

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: 0

DGMUN 134 25 MAR 68

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

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OPD HIGHLIGHTS NO. 52

NOW THAT THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE ENDED, THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE OF THE POLISH SCENE IS THE REVIVAL OF THE INTENSITY OF THE PUBLIC CAMPAIGN AGAINST ZIONISTS AND "BANKRUPT ELEMENTS" WHICH GOMULKA SOUGHT TO MODERATE IN HIS SPEECH LAST TUESDAY. IMMEDIATELY AFTER GOMULKA'S SPEECH IT DID SEEM THAT THE CAMPAIGN WOULD NOW BE CONDUCTED WITHIN THE LIMITS HE CLEARLY SOUGHT TO DEFINE. SINCE THEN, OF COURSE, THE STUDENT STRIKES AND THE ISRAELI PUNITIVE EXPEDITION HAVE TAKEN PLACE-- OBVIOUSLY GRIST TO THE MILL OF THOSE DISPLEASED BY GOMULKA'S MODERATION. BUT IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THESE WERE ANYMORE THAN A PRETEXT FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE "PRE-GOMULKA" TONE OF THE CAMPAIGN; IT IS, INDEED, QUITE POSSIBLE IT WOULD HAVE RESUMED EVEN WITHOUT THESE OCCURRENCES. WHAT IS SIGNIFICANT IS THAT IT SEEMS TO CONSTITUTE A DEFIANCE OF GOMULKA BEFORE THE WHOLE POLISH POPULATION.

TO TRY TO LOCATE THIS DEFIANCE IS IMPORTANT, NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF THE POWER STRUGGLE GOING ON IN THE PARTY, A STRUGGLE IN WHICH GOMULKA, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1956, SEEMS NOW PERSONALLY

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INVOLVED. GENERAL PIETRZAK'S SPEECH TO THE ZBOWID MEETING ON MARCH 23 LEAVES LITTLE DOUBT OF THE PARTISAN GROUP'S DEFIANCE. WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IS THE FACT THAT MOST OF THE PUBLIC MEDIA CENTERED IN WARSAW ARE ALSO CENTERS OF DEFIANCE, A FACT WHICH TENDS TO CONFIRM THE IMPRESSION THAT THE HARD LINE ELEMENT HAS GREATLY INCREASED ITS CONTROL IN THIS SPHERE. RADIO WARSAW, POLISH TV, TRYBUNA LUDU, PRAWO I ZYCIE, KURIER POLSKI AND, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, THE PAP AGENCY HAVE ALL RESUMED THE CAMPAIGN IN A WAY GOMULKA WARNED AGAINST.

RADIO WARSAW, FOR EXAMPLE, GAVE BIG PLAY TO THE PIETRZAK SPEECH, WHICH WAS VIOLENTLY ANTI-SEMITIC IN TONE, CONTAINED ALL THE CHARGES KNOWN FROM THE PREVIOUS CAMPAIGN AND NOT ONLY ATTACKED, BY NAME, BAUMANN AND BRUS BUT SCHAFF AND ZOLKIEWSKI AS WELL. (A FORMER MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION ZOLKIEWSKI'S NAME APPEARS FOR THE FIRST TIME.) TRYBUNA LUDU HAS ALSO ATTACKED SCHAFF AND BAUMAN BUT, MORE IMPORTANT, HAS MADE A NEW LIST OF STUDENT CULPRITS. EWA ZARZYCKA IS INCLUDED AGAIN IN THIS (IN SPITE OF TRYBUNA LUDU'S OWN PREVIOUS ADMISSION THAT SHE DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE DISTURBANCES--SHE IS REPORTEDLY OUT OF THE COUNTRY) AND SO IS A STUDENT CALLED KOFMAN, WHOSE FATHER WAS ANNOUNCED LAST FRIDAY AS BEING FIRED FROM THE VICE-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE OF LABOR AND WAGES. OTHER ARTICLES IN TRYBUNA LUDU OVER THE WEEKEND ARE IN GENERALLY THE SAME SPIRIT.

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IN PRAWO I ZYCIE, KAZIMIER KAKOL, WHO IS BELIEVED TO BE A PARTISAN SUPPORTER AND WHO HAS BECOME VERY CONSPICUOUS OVER THE PAST WEEK, SPEAKS OF AN ATTEMPTED ZIONIST COUP. HE ALSO, IN A CLEAR CRITICISM OF THE GOMULKA REGIME, ASKS WHY BANKRUPT ELEMENTS, ONLY NOW BEING ROOTED OUT, WERE ALLOWED TO STAY IN OFFICE SO LONG THUS UNDERMINING THE WHOLE PERFORMANCE OF GOVERNMENT SINCE OCTOBER 1956. (GIEREK IN HIS KATOWICE SPEECH IMPLIED THE SAME THING.) IN CONCLUSION HE DIRECTLY CHALLENGES GOMULKA TO GIVE A CLEAR AND POSITIVE STATEMENT ABOUT WHAT THE PARTY'S PLANS AND POLICIES FOR THE FUTURE ARE. (THE FULL TEXT OF THIS ARTICLE IS NOT YET AVAILABLE.) KURIER POLSKI HAS NOT ONLY DEFENDED ITS PREVIOUS VIOLENT ARTICLE AGAINST ZIONISTS (SEE HIGHLIGHT NO. 38) BUT HAS SAID THAT, IN VIEW OF THE TREMENDOUS POPULAR SUPPORT IT HAS RECEIVED, IT WILL CONTINUE IN ITS STAND.

ALL THIS DEFIANCE OF GOMULKA IS SERIOUS ENOUGH BUT, FROM WHAT CAN BE SEEN OF THE KAKOL ARTICLE, IT MAY BE THAT NEW DIMENSIONS HAVE NOW BEEN ADDED TO THE SITUATION. IN THE FIRST PLACE KAKOL'S CRITICISM OF PAST POLICY MAY BE AIMED DIRECTLY AT CYRANKIEWICZ WHO TOLERATED ALL THESE "BANKRUPT ELEMENTS" AND IS NOW HAVING TO GET RID OF SOME OF THEM (FOUR UP TO NOW) AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE. (NOTE HERE ALSO THE SECOND STRONG RESOLUTION OF THE PARTY COMMITTEE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WITH WHICH, PRESUMABLY, RAPACKI CAN HAVE HAD LITTLE IN SYMPATHY.) SECONDLY, KAKOL'S

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ARGUMENTS MAY IMPLY A WHOLE BROADENING OF THE DEFIANCE OF THE GOMULKA REGIME DESIGNED TO ATTRACT DISCONTENTED ELEMENTS OF ALL SHADES. MANY IN POLAND WOULD AGREE WITH THE CONTENTION THAT THE POST-OCTOBER PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN FAR FROM SUCCESSFUL AND MANY, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, WILL SYMPATHIZE WITH KAKOL'S CALL FOR MORE POSITIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE FUTURE. ALTHOUGH KAKOL HAS EVIDENT PARTISAN SYMPATHIES, THIS KIND OF CALL CANNOT FAIL TO STRENGTHEN THE IMAGE OF EDWARD GIEREK, A MAN, WHO BY HIS PAST PERFORMANCE AND PRESENT STAND, SEEMS TO SATISFY MANY OF THE DEMANDS AND PREJUDICES OF THE MOVEMENT. NOTE, IN THIS CONTEXT, HIS INCLUSION IN THE POLISH DELEGATION TO DRESDEN.

IN THE PROVINCES, AS OPPOSED TO WARSAW, THERE SEEMS MUCH LESS OVERT DEFIANCE OF THE GOMULKA LINE, AT LEAST JUDGING FROM THE REPORTS OF THE SPEECHES OF THE VOIVODSHIP SECRETARIES. OF THE 10 SECRETARIES NOW ON RECORD AS HAVING SPOKEN SINCE GOMULKA ONLY TWO--IN BYDGOSEZ AND RESZOW-- HAVE CONTINUED ON THE OLD LINE. BUT BOTH IN WARSAW AND THE PROVINCES THE ISRAELI ATTACK ON JORDAN SEEMS TO HAVE OCCASIONED NEW OUTBURSTS OF BLATANT ANTI-SEMITISM AT WORKERS MEETINGS, ON PLACARDS AND SO ON.

FINALLY, NOW THAT THE STUDENT DISTURBANCES ARE OVER, THE EPISCOPATE HAS ISSUED A DIGNIFIED STATEMENT CONDEMNING POLICE BRUTALITY AND STATING THAT FORMAL REPRESENTATIONS HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE TO THE GOVERNMENT, I.E., BEFORE THE STUDENT STRIKE ENDED.

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