS

The Polish military press may be classified according to the following ten criteria:

### 1. PURPOSE

- 1.1. Political propaganda (e.g., Zolnierz Wolnosci, military district and armed forces services dailies, Zolnierz Polski).
- 1.2. Professional military information (all the remaining press).

### 2. ACCESSIBILITY

- 2.1. Open source, generally available for purchase (e.g., Zolnierz Wolnosci, Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny).
- 2.2. Internal military use only, prohibited to non-military personnel (e.g., all military district and armed services dailies, Przegląd Wojsk Lądowych, Mysl Wojskowa: "Tylko dla Generalow, Admiralow i Oficerow WP").
- 2.3. Secret (e.g., secret editions of Przegląd Wojsk Lądowych, Mysl Wojskowa; all information bulletins of the General Staff, including the Second Intelligence Administration of the General Staff; service bulletins of the Military Security Service, the Chemical Warfare Services Command, and the Main Political Administration; some military academy journals, in particular the Journal of the Military Technical Academy, Collected Works of the General Staff Academy, etc.).
- 2.4. Top secret (e.g., certain specialized editions of the Biuletyn Informacyjny of the General Staff and the Biuletyn Informacyjny of the Second Administration of the General Staff).

### 3. PUBLICATION LEVEL

- 3.1. Central level (all publications put out by various elements of the National Defense Ministry, shown in Fig. 1 on p. 7).
- 3.2. District level, armed forces services level (e.g., all military district and armed services dailies, Przegląd Morski, Przegląd Wojsk Lotniczych i Wojsk Obrony Powietrznej Kraju).

- 3.3. Academy level (publications generated by military academies and other institutions subordinate to the National Defense Ministry).
- 3.4. Division level (all division--i.e., mechanized, armored, amphibious, and airborne--dailies). This type of military press is active only in time of war. It is maintained in mobilization status in peacetime, as field presses and paper storage units, and is reactivated on MPA authority only periodically, mainly during maneuvers beyond Poland's borders.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. PUBLICATION FREQUENCY

- 4.1. Dailies (e.g., Zolnierz Wolnosci, as well as military district dailies and armed services dailies for the rank and file military reader).
- 4.2. Periodicals (weeklies, monthlies, etc.)
- 4.3. Publications appearing on an irregular basis (mainly publications of learning institutions (a small number) and the majority of the various kinds of central level Bulletins).

#### 5. AREA OF INTEREST

- 5.1. All-military (e.g., Zolnierz Wolnosci, Mysl Wojskowa).
- 5.2. Local (e.g., military district newspapers).
- 5.3. Narrowly specialized (e.g., Wojskowy Przegląd Ekonomiczny, Biuletyn Sluzby Chemicznej).

#### 6. TARGETED AUDIENCE (READERSHIP)

- 6.1. Privates and non-commissioned officers (military district and armed services dailies, also Zolnierz Polski).
- 6.2. Privates, non-commissioned officers, warrant officers, officers, civilian employees of the armed forces and of military production, maintenance, and service enterprises, as well as all of the civilian population, mainly veterans and young people (Zolnierz Wolnosci, Zolnierz Polski).

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<sup>1</sup> Sometimes during mobilization and in war plans, military district newspapers become Army newspapers for those Armies organic to a particular military district.

- 6.3. Officers (all specialized professional-military publications and Wojsko Ludowe).
- 6.4. Senior officers and generals (all Bulletins, collected works of military academies and their specialized journals, Mysl Wojskowa).

## 7. CONTENT

- 7.1. News (all dailies, professional-military publications, Wojsko Ludowe, Zolnierz Polski).
- 7.2. Information (all specialized journals, collected works, Bulletins of military academies and of the Military Security Service, Przegląd Informacyjno-dokumentacyjny Naukowej Informacji Wojskowej).
- 7.3. Directives (binding on those who are affected). These include two secret (or at times top secret) Bulletins: the General Staff Information Bulletin and the Bulletin of the MPA.
- 7.4. Unclassified, official General Orders of the Ministry of National Defense, including all unclassified orders and dispositions of the defense minister (at times also those of individual deputy ministers), covering orders of the day, administrative, financial, and economic issues, etc.

## 8. CIRCULATION

- 8.1. Large circulation, over 100,000 copies (Zolnierz Wolnosci, current circulation: 500,000 copies; Zolnierz Polski, current circulation: around 100,000 copies).
- 8.2. Average circulation, over 10,000 copies (military district and armed services newspapers, with the exception of Bandera, which has a circulation of around 5,000 copies; Przegląd Wojsk Ladowych, the only professional-military publication with such a large circulation; and Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny, which currently has a circulation of 20,000 copies).
- 8.3. Small circulation, between 2,000 and 5,000 copies (most of the professional-military publications, as well as Wojsko Ludowe, whose circulation after August 1980 was close to 10,000 copies).

- 8.4. Circulation less than 1,000 copies (certain narrowly specialized educational institution publications, as well as internal use Bulletins, which often have a circulation of less than 100 or even less than 20).

9. FINANCING OF CIRCULATION

- 9.1. Circulated free of charge (all military district and armed forces dailies; Zolnierz Wolnosci and Zolnierz Polski--but only for conscripts (the permanent cadre must pay for these two papers); all Bulletins listed in Fig. 1 (except the Military Medical Academy Bulletin); the Ministry of Defense General Orders; collected works, the General Staff tactical journals; and the majority of specialized journals of military academies).
- 9.2. Sold chiefly on a subscription basis (all remaining publications).

10. PRINTERS

- 10.1. Printed in civilian publishing houses. (Zolnierz Wolnosci is the only military paper published in a non-military, civilian publishing house, Dom Słowa Polskiego.<sup>2</sup>)
- 10.2. Printed in military publishing houses (all of the Polish military press, with the exception of Zolnierz Wolnosci).

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<sup>2</sup> In 1980-1981, Zolnierz Wolnosci was subject to its publisher's Solidarity organization influence. [If a certain text did not meet that organization's approval, it was not released for publication] Therefore during the "Days Without Press" strike, Zolnierz Wolnosci could not be printed with the normal format, content, and circulation, and was published in one of the military publishing houses, in a much reduced form.

II. THE MILITARY PRESS SYSTEM



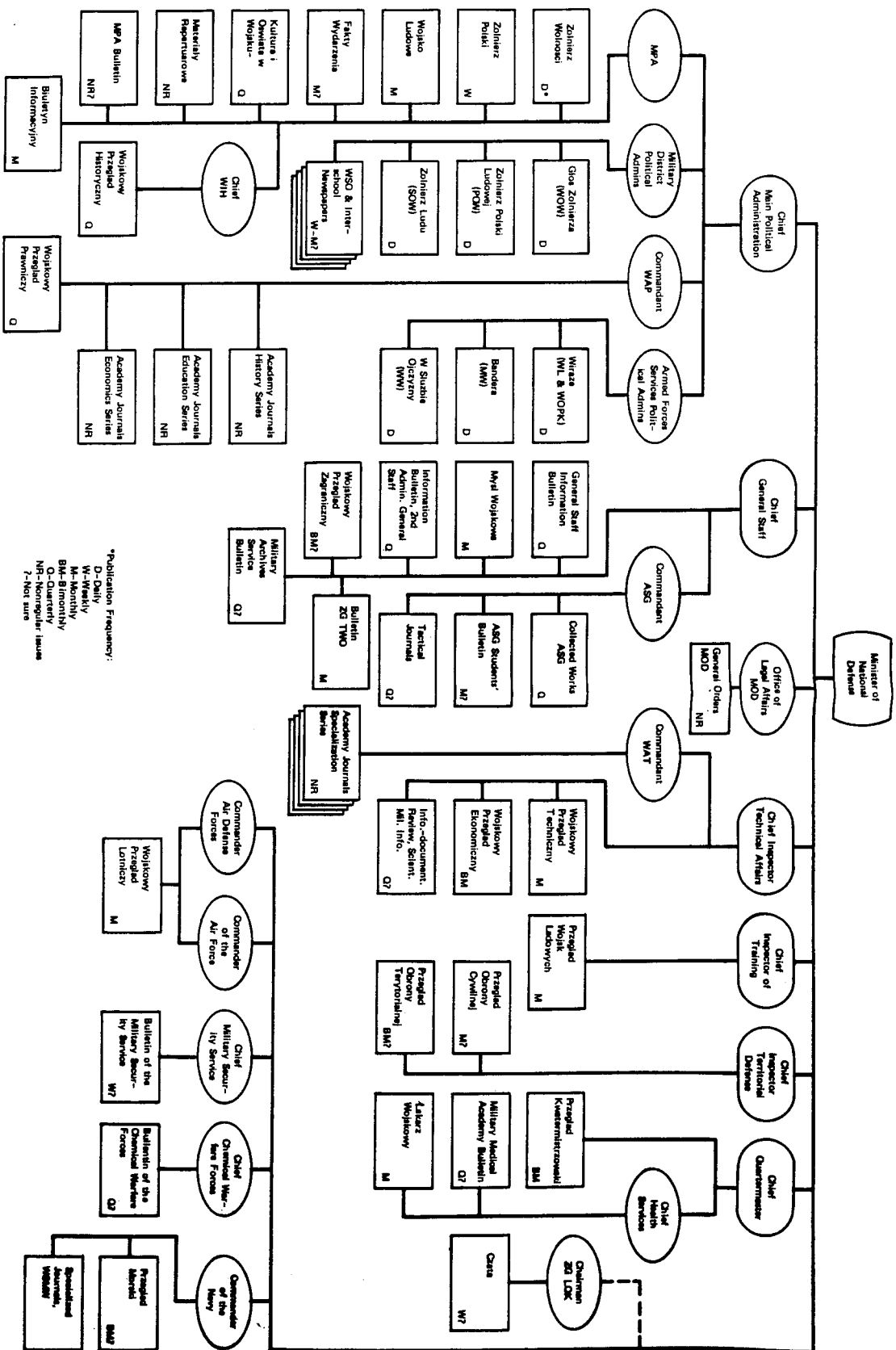
NOTES TO FIG. 1

1. The figure covers only the military press and part of the paramilitary press (Zolnierz Polski, published jointly by the MPA and the Main Administration of the National Defense League; Czata, the publication of the Main Administration of the National Defense League). The remainder of the paramilitary press, e.g., Czyn Mlodych, the publication of the Main Administration of the Polish Red Cross, as well as the press of the People's Militia, the People's Militia Voluntary Reserves, the Border Security Forces, etc., is not shown in the figure, nor is the press of the Veterans' Organization.

2. Independently of the military and paramilitary press, certain PUWP publications, such as Trybuna Ludu, run permanent columns devoted to the Armed Forces of the PPR. Articles by members of the MOD Military Council, deputy defense ministers, etc. (e.g., generals Oliwa, Tuczapski, and others), have appeared in a weekly supplement to Trybuna Ludu.

3. With reference to publications listed in Fig. 1:

- 3.1. The MPA publishes two different Bulletins: an Information Bulletin which is unclassified, intended for political-propaganda work, and a second Bulletin, usually without attribution and classified secret, which includes various information for the upper-echelon political-party apparatus--usually from the military district political administration level up--and for line generals and officers at the same or higher echelons.
- 3.2. Higher Officer Training Schools publish their own mimeographed newspapers, normally weeklies or monthlies, covering primarily political and social news. They are published by the Political Departments of the schools. In addition, interschool newspapers are published. For example, the Youth Council of the Pomeranian Military District publishes an interschool paper, Argumenty (according to the September 7, 1981, issue of Zolnierz Wolnosci, which also notes that the Higher Officer Training School of the Polish Air Force in Koszalin publishes its own newspaper, Namiary).
- 3.3. The Military Technical Academy encompasses about seven specialized departments, each of which publishes its own specialized journals, collected works, and other, mainly secret, specialized publications.



**Fig. 1 – The military press system**



III. MEMBERS OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEES OF  
PRZEGŁAD WOJSK LADOWYCH AND MYSL WOJSKOWA

Przegląd Wojsk Ladowych

1. Gen.dyw. Zygmunt Duszyński - Chief Inspector of Training, Deputy Defense Minister.
2. Gen.dyw. Zygmunt Huszcza - Commander, Pomeranian Military District.
3. Gen.dyw. Józef Kuropieska - Commander, Warsaw Military District.
4. Gen.dyw. Czesław Waryszak - Commander, Silesian Military District
5. Gen.bryg. Mieczysław Bien - Commander of the General K. Świerczewski General Staff Academy.
6. Gen.bryg. Jan Drzewiecki - Chief of the Operations Department, General Staff.
7. Gen.bryg. Tadeusz Kunicki - Chief of Artillery, Polish Armed Forces.
8. Gen.bryg. Aleksander Jankowski - Deputy Commander, Pomeranian Military District (Territorial Defense).
9. Gen.bryg. Wojciech Jaruzelski - Commander, 12th Mechanized Division.
10. Gen.bryg. Brunon Marchewka - Chief of Staff, Silesian Military District.
11. Gen.bryg.inz. Edward Mokrzecki - Chief of Ordnance, Ministry of Defense.
12. Gen.bryg.inz. Cezary Nowicki - Chief of Motor Vehicle Transportation Service.
13. Gen.bryg.doc. Michał Owczynn timer - Commandant, J. Dąbrowski Military Technical Academy.

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1 Military rank and appointments apply to the January 1960 issue of Przegląd Wojsk Ladowych and the May 1967 issue of Mysł Wojskowa. These representative lists of editorial committee members indicate the importance of the respective monthlies.

14. Gen.bryg.Tadeusz Pioro - Chief of Officer and Staff Operational Training Department, General Staff (Operations).
15. Gen.bryg. Franciszek Skibinski - Director of Studies, General Staff.
16. Gen.bryg. Jan Sliwinski - Chief, Inspectorate of Training, MOD, Deputy Inspector of Training, MOD.
17. Gen.bryg.mgr.inz. Stanislaw Swinarski - Chief of Engineers, MOD.
18. Gen.bryg. Jozef Urbanowicz - Commandant, F. Dzierzynski Military Political Academy.
19. Plk dypl. Mieczyslaw Babula - Chief of Reconnaissance, Inspectorate of Training, MOD.
20. Plk Lucjan Baral - Chief of Combat Training, Air Forces Command.
21. Plk dypl. Jakub Broch - Deputy Commandant, Training, General Staff Academy.
22. Plk dypl. Boleslaw Chocha - Commander, 6th Pomeranian Airborne Division.
23. Plk Antoni Franczyszyn - Chief of Officer Schools Department, Administration of Academies, Officer Schools and Courses, Inspectorate of Training, MOD.
24. Plk Edward Holynski - Deputy Chief of Communications (Technical Affairs), Polish Armed Forces.
25. Plk dypl Edward Koninski - Chief of Staff, Internal Security Corps.
26. Plk dypl. Mateusz Lach - Commander, 5th(?) Armored Division.
27. Plk dypl. Aleksander Majtek - Commandant, Infantry Officer Continuing Education Courses.
28. Plk inz. Stanislaw Rostoczil - Deputy Chief, Chemical Warfare Forces, MOD.
29. Plk dypl. Michal Sadykiewicz - Deputy Chief of Combat Training, Acting Chief of Combat Training, Inspectorate of Training, MOD.
30. Plk mgr.inz. Ludwik Szulc - Chief of the Technical Service, Armored Troops.

31. Plk dypl. Stanislaw Szulczynski - Chief Editor, Przegląd Wojsk Lądowych.
32. Plk dypl. Arseniusz Wadejko - Chief, Inspections Administration, Inspectorate of Training, MOD.
33. Plk dypl. Zenon Welfeld - Chief of Outside Training, Inspectorate of Training, MOD.
34. Plk dypl. Piotr Przylucki - Department Chief, Combat Training Administration, Inspectorate of Training, MOD.

Mysl Wojskowa

1. Gen.bryg. Wojciech Baranski - Deputy Chief of General Staff (Operations).
2. Plk inz. Bronislaw Barycki - Deputy Chief, Motorized Forces, MOD.
3. Gen.bryg. Bronislaw Bednarz - Commandant, Military Institute of History.
4. Gen.bryg. Mieczyslaw Bien - Chief of Officer and Staff Operational Training Department, General Staff (Operations) (?), or Advisor to Deputy Chief of General Staff (Operations) (?).
5. Gen.bryg. Edward Braniewski - Commandant, Military Political Academy.
6. Gen.dyw. Boleslaw Chocha - First Deputy Chief, General Staff.
7. Gen.dyw. Jan Czapla - First Deputy Chief, Main Political Administration, Polish Armed Forces.
8. Plk dypl. pilot Jerzy Czownicki - Chief of Operations (?), Air Force.
9. Gen.dyw. Czeslaw Czubryt-Borkowski - PPR Government Plenipotentiary dealing with the Provisional Stationing of Soviet Forces in Poland, Chief of PPR Delegation to Command of Northern Group of Soviet Forces in Poland.
10. Gen.broni Zygmunt Duszynski - Director of Studies, MOD.
11. Gen.dyw. Marian Graniewski - Chief Inspector, Research and Development, Deputy Chief of General Staff.

12. Gen.bryg. Tadeusz Hulapowski - Chief of Staff, Silesian Military District.
13. Kontradmirał Ludwik Janczyszyn - Chief of Staff, Navy.
14. Gen.dyw. Józef Kuropieska - Commandant, General Staff Academy.
15. K. Michalski (probably an error in the name. It should be Z. Michalski or H. Michalski. In the first case, it would be Gen.bryg. Zbigniew Michalski - Deputy Commander (Operations), Pomeranian Military District; in the second case, it would be Plk. dypl. Henryk Michalski - Desk Officer for the professional-military press in the office of the Minister of Defense).
16. Gen.bryg. Mieczysław Obiedzinski - Deputy Chief of General Staff (Quartermaster), Polish Armed Forces (may well be Chief of Staff for Logistics).
17. Gen.dyw. Michał Owczynn timer - Commandant, Military Technical Academy.
18. Gen.dyw. Florian Siwicki - First Deputy Chief of General Staff.
19. Gen.bryg. Jan Stamiński - Chief of Staff, Air Defense Forces Command.
20. Gen.dyw. Józef Stebelski - Chief, Inspectorate of Training, MOD.
21. Gen.bryg. Michał Stryga - Chief of Staff, Warsaw Military District.
22. Gen.dyw. Ignacy Szczesnowicz - Chief, Rocket and Artillery Forces, Polish Armed Forces.
23. Gen.bryg. Jan Szymanowski - Chief of Engineers, MOD.
24. Gen.dyw. Tadeusz Tuczapski - First Deputy Chief of Inspectorate of Training, MOD.
25. Plk dr. Ernest Wisniewski - Chief Editor, Mysl Wojskowa.

