

NYC-109 25 MAY 1964

TO ZAWADZKI INFO NOWAK
FROM WAGNER INFO WASIUTYNSKI MILLER KAUFMANN
156 PM.

RE YOUR MUN 96 OF 23 MAY 64. I SPOKE TO PHILIP BEN WHO IS SOMEWHAT UNHAPPY BECAUSE HE WAS UNABLE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH NOWAK OR YOU WHEN IN PARIS AND BECAUSE HE DID NOT RECEIVE IN NEW YORK IMPORTANT MATERIALS WHICH WERE PROMISED HIM WHEN HE WAS ON HIS TRIP TO RUSSIA. HE TELLS ME THAT IF HE DOES NOT RECEIVE THESE MATERIALS WITHIN TWO OR THREE DAYS HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO WRITE ANYTHING AT ALL BECAUSE HIS SCHEDULE BECOMES TOO HEAVY AS OF NEXT WEEK END. PLEASE THEREFORE CHECK WITH GAMARNIYOV WHETHER HE SENT HIM ALREADY THE MATERIAL IN QUESTION.

PLEASE ALSO REPLY TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION OF GREAT IMPORTANCE: SINCE BEN'S TALK WITH NOWAK ON MAY 7TH DID ANYTHING IMPORTANT HAPPEN IN POLAND WHICH WOULD CHANGE THE INTERESTING INFORMATION HE THEN RECEIVED FROM NOWAK. BY "IMPORTANT" BEN MEANS SUCH PROBLEMS AS INTELLECTUALS, PARTISANS, GOMULKA'S POSITION, ECONOMIC SITUATION OF POLAND AND POSSIBLE CHINESE INROADS INTO POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY.

BEN IS WILLING TO WRITE ONE ARTICLE FOR "LE MONDE" WHICH WILL BE PUBLISHED IN ABOUT ONE MONTH FROM NOW AND HE WOULD MAKE ARTICLE AVAILABLE TO US BEFORE IT IS PUBLISHED. BEN IS UNWILLING TO WRITE ANY KIND OF SPECIAL REPORT FOR US ON HIS TRIP.

HE WOULD AGREE TO HAVE BROADCAST ONE OR TWO HALF HOUR INTERVIEWS WITH HIM FOR OUR PROGRAM IF HE CAN BE PAID TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR BOTH (I.E. 1000A PIECE) BUT HE HAS NO TIME (MORE)

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TO SUBMIT A SCRIPT. SCRIPT WOULD HAVE TO BE OBTAINED BY TRANSCRIBING TAPED INTERVIEW.
PLEASE ADVISE.

IN GENERAL TALK I HAD WITH HIM BEN TOLD ME HE MET AN INTERESTING GROUP OF POLES IN THE SOVIET UNION. THEY WERE OFFICIALS FROM LODZ, MANY OF THEM FOLLOWERS OF THE PARTISAN GROUP. BEN'S
THAT THE PARTISANS IN POLAND ARE MUCH STRONGER THAN

GROUP OF POLES IN THE SOVIET UNION. THEY WERE OFFICERS FROM
LODZ, MANY OF THEM FOLLOWERS OF THE PARTISAN GROUP. BEN'S
IMPRESSION IS THAT THE PARTISANS IN POLAND ARE MUCH STRONGER THAN
USUALLY REALIZED. THEY HAVE INCREASING SUPPORT OF CIVIL SERVANTS
AND "KADRY" - SINCE THEY ARE BEING INCREASINGLY CONSIDERED
AS THE BACKBONE OF THE REGIME, AS AN ELEMENT OF STABILITY AND
AS REPRESENTING THE "WAVE OF THE FUTURE" WHICH IS THE
NATIONAL BRAND OF COMMUNISM. IN THE GENERALLY FLUID SITUATION
IN COMMUNIST BLOC CREATED BY THE CHINESE SCHISM AND BY ECONOMIC
DIFFICULTIES BEN THINKS EASTERN EUROPE IS EVOLVING TOWARDS A
NATIONAL COMMUNIST PATTERN. THIS YOWEVER SHOULD NOT BE CONSTRUED
AS SYNONIMOUS WITH INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION.

THE UNITED POLISH WORKERS PARTY CONGRESS TO MEET ON JUNE 15TH
IS NOT LIKELY TO LEAD TO ANY DRAMATIC OR IMPORTANT CHANGE IN
POLAND. ACCORDING TO BEN THIS IS HIS IMPRESSION AT PRESENT,

A
THOUGH A FEW MONTHS AGO HE WOULD NOT HAVE VENTURED
SUCH PREDICTION. THE REASON FOR SUCH NON-CONCLUSIVE MEETING
IS TO BE SOUND IN THE GENERAL FLUIDITY
PREVAILING BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN. BEN SEES THE POSSIBILITY
OF THE PARTISANS GAINING MORE INFLUENCE
(MORE)

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AFTER THE CONGRESS,

HE IS ALSO OF THE OPINION THAT THERE IS ALREADY A KIND OF DE FACTO
CHINESE FRACTION WITHIN THE POLISH PARTY, BUT ITS MEMBERS DO
NOT YET DARE TO COME INTO THE OPEN.

ACCORDING TO BEN THE PROTEST OF THE 34 INTELLECTUALS AND THE
SOLIDARITY OF WESTERN INTELLECTUALS HAS HAD A TREMENDOUS EFFECT
ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN POLAND AND IS CONSIDERED BY PARTY
MEMBERS AS A MAJOR DEFEAT FOR GOMULKA ALL TO HIS PERSONAL
DISCREDIT.

END MSG