

MUNICH, JULY 2, 1962 (POLISH EVALUATION/COLLINS) THE PERIOD OF STABILITY CHARACTERIZING THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY SINCE THE RETURN OF WLADYSLAW GOMULKA TO POWER IN 1956 APPEARS TO HAVE ENDED. A GROWING BODY OF EVIDENCE REACHING RFE SPEAKS OF A GROUP OF HARD LINE AND INFLUENTIAL COMMUNISTS WHOSE BASE OF POWER LIES IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, AND WHO ARE MAKING DETERMINED ATTEMPTS TO EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE AND ATTRACT SUPPORT FROM KEY COMMUNISTS IN THE PARTY APPARATUS AND IN THE STATE BUREAUCRACY.

THE COMMON DENOMINATOR OF THIS GROUP, KNOWN AS THE PARTISANS, IS COMMUNIST GUERRILLA ACTIVITY DURING THE WAR AGAINST THE GERMAN OCCUPATION TROOPS; ITS AVOWED AIM IS TO UNDERMINE AND ULTIMATELY REMOVE FROM POSITIONS OF POWER THE MORE LIBERAL ELEMENTS IN THE RULING COMMUNIST PARTY IN POLAND WITH MEN OF THEIR OWN PERSUASION.

THE PARTISAN FACTION APPEARS TO BE ALMOST A STEREOTYPE OF STALINIST ATTITUDE KNOWN TO EXIST IN ALL EUROPEAN RULING PARTIES OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP DEDICATED TO A RESTORATION OF A FULL-BLOWN TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM. SINCE THE 22ND PARTY CONGRESS OF THE CPSU THE PARTISANS HAVE BECOME MORE AND MORE DISENCHANTED WITH THE GENERAL LINE OF KHRUSHCHEV AND THE PUWP AS REGARDS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, CULTURAL EXCHANGES WITH THE WEST, ETC., AND SIGNIFICANTLY ENOUGH WITH KHRUSHCHEV'S AIRING OF DIFFERENCES IN THE SINO-SOVIET ORBIT. THE PARTISANS REPRESENT THE OLD LINE STALINIST DISTRUST OF EXPERIMENTATION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, CALL FOR MORE CENSORSHIP AND TOUGHNESS IN DEALING WITH CASES OF SO-CALLED ECONOMIC ABUSE. THE PARTISANS PARTY FACTION IS A PROTAGONIST OF GREATER INTRANSIGENCE IN DEALING WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND WOULD USE MORE ACTIVELY SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CHURCH SUCH AS THE PAX.

THE OPPOSITION TO THE PARTISANS CONSISTS OF SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING LIBERALS IN THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY. THEY ARE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL DETENTE, FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION IN POLAND, A TOLERABLE MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND, IN GENERAL, A PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SPIRIT OF DE-STALINIZATION EMBODIED IN THE GENERAL LINES OF THE 20TH AND 22ND CPSU CONGRESSES.

ALTHOUGH IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PARTISANS ARE NOT SEEKING TO REMOVE GOMULKA, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THIS PARTY FACTION IS SYSTEMATICALLY SCHEMING TO EXPAND ITS AREA OF DIRECT INFLUENCE SO AS TO SURROUND THE FIRST PARTY SECRETARY WITH ITS OWN FOLLOWERS AND THROUGH HIM REALIZE ITS GOALS. THE PARTISANS WOULD THUS BE IN A POSITION TO DOMINATE ANY SUCCESSION STRUGGLE TO THE FIRST PARTY SECRETARYSHIP SHOULD GOMULKA DIE OR BE FORCED TO RETIRE FOR REASONS OF HEALTH.

THE PARTISAN FACTION ACTUALLY DATES BACK TO 1960 WHEN A HIGH-LEVEL POLISH INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONARY OF JEWISH ORIGIN, PAWEL MONAT, DEFECTED TO THE WEST CARRYING WITH HIM IMPORTANT INFORMATION. MONAT'S DEFECTION PROVIDED A PLATFORM FOR THE PARTISAN GROUP WHICH HAS ANTI-SEMITIC TENDENCIES TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST OTHER POLISH COMMUNISTS OF JEWISH ORIGIN.

FOLLOWING MONAT'S DEFECTION GENERAL KORCZYNSKI, THE PRESENT LEADER OF THE PARTISAN GROUP, TOOK OVER AS CHIEF OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. DURING THE LAST WAR HE WAS CHIEF OF THE OPERATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE PEOPLES (COMMUNIST) ARMY OPERATING IN POLAND. HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATE, THEN AS NOW, IS MIECZYSLAW MOCZAR A FORMER COMMANDER OF THE PEOPLES ARMY IN THE LUBLIN AREA AND PRESENTLY DE FACTO CHIEF OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES (BEZPIEKA). OTHER MILITARY OR SECURITY APPARATCHIKI MEMBERS OF THE PARTISANS ARE COLONEL FRANCISZEK SZLACHCIC, DEPUTY MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR; GENERAL ZYGMUNT DUSZYNSKI, DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF AND VICE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, FOR EXAMPLE. THE PARTISAN GROUP HAS NOW, HOWEVER, SUCCEEDED IN GENERATING ENOUGH DYNAMISM TO BEGIN TO ATTRACT NON-PARTISAN ELEMENTS. AMONG THEM ARE MEN SUCH AS PYSZARD STRZELECKI, THE OLD STALINIST ZENON NOWAK, AND GENERAL BEDNARZ DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE ARMY'S POLITICAL DIRECTORATE, WHO SPENT THE WAR YEARS IN MOSCOW.

THE CHIEF ANTAGONISTS OF THE PARTISANS FACTION ARE IDENTIFIABLE LIBERALS SUCH AS PRIME MINISTER CYRANKIEWICZ, POLITBURO MEMBER EDWARD OCHAB, THE DISTINGUISHED MARXIST ECONOMIST, OSKAR LANGE AND SUCH LEADING CADRES AS ROMAN ZAMBROWSKI AND WITOLD JAROSINSKI. THE LIBERALS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE SUPPORTERS AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE EDITORIAL BOARDS OF PROMINENT PARTY NEWS-PAPERS, AMONG THE INTELLIGENTSIA, AND IN THE MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE.

THE PARTISAN PLAN FOR TAKING OVER THE LEVERS OF POWER IN POLAND FOLLOW THE TIME-HONORED TACTICS OF THE SECURITY POLICE. ON THE ONE HAND THEY SEEK TO DENOUNCE AND DISCREDIT MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION GROUPINGS BY EXPOSING THEIR INDISCRETIONS TO THE HIGHEST PARTY AUTHORITY - GOMULKA HIMSELF. IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE TRAGIC HOLLAND AFFAIR WAS A MOVE TO COMPROMISE CYRANKIEWICZ AS WAS THE TRIAL OF JERZY TEPICHT FOR ALLEGED CURRENCY VIOLATIONS. THE PARTISANS MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN BEHIND THE MOVE TO PLACE

STRZELECKI IN CHARGE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE PUWP CC SECRETARIAT, THUS EFFECTIVELY REMOVING OCHAB FROM THIS CRUCIAL SECTOR. THE REPLACEMENT OF STEFAN IGNAR WITH OZGA-MICHALSKI AS THE DE FACTO HEAD OF THE UNITED PEASANT PARTY OPERATING BEHIND THE NOMINAL LEADERSHIP CZESLAW WYCECH ALSO APPEARS TO BE A VICTORY FOR THE PARTISANS. OZGA-MICHALSKI'S TIES WITH THE PARTISANS DATE ALSO BACK TO WORLD WAR 2 WHEN OZGA AS A LEADER OF PEASANT BATTALIONS COOPERATED CLOSELY WITH MOCZAR AND KORCZYNSKI.



THESE MACHINATIONS OF THE PARTISAN GROUP ARE ACCOMPANIED BY A WELL-CONCEIVED PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN SEEKING TO GLORIFY THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST WARTIME UNDERGROUND IN ORDER TO MAKE THEM MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATION AT LARGE. THESE EFFORTS ARE PEGGED TO THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARTIME COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND.

THE KEY QUESTION AT THE PRESENT IS, OF COURSE, THE STRENGTH OF THE LIBERALS OPPOSITION SOFT-LINERS AND THE POSTURE OF GOMULKA VIS-A-VIS BOTH FACTIONS. IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT GOMULKA HIMSELF IS NOT ENTIRELY AWARE OF THE INS AND OUTS OF THIS FACTIONAL STRUGGLE. AS A STAUNCH COMMUNIST AND HEAD OF A RULING PARTY GOMULKA MAY NOT BE OPPOSED TO SOME PLANKS IN THE PROGRAM OF THE PARTISANS. HE IS AN AUTOCRAT BY TEMPERAMENT AND PARTY CHIEF WHO DEMANDS THAT ANY CHANGES TAKE PLACE UNDER HIS CONTROL. THE PARTISANS MAY TURN OUT TO HAVE MOVED TOO FAR AND TOO FAST AND TOO MUCH BEHIND GOMULKA'S BACK. ON THE OTHER HAND THE LIBERALS ARE NOT DEFENSELESS. THE SITUATION IS SOMEWHAT REMINISCENT OF PRE-OCTOBER DAYS IN POLAND WHEN THE MORE RATIONALLY MINDED POLISH COMMUNISTS SUPPORTED BY THE POLISH INTELLECTUAL ELITE WERE RANGED AGAINST THE DIE-HARD STALINISTS AND THE FORMIDABLE APPARATUS OF THE SECRET POLICE.

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