

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## EAST EUROPE

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#### Regime Attempts at Splitting the Episcopate

Archbishop Boleslaw Kominek of Wroclaw was recently praised by Communist information media for his "political realism," while Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski was called a "fanatic conservative"; both statements in an obvious attempt at splitting the Episcopate.

"Archbishop Kominek's interview (granted to the French TV station Europe I during the May 3 Czestochowa celebrations and sent out on May 12) showed that he saw the negative consequences of Cardinal Wyszynski's policy and that he is looking for a way out," commentator Stefan Arski stated in an English broadcast to Europe of Radio Warsaw on June 7.

"I am aware of the fact that if Poland did not have a Communist government, I wouldn't be the Archbishop of Wroclaw," Kominek was quoted as saying by Arski. The regime commentator also used the Archbishop's statement about the unity of views on the Oder-Neisse border, which "unites us completely, links us with the Communists," to stress that it is for the first time "that a high Church dignitary said that Poland owes its present frontiers to people's government in the country."

"No other representative of the Polish Episcopate before him has put this matter so clearly. It is very regrettable that the head of the Polish Episcopate, Cardinal Wyszynski, has never managed

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to do that," Arski said. He also referred to the alleged differences between Kominek and Wyszynski in the matter of Church's coexistence with the State in internal relations. Kominek was speaking in favor of "tolerant Catholicism," Arski said, while Cardinal Wyszynski "epitomizes and cultivates intolerance in the Polish Church. His statements too often harbor fanaticism and hatred and seek to create an atmosphere of tension, a climate of religious war and a conflict between believers and non-believers in Poland."

"That fanatic conservative," Arski said of the Primate of Poland, "wants to keep fanning the conflict he himself created for the sake of the most reactionary objectives." He concluded his broadcast with what can only be interpreted as a call to desert the present leader of the Polish Catholic Church and to follow Kominek:

"Those who want a normalization of relations between the State and the Church hierarchy -- and this is in the interests of the country and of the Church -- can find in the stand of Archbishop Kominek more than one idea for opening the road to such normalization."

The next day, June 7, the mass circulation Zycie Warszawy, and the military daily Zolnierz Wolnosci published an article entitled "Struggle or Normalization," running along almost identical lines with Arski's commentary the day before. In addition, the two dailies reprinted the interview of Europe 1. The two papers also claimed that Kominek "is not alone among the Episcopate" in "not sharing the political views of the leader of the Episcopate," and that the latter "is not able to bring about a normalization of relations between the State and the Church."

This was not all. On June 8, three mass circulation dailies, the Party mouthpiece, Trybuna Ludu, the trade union paper Glos Pracy, and the Socialist Youth Union's Sztandar Mlodych published shorter versions of the Zycie Warszawy article.

While there seems to be no doubt that there are differences of opinion among the Polish Episcopate -- and it would be surprising if there were none among 70 bishops -- on the matters of tactics, the regime seems to be entertaining false hopes with regard to any serious split in the Church hierarchy. This is particularly true of Kominek who -- as pointed by Le Monde (June 11) -- was the initiator of a letter of solidarity with the Cardinal on March 23 and who also joined all the Polish bishops in expressing his solidarity with the Primate of Poland in Czestochowa on May 3.

Another Western source, Christian Science Monitor (June 11) commenting on Zycie Warszawy article, stated that "whatever reservations



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individual Roman Catholics might have over the Cardinal's current tactics, they will never cease to see him as the man who had made the survival of a vigorous Catholic Church in Poland possible."

Note: More on Church-State situation will follow in next Situation Report.

### Rapacki's Visit to Sweden

Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki made his visit to Sweden as planned (cf. SR June 2) and returned to Warsaw in the evening of June 10.

He left Sweden "without any concrete gains for Polish foreign policy objectives, but with no little goodwill," an RFE Special from Stockholm (June 10) reported. "Mr. Rapacki made a very good personal impression," the Special added.

Quite the opposite was the opinion of Polish official information media, the press and Radio Warsaw, which covered the visit rather heavily, as if it were a major event of the year in Europe.

Radio Warsaw correspondent in Stockholm, Witold Nowicki, referring to the official communique released at the end of the visit, claimed (on June 11) that the document "does not reveal any signs of the difference of views or of the formulations allowing alternative interpretation of the content." Among these "unequivocal" statements, Nowicki listed: 1) the concept of calling a vast international conference on European security ("an idea of Polish origin," Nowicki stressed); 2) common language in such an important problem as the "danger hidden in the escalation of the war in Vietnam"; 3) Sweden's readiness to become part of a nuclear free zone which would embrace Central and Northern Europe.

RFE-correspondent in Stockholm read the document in a bit different way. He stressed that Rapacki "had not been successful in converting the goodwill into support against West Germany in Europe and the United States in Vietnam." On this latter subject there was only "one brief statement about Swedish-Polish hope for a peaceful settlement of the Southeast Asian conflict." Swedish Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson "was not drawn by Mr. Rapacki's eloquence into supporting the Communist bloc line even by implication in the communiqué," the RFE Special explained. On the German question, "Mr. Rapacki himself diplomatically disclosed the two countries' still conflicting views." He presented Polish views and "listened to the position of the Swedish government," the RFE Special stated. Incidentally, this statement of Rapacki, made at a press

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conference in Stockholm, was also quoted by Radio Warsaw but without clear indication of what it was about.

Regarding an East-West conference on European problems, the communiqué contained a phrase betraying a most cautious approach by the Swedes and making their participation in such a conference dependent upon "careful preparation." RFE's correspondent in Stockholm stated more pointedly that on this subject "there was no evidence that when Mr. Rapacki left here he was any closer to enlisting active Swedish support -- as opposed to benign Swedish approval -- than when he came."

All this did not prevent the military daily Zolnierz Wolnosci (June 11) from referring to "concurrence of views" in Swedish-Polish talks. On a safer ground was Trybuna Ludu of the same date concentrating in its comment on Sweden and Poland being an "example of cooperation" between two states of different systems. For in this respect -- on the problem of mutual relations between the two states -- the official communiqué stated that "both Ministers expressed their satisfaction."

There was at least one important statement made by Rapacki at a press conference on June 7 regarding the USA. Poland had sought to have United States' participation in a European security conference, Rapacki said, but he had "not found any interest on the part of the US." He suggested that the US "is too much absorbed elsewhere." This was interesting in that, up to now, no other East European country has even declared its willingness for the US to be a part of such a conference.

Two days later, Radio Moscow, in its German language service to Germany, announced that "the Americans do not want a consolidation of European security." The Soviet radio explained further that "any step forward toward European security is a blow and a defeat to the Americans, and they are doing, and will go on doing, all they can to prevent such progress."

As if in answer to these statements, West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard said in Bonn on June 10 that he looked with extreme skepticism on proposals for collective negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, since such negotiations would soon be stymied because they would almost immediately lead to the German question and to schemes like the Rapacki Plan. The Chancellor expressed similar doubts about the project of a European security conference. "We, for our part, must insist on the participation of the United States in such a meeting," Erhard -- as quoted by an RFE Special from Bonn -- asserted.



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Rapacki had a crowded schedule during his stay in Sweden. In addition to business talks he had with his host, Nilsson, he was received by King Gustav Adolf on June 6 and by Prime Minister Tage Erlander the next day. The Polish guest also visited the Alfa-Laval concern producing agricultural machinery and food processing equipment, the Institute of Slavic Languages at the University of Uppsala, and Foreign Policy Institute of Stockholm University. He also managed to be present at a gala ballet at Royal Opera in Stockholm and attend several receptions, including a lunch by Stockholm City Council.

Rapacki was accompanied by Foreign Ministry Director Eugeniusz Milnikiel, Minister Plenipotentiary Mieczyslaw Lobodycz and Ministry Deputy Director Antoni Szymanowski.

#### Polish Stand on the Warsaw Pact

"The power of the Warsaw Pact, to which -- at the side of Soviet Union -- Poland, Czechoslovakia and other brotherly countries bring their contributions, constitutes a guarantee that nobody will succeed in changing the frontiers of the European states established in the outcome of the victory over Hitlerism."

This was the most recent statement coming from a high Party functionary, Politburo candidate member and CC Secretary Boleslaw Jaszczuk speaking in Prague at a big mechanical plant CzKD on June 2. The statement was reprinted by Trybuna Ludu the next day.

Jaszczuk was in Prague attending the 23rd Congress of the Czechoslovak CP (cf. SR June 2) as the Polish delegation's number two man. Significantly, such a statement on the Warsaw Pact was not made by the delegation's chairman, Edward Ochab, speaking to the Congress the day before. Instead, it was made by Jaszczuk at what Trybuna Ludu termed "a meeting with the plant's crew representatives."

Earlier, in an article marking the 11th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact, published by Trybuna Ludu on May 14, two star general Jozef Urbanowicz, Chief of the Main Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces, stressed that "maintenance of a modern army in a country of the size and economic potential of Poland is possible only in a system of cooperation, scientific and production cooperation. Such political, military and scientific technical cooperation is assured to the Polish Armed Forces by the Warsaw Pact." As if in direct answer to possible doubts about Poland's position vis-à-vis the Soviet military bloc, Urbanowicz stated:

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"The participation of Poland in the Warsaw Pact provides us with optimal premises ("przeslanki") of peaceful and creative work over a universal development of our socialist economy, science and culture."

The chief "politruk" closed his article by stating "with pride," that Poland is a "very important link in that alliance," and that Polish participation in it contributes "in a vital degree to the effectiveness and possibilities of the Warsaw Pact."

The Polish press did not report on a two-day meeting in Moscow of defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact, which ended on May 28, and which was reported by Radio Belgrade's Moscow correspondent Milika Sundic.

However, the Polish press, and particularly the military daily Zolnierz Wolnosci (May 30), devoted much space to a ceremony which took place in Moscow on May 28, at which Defense Minister, Marshal Marian Spychalski handed "marshals, generals and officers of the Soviet Army" what the paper called letters of acknowledgement, tokens of the brotherhood-in-arms and symbolical gifts. All this was done in recognition of Soviet contribution toward the education of Polish officers at Soviet military academies and other training establishments within the last 20 years.

The ceremony, in addition to the Urbanowicz commemorative article and the Jasczuk speech in Prague, might be also interpreted as a manifestation of the Polish stand on the Warsaw Pact. As for Ochab's failure to mention the Pact in his speech at the Prague congress, it should be noted that only Brezhnev and Novotny of the East European delegates referred to it in their speeches.

No report on a meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries, which reportedly started on June 6, has appeared either in the Polish press or in radio. (According to Radio Zagreb and Tanjug, the meeting was still going on on June 11. It was extended, according to these Yugoslav sources, "from the planned three to five and perhaps more days.") Western agencies reported from Moscow that Poland is represented at the meeting by Deputy Foreign Minister Marian Naszkowski, who arrived in the Soviet capital on June 5.

Radio Warsaw reported, however, yesterday, on the reception by "First Secretary of the CC, SED and East Germany's State Council Chairman, Walter Ulbricht of the following Defense Ministers staying now in the German Democratic Republic: Soviet Union's Marshal Rodion Y. Malinovsky, Poland's Marshal Marian Spychalski, Czechoslovakia's Bohumir Lomsky, and accompanying marshals and generals." The broadcast added that "present also was Defense Vice-Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski," and that at the meeting "problems of common interest were discussed."

While a similar statement was issued earlier by the East German news agency, ADN, The New York Times (today's issue) supplemented the list of those attending the meeting of top officers of



four countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and USSR) as follows: Gen. Heinz Hoffmann, East German defense minister; Marshal Andrei A. Grechko, the Supreme Commander of the Forces of the Warsaw Pact; and a number of Soviet marshals and generals, among them Gen. Pyotr K. Koshevoi, Commander of Soviet Forces in East Germany, and Chief Air Marshal Konstantin A. Vershinin, Commander of the Soviet Air Force. The daily stressed that "the countries represented at the East Berlin meeting are involved in the German question and the issue of European security more directly than their neighbors in Southeastern Europe," like Rumania or Hungary, which do not take part in the meeting of what seems to form a defense quadrangle within the Warsaw Pact.

While no Western source has been able to supply a convincing suggestion as to the subject of the conference in East Berlin, it can be recalled that the four participating countries have already in the past joined in common military training and maneuvers dictated by territorial reasons, the last of which took place in October 1965 (cf. SR November 4).

#### Poznan International Fair Opened

The 34th International Poznan Trade Fair was opened yesterday by Jozef Cyrankiewicz. Radio Warsaw carried an account of the opening ceremony which was attended by high party and government officials, among them chief economic planner, Stefan Jedrychowski, Politburo member Igancy Loga-Sowinski, heavy industry specialist Franciszek Waniolka, Vice-Premier Zenon Nowak and Foreign Trade Minister Witold Trampczynski. The ceremony was also attended by numerous foreign government delegations, representatives of the diplomatic corps and prominent foreign businessmen.

President L.B. Johnson was represented by Governor Edward T. Breathitt of Kentucky, while West Germany sent a high Foreign Ministry official, Ambassador Egon Emmel, who recently negotiated a Polish-West German trade agreement (cf. SR May 5). Also present at the West German stand to greet Cyrankiewicz was Krupp's Managing Director Berthold Beitz. (West German trade officials described Cyrankiewicz's tour of their display as "very quick but very friendly," UPI reported. The same agency reported also that Cyrankiewicz allowed himself to be persuaded to engage in a bowling duel with Gov. Breathitt at the American stand, (an encounter which he cheerfully lost).

UPI gave also excerpts from Trampczynski's speech, in which he hailed the fair as "a working meeting of the industrial and economic circles of the East and of the West" and stressed that the fact that representatives of the countries of various economic systems could meet in Poznan contributes to their drawing closer together.

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The International Poznan Fair is the most important Polish industrial fair and has a long standing. Taking its origins from old country fairs, the first modern national Poznan trade fair took place in 1921. Three years later, in 1924, it turned into an international trade fair, with the participation of foreign firms, since then it has taken place regularly. Interrupted in 1939 by the war, it resumed in 1947, with participants from 11 foreign countries. Only four fairs were held between 1947 and 1955, when the fairs were again resumed on regular yearly basis, gaining all the time in size and foreign participation.

This year's fair is being held between June 12 and 26. The physical area covered by the fair was again enlarged (to 120 thousand square meters), as was the area taken up by the foreign exhibitors from 49 different countries. The most noticeable single increase was that of the French exhibition which doubled compared with last year. West Germany is represented at the fair by 200 firms, among them such regular guests as Krupp, Mannesmann, Salgitter AG, Thyssen, Demag, Siemens and Telefunken; all covering an area of 12,000 square meters.

In its own participation at the Poznan fair, Poland will be following the pattern of its recent export drive exhibiting primarily all kinds of machines, means of transport, control and measuring instruments and products of electrotechnical and chemical industries.

#### Congress of Activists of State Agricultural Machinery Centers

The third congress of activists of the State Agricultural Machinery Centers took place in Warsaw on June 7/8 and was attended by 600 delegates representing a 50,000 cadre servicing Polish agriculture. Radio Warsaw reported fully on the congress in its numerous news broadcasts and commentaries on June 8 and 9.

The congress was attended by Agriculture Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski, CC secretary Jozef Tejchma and Vice-Premiers Zenon Nowak and Stefan Ignar.

The main problems discussed during the two-day congress were: short supply of spare parts; still low quality of agricultural machinery; necessity of training technical cadres and improving their qualifications; and the development of cooperation between State Agricultural Machine Centers and Agricultural Circles in the maintenance and repair of agricultural machines. Speakers, who included Jagielski, Ignar and Tejchma, spoke on the plans of activities for the future in connection with the general plan of mechanization of agriculture.



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Radio Warsaw commentaries underlined the achievements of the agricultural machinery centers, which had contributed to the 15 per cent increase of agricultural production in the last five years. Commentators also stressed the fact that machinery centers, which once worked at a loss, are now profitable enterprises with varied fields of activities, lending their hand also to improving the water system and cattle breeding. The tasks of the machinery centers, said the commentators, will be increasing in the coming five-year period, when the number of tractors in the country is planned to reach a quarter of a million, out of which 130,000 would be assigned to agricultural circles.

#### Agreement on Soviet Deliveries to Poland

An agreement was signed in Warsaw on June 10 on Soviet deliveries to Poland of complete industrial plants and on economic and technical cooperation between the two countries in the years 1966/70, Radio Warsaw reported the same day. The broadcast added that, under the terms of the new agreement, Soviet deliveries to Poland will exceed the volume of deliveries under the previous agreement. The new agreement also provides for deliveries of spare parts, technical documentation and the cooperation of Soviet specialists in construction of industrial plants in Poland.

Commenting on the new agreement as a curtain-raiser for the 35th Poznan International Trade Fair, UPI (Poznan, June 11) stressed the point that the terms of the agreement, and particularly the vital point of exchange rate of the rouble were not disclosed.

#### Trade Agreement between Poland and Singapore

Poland and Singapore signed on June 7, in Singapore, a trade agreement which includes the MFN clause and provides for Polish cooperation in the industrial development of Singapore and particularly in the construction of shipbuilding yards for fishing vessels and textile plants, Radio Warsaw reported on June 8 and 9. The agreement also provides for the opening in Singapore of a Polish trade center. The agreement was signed by Foreign Trade Vice-Minister Franciszek Modrzewski, for Poland, and for Singapore by Finance Vice-Minister S. Ramaswamy.

According to a UPI dispatch from Singapore (June 8), under the agreement each country will purchase from the other some two million US dollars worth of goods during the first two years.