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U R G E N T OPD HIGHLIGHTS NBR 38

A REVIEW OF MAIN EVENTS OF MARCH 12 AND EARLY MARCH 13 RELATING TO THE POLISH SITUATION, AS WELL AS OUR PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS, FOLLOWS. A MORE COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE EVENTS SINCE MARCH 8 SUPPLEMENTING POLISH SITUATION REPORTS OF MARCH 11 AND 13, WILL BE SENT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. A DAILY REVIEW OF MAJOR POLISH DEVELOPMENTS WILL BE SENT BEGINNING TODAY.

1. MOST REPORTS CLAIM THAT WARSAW WAS OUTWARDLY CALM ON TUESDAY, ALTHOUGH MINOR INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED. AND ONE RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTED ANOTHER MAJOR DEMONSTRATION. THE PROTESTING STUDENTS SEEM TO HAVE REMAINED ON THEIR CAMPUSES. AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY A SECOND RESOLUTION WAS REPORTEDLY PASSED DEMANDING THE RELEASE OF ALL THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS ARRESTED TO DATE, WHILE AT THE POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE A RESOLUTION WAS PASSED THREATENING A DEMONSTRATION WITHIN THE INSTITUTE ON WEDNESDAY (OF WHICH THERE IS AS YET NO REPORT) IF THE POLISH PRESS DOES NOT WITHDRAW ITS CRITICISM OF THE DEMONSTRATORS. THE WARSAW ZMS ORGANIZATION PASSED A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE DEMONSTRATORS.

2. DEMONSTRATIONS OF SYMPATHY WITH THE WARSAW STUDENTS ON MONDAY IN CRACOW AND LUBLIN WERE REPORTED ON TUESDAY, WHILE A SOLIDARITY MEETING WAS HELD IN POZNAN ON TUESDAY. THE FULLEST REPORT ON THE CRACOW DEMONSTRATIONS WAS BY RADIO PRAGUE, WHICH MAINTAINED THAT 2000 STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY

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PASSED A RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THEIR FELLOW WARSAW STUDENTS AND CALLING FOR THE REOPENING OF DZIADY BUT ALSO MAKING BROADER DEMANDS FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND SPEECH AND FOR "DEMOCRACY". RADIO PRAGUE ALSO REPORTED THAT 10,000 STUDENTS GATHERED IN THE CENTRAL CRACOW SQUARE MONDAY EVENING IN SYMPATHY WITH THE RESOLUTION. SOME KIND OF DEMONSTRATIONS ARE ALSO RELIABLY REPORTED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE TUESDAY IN GDANSK AND LODZ.

3. THE TUESDAY EVENING EDITION OF KURIER POLSKI MADE A STRONG ATTACK, WITH EXPLICIT ANTI-SEMITIC OVERTONES, ON MANY OF POLAND'S MOST PROMINENT INTELLECTUALS AS "ENEMIES OF PEOPLE'S POLAND".

SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED WERE PAVEL JASIENICA, ANTONI SLONIMSKI, STEFAN KIESELEWSKI, LESZEK KOLAKOWSKI, ZYGMUNT BAUMANN, WLODZIMIERZ BRUS, AND ADAM SCHAFF. IT ALSO ATTACKED THE JEWISH CULTURAL ASSOCIATION FOR HARBORING MANY OF THE STUDENT LEADERS, INCLUDING WIKTOR DRUSKI, CHAFIR MENDEL, M. TORN, MICHAL KLOCK, MAX BOJATYNSKI, AND T. TENENBAUM-- ALL NW NEAMES NOT LISTED IN THE TRYBUNA LUDU AND SLOWO POWSZECHNE ISSUES OF MARCH 11 AS DISSIDENT STUDENT LEADERS. EQUALLY ANTI-SEMITIC WAS A RESOLUTION PASSED BY ZBOWID ON TUESDAY WHICH CONDEMNED AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE STUDENTS' ACTIVITIES "MAINLY THE SAME PEOPLE WHO YEARS AGO WERE KNOWN FOR THEIR NATIONAL NIHILISM" AND WARNED THAT "THEY WILL BE PUNISHED APPROPRIATELY, INDEPENDENTLY OF THEIR POSITIONS..." NUMEROUS RESOLUTIONS WITH ANTI-SEMITIC OVERTONES CONDEMNING THE STUDENTS, ALLEGEDLY PASSED BY THE WORKERS OF VARIOUS FACTORIES WERE REPORTED BY POLISH MEDIA. TUESDAY EVENING PAP ANNOUNCED

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THE DISMISSAL OF THREE OFFICIALS, JAN GRUDZINSKI, (UNDERSECRETARY IN THE FORESTRY MINISTRY); JAN GORECKI (DIRECTOR-GENERAL IN THE FINANCE MINISTRY); AND FRYDERYK TOPOLSKI (PLENIPOTENTIARY FOR INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALIZATION IN WARSAW). NO REASON WAS GIVEN, BUT THE CHILDREN OF ALL THREE WERE (ACCORDING TO REUTER) CONDEMNED IN POLISH MEDIA AS RINGLEADERS OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS. CYRANKIEWICZ'S ROLE IN THEIR DISMISSAL WAS EMPHASIZED IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT, ALTHOUGH IN FACT IT COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN FORMAL, IN HIS CAPACITY OF PREMIER.

PRELIMINARY ANALYTICAL CONCLUSIONS;

1. THE RIOTS OF MARCH 8 RESULTED FROM REPRESSIVE POLICE MEASURES IN RESPONSE TO A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION WITHIN THE WALLED GROUNDS OF WARSAW UNIVERSITY CALLED TO PROTEST THE EXPULSION OF TWO STUDENTS, MICHNIK AND SZLAJFER, FOR THEIR ROLE IN THE EARLIER PROTEST OF JANUARY 30 AGAINST THE CLOSING OF DZIADY. THE SAME PATTERN WAS REPEATED ON SATURDAY AT THE POLYTECHNICAL INSTITUTE; VIOLENCE BEGAN WHEN THE STUDENTS WERE PEACEFULLY LEAVING THE INSTITUTE. ONLY ON MONDAY DID NAY "HOOLIGAN" ELEMENTS JOIN IN, AND THEIR ROLE WAS STILL MARGINAL...BYSTANDERS GENERALLY EXHIBITED SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR THE DEMONSTRATORS, BUT WERE ESSENTIALLY PASSIVE; ONLY ON MONDAY DID CONSIDERABLE NUMBERS OF TEENAGERS AND OTHER NON-STUDENTS JOIN IN. THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS HAVE EXHIBITED CONSIDERABLE MATURITY; THEIR DEMANDS WERE ORIGINALLY EXCLUSIVELY AND ARE STILL MAINLY FOCUSED ON STUDENT GRIEVANCES, ALTHOUGH IN THE LATEST RESOLUTIONS THE

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PROTEST STILL SEEMS TO PREVAIL AND FURTHER STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS ARE LIKELY.

2. IN ADDITION TO THE HEAVY HANDED POLICE REPRESSION, THE PARTY HAS SOUGHT TO ISOLATE THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS FROM THE WORKING POPULATION. THUS THE FIRST OFFICIAL PRESS COMMENT, THAT OF ZYCIE WARSZAWY OF SATURDAY, MARCH 9, ATTACKED THE DISSIDENT STUDENT LEADERS AS "BANANA/I.E. GUILDED/ YOUTH" MISUSING THE EDUCATION FACILITIES CREATED BY THE TOIL OF THE WORKING CLASS. THE THEME HAS BEEN REPEATED IN NUMEROUS RESOLUTIONS OF "WORKERS" IN FACTORY MEETINGS. MOST OF THE RESOLUTIONS WERE SURELY THE RESULT OF THE USUAL STEAM ROLLER TACTICS OF THE LEADERS OF THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION AND NOT AN INDICATION OF GENUINE MASS WORKER CONDEMNATION OF THE STUDENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, TO DATE THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF EMERGENCE OF THE TYPE OF LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS WHICH WAS CREATED IN 1956; WE HAVE ONLY TWO PIECES OF EVIDENCE OF ACTIVE WORKER SYMPATHY FOR THE STUDENTS---A COLLECTION IN ONE FACTORY FOR THE FINES IMPOSED ON ARRESTED STUDENTS (POLISH BD SOURCE) AND THE REPORTED REFUSAL OF 400 WORKERS IN A WARSAW ELECTRIC FACTORY TO APPROVE THE ANTI-STUDENT RESOLUTION DEMANDED BY THE PLANT PARTY LEADER.

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3. MOST SIGNIFICANT AND POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE IS THE MOUNTING PARTY EFFORT TO EXPLAIN THE DEMONSTRATIONS AS THE WORK OF "ZIONISTS". IMPLICIT OR EXPLICIT ANTI-SEMITIC ATTACKS WERE CONTAINED IN THE TRYBUNA LUDU AND SLOWO POWSZECHNE OF MARCH 11 CONDEMNING THE DEMONSTRATIONS, IN THE PAP REPORTS OF THAT AND SUBSEQUENT DATES, IN THE SPEECH OF WARSAW CITY FIRST PARTY SECRETARY KEPA OF MARCH 11 TO THE WARSAW PARTY AKTIV, IN THE ZBOWID RESOLUTION AND KURIER POLSKI ARTICLE OF MARCH 12, AND IN NUMEROUS "WORKERS' RESOLUTIONS" REPORTED BY THE OFFICIAL MEDIA. THE DISMISSALS OF THE THREE OFFICIALS ON TUESDAY IS PART OF THE SAME PATTERN, ALTHOUGH ONLY TOPOLSKI SEEMS TO BE DEFINITELY OF JEWISH EXTRACTION. THE MOUNTING ANTI-SEMITIC ELEMENT IN THE PARTY'S RESPONSE TO THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE FOCUS OF ATTACKS NOT ON THE STUDENT LEADERS THEMSELVES BUT ON THEIR FATHERS AND OTHER UNNAMED "INSTIGATORS" INDICATES RATHER CLEARLY A FULL-FLEDGED DRIVE BY A HARD-LINE, NATOLIN- PARTISAN FACTION IN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP TO OUST FROM INFLUENTIAL POSITIONS AND FURTHER COMPROMISE POLITICALLY ITS OPPONENTS. AS SUCH IT MAY WELL REPRESENT A QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE VARIOUS FACTIONS. AN ANALYSIS OF THE LEADERSHIP SINCE THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS WILL FOLLOW LATER; THE ANTI-SEMITIC SENTIMENTS FOLLOWING GOMULKA'S JUNE 19 SPEECH AND THE DECEMBER PERSONNEL CHANGES NOTWITHSTANDING, THERE WAS THROUGH FEBRUARY NO EVIDENCE OF EITHER A SIGNIFICANT WEAKENING OF GOMULKA'S POSITION OR A DECISIVE STRENGTHENING OF THE NATOLIN-PARTISAN GROUP. THE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE MARCH 3 WOULD SUGGEST, IN CONTRAST, EITHER THAT GOMULKA HAS UNDERGONE A FAR-REACHING

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AND STILL UNEXPLAINABLE CHANGE IN POLITICAL OUTLOOK AND IDENTIFIED HIMSELF FULLY WITH THE NATOLINIST POSITION OR ELSE THAT HE HAS LOST EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF BOTH THE POLICE AND THE MASS MEDIA. LACKING ANY EVIDENCE, EITHER HYPOTHESIS SEEMS TO US TO BE POSSIBLE AT PRESENT, ALTHOUGH THE LONGER GOMULKA OR HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES REMAIN QUIET, THE MORE LIKELY THE SECOND POSSIBILITY BECOMES. AS FOR THE PARTISAN-NATOLINIST GROUP, IF IT IS INDEED ACTING AS A UNIFIED FACTION, ITS AIMS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION WOULD SEEM TO BE, FIRST, TO DEMONSTRATE ITS WILLINGNESS TO EMPLOY REPRESSIVE POLICE MEASURES AS A WARNING FOR THE FUTURE, SECOND, TO PUSH ITS REAL AND IMAGINED, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH OPPONENTS AT THE UPPER "MIDDLE CADRE" LEVEL FROM THEIR JOBS AND DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR REMAINING POLITICAL INFLUENCE, THIRD, TO WEAKEN THE POSITION OF THE EX-SOCIALISTS IN THE TOP LEADERSHIP BY MOUNTING, AS APPROVED PARTY POLICY, AN ANTI-SEMITIC DRIVE WHICH THE "CYRANKIEWICZ GROUP" CAN PROBABLY NOT CONDONE, AND, FOURTH, TO GAIN OVER-ALL PREDOMINANT INFLUENCE IN THE TOP LEADERSHIP, RESULTING IN CC AND POLITBUREAU CHANGES AT A FUTURE PLENUM PRIOR TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS. THE INTENSITY OF THE ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN RAISES THE STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT WE ARE WITNESSING A FULL-FLEDGED NATOLON-PARTISAN BID FOR SUPREME POWER. IF THE PARTY'S PRESENT PATTERN OF RESPONSE TO THE DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUES, SOME RESOLUTION TO THE STAGNATION AND DRIFT OF POLISH POLITICAL LIFE OF THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS SEEMS LIKELY. THE MOST PROBABLE IMMEDIATE ALTERNATIVE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT SEEM AT THIS JUNCTURE TO BE (1) THE HARD-LINERS' CONSOLIDATION OF POWER; (2) REPRESSIVE

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MEASURES PROVOKING BORAD AND EFFECTIVE MASS RESISTANCE WHICH WOULD PREVENT THE HARDLINERS FROM TAKING OVER; (3) THE CRYSTALIZATION OF A PARTY OPPOSITION TO THE HARD-LINERS WHICH WOULD AGAIN ADVOCATE IN SOME FORM THE DEMOCRATIZATION AND MODERNIZATION OF POLISH SOCIETY STIFLED IN SO MANY FIELDS AFTER 1957. THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE IS BY NO MEANS TO BE RULED OUT, BUT IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE ABSENCE OF ANY PRE-EXISTING COUNTERFORCE TO THE HARD-LINERS AND THE LACK OF ANY EVIDENCE TO DATE OF ITS FORMATION THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION IS SO POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS.

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