

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: 

MUN 94 18 MARCH 68

TO: DURKEE INFO HOVEY KAUFMANN SCHNEIDER ROWSON
FM: WALTER INFO COLLINS COOK DIAMOND LYON REYMAN KINGSLEY

1829

OPD HIGHLIGHTS NO 44

THE KATOWICE DEMONSTRATIONS ON FRIDAY NIGHT WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT SIGN YET OF STUDENT DETERMINATION NOT TO BE COWED BY THE REGIME POLICY OF INTIMIDATION. THEY OCCURRED ONE DAY AFTER GIEREK'S "BREAK THEIR BONES--CUT OFF THEIR HANDS" EXCURSION INTO BIBLICAL STALINISM AND IN A CITY PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED TO BE WELL UNDER THE CONTROL OF AN EFFICIENTLY RUN PARTY ORGANIZATION, WHOSE CHIEF HAD NEVER MADE ANY SECRET OF THE FACT THAT, IF OTHERS COULD NOT KEEP THEIR HOUSE IN ORDER, HE COULD.

THERE WERE APPARENTLY NO DISTURBANCES IN THE REST OF POLAND OVER THE WEEKEND. THIS WEEK IN WARSAW SHOULD SEE WHETHER AT LEAST SOME OF THE DEMANDS MADE BY BOTH THE UNIVERSITY AND POLYTECHNIC STUDENTS HAVE BEEN MET BY THE UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS MET TODAY BUT NO REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPEARED. AT THE POLYTECHNIC, WHERE THE ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MORE BENEVOLENT, IT IS REPORTED THAT THERE WILL BE A MEETING NEXT WEDNESDAY. MEANWHILE, THE BOYCOTT OF CLASSES WAS DUE TO CONTINUE TODAY. AT CRACOW, THE BOYCOTT CONTINUED, ACCORDING TO RANDAL (NYT TODAY), INSTEAD OF ENDING SATURDAY AS SCHEDULED. REPORTS FROM CRACOW SUGGEST THAT THE SITUATION IS PARTICULARLY TENSE, WITH 24 ARRESTS AFTER DEMONSTRATIONS LAST WEDNESDAY. POLICE ARE ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE INVADDED THE

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UNIVERSITY GROUNDS ON FRIDAY TO BREAK UP MEETINGS. (THE FIRST PARTY SECRETARY IN CRACOW, DOMAGALA, IS CONSIDERED A STALINIST OF THE CRUEST SORT.) IN POZNAN 13 STUDENTS AND ONE FACULTY MEMBER WERE REPORTED HELD FOR TRIAL.

MORE REPORTS REFER TO GROWING SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS FROM PROFESSIONAL GROUPS. THE ZNAK LETTER WAS REFERRED TO IN SATURDAYS HIGHLIGHT. BESIDES THIS, THREE FACULTIES AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY--PHYSICS AND MATH, CHEMISTRY, AND BIOLOGY-- HAVE DECLARED SUPPORT AND THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IS ALSO BELIEVED TO HAVE MADE CLEAR WHERE ITS SYMPATHIES LIE. AS FOR THE YOUTH AS A WHOLE, DESPITE REGIME PROTESTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY, THERE IS MORE EVIDENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STUDENTS. THERE ARE MANY DEFECTIONS FROM THE ZMS, AND ZYCIE WARSZAWY, STILL THE LEAST OBJECTIONABLE OF ALL REGIME MEDIA, HAS ADMITTED THAT A "CONSIDERABLE PART" OF THE YOUTH HAD BEEN DRAWN INTO THE "MACHINATIONS" OF THE FEW.

ON THE REGIME SIDE, THERE IS NO ABATEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN BEGUN LAST WEEK. PERHAPS FOUR NEW NUANCES CAN BE DETECTED: 1) THE INCLUSION OF PROFESSORS AMONG THE TARGETS. AMONG THOSE SINGLED OUT ARE KOLAKOWSKI, BRUS, BAUMANN, BACZKO (A PHILOSOPHER), JANINA ZAKRZEWSKA (A LAW LECTURER WHO DEFENDED KURON AND MODZELEWSKI) AND KURON HIMSELF; 2) THE GREATER STRESS THAN BEFORE ON THE STALINIST BACKGROUND OF SOME OF THE TARGETS. FOR EXAMPLE, STASZEWSKI'S PERFORMANCES IN AGRICULTURE AND THE CENSORSHIP BEFORE 1956 GOT A LONG

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WRITE-UP FROM TRYBUNA LUDU ON SUNDAY; 3) INTENSIFYING DEMANDS FOR PURGES AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CULPRITS - THESE USUALLY IN FORM OF SATURATION REPORTING OF WORKERS PETITIONS, RALLIES, ETC.; THE FIRST PURGE HAS NOW TAKEN PLACE. ROMAN ZAMBROUSKI HAS LOST HIS POST AS VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE CONTROL CHAMBER AND HAS BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY. 4) GROWING INVOCATION OF THE NAME OF GOMULKA IN THE MEETINGS, RALLIES, PETITIONS, ETC. NOTE HERE THAT THE ASSOCIATION OF JOURNALISTS, AT THE END OF THEIR MEETING LAST FRIDAY, PRESENTED A LETTER OF SUPPORT TO GOMULKA PERSONALLY, WITH KLISZKO AND STAREWICZ IN ATTENDANCE.

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT NEW CONTRIBUTOR TO THE GLEICHSCHALTUNG HAS BEEN THE ARMY WHICH, AT LEAST IN THE PAGES OF ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, HAS DECLARED ITS FAITH IN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND COMRADE WIESLAW. IN VIEW OF THE WIDELY KNOWN DISCONTENT IN THE OFFICERS' CORPS LAST YEAR, THIS IS OF SOME PROPAGANDA AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE. TWO PROVINCIAL LEADERS HAVE SPOKEN UP: SZYDLAK IN POZNAN AND KOCIOLEK IN GDANSK. KOCIOLEK DREW ON HIS FRESH MEMORIES OF THE WARSAW SCENE TO ATTACK "BAD TEACHERS" AT THE UNIVERSITY THERE. NO DOUBT OTHER PROVINCIAL LEADERS WILL BE FOLLOWING SUIT. THE QUESTION (SEE AFT "THINK-PIECE" OF MARCH 17) IS WHEN THE BIG LEADERS IN WARSAW WILL SPEAK, ABOVE ALL GOMULKA. ONE REPORT STATES THAT GOMULKA WILL SPEAK TOMORROW. IF HE DOES, ONE MAY ASSUME THAT ANY LINGERING DOUBTS ABOUT HIS OWN ATTITUDE WILL BE DISPELLED.

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THAT GOMULKA HIMSELF WHOLEHEARTEDLY APPROVES IS HARDLY POSSIBLE TO DOUBT. IT IS TRUE THAT HE WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY UNTIL 8 MARCH, THE DAY THE DISTURBANCES STARTED, BUT HE HAS HAD AMPLE TIME TO DIRECT THE COURSE OF THE REGIME CAMPAIGN SINCE-- AND THE CAMPAIGN HAS CLEARLY GOT WORSE RATHER THAN BETTER.

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MORE IMPORTANT IS THE QUESTION OF THE MOTIVES OF THOSE ACTUALLY CONDUCTING THE CAMPAIGN AND WHO ARE USING HIS NAME SO FREELY. IF IT IS GOMULKA HIMSELF WHO IS INSPIRING AND CONDUCTING IT, THEN HE HAS, AFTER YEARS OF HESITATION, THROWN IN HIS LOT COMPLETELY WITH THE STRZELECKI-MOCZAR ELEMENT (GIEREK, AT LEAST IN TERMS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS, HAS ALSO DONE THAT). THE EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, PLUS HIS OWN DISTASTE FOR ANY KIND OF SPONTANEITY AND HIS ANTI-INTELLECTUAL BIAS -- ALL THESE FACTORS MAKE THE ARGUMENT THAT HE IS CONDUCTING, AS WELL AS APPROVING, THE CAMPAIGN QUITE PLAUSIBLE.

IT IS POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT, THOUGH CLEARLY APPROVING THE CAMPAIGN, GOMULKA IS NOT ACTUALLY CONDUCTING IT, THAT THIS IS THE JOB OF THE STRZELECKI-MOCZAR GROUP, WHO ARE USING THE NAME OF GOMULKA (,92 5E36 :-, 73 &8343(599) TO MAKE

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GOMULKA (,NOW THEY CAN USE GIEREK TOO) TO MAKE THE BID FOR POWER AT THE 5TH CONGRESS, TO TAKE PLACE AT THE END OF THE YEAR. THIS GROUP MUST HAVE BEEN GENUINELY WORRIED ABOUT THE EFFECT CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE APPARENT INEXORABLE TREND TOWARD LIBERALIZATION MIGHT HAVE ON POLISH MODERATES AND LIBERALS. (THERE ARE PRECIOUS FEW LIBERALS AT OR NEAR THE TOP IN POLAND BUT CERTAINLY THERE ARE MODERATES). THIS GROUP SAW ITS CHANCE IN THE STUDENT DISTURBANCES, WHICH THEY ENSURED WOULD BECOME RIOTS AND A NATIONAL ISSUE THROUGH THE BEHAVIOR OF THE SECURITY FORCES WHICH THE HARD-LINERS CONTROLLED. OUT OF THIS SITUATION BEGAN

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THE CAMPAIGN OF ATTACK AGAINST THE WHOLE RANGE OF TARGETS THEY HAVE NOW SET UP AND--ITS ESSENTIAL CONCOMITANT-- THE DEIFICATION OF THE WORKING CLASS, WHOSE POWER THE "CORRUPT" ELEMENTS ARE SEEKING TO UNDERMINE. THE "CORRUPT" ELEMENTS ARE NOT OF COURSE, THE CHIEF TARGET-- THE PROSPECT OF ROMAN ZAMBROWSKI GETTING BACK INTO POWER IS RIDICULOUS. BUT BY MAKING THESE INTO THE BOGY, THE AIM IS TO INTIMIDATE THE MODERATES WHO STAND IN THE WAY OF THE HARD LINE BID FOR POWER-- UNDER GOMULKA, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. IF ANY MODERATE DISAVOWS THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN, OR EVEN SIMPLY TAKES NO PART IN IT-- HE CAN BE ACCUSED OF EITHER SUPPORTING OR CONDONING THE CORRUPT ELEMENTS AND OF NOT BEING FULLY ON THE SIDE OF THE WORKING CLASS. THE INITIATIVE IS CERTAINLY WITH THE HARD LINERS AND ONE CAN ASSUME THEY WILL KEEP IT UP TO THE CONGRESS. AND GOMULKA, EVEN IF HE DESIRES TO, WILL FIND IT HARDER IN THE FUTURE TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM THEM.

SO LONG AS THE STUDENTS REMAIN ISOLATED--EVEN IF THEY ARE SUPPORTED BY SECTIONS OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES-- THE HARD LINERS' PLAN COULD SUCCEED. IF, HOWEVER, LARGE SECTIONS OF THE WORKERS WERE TO SHOW STRONG SYMPATHY WITH THE STUDENTS, THEN A DIVISION BETWEEN THE HARD LINERS AND GOMULKA COULD COME ABOUT, WITH GOMULKA SEEKING A GENERAL COMPROMISE. THIS IF NOTHING ELSE, WOULD REDUCE THE MOMENTUM OF THE HARD LINERS' POSITION.

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(ON THE SUBJECT OF COMPROMISE, IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT THE PLAY "HARD TIMES" BY MICHAL BALUCKI, PREVIOUSLY BANNED BECAUSE OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF ITS TITLE, WAS PUT ON LAST FRIDAY, PRODUCED BY DEJMEK. THIS IS A CONCESSION, BUT A SMALL ONE INDEED.)

THAT THE PRESENT STRUGGLE IS BEING USED TO SETTLE SCORES IN THE PARTY RATHER THAN IN SOCIETY AS A WHOLE IS SHOWN BY THE ABSENCE OF ANY ATTACK ON THE EPISCOPATE. AMONG THE "ENEMIES OF PEOPLE'S POLAND" ONE DOES NOT FIND CARDINAL WYSZINSKI LEADING THE LIST OR EVEN AT THE BOTTOM OF IT. UNLESS THE EPISCOPATE, SPEAKING AS THE MORAL AUTHORITY OF THE NATION, CHOOSES TO SPEAK OUT, THE CHANCES ARE THAT IT WILL BE LEFT ALONE. (SO FAR IT HAS BEEN ZNAK WHICH HAS PROTESTED AND THE CARDINAL HAS REMAINED SILENT.) IT IS VERY MUCH IN THE INTEREST OF THE HARD LINE TO CONFINE THE STRUGGLE TO ITS PRESENT DIMENSIONS. ANY ONSLAUGHT ON THE CHURCH WOULD DISTURB MANY WORKERS AND WOULD GENERALY OPEN UP NEW FRONTS ON WHICH THEY COULD NOT HOPE TO OPERATE AS SUCCESSFULLY AS THEY HAVE DONE UP TO NOW.

END MSG