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DRAFT GUIDANCE ON THE PARTISAN FACTION IN THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY

THE FACTIONAL SITUATION

IN THE SIX YEARS SINCE THE OCTOBER UPHEAVAL THERE HAS BEEN A GRADUAL REALIGNMENT OF FACTIONAL GROUPINGS IN THE PZPR. THIS REALIGNMENT IS, OF COURSE, THE PRODUCT OF THE NEW POLITICAL SITUATION CREATED IN OCTOBER, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE COMPLETE DOMINANCE OF THE PARTY AND STATE APPARATUS BY GOMULKA. IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT MANY OF THE LIBERAL ASPECTS OF OCTOBER WERE IMPOSED UPON GOMULKA BY THE FORCE OF EVENTS AND AGAINST HIS OWN CONVICTIONS; THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS, FURTHERMORE, THAT SIX YEARS OF TRYING TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS OF COMMUNIST POLAND HAVE STRENGTHENED, RATHER THAN WEAKENED, GOMULKA'S DISLIKE OF SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTIC IDEAS OF THE REVISIONISTS.

THE NEW FACTOR IN THE INNER PARTY STRUGGLE IS A GROUP OF GOMULKA'S OWN FOLLOWERS WHO GENERALLY HAVE IN COMMON THE FACT THAT THEY LED COMMUNIST GUERRILLA UNITS DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION. THESE MEN ARE, ON THE WHOLE, STRONGLY AUTHORITARIAN IN TEMPERAMENT, OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO THE PARTY INTELLECTUALS, ANTI-SEMITIC, AND NATIONALIST. THEY TEND TO COOPERATE WITH THE NATOLIN OR FORMERLY STALINIST FACTION. OPPOSED TO THEM IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND INFLUENCE (WHICH CONSISTS ABOVE ALL IN WINNING GOMULKA'S EAR) IS A LOOSE ASSOCIATION OF DISPARATE ELEMENTS: FORMER SOCIALISTS, JEWISH CADRES, MOSCOVITES (OR THOSE WHO SPENT THE WAR YEARS IN THE SOVIET UNION), AND REVISIONISTS.

THE INS AND OUTS OF THE PARTY STRUGGLE ARE FAR FROM CLEAR, BUT SINCE THE FALL OF 1959 THE PARTISANS AND THEIR ALLIES HAVE MADE MORE

SUBSTANTIAL GAINS. IN FACT IT MAY BE SAID THAT VIRTUALLY ALL MAJOR CHANGES IN PERSONNEL HAVE FAVORED THE AUTHORITARIAN AND ANTI-SEMITIC ELEMENTS, THOUGH ON THE BASIS OF THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE IT WOULD BE GOING TOO FAR TO SAY THAT ALL THESE CHANGES WERE THE RESULT OF INTRIGUES OR PRESSURE BY THE PARTISANS. THUS MORAWSKI, ALBRECHT, AND ALSTER HAVE BEEN SHARPLY DEMOTED, WHILE FOR A TIME ZAMBROWSKI'S POLITICAL CAREER APPEARED TO HANG IN THE BALANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND TOKARSKI AND SZYR HAVE BEEN MADE DEPUTY PREMIERS, WITASZEWSKI HAS BEEN RECALLED FROM PRAGUE AND PUT IN CHARGE OF STATE CADRES, MOCZAR HAS GAINED COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE SECURITY POLICE, KORCZYNSKI OF ARMY INTELLIGENCE, AND STRZELECKI HAS ENTERED THE SECRETARIAT AND BEEN GIVEN THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR SECURITY, THE PRESS AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS. THIS SHIFT IN PERSONNEL HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY A VISIBLE HARDENING OF THE LINE TOWARD FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS AND WESTERN CONTACTS, BY A REORGANIZATION OF THE LEGAL AND MEDICAL PROFESSIONS ALONG STALINIST LINES, BY DETERIORATION OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, AND BY A SERIES OF POLICE PROVOCATIONS APPARENTLY AIMED AT HIGH RANKING LIBERAL-MINDED GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIALS..

WE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, OVERESTIMATE THE CURRENT STRENGTH AND PROSPECTS OF THE PARTISANS AND THEIR FRIENDS. THEY ARE NOT REPRESENTED IN THE ELEVEN-MAN POLITBURO, THOUGH THEY MAY HAVE FRIENDS THERE. THEY HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, OR FOREIGN TRADE. GOMULKA HAS HAD HIS EXPERIENCE WITH THE SECURITY POLICE AND STANDS FIRMLY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THEIR SUBORDINATION TO THE PARTY APPARATUS. FURTHERMORE, GOMULKA'S WIFE IS JEWISH AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY THROW HER INFLUENCE AGAINST A GENERAL PURGE OF JEWS. FINALLY, THE CURRENTS OF INTRA-BLOC POLITICS, WITH KHRUSHCHEV COMMITTED TO A NEW WAVE OF DESTALINIZATION AND SEEKING A NEW RAPPROCHMENT WITH YUGOSLAVIA, RUN STRONGLY AGAINST SUCH MEN AS THE POLISH PARTISANS.

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NONETHELESS, THE PARTISANS AND THEIR ALLIES CONSTITUTE THE PRINCIPLE THREAT AT THE PRESENT TIME TO SUCH LIBERTIES AS THE POLISH PEOPLE STILL ENJOY.

RFE OBJECTIVES

RFE DEALS WITH THE ISSUE OF THE PARTISANS IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARA. 4 CHAPTER II B OF THE POLICY PAPER ON POLAND, ACCORDING TO WHICH RFE "INFORMS AND SUPPORTS THE POLISH PEOPLE IN DEFENDING AND, IF POSSIBLE, EXPANDING THEIR RELATIVE FREEDOMS WHILE ACCURATELY INDICATING THE MOVES BY THE REGIME WHICH DEMONSTRABLY ARE WORKING AGAINST FREEDOM". THUS IT IS THE DUTY OF RFE TO INFORM THE AUDIENCES OF THE EXISTENCE, COMPOSITION, CHARACTER, AND STATUS OF THE PARTISAN GROUP INsofar AS RELIABLE INFORMATION ON THESE SUBJECTS BECOMES AVAILABLE. PUBLICITY WILL MAKE THE PROGRESS AND MANEUVERING OF THE GROUP MORE DIFFICULT, BECAUSE IT WILL TEND TO RALLY THE OPPOSITION (WHICH MAY INDIRECTLY HAVE PROVIDED RFE WITH MUCH OF ITS INFORMATION), CREATE A GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF CONDEMNATION, AND THUS MILITATE AGAINST FURTHER PERSONNEL CHANGES IN FAVOR OF THE PARTISANS. ACCURATE PUBLIC REVELATION OF INNER PARTY STRUGGLE ALSO TENDS TO INTENSIFY ANTAGONISMS WITHIN THE PARTY, FOSTER MUTUAL RECRIMINATION AND SUSPICION, AND REDUCE PARTY CONTROL OVER THE POPULATION.

PROGRAM COVERAGE

IN A SERIES OF SIX BROADCASTS RFE HAS ALREADY INFORMED ITS AUDIENCE OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE PARTISAN GROUP, ITS COMPOSITION, ITS AIMS, AND THE PROGRESS SO FAR ACHIEVED. FURTHER BROADCASTS WILL BE UNDERTAKEN AS RELIABLE INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE.

IN ORDER TO MAKE SUCH BROADCASTS POSSIBLE NO EFFORT SHOULD

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RFE SPARED TO COLLECT ADDITIONAL DATA FROM ALL AVAILABLE SOURCES AND TO USE FOR THIS PURPOSE ALL RFE FACILITIES. BECAUSE OF THE INCREASING LIMITATIONS ON THE REPORTING OF WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS FROM POLAND GREATER RELIANCE WILL HAVE TO BE PLACED ON CONFIDENTIAL CONTACTS. DEPENDING ON THE AVAILABILITY OF RELIABLE INFORMATION, AND UPON ITS CHARACTER, THE SUBJECT MAY BE TREATED IN THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMS:

1) NEWS. INFORMATION BEARING ON THE PARTISAN CASE WHEN REPORTED BY MAJOR WESTERN AGENCIES OR BY RELIABLE WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS AS, E.G., THE APPOINTMENT OF A KNOWN PARTISAN TO A KEY POSITION.

2. FACTS AND VIEWS OR SPECIAL COMMENTARIES. WHEN EVER INFORMATION IS CHECKED AND CONFIRMED, THE EVENT INVOLVED IS IMPORTANT, BUT THE SOURCES CANNOT BE REVEALED.

3) PANORAMA. WHEN RFE WISHES TO PRESENT INFORMATION WHICH IS UNCONFIRMED OR RUMOR, OR WHERE FULLY CONFIRMED INFORMATION IS BEST SUITED TO SATIRICAL TREATMENT. THUS PROPAGANDA PUBLICATIONS LAUDING INDIVIDUAL PARTISANS - OF WHICH THERE ARE CURRENTLY MANY BECAUSE OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PZPR - SHOULD BE CAREFULLY STUDIED AND EXPOSED TO SATIRE.

CALLING THE COMMUNIST PARTY. FOR MATERIAL ADDRESSED PARTICULARLY TO CADRES, SUCH AS PROGRAMS POINTING OUT THE INHERENT CONFLICT BETWEEN COMMUNIST DOCTRINE AND ANTI-SEMITISM. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO THIS ACCUSATION, WHICH HAS REAL IMPACT ON THOSE WHO ACTUALLY BELIEVE IN MARXIST DOCTRINE. ANOTHER SUBJECT WHICH MIGHT PROFITABLY BE TREATED HERE IS THE HISTORY OF THE ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE NATIVIST ELEMENTS IN THE PARTY, SUCH AS THE PARTISANS, AND THE MOSCOVITES.
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RESTRICTIONS.

1. RFE SHOULD AVOID AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS SUPPORTING ONE FACTION AGAINST ANOTHER. IT SHOULD RATHER LET THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

2. RFE SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN PERSONAL ATTACKS OR CRITICISMS OF GOMULKA, WHO IS NOT ONLY THE PARTY LEADER BUT ALSO DE FACTO HEAD OF STATE. THE INTRIGUES AND SCHEMES OF THE PARTISANS SHOULD RATHER BE PRESENTED IN THE LIGHT OF EFFORTS TO USE OR INFLUENCE THE FIRST SECRETARY FOR PURPOSES WHICH WE MUST AT LEAST PRETEND ARE NOT HIS OWN. RFE SHOULD ATTEMPT BY INDIRECTION TO PERSUADE GOMULKA TO LIVE UP TO THE GOMULKA MYTH.

3. RFE SHOULD NOT OVERDRAMATIZE THE PARTISAN THREAT, SO AS NOT TO DIMINISH THE CREDIBILITY OF ITS BROADCASTS AND, UNTIL THE PRESENT CONSTELLATION OF POLITICAL FORCES UNDERGOES SOME BASIC CHANGE, SHOULD NOT SUGGEST, OR USE LANGUAGE WHICH SUGGESTS, THAT THE PARTISAN GROUP AIMS AT SEIZING SUPREME POWER OR OVERTHROWING GOMULKA.

END MSG