

RADIO FREE EUROPE
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO:

MUN 86

15 MARCH 68

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

1820

OPD HIGHLIGHTS NUMBER 41

POLAND

BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN POLAND YESTERDAY WAS THE SPEECH OF EDWARD GIEREK, NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF THE PRESENT TENSE SITUATION BUT ALSO OF MORE GENERAL COURSE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND.

GIEREK, KATOWICE VOIVODSHIP FIRST SECRETARY AND POLITBURO MEMBER, ADDRESSED A MASS MEETING OF 100,000 WORKERS IN THE KATOWICE MAIN SQUARE. HE WAS THUS THE FIRST LEADER OF NOTE TO SPEAK PUBLICLY ON THE DISTURBANCES SINCE THEY STARTED. (KLISZKO AND STAREWICZ ATTENDED THE OPENING OF THE UNION OF JOURNALISTS CONFERENCE IN WARSAW YESTERDAY BUT THERE IS NO RECORD OF EITHER HAVING SPOKEN). IN THIS ONE SPEECH, GIEREK DESTROYED THE IMAGE OF HIMSELF AS A MODERATING FORCE WHICH HAD ALREADY GROWN UP OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS. HE USED THE MAIN WEAPONS OF THE CURRENT REGIME CAMPAIGN --ANTI-ZIONISM, ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM AND THE CONSPIRACY THEORY--BALATANTLY AND WITH ALL THE POWER OF HIS POSITION AND PERSONALITY. THUS A CAMPAIGN WHICH, HOWEVER, VICIOUS HAD BEEN CONFINED TO THE PRESS, RADIO AND RELATIVELY MINOR OFFICIALS (EXCEPT, POSSIBLY, FOR KEPA) HAS NOW BEEN SACTIONED BY ONE OF THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE MEN IN POLAND. GIEREK'S PROPOSAL TO "CUT OFF EVERY HAND THAT WILL RAISE ITSELF AGAINST OUR BELOVED FATHERLAND" ETC. IS DIRECTLY REMINISCENT OF CYRANKIEWICZ'S THREAT IN POZNAN IN 1956.

GIEREK'S SPEECH ENABLES FIRMER SPECULATION ABOUT THE ATTITUDE OF GOMULKA HIMSELF. IT IS LIDELY THAT GIEREK EITHER RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM WARSAW ABOUT HIS SPEECH OR HIMSELF CLEARED HIS LINE WITH WARSAW BEFORE MAKING IT. THUS IT CAN BE ASSUMED THAT

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HIS LINE IS GOMULKA'S ALSO, AND THE FREQUENT INVOCATIONS OF THE NAME OF "COMRADE WIESLAW" PLUS THE LARGE PHOTOGRAPHS OF GOMULKA ON SHOW AT THE MEETING, TEND TO CONFIRM THIS. NOW, THEREFORE, THE POSSIBILITY OF THE PREVIOUS LINE BEING MODERATED AS A RESULT OF HIGH LEVEL PRESSURE FOR A CHANGE SEEMS TO HAVE VANISHED. IT WOULD BE A FOOLHARDY MAN INDEED WHO WOULD CHALLENGE A POLICY BACKED BY GOMULKA AND SO FORECEFULLY PRESENTED BY GIEREK. POLITICAL MODERATES MAY HAVE LOOKED TO GIEREK FOR A LEAD. NOW THERE SEEMS NOTHING TO DO BUT ACCEPT THE INEVITABLE.

THE GENERAL POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF GIEREK'S SPEECH IS THAT IT WAS THE PERFORMANCE OF A SUPREMELY SELF-CONFIDENT LEADER IN A TIME OF CRISIS. SURE OF HIS WORKING CLASS BACKING IN THE REGION WHERE HE REIGNS SUPREME, HE COULD ASSEMBLY A 100,000 AUDIENCE WHICH RESPONSIBLY LISTENED TO HIM. NO OTHER POLISH LEADER EXCEPT GOMULKA HIMSELF COULD DO THIS AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE AND ON THIS SUBJECT. HENCE GIEREK EMERGES AS AN EVEN MORE POWERFUL FIGURE THAN BEFORE, AN EVEN STRONGER CONTENDER FOR THE HIGHEST PARTY OFFICE. SUCH WAS NO DOUBT HIS INTENTION.

GIEREK NOW HAVING BROKEN THE ICE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT OTHER PARTY LEADERS MUST NOW STAND UP AND BE COUNTED. THE NEW FEW DAYS, THEREFORE, MAY SEE LEADERS SPEAKING PUBLICLY ABOUT THE CRISIS. CONTRIBUTIONS BY OCHAB, KLISZKO AND CYRANKIEWICZ WILL BE AWAITED WITH SPECIAL INTEREST. *Gierek's*

~~HE SEEMS~~ SPEECH WAS THE CLEAREST INDICATION YET OF *The Second STAGE* STAGE OF THE REGIME CAMPAIGN. THE REBELLIOUS STUDENTS ARE NOW OF MINOR IMPORTANCE; THE REAL TARGETS ARE THE ALLEGED CIRCLES BEHIND THEM THERE ARE A MIXED BAG OF JEWS, REVISIONISTS, TROTSKYITES, STALINISTS, INTELLECTUALS, SERVANTS OF IMPERIALISM, OLD POLITICAL SPECULATORS ETC. WHO SEEK TO GET INTO POWER TO RESTORE CAPITALISM, BETRAY POLAND TO RUIN THE WORKER CLASS. GIEREK, IN PERHAPS

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HIS WORST BIT OF CLASSIC DEMAGOGY, BLAMED THESE ELEMENTS FOR PREVIOUS AND POSSIBLY FUTURE ILLS OF THE POLISH ECONOMY (RANDAL NYT 15 MARCH). EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IS THAT SOME OF THE "OLD POLITICAL SPECULATORS" ARE NOW BEING NAMED. ROMAN ZAMBROWSKI AND STEFAN STASZEWSKI WERE, ACCORDING TO RANDAL, NAMED BY GIEREK, AS WERE THE INTELLECTUALS SLONIMSKI, JASZENICA AND KISIELEWSKI. THE FIRST TWO ARE NAMES THAT OF ZAMBROWSKI SOMETIMES BEING LINKED WITH HIS SON

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IN THE SAME GENERAL VIEW TRYBUNA LUDU TODAY HAS ACCUSED ZIONISTS OF TRYING TO OBTAIN INTELLIGENCE FOR ISRAEL, THEREBY HELPING AMERICAN AND WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM. YESTERDAY, THE PARTY DAILY VIOLENTLY ATTACKED YOUNG PEOPLE WITH "ZIONIST CORRECTIONS".

THE CAMPAIGN IN ITS PRESENT STAGE, ITS BACKDROP OF ALLEGED SINISTER CONSPIRACY, HAS THE FLAVOR OF THE SENSATIONAL ARTICLE "JEWS AND BOORS", BY WITOLD JEDLICKI IN THE DECEMBER 1962 ISSUE OF THE PARIS KULTURA. PERHAPS A REREADING OF THAT ARTICLE WOULD GIVE HINTS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY BEHIND SOME OF THE MOVES BEING MADE. THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION IS WHETHER THE VIOLENT ATTACKS WILL LEAD TO ANYTHING MORE SERIOUS--TRIALS AGAINST THE "SABOTERS" ZIONISTS, INTELLECTUAL ENEMIES OF POLAND? A WEEK AGO THIS WOULD HAVE SEEMED PARANOID SPECULATION; TODAY IT SHOULD BE AT LEAST CONSIDERED.

THE FUTURE BEHAVIOR OF THE STUDENTS IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT IN THE LIGHT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS. AT CRACOW A STUDENTS STRIKE TILL SATURDAY IS REPORTED AND IT SEEMS THAT SOME EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN WARSAW ARE ALSO ON STRIKE OR ARE PLANNING BOYCOTTS

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OS SOME KIND. POZNAN STUDENTS YESTERDAY WERE DISPERSED BY WATER CANNONS.

THOUGH THERE ARE NO FURTHER REPORTS OF PASSIVE WORKER SYMPATHY FOR THE STUDENTS, MARGUERITE IN LE MONDE REPORTS SIGNS OF PROFESSIONAL SYMPATHY. THUS, A NUMBER OF LAWYERS HAVE DECLARED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DEFEND STUDENTS BROUGHT INTO COURT, AND VARIOUS PETITIONS OF SUPPORT ARE BEING ORGANIZED IN PROFESSIONAL BODIES, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. MARGUERITE ALSO REFERS TO THE SERIOUS POSSIBILITIES OF THE STUDENT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED AT THE UNIVERSITY THIS WEEK BEING SO WATERED DOWN BY THE ACADEMIC AUTHORITIES AS TO BE DEVOID OF REAL CONTENT. THE SAME THING, AS STATED IN YESTERDAY'S HIGHLIGHT, COULD HAPPEN TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE POLYTECHNIC STUDENTS, DESPITE THE APPARENTLY MORE BENEVOLENT ATTITUDE OF THE RECTOR THERE.

MARGUERITE'S MOST IMPORTANT POINT IS WHERE HE DESCRIBES THE HARDENING MOOD OF THE STUDENTS. THE EVENTS OF THE LAST WEEK HAVE, HE SAYS, BROUGHT THE STUDENT BODY INTO CONTACT FOR THE FIRST TIME WITH THE HARSH REALITY OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN POLAND. MANY HAD BEFORE NAIVELY BELIEVED IN A BENEVOLENT POLITICAL AUTHORITY AMENABLE TO THEIR JUSTIFIED DEMANDS. NOW, IN THEIR DISILLUSION, THEY HAVE ACQUIRED MORE POLITICAL MATURITY AND A POLITICAL PROFILE, BECAUSE THEY REALIZE THAT THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO MAKE THEIR PRESENCE FELT. (NOTE IN THIS CONNECTION, REPORTS ON A STUDENT NETWORK CONNECTING WARSAW WITH THE PROVINCES, A FACT INDIRECTLY CONFIRMED BY GIAREK HIMSELF, WHO STATED THAT A COACHLOAD OF "AGITATORS" FROM WARSAW HAD BEEN STOPPED BY HIS MILITIA.) ONE STUDENT CONTRASTED THE SITUATION IN POLAND WITH THAT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA: IN POLAND, "NO ONE IN THE PARTY HELPS US". ACCORDING TO MARGUERITE, AN "IRREVERSIBLE MOVEMENT HAS BEEN CREATED", THE IMPORTANCE OF WHICH SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED.

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THUS, EVEN IF THE STUDENTS ARE SUBDUED THIS TIME IN THE FACE OF THE REGIME ONSLAUGHT, A RESERVOIR OF BITTERNESS, BASED ON EXPERIENCE, WILL REMAIN WHICH IS BOUND TO HAVE ITS EFFECT IN THE FUTURE.

FINALLY, AN IRONIC FOOTNOTE TO THE YESTERDAY'S SITUATION AND A COMMENTARY ON CURRENT EAST EUROPEAN CONTRASTS: TWO CZECHOSLOVAK JOURNALISTS WERE ORDERED TO LEAVE POLAND. THE CAUSE IS APPARENT: RADIO PRAGUE WAS A PRIME INFORMATION SOURCE FOR THE CRACOW DEMONSTRATIONS. ON MARCH 12, ACCORDING TO RADIO PRAGUE OF MARCH 13, THE ACADEMIC STUDENT COUNCIL OF THE PHILOSOPHY FACULTY OF CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE DECIDED TO SEND A LETTER OF SOLIDARITY TO THE WARSAW STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS. RADIO PRAGUE OF MARCH 13 ALSO REPORTED THAT THE PRESIDUM OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK WRITERS' UNION RESOLVED TO EXPRESS ITS CONCERN OVER THE SUPPRESSION OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE ANTI-SEMITIC ATTACKS TO THE POLISH EMBASSY IN PRAGUE.

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