

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: 0

MUN 120

27 JUL 67

TO: RICHARDSON COPY YARROW ROWSON SCHNEIDER KAPPEL
FM: DURKEE COPY WALTER COLLINS COOK LYON GROZIER KINGSLEY

27/1723

REUR NYC 116 OF 25 JULY.

1. ON THE BASIS OF ALL THE INFORMATION PRESENTLY AVAILABLE TO US, WE CANNOT SUBSTANTIATE HENCE DO NOT AGREE WITH) FINNEY'S ANALYSIS, AS INCORPORATED IN HIS 26 JULY NYT ARTICLE. GOMULKA'S WORDS WERE PROBABLY INTENDED AS AN EFFORT TO DISRUPT AN ALL-POLISH CONSENSUS (JEWS AND NON-JEWS) SHARPLY OPPOSED TO POLISH COMMUNIST POLICY ON THE MIDEAST CRISIS. AS SUCH, THEY COULD EASILY BE INTERPRETED AS APPROVAL OF ANTI-JEWISH MOVES WITHIN PPLAND. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH A CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN INITIATED -- BY THE "PARTISANS" OR ANYONE ELSE. MOCZAR HIMSELF HAS REMAINED SILENT. INDEED, FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME, HE HAS BEEN MUCH LESS OUT OF THE PUBLIC EYE THAN EARLIER. ZBOWID SECRETARY-GENERAL RUSINEK DID DELIVER ONE OF THE MOST EXTREME ANTI-ISRAELI TIRADES OVER RADIO WARSAW ON 17 JULY, BUT HE IS CONSIDERED A CYRANKIEWICZ FOLLER RATHER THAN A "PARTISAN."

WE ALSO HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF ANY KIND OF INTENSIFIED PARTISAN BID FOR POWER AS A RESULT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. WHILE MOCZAR'S ANTI-SEMITISM IS WELL ESTABLISHED, HE IS ALSO CONSIDERED TO BE BOTH OPPORTUNISTIC AND CLEVER, AND IS VERY LIKELY AWARE OF THE IMPROBABILITY OF INCREASING HIS POWER BY ADVOCATING AN EVEN MORE ANTI-ISRAELI, ANTI-JEWISH POLICY THAN GOMULKA'S IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. A SIGN OF INCREASED PARTISAN INFLUENCE IN THE FUTURE WOULD BE THE ELIMINATION OF ARTHUR STAREWICZ, A JEW, FROM THE CC SECRETARIAT. AT PRESENT, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT HIS POSITION IS THREATENED; HE AGAIN PROVED HIMSELF A LOYAL GOMULKA MAN AT THE EIGHTPLENUM. FINNEY'S TERMS OF REFERENCE ARE ALSO OUTDATED. THE PARTISANS HAVE MANY OPPONENTS, PARTICULARLY THE "CYRANKIEWICZ GROUP," BUT THE SO-CALLED JEWISH REVISIONIST GROUP (ONCE HEADED BY ZAMBROWSKI) WAS DEPRIVED OF MOST OF ITS INFLUENCE BY GOMULKA HIMSELF.

WHILE THE OPPOSITION TO GOMULKA ON THE MIDDLE EAST IS WIDESPREAD INDEED (SEE BELOW), IT IS NOT OUR VIEW THAT THE ISSUE HAS MADE RADICAL POLITICAL CHANGE LIKELY IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. IN OUR JUDGMENT, THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE INTRA-PARTY FACTIONS HAS NOT CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE PAST YEAR. WHILE A COALITION OF THE VARIOUS FACTIONS SEEMS LIKELY AFTER GOMULKA, THERE IS NO (MORE)

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INDICATION THAT THEY CAN JOIN IN AN ALLIANCE TO REMOVE HIM FROM POWER. NOR ARE THERE SIGNS OF ANY SIGNIFICANT INCREASED RADICALIZATION OF THE MASSES. INTELLECTUAL FERMENT AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE CHURCH SEEM TO HAVE DECREASED SOMEWHAT IN RECENT MONTHS, AND THE POPULAR MOOD SEEMS TO CONTINUE TO BE ONE OF RESIGNATION AND APATHY RATHER THAN HOPE-- OR AGITATION FOR-- CHANGE. FOR EXAMPLE, BILL GRIFFITH WAS IN WARSAW FOR SEVERAL DAYS ABOUT THREE WEEKS AGO. HIS CONTACTS WERE BITTER BUT RESIGNED AND CERTAINLY NOT IN AN "ACTIVIST" MOOD.

2. OUR INFORMATION IN SPECIFIC INTRA-PARTY REACTIONS TO THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS IS QUITE LIMITED. IF INDEED FINNEY HAS ACCESS TO NEW INFORMATION, IT MIGHT JUSTIFY PART OF HIS ARGUMENT. WE ARE EXPLORING ALL POSSIBLE AVENUES HERE FOR MORE INFORMATION AND ASK THAT YOU, TOO, CHECK WITH ALL SOURCES.

3. THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE INDICATES SERIOUS OPPOSITION WITHIN THE PARTY AND THE ARMED FORCES TO GOMULKA'S STAND ON THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT DOES NOT PERMIT A JUDGMENT OF WHO POSSIBLE PROMINENT DISSENTERS ARE AND TO WHAT EXTENT THEY MIGHT BE INFORMALLY UNITED. POPULAR OPPOSITION TO GOMULKA'S STAND WAS CLEAR IMMEDIATELY AFTER JUNE 5, AS REPORTED BY WESTERN PRESS DISPATCHES FROM WARSAW (LE MONDE, 7 AND 14 JUNE; NYT, 13 JUNE; NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 23 JUNE), BY NUMEROUS INFORMATION ITEMS, AND OTHER SOURCES. SPECIFIC CASES OF OPPOSITION WERE ZNAK DEPUTY LUBIENSKI'S CRITICISM IN THE SEJM ON JUNE 10, A CONFISCATED POEM BY SLONIMSKI, AND ARTICLE BY ZNAK DEPUTY SOTMMA, A LETTER DEFENDING ISRAEL WHICH WAS ATTACKED BY RADIO WARSAW ON JULY 2. GOMULKA'S 19 JUNE SPEECH INDICATED THAT THE OPPOSITION WAS VERY WIDESPREAD. ACCORDING TO THE AUDIENCE AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH...

ARTICLE BY ZNAK DEPUTY SOTMMA, A LETTER DEFENDING ISRAEL WHICH WAS ATTACKED BY RADIO WARSAW ON JULY 2. GOMULKA'S 19 JUNE SPEECH INDICATED THAT THE OPPOSITION WAS VERY WIDESPREAD. ACCORDING TO THE AUDIENCE AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH DEPT. STUDY JUST PUBLISHED, ONLY 13 PER CENT OF THE POLISH SAMPLE SUPPORTED THE ARAB CAUSE, WHILE 58 PER CENT SIDED WITH ISRAEL AND THE REST WERE UNDECIDED.

OPPOSITION WITHIN THE PARTY ITSELF WAS FIRST DIRECTLY ATTACKED BY WARSAW CITY PARTY SECRETARY KOCIOLEK IN TRYBUNA LUDU OF 16 JULY. CRITICIZING "PASSIVITY" AND "LACK OF ORIENTATION" IN CONNECTION (MORE)

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WITH A SERIES OF ISSUES, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST, HE ALSO CONDEMNED "CASES OF CONSCIOUS NON-PARTY POSITIONS DERIVED FROM PREMISES FOREIGN TO SOCIALIST, STATE, OR NATIONAL REASONS, POSITIONS SOMETIMES OBSERVED AFTER THE ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EASTZ ON 20 JULY, POLITBURO MEMBER JEDRYCHOWSKI, ADDRESSING THE SZEZECIN VOIVODSHIP PARTY COMMITTEE, INDIRECTLY ADMITTED THE EXISTENCE OF THIS OPPOSITION WHEN HE SAID THAT, BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE PARTY, INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, HAD TO BE "DISCUSSED AND EXPLAINED FROM THE CLASS VIEWPOINT." (RADIO WARSAW, 21 JULY).

SOMETIME IN THE FIRST HALF OF JULY, THE THREE GENERALS OF THE AIR DEFENSE COMMAND WERE OUSTED FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE GOMULKA LINE. SPYCHALSKI'S 19 AND 20 JULY TIRADES INDICATE THAT THE DISMISSALS PRECEDED THE SPEECHES HIS 1 JULY SPEECH TO THE MILITARY POLITICAL ACADEMY, WHILE REPEATING GOMULKA'S ANTI-JEWISH STATEMENT, WAS Milder AND SUGGESTS THAT THE DISMISSALS HAD NOT YET TAKEN PLACE (SR'S, 3 JULY, 24 JULY). THE FULL NAMES OF THE THREE ARE CZESLAW MANKIEWICZ, CHIEF OF THE AIR DEFENSE COMMAND, TADEUSZ DABKOWSKI, DEPUTY COMMANDER FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF THE AIR DEFENSE COMMAND, AND JAN STAMIESZKIN, CHIEF OF THE COMMAND'S GENERAL STAFF. THE LATTER TWO ARE "GENERAL BRYGADY"-- THE LOWEST OF THREE RANKS OF GENERAL. OUR INFORMATION ON THEM IS QUITE LIMITED; DABKOWSKI HELD HIS POST SINCE AT LEAST 1964, STAMIESZKIN HELD HIS POST SINCE AT LEAST FEBRUARY 1966, PERHAPS MUCH LONGER. MANKIEWICZ HOLDS THE RANK OF "GENERAL DYWYZJI", THE SECOND RANK. HE WAS BORN IN 1920. BEFORE THE WAR A MEMBER OF THE "ZYCIE" PRO-COMMUNIST GROUP AT WARSAW POLYTECHNIC. ACTIVE RESISTANCE FIGHTER BEGINNING IN 1939. IN 1941 IN THE "ZWW" GROUP WITH SPYCHALSKI AND ALBRECHT. JOINED THE PPR IN 1942 AND WAS CHIEF OF ITS TECHNICAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT. 1943-45 IN NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMPS. IN 1945 A POLITRUK IN THE POLISH ARMY. IN 1946 JOINED THE AIR FORCE. AFTER A YEAR OF OFFICER TRAINING BECAME COMMANDER OF THE AIR FORCE IN POZNAN. OUSTED IN 1948, MADE DIRECTOR OF LOT (POLISH AIRLINES). ARRESTED IN 1950 BECAUSE OF HIS CONNECTION WITH SPYCHALSKI, IN (MORE)

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JAIL UNTIL 1955. IN NOVEMBER 1956 RETURNED TO THE AIR FORCE AS DEPUTY COMMANDER. MADE "GENERAL BRYGADY" IN JULY 1958 AND "GENERAL DYWIZJI" IN OCTOBER 1963. ASSUMED HIS PRESENT POSITION ABOUT 1962, WHEN AIR FORCE SPLIT INTO ATTACK AND DEFENSE FORCES. IN 1964 AWARDED THE BANNER OF LABOR, FIRST CLASS. HE MADE HIS CAREER UNDER SPYCHALSKI AND IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN A CLOSE FRIEND.

4. THIS "SITUATION REPORT" REPRESENTS CONSOLIDATED OPINION AFTER EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION EXCEPT FOR NOWAK WHO IS ON VACATION.

5. CERTAINLY NO HARM IN SENDING FINNEY THE SITUATION REPORTS YOU MENTIONED. HOWEVER, WE SUGGEST YOU MAKE CLEAR TO FINNEY THAT OUR ANALYSIS AT THIS POINT DOES NOT SUPPORT ANY THESES OF "POLITICAL CRISIS" BREWING IN POLAND. WE ARE ALL, OF COURSE, AWARE OF WIDESPREAD DISILLUSIONMENT ABOUT MANY DEVELOPMENTS IN THAT COUNTRY, BUT WE CANNOT AT THIS JUNCTURE PUT TOGETHER ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO CONCLUDE THAT A PERIOD OF EMERGENCY THREATENS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITY AND DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO KEEP ABBREAST OF ALL THAT WE KNOW-- OR SUSPECT--IS HAPPENING.

END MSG