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OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

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MUN 5 1 APR 68

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

OPD HIGHLIGHTS NO. 51

01/1755

A FEW BITS OF EVIDENCE OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS MAY POINT TO A CERTAIN CRYSTALIZATION OF TRENDS IN THE CONFUSED SITUATION IN POLAND. ON ONE SIDE, THE FURY OF THE ATTACKS AGAINST ZIONISTS AND BANKRUPT ELEMENTS CONTINUES. GREAT PRESSURE IS BEING BROUGHT ON POLISH JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS TO DISSOCIATE THEMSELVES FROM THE "SLANDEROUS" CAMPAIGN BEING CONDUCTED AGAINST POLAND BY ZIONIST AGENCIES ABROAD. THE MOST NOTABLE NEW CONTRIBUTION TO THIS LINE CAME FROM PIOTR JAROSZEWICZ IN A SPEECH AT ZABRZE. THE YOUTH PAPER, "WALKA MLODICH", ALSO CONTINUES ITS VITUPERATION AND, AMONG THE LIST OF GUILTY STUDENTS, IT HAS NOW ADDED THE SON OF TITKOW, WHO WAS FIRST PARTY SECRETARY OF THE WARSAW ORGANIZATION BEFORE BEING REPLACED BY KOCIOLEK IN 1964.

IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, THE VOLUME OF THIS KIND OF ATTACK SEEMS TO HAVE SUBSIDED. THIS IS MAINLY BECAUSE THE NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS FROM FACTORIES, PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, ETC., HAS FALLEN OFF. MOST OF THOSE THAT NOW COME IN CONTAIN STRONG SUPPORT FOR GOMULKA'S ANALYSIS ON MARCH 19 AND SHOW, IT SEEMS, THE EFFECT OF BOTH GOMULKA'S SPEECH AND THE CONFERENCE HE HELD LAST TUESDAY WITH KEY PARTY LEADERS FROM BOTH THE CENTRAL APPARAT AND THE PROVINCES. TWO OTHER PIECES OF EVIDENCE POINT TO THE ASSERTION OF THIS MORE RESTRAINED TREND. THE FIRST IS THE EFFORT OF AT LEAST PART OF THE PUBLIC MEDIA TO GIVE MORE

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INFORMATION ABOUT THE BACKGROUND OF THE WHOLE DISTURBANCES AND TO ANSWER THE STUDENTS' DEMANDS THAT THEIR POINT OF VIEW BE PUBLISHED. OVER THE PAST WEEK THIS WAS DONE, ALBEIT SPECIOUSLY, BY TRYBUNA LUDU AND ZYCIE WARZAWY. NOW THE LOCAL PARTY PAPER IN GDANSK HAS PUBLISHED ALL THE POINTS OF THE WARSAW STUDENTS' RESOLUTIONS IN A FAIR AND COMPLETE FORM. THIS WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT KOCIOLEK IS OBEYING BOTH THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE RELATIVE MODERATION URGED BY GOMULKA. MORE IMPORTANT ARE THE UNOFFICIAL, BUT VERY PLAUSIBLE, REPORTS OF DIVISIONS IN THE POLITBURO OVER THE WHOLE ANTI-ZIONIST CAMPAIGN, WITH MEN LIKE OCHAB AND CYRANKIEWICZ POINTING TO THE ADVERSE EFFECT THIS CAMPAIGN IS HAVING ON POLAND'S REPUTATION. IN THIS CONNECTION A UPI REPORT THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SOUGHT TO RESTRAIN A RECENT PARTY MEETING AT THE MINISTRY, AND TO PROTECT JEWS IN THEIR EMPLOY, WOULD FIT IN WITH WHAT ARE RAPACKI'S PROBABLE VIEWS ON THE SITUATION. BUT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT (IF TRUE) RUMOR CONCERNS THE PUBLICATION IN GLOS PRACY OF MARCH 26 AND IN TRYBUNA LUDU OF MARCH 27 OF AN ARTICLE BY GUSTAW BOLKOWIAK. A FORMER JEWISH RESISTANCE FIGHTER, NOW IN VENICE, BOLKOWIAK WROTE AN ARTICLE FOR INTERPRESS, THE NEW POLISH INTERNATIONAL AGENCY, DEPLORING THE IMPUGNING OF THE POLISH NATION FOR NOT HAVING TRIED TO HELP JEWS IN THE WAR BUT ALSO STRONGLY ASSERTING THAT THE FEW JEWISH COLLABORATORS IN THE OCCUPATION WERE TOTALLY UNREPRESENTATIVE OF POLISH JEWRY AS A WHOLE. (THIS LAST POINT IS

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DIRECTLY OPPOSITE TO WHAT THE

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DIRECTLY OPPOSITE TO WHAT THE HARD LINERS HAVE BEEN IMPLYING.) THE RUMOR HAS IT THAT THE PARTISANS TRIED TO PREVENT THIS INTERPRESS ARTICLE FROM GETTING INTO THE POLISH PRESS BUT THAT GOMULKA INSISTED THAT IT BE PUBLISHED IN ORDER TO DAMP DOWN THE ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN.

IN ADDITION TO THE HARD LINE AND THE CENTRIST POSITIONS, A THIRD TREND IS NOW DISCERNIBLE. IN SOCIETY AS A WHOLE, OBVIOUSLY THE CARDINAL, WITH HIS SERMON YESTERDAY PRAISING THE MATURITY AND MODERATION OF THE STUDENTS, IS THE MAIN SPOKESMAN OF THIS TREND. BUT, WITHIN THE REGIME FRAMEWORK, THE LINE BEING TAKEN BY THE WEEKLY POLITYKA INDICATES THE EMERGENCE OF A SMALL VOICE OF REASON. SINCE THE DISTURBANCES STARTED THERE HAVE BEEN THREE ISSUES OF POLITYKA. THE FIRST SIMPLY PRINTED THE FULL TEXT OF THE KEPA REPORT TO THE WARSAW CITY COMMITTEE ON MARCH 11, WITHOUT COMMENT. THE SECOND CARRIED A VERY MODERATE EDITORIAL SIGNED BY THE WHOLE EDITORIAL BOARD CALLING FOR A DIALOGUE WITH THE STUDENTS, AND ANOTHER REPORT STRESSING THAT THE DISSENTING STUDENTS DID NOT HARBOR ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENTS.

THE THIRD ISSUE, PUBLISHED THIS WEEKEND, HAS AN ARTICLE BY MIECZYSLAW RAKOWSKI, THE CHIEF EDITOR. ONLY BRIEF EXCERPTS ARE AVAILABLE, BUT RAKOWSKI SAYS THAT "THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST DAYS" HAS SHOWN THE NEED FOR QUICK INFORMATION AND THAT "SPHERES OF SILENCE" SHOULD BE LIMITED ONLY TO QUESTIONS OF STATE SECURITY. MORE UNIQUE IS HIS ASSERTION THAT THE RECENT EVENTS HAVE CAUSED GREAT CONTROVERSY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND "ONE CAN SEE THE DIVIDING LINE WHICH

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IS SOMETIMES RUNNING ACROSS THE FAMILY". THIS VIEW IS IN GREAT CONTRAST TO THE UNIVERSALLY EXPRESSED REGIME LINE THAT THE WHOLE COUNTRY IS UNITED AGAINST THE MALCONTENTS.

IN VIEW OF POLITYKA'S STAND AND RAKOWSKI'S OWN REPUTATION FOR UNORTHODOXY, THE RUMORS THAT THIS JOURNAL IS NOW HIGHER THAN EVER ON THE PARTISANS' DEMOLITION LIST ARE PLAUSIBLE. IT IS POSSIBLE, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT POLITYKA'S SENTIMENTS, AT LEAST ON SOME POINTS, COME PRETTY CLOSE TO THOSE OF SOME MEN IN THE TOP LEADERSHIP LIKE CYRANKIEWICZ, RAPACKI AND OCHAB.

APROPOS THE TOP LEADERSHIP, IT IS HARD TO ACCEPT RANDAL'S SPECULATION (NYT TODAY) THAT JAROSZEWICZ'S SPEECH IN ZAMBROZE WAS THE VIEW OF THE POLITBURO. IT IS TRUE THAT JAROSZEWICZ AND A DELEGATION OF METAL WORKERS WERE RECEIVED IN WARSAW BY GOMULKA THE DAY BEFORE AND THEN JAROSZEWICZ WENT DOWN TO SILESIA TO MAKE HIS SPEECH. BUT IF THIS SPEECH WAS THE VOICE OF THE POLITBURO, THEN THE LINE OF THAT BODY HAD HARDENED APPRECIABLY SINCE GOMULKA'S MARCH 19 SPEECH. ANYWAY, JAROSZEWICZ, A CANDIDATE MEMBER WITHOUT ANY GREAT PARTY IMPORTANCE, WOULD BE AN ODD SPOKESMAN FOR THE POLITBURO. BUT HE IS ALSO A DEPUTY PREMIER AND THE IMPLICATION HERE MIGHT BE THAT, IN VIEW OF THE ATTACKS ON THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS FOR HARBORING "BANKRUPT ELEMENTS" FOR SO LONG, JAROSZEWICZ WAS TAKING THIS OPPORTUNITY OF SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED.

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MEANWHILE A SECOND EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY WAS ANNOUNCED. (THE FIRST WAS ZAMBROWSKI). THE VICTIM IS ANOTHER JEW, IGNACY DRUSKI, A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR; HE WAS EXPELLED ON MARCH 19. DRUSKI'S SON WAS MENTIONED BY KURIER POLSKI ON MARCH 12 AS BEING A MEMBER OF THE BABEL CLUB AND AS HAVING BEEN VERY CLOSE TO MEMBERS OF THE ISRAELI EMBASSY BEFORE THE JUNE WAR. FINALLY, ONE MIGHT JUST NOTE THAT THE HARD LINERS' EFFORT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE STUDENT UNREST IS MAINLY THE WORK OF JEWISH STUDENTS MUST BE LOSING ANY CONVICTION IT MIGHT HAVE HAD. MOST OF THE JEWISH HARD CORE MUST HAVE BEEN TAKEN CARE OF WELL BEFORE LAST THURSDAY, WHEN THE MEETING OCCURRED WHICH PROMPTED THE REGIME'S WRATH OF FRIDAY.

END MSG