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A. Reported Soviet Anti-Tito Circular Letter to Satellites

The following is a Reuters Radioteletype in English to North America, 19 September 1956:

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Vienna--A sharp warning against following too closely the separate line of Yugoslavia has been circulated by the Soviet Unionist Party to the communist parties of the Eastern Bloc states, according to reports received here by Czechoslovak, Rumanian, Bulgarian, and other refugee circles.

Early this month, according to these reports, a circular was received from the Soviet Communist Party by all the local party headquarters on the proper interpretation to be placed on Yugoslavia's "separate road to the building of socialism."

This warning referred critically to the fact that Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin had paid too great public tribute to Yugoslavia's leader during President Tito's visit to Moscow this summer. It said this did not mean that other states of the Eastern Bloc had to follow the Yugoslav example too closely. Credit for the building of socialism must be given mainly to the Soviet Union and not to Yugoslavia.

The circular said, according to these reports, that Yugoslav initiative in internal political matters was interesting and praiseworthy but that a pro-western line in foreign policy was dangerous. Since any experiments along these lines must, of necessity, weaken international communist solidarity, such experiments must be avoided.

According to these reports, the implication was clear that the Soviet Communist Party was concerned about the danger of weakening satellite dependence on Soviet leadership and had therefore issued this warning.

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concur in the above report, except for the word "praiseworthy" in the 4th paragraph, which is questionable. A story by Sydney Gruson, The New York Times correspondent in Warsaw,

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quoted below, gives a somewhat different interpretation of the Soviet position in the 3rd paragraph.

Moscow, Sept. 23 - The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party has circulated sharp new criticism of Yugoslav communism.

According to well-informed sources in Moscow, the criticism was contained in a letter sent by the Central Committee to party cells in the Soviet Union and, it is believed, to top leaders of other Communist parties.

The letter is said to have "reassessed" the role of the Yugoslav League of Communists led by President Tito. According to these reports, it states that the Yugoslav party is Leftist but not truly Marxist-Leninist, the new measure of Communist orthodoxy.

The reports are all secondhand. But they have come from a wide variety of usually authoritative and responsible sources. Yugoslav officials know about the reports and believe them.

Numerous implications are being drawn here from the circulation of the letter. Most important of these is that Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Soviet party's first secretary, and Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin have lost an important round in the continuing factional struggle within the Soviet Politburo.

According to the reports here Mr. Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin lost their usual majority in a recent meeting of the Soviet party's Central Committee that discussed the Yugoslav question. In the majority was a faction headed by Vyacheslav M. Molotov, a First Deputy Premier and former Foreign Minister, and Mikhail A. Suslov, who has been the member of the Politburo in charge of East European affairs. Mr. Molotov and Mr. Suslov are said to have argued that the Yugoslav Communists represented Social Democratic rather than Leninist tendencies.

Mr. Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin led a delegation to Belgrade in June, 1955 to make the Soviet Union's peace with Marshal Tito for having expelled him from the Cominform in 1948 and for having conducted a bitter economic and political struggle to overthrow him.

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It is no secret among East European Communists that the ardor between the parties of the two countries rekindled by this visit and by Marshal Tito's return trip to Moscow has cooled. Mr. Khrushchev's present talks with Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia, the reports state, concern the difficulties that have arisen since the rapprochement.

Even before Mr. Khrushchev's latest trip to Yugoslavia, sources here were specifying some of the differences said to have arisen between Moscow and Belgrade.

The Yugoslavs, it was said, were being blamed for trying to disrupt relations between the Soviet Union and other Communist countries in the Soviet sphere. The Russians also were said to have been displeased by the sentencing to prison of Yugoslavs who took the Cominform side in 1948, fled to the Soviet Union and only recently returned to Yugoslavia.

Reports from Belgrade have also told of Yugoslav concern over the Soviet failure to implement an agreement for the return of all Yugoslavs held in the Soviet Union after the 1945 break.

Mr. Molotov has been the key figure in the renewed dispute among Soviet leaders over Yugoslavia, it is reported here. He was one of the main architects of the campaign against Yugoslavia between 1948 and 1955. According to Poluh sources, he has never agreed with the Khrushchev-Bulganin line that approved Marshal Tito's right to develop his own road to socialism.

New Dogma is Crucial

This issue is believed here to be at the crux of the renewed dispute. The new Communist dogma of many roads to socialism was proclaimed by Mr. Khrushchev originally in his peace meetings with Marshal Tito in Belgrade. Then it was adopted officially by the Soviet party's twentieth congress last February.

Mr. Molotov is said to have told the party Central Committee last year that he could never be convinced Marshal Tito was a true Communist or that party relations should be restored on the Yugoslav leader's terms. Mr. Molotov's resignation as Foreign Minister was announced shortly before President Tito arrived in Moscow last June.

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The Soviet Central Committee letter "reassessing" Yugoslav communism is said to have pointed to events in Poland where the "democratization" process has swept far forward, as an example of the damage being caused to Soviet relations with East European Communist countries. The implication was that approval of the Yugoslav example had been responsible for the loosening of ties between Poland and the Soviet Union.

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B. Mao-Tse-Tung Support of Gomulka Position

The following is a story by Sydney Gruson, The New York Times correspondent in Warsaw:

Warsaw, Oct. 15--Communist China sides against the Soviet Union in the Communist world's ideological struggle over the number of roads to socialism.

Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Communist bloc's second mightiest power, has indicated to the Polish party his disapproval of the Soviet effort to re-establish a single Soviet road.

This correspondent has learned from reliable sources of a fragment of the discussion that recently took place in Peiping between the Chinese Communist chief and Edward Ochab, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers ~~Communist~~ party. M. Ochab was there for the Chinese party congress.

According to sources here, Mr. Mao told M. Ochab that the Poles should go ahead in their efforts to obtain internal independence and develop their own Socialist system as the Yugoslavs have done.

The timing of the Ochab-Mao conversations was especially significant. They were held during the recent Yalta conference of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia with Nikita S. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders.

The subject matter of this conference and of the Khrushchev-Tito talks in Yugoslavia that preceded it now is well known. In effect, the Russians tried to convince President Tito of the dangers to the world's socialism of too liberal interpretation of Moscow's promise of equality among all Communist parties.

A promise was given by the Russians in the Moscow declaration signed by Marshal Tito and Mr. Khrushchev last July 20. This acknowledged "different roads of Socialist development in different countries."

During Mr. Khrushchev's recent stay in Belgrade he spoke at a dinner given for him by President Tito. The dinner

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was attended by Communists from other Eastern countries visiting Yugoslavia at the time. Mr. Khrushchev spoke openly of the dangers to world communism as the Russians saw them and referred directly to evidences of unrest in Hungary and Poland.

Marshal Tito gave his answer in the form of a toast, pointedly reiterating the views he forced the Russians to concede in Moscow last summer. According to information available here, the Marshal did not budge from these views in the Yalta conferences that followed.

In the same fashion, the Polish party's liberal faction headed by Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz has not given way before the "immense" pressures being exerted to slow down the "democratization" of life here.

Situations Are Different

Inevitably a comparison is being drawn between the present Polish-Soviet situation and the Yugoslav-Soviet situation that existed in 1948 before Stalin had Yugoslavia expelled from the now-dissolved Cominform. However, the differences in the two situations are greater and more important than the similarities.

For one thing the geography is different and, as far as the Poles are concerned, compelling. For another there is no desire among Polish leaders to emulate the Yugoslav position as an independent force between East and West in international affairs.

One overriding concern unites the Polish leaders and the overwhelming mass of Poles as far as international affairs are concerned. This is the question of the country's frontiers with Germany created on the Oder and Neisse Rivers after World War II. No matter their irritation or anger with the Poles, the Russians have never ceased supporting the Oder-Neisse line.

The importance of this in determining Poland's position in international affairs cannot be overestimated. The subject is raised in any discussion a Westerner has with Poles on the subject of Soviet-Polish relations.

Nevertheless, Poland's dependence on Soviet support of the Oder-Neisse frontier has not lessened the Cyrankiewicz-

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Ochab faction's drive for greater internal independence. The pending return to party leadership of Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had become a symbol of nationalism in Poland, will spur the drive.

M. Gomulka, former secretary general of the Polish party who served nearly four years in prison for Titoism, is due to be reelected to the Politburo at a meeting of the Central Committee this week. It was learned today that he had attended a Politburo meeting Saturday, presumably to iron out final details of his formal resumption of power.

One of the Old Guard, which deposed M. Gomulka in 1948 at Stalin's bidding, has already fallen because of M. Gomulka's return. Hilary Minc "resigned" last week as Deputy Premier and member of the Politburo. Others who opposed M. Gomulka will be dropped. His authority and prestige are such that he can call virtually any tune he wants in Poland at this time.

It was expected that M. Gomulka would become the First Secretary at the party congress scheduled for next March. Now there is a rising demand for him to replace M. Ochab immediately, not only to strengthen the party in its relations with the Soviet Union but also for the vigor with which he is expected to attack Poland's serious economic situation.

US Embassy in Warsaw commented on the above story on

10 October (Confidential):

The New York Times correspondent in Warsaw is convinced of the authenticity of the report given him by two members of the Polish party's central committee that the Chinese Communists have assured Polish party leader Ochab of their support for Polish "independence." The American embassy in Warsaw is also inclined to believe the account.

The correspondent states that it was Chou En-lai, not Mao Tse-tung, as originally reported in the Times, who gave the assurances to Ochab on his trip to Peking last month. Chou is said to have declared that he understood the Polish desire for independence and that "Poland should not be dictated to by the Kremlin."

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The following is the comment by [REDACTED] 25X1A2g

In making these remarks, Chou did not necessarily intend to question Soviet policy toward the Satellites. His remarks are consistent with the Chinese understanding of Soviet policy pronouncements on "independent roads to socialism."

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C. Tito and Hungarian Reaction to Gomulka Victory

The Hungarian reaction is obvious in the light of current events. The initial Yugoslav reaction is described in the following telegram (~~corrected and same~~) from the American Ambassador in Belgrade:

Extent interest Yugoslavs current Polish developments reflected extremely heavy press reportage which included PRAYDA's attack Polish press and Polish press rebuttal, Gomulka's plenum speech, Radio Warsaw bulletins, lengthy reports Yugoslav correspondents in Warsaw. Foreign Office source this morning cited heavy press coverage as evidence Yugoslav approval developments there. No (repeat no) news slanting perceptible and no (repeat no) editorial reaction yet.

On 23 October Borba carried an editorial on the Polish situation which is described in the following telegram (~~corrected and same~~) from the American Ambassador in Belgrade:

First editorial reaction Polish CP developments, BORBA's unsigned editorial October 23 hails election Gomulka and decisions 8th Plenum as "undeniably presenting strengthening Socialism in Poland, which can only have positive effect on Polish-Soviet cooperation and on Poland's relations other Socialist countries ... Polish Plenum has once again confirmed that roads and forms Socialist development various countries are inevitably different and that wealth these forms merely speeds up tempo Socialist development in world."

Editorial sees election new Politbureau and Gomulka as First Secretary as "successful conclusion phase in development Polish workers movement" which strengthened Polish Socialism and created possibility further development in depth. Unanimity in elections is guarantee that building Polish Socialism based on firm and sound foundations.

Plenum adopted political line correcting past errors concerning Socialist Democracy and successfully overcoming

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crisis which had prevailed "in that great European country" for number years, hindering speedier, fuller Socialist development.

Socialist Democratization has been center "internal fermentation" in Poland and solutions Plenum show this question resolved in positive, constructive manner since, as Gomulka stated, this only way toward Socialist build-up in Poland.

While Poland has made progress in democratization past two years, these same efforts will yield even more powerful results after these decision historical significance. Fact great majority Polish workers have taken active part preparations for Plenum shows they fully aware major questions Socialist development at stake. Has never been such unity between Polish working class and its leaders.

Various reactionary elements old political life Poland, who hoped exploit democratization for their anti-Socialist purposes, suffered complete defeat.

Unity Polish workers movement best guarantee that Socialism in Poland will develop successfully through these democratic forms in harmony her conditions.

Polish Plenum of importance for World Socialist forces because progress development socialism any country presents contribution strengthening friendly cooperation among Socialist countries on equal basis. Strengthening true Socialist relations means new contribution to active, peaceful coexistence, development international cooperation, and stabilization world peace.

The Yugoslav reaction to the recent unrest in Hungary is described in the following Reuters despatch (October 24) from

Belgrade

Government and Communist quarters in Yugoslavia were concerned about the riots in Hungary, which they consider a heavy blow to socialism, a usually reliable source here said tonight.

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The riots showed that the Hungarian leadership was incapable of properly carrying out its task in developing socialism, according to these quarters. The source added that Yugoslav leaders were particularly concerned that the use of Soviet troops in Hungary might encourage those in Russia who still want a "strong hand" in relations with East European states.

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D. East German Reaction

The only reaction so far has been official.

The general tone of the press reports has been reserved. The newspapers reprinted the PRAVDA editorial which criticized the Polish press, but did not reprint Polish replies. The Gomułka victory has been reported factually, without favorable references and ignoring his declaration of independence from the Kremlin. The papers did not report the popular reaction to Gomułka's success.

According to some reports, security guards around Government and Party offices have been increased.

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I. Reaction Nenni/Saragat Circles

The following reactions of Saragat, Nenni, and the Italian press is taken from radio broadcasts:

SARAGAT HAILS 'REBIRTH OF POLISH PEOPLE'

Rome, ANSA, Radioteletype in Italian to ANSA, New York, Oct. 22, 1956, 2100 GMT--E

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(Excerpts)

Rome--Commenting on recent events in Poland, Giuseppe Saragat writes in La Sinistra today: "Russia will probably not have the courage to prevent with the violence of its armies this rebirth of the Polish people. On the other hand, the present rulers of Poland will be forced to move within the framework of a status determined by overwhelming Soviet military power. But we can be sure that, within the very limited area within which they can move, they will seek to improve the economic situation of their country and to extract from the situation the greatest possible autonomy."

"The time when Poland, and with her the other satellite states, will be able to regain their full independence is still distant. However, the move toward freedom has begun and the objectives toward which it moves, even if distant, are clear in the minds of all civilized men." Saragat adds: "The courage of the Polish Socialists is that of the best men of the Communist movement, and that country must serve as an example and a warning to all."

"There is much talk today of 'alternatives,' and it is well that they are discussed. The unified Socialist party must give the country an absolute guarantee that the 'alternative' will be a Socialist, democratic one, not an 'alternative' which can cast our country into the tragic situation faced by Poland."

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MANI SENDS GOODWILL MESSAGE TO PZPR

Paris, AFP, Radioteletype in French to the Americas,
Oct. 24, 1956, 0725 GMT--E

(Text)

Rome--The directorate of the Italian Socialist Party sent the following telegram last night to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party:

"The directorate of the Italian Socialist Party expresses its solidarity and the confidence of the Italian Socialists in the action of the Polish workers and people, and feels that the decisions adopted will further the development of Socialism in Poland within democracy and freedom."

MANI STATES VIEWS ON POLISH EVENTS

Rome, Italian Home Service, Oct. 21, 1956, 1930 GMT--L

(Excerpt)

Speaking at Avellino, Mani declared that he saw in the Polish developments a first and direct consequence of the Soviet Communist Party congress held 6 months ago in Moscow. He stated:

"Attempts to contain developments arising out of the denunciation of Stalinism have been futile. It was inevitable that it should involve the condemnation of a political system and put into motion forces not content with the denunciation of the personality cult, the destruction of myths, and with a mere change in leadership, and to whom effective guarantees of freedom and democracy have become indispensable.

"It would be an error to believe that the movement of democratization of public life and public power can be either stopped or hampered. In this case, not only political superstructures but also the social structure as such would be jeopardized."

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Italian Press Comment

Rome, in Italian to the Americas, Oct. 21, 1956, 2355
GWT--E

(Summary with quotations)

L'AVVENIRE D'ITALIA, Bologna, writes that "until yesterday the European Communists went to Moscow on their pilgrimages, whereas today they go to Belgrade." However, all forms of Communism are alike, the paper adds.

LA NAZIONE, Florence, with regard to Khrushchev's trip to Poland, points out that the secretary of the Soviet Communist Party must decide, on the basis of opinions and opportunity, either to yield to the Poles, even at the risk of not being able to control the situation, or else to suppress the anti-Soviet (actions?) in Poland with the methods of his predecessor. Only the future will tell what Khrushchev's decisions are.

LA NAZIONE says: "We already know that Warsaw will either be the first eastern city to break the Soviet chains or else it will be the first city to be struck by the new Communist wave of repressions." The paper recalls that the latest events show that Poland has placed herself "in the vanguard of the movement of the Satellites for liberty," and adds that the moves for independence are growing ever stronger.

Rome, in Italian to Diplomatic Missions Abroad, Oct. 23, 1956, 0750 GWT--E

(Excerpts)

IL MESSAGGERO, Rome, writes that what has happened and what might happen at any moment in Warsaw is the logical development of the movement for independence which for some years has been growing in intensity in the Satellite countries, a movement which has become particularly strong and important since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

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According to GAZETTA DEL POPOLO, Turin, events in Warsaw and Budapest clearly indicate that "Eastern Europe has remained loyal to its Western, humanistic past. Eleven years of Soviet domination have not extinguished, even in the minds of the young, who do not remember better times, the love of freedom."

IL QUOTIDIANO, Rome, recalls that "the Moscow brand of Communism and the Polish brand of Communism both bear the same label. Poland may be independent, in Tito's way, but in anti-Western language. That is, the fight against the free world will always be the basic point for the Communist countries." "Today Gomulka defends the Polish workers because he needs their support," the newspaper adds, "but tomorrow he may again condemn them for the cause of Socialism."

AVANTI asserts that the Polish people are not bringing into question the present regime as a whole. A policy of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union remains the cornerstone of Polish foreign policy, the paper writes.

L'UNITA writes that "the events in Poland have one central theme--that is, the building of Socialism, the means and the timing of building Socialism." "Events are showing," L'UNITA adds, "how real and deeply rooted is the obligation of self-criticism for the Communist Parties and their capacity to undertake fully the necessary corrections."

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7. Inner Reaction or Differences CPSU

This is a major intelligence gap and no information whatever is available, according to [REDACTED]. The only indication of Kremlin reaction is the Pravda editorial quoted below: 25X1A2g

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Oct. 20, 1956, 0900 GMT--L

(From the Central Press Review)

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(Text)

PRAVDA's correspondent reports from Warsaw that insinuations advocating the rejection of the socialist way have been appearing recently in the pages of the Polish press. This antisocialist campaign, which represents a frank playing up of bourgeois elements, is evoking the rightful indignation and dissatisfaction of honest patriots among the wide masses of Polish workers. They demand the curbing of the unbridled revisionists and capitulationists who are making use of the Polish press for their own filthy ends.

Broadcast of PRAVDA Article

(Editor's Note: The following, monitored from Berlin, East German Home Service, at 1710 GMT on Oct. 20, is to date the only available broadcast text of the above-mentioned article:)

Statements have appeared with increasing frequency in the Polish press which between the lines, suggest that the path towards socialism be abandoned. Peculiar though this may appear, it is a fact that the press, the duty of which is to serve as a sharp and effective weapon in the struggle for the consolidation of the people's democratic order, is daily publishing articles which shake the very pillars of this order, disseminating disbelief in the building of a new life and poisoning the readers' thoughts by an imported ideology, alien to the workers.

Until recently the authors of this type of article were still pretending that they were merely bent on uncovering the consequences of the cult of personality and advocating

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the reestablishment of Lenin's norms in Party life. But now even this pretense has been dropped, which in any case strikes one as blasphemy pronounced by slanderers who are permitted to misuse the press to the detriment of the Polish United Workers Party and the people's state. By unmasking themselves these authors publicly dissociate themselves from Lenin and Marx.

The search for examples is not a long one. One Florzak has obviously declared war on Marx. In NOWA KULTURA, the organ of the Polish Writers Association, he has published an article with the revealing heading, "Talk with the West." With vociferous uninhibitedness the author appeals for an end to be put to the use of the jargon which the Communist camp has evolved for speaking to the masses. What jargon does he mean?

Unashamedly, Florzak states that an end must be put to such slogans as "Workers of the World, Unite," "reaction," and "the building of socialism," because these were fighting slogans, slogans of the armed era of the revolution. At present, the slogan "Workers of the World, Unite" can no longer mean anything. This brazen greenhorn who calls himself a journalist declares with unbounded cynicism that we should drop this slogan, which is sacred to every proletarian and under which the best representatives of the working class throughout the world have lived, fought, and died for a century, under which they secured victory after victory and are now building up and consolidating a new society.

Mr. Florzak--yes, indeed, mister, for a person who openly calls for the banner of proletarian internationalism to be trampled under foot and to renounce the struggle for the building of socialism cannot possibly be described as a comrade--Mr. Florzak has the nerve to suggest a new word in place of Marxism. What word is this? "Talk with the West" he writes, "must be conducted on a different basis than hitherto. The universal proletarian is an out-dated concept; today we must think of a universal human being."

Moreover, realizing that this babble is obscure and unintelligible, the author bases himself on an authority which, in his view is more solid than Marx--namely, a certain Belgian journalist by the name of Lambilutte who recently visited Poland.

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Well, what is it that this newly emerged oracle, whom Florczak is now prepared to serve, has prophesied? It is this: Our actions must lead to the ultimate enrichment of mankind. This Brussels oracle and his Warsaw (word missing—Ed.) evade more detailed explanations, as to who is to be enriched and how. What matters to them is to throw out the idea, then everybody can enrich himself as he fancies. Thus, the organ of the Polish Writers' Association has gone so far as to publish an undisguised call for the restoration of capitalism.

This call is thinly concealed behind the statement that, allegedly, both systems amount to the same in the end, the growing together into a world organism.

One could, albeit with difficulty, try to explain the publication of this filthy concoction by an uneducated scribbler in the organ of the Polish Writers' Association by some incomprehensible slip on the part of one of its editors. But the fact is that articles of this nature recently have been appearing more and more frequently in certain Warsaw papers and, whether the leaders of the ideological front in Poland want this or not, such an article amounts to a comprehensive campaign which shakes the very foundations of the people's democratic order.

We don't even want to mention that in this raucous chorus of slander anti-Soviet utterances can also be heard. Our people have been used for 30 years to hearing slanders emanating from the bourgeois camp, and they are not intimidated by them, but that a campaign of slander should now be openly conducted in the press of a friendly country, linked with the Soviet Union by a treaty of alliance and friendship, embitters the Soviet people. What also is alarming is the fact that this campaign, as borne out by utterances published during the past few days in the Polish press, is aimed chiefly and above all at the undermining of socialism in Poland itself.

Thus, today's *SYGIE WARSZAWY* has a long article, entitled "the Core of the Matter," by Putrament which has a strong resemblance to the tenets preached by the newly hatched revolutionary Florczak. Slandereously, Putrament states that the economic system hitherto binding for us, that is the socialist economic system, "has undoubtedly and irretrievably broken down." Availing himself of the

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political arsenal of the Voice of America, he permits himself the assertion that this system can exist only under certain political conditions, those of the suppression of all criticism and of police terror.

He demands that a stop be put to this. What does this revisionist propose? The dictatorship of the State Planning Commission is, as he puts it, to be abolished and the all-powerfulness of the main administrations be liquidated.

What does he suggest as a replacement for a system evolved in people's Poland and tested in practice? He propounds four slogans: clarity in the life of the state, decentralization, democratization, and indigeneness (Eigenständigkeit). Well, and that for which the Polish people have fought so selflessly and successfully, and for which they are still fighting, to wit, socialism--this word has stuck in the author's gullet; he did not pronounce it. Indeed his whole article, in the last analysis, represents an attempt at explaining in some way or other the demand for denouncing socialism.

More and equally undisguised utterances which openly aim at undermining the socialist achievements attained by the Polish people could be quoted. This antisocialist campaign which has been launched in some Polish papers and which amounts to an overt flirtation with bourgeois elements arouses justified dissatisfaction and indignation among the upright patriots and broad masses of the working people of the People's Republic of Poland. They demand that these unbridled revisionists and capitulationists, who misuse the Polish press for their own dirty ends, be called to order.

Franks also reproduced on 23 October the following editorial in the Trybuna Ludu which stated that President Eisenhower interferes in Polish affairs:

Warsaw, PAP, in English Morse to Europe, Oct. 22, 1956.
1125 GMT--L

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(text)

Warsaw--TRYBUNA LUDU, organ of the Central Committee of the PZPR, publishes an editorial entitled "Concerning 'Assistance' and 'Free Poland.'" Here is the full text of the article:

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The Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee has evoked understandable interest abroad, for this plenum was a momentous one for our postwar history, and this, of course, could not escape the attention of foreign observers.

Two different and conflicting tendencies can be distinguished in all the commentaries on the plenum: One is to be found in the democratic press, especially in the organs of our fraternal parties, expressing good will toward our country at a time when a new chapter has begun in our postwar history. The second tendency frequently reveals ridiculous and naive attempts to make use of the atmosphere of tension and expectation throughout the country for the purpose of immature political speculation.

This is neither the time nor the place for a thorough analysis of these phenomena. We shall endeavor to give our readers a fuller picture of the reaction abroad shortly. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile even today to express our profound gratitude to those organs of our fraternal parties which presented a balanced and true picture of the situation in our country, reflecting the moods and activeness of the masses, their hopes and expectations. At the same time it is necessary to devote attention today to the second tendency in the foreign comments, although some of them have nothing to do with the press.

President Eisenhower, followed by Secretary of State Dulles, and minor dignitaries of the U.S. Government, deemed it necessary to make statements on the situation in Poland. At the present we still have no full texts of all these statements; it is obvious that today we have been absorbed by news not from Washington but from Warsaw. Nevertheless, the information available reveals that the meaning of the declaration made by President Eisenhower is unequivocal: It is an offer of "assistance" in "the struggle waged by the Poles."

It is necessary to state clearly: We will understand the proelection situation in the United States. We also understand the meaning of the statements which the requirements of the election campaign in the United States impose, as well as the desire to gain votes. Nevertheless we should like to draw the attention of those who need such a reminder that the Poles are taking no part in the American elections and therefore is no need to draw them into the American election campaign.

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We should also like to stress that his position as chief of a great power does not entitle President Eisenhower to interfere in the internal affairs of smaller states. And in any case the Eighth Plenum was an intra-party and a national affair, and certainly not an internal American question.

As concerns the offers of aid, let us state frankly and openly: We are in favor of assistance and of broader economic and cultural relations--naturally of normal relations with no political strings attached to them. These were our views before the Eighth Plenum and these are our views after the Eighth Plenum. But neither before nor later did we stand in need of any interference in our internal affairs. If there is someone simpleminded enough to imagine that the changes in Poland indicate a new orientation in our foreign policy then he is deeply mistaken, as has been the case more than once with the prophets on Polish affairs across the Atlantic.

If anyone believes that the democratization of our internal life and the further political and economic reforms indicate a departure from socialism and a weakening of our solidarity with the other socialist countries, then he too is deeply mistaken. Our alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union based on the ideological unity of our parties, on the complete equality of our states, and on the full solidarity of our peoples, was, is, and will remain the cornerstone of our policy. This matter has been settled once and for all, regardless, obviously, of any election date in the United States.

The same applies to the statement made by Chancellor Adenauer who has been gracious enough to express his readiness to establish relations with a "Free Poland." We feel today free as never before. And that is why while desiring to establish relations with the German Federal Republic, just as with any other country, it is not our least desire to be assisted in the development of our freedom by the conservative and capitalist forces of West Germany. Of such "assistance" in various matters we have had sufficient experience in the course of many centuries of our history and we have no intention of profiting from such forms of "assistance."

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We have probably said enough both to those Western statesmen who want to treat their internal policy as our foreign policy, and to the foreign press commentators who express the hope that the "dramatic changes" in Poland will (lead?) to the withdrawal of our country from the camp of socialism.

We can only regret that President Eisenhower and all the others who express their views on our affairs did not spend last Sunday in Warsaw factories where work continued, although it was a holiday. They would have understood then what the Party, the working class, and the nation want. They would have understood that the Poles--a sensible and proud nation--will be misled by neither sweet words nor fantasies. For the choice, not only of the new Party leadership, but also of building socialism together with the USSR, People's China and all fraternal nations, has been made once and for all.