

## TARGET AREA

● Poland

12 April 1965

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Polish-Soviet Treaty

"The inviolability of the state frontier of the Polish People's Republic on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse rivers is one of the fundamental factors of European security," according to Article 5 of the new "Treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance," whose text was published in the morning of April 10. The preamble to the treaty refers to the desire "to consolidate the fundamental turn (przelom) in the relations between the neighboring nations of Poland and the Soviet Union," to the "principles of equal rights, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of the contracting parties," as well as to the existence of "two German states, the German Democratic Republic which has implemented the principles of the Potsdam agreement" and is contributing to European security and international peace, while the "West German militarism threatens the security in Europe."

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Another anti-West German statement is contained in Article 6 in which both "contracting parties" undertake "jointly to apply all means available to them in order to remove the threat of aggression on the part of the West German forces of militarism and revenge, or on the part of any other state which would conclude an alliance with these forces." The new treaty is valid for the next 20 years and is subject to automatic renewal for five years if no notice of termination is given a year before the expiration of the period of validity.

Anti-West German and anti-US accents dominated in almost all official pronouncements made during the visit of the Soviet delegation to Poland (cf. also SR April 8), including the communiqué on the visit issued on April 9. The document referred to "aggressive actions of the West German militarism" and to the "armed aggression of the USA against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam." The third main topic was the unity of the "movement," to which the Polish and Soviet leaders appealed repeatedly. Speaking at the public meeting in Warsaw on April 8, Gomulka stated that this unity is a "supreme imperative in view of the situation created now in Indochina." Brezhnev was less emphatic on this subject. "There is not the slightest doubt," he stated, "that objective interests of the nations of socialist states require their coming together in the fight against imperialism." This difference in emphasis seems to suggest that Gomulka's appeals for "unity" were addressed not only to the comrades in far away Peking but also, if not first of all, to his Soviet guests.

There is no doubt that the renewal of the Polish-Soviet friendship agreement, with its specific guarantees of the present borders, has contributed toward the increase of Poland's prestige in the socialist camp, on the one hand, and toward a corresponding increase of Gomulka's standing in the international Communist movement and at home, on the other.

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Aware of the significance of the Soviet visit, the Polish leaders went out of their way to please their guests and to impress on the Polish population the importance of the event. It was probably for the first time since October 1956 that in addition to "tens of thousands of flags and banners," some "hundreds of portraits of Soviet and Polish leaders" were carried by the population of Warsaw welcoming the guests. Reporting (on April 5) from a square in Warsaw, a Polish radio correspondent estimated the crowd at "over 100,000." He did not mention it, but the NYT correspondent, David Halberstam, revealed that "thousands of school children and office workers were turned out for the occasion." Halberstam also stated that the reception at the station was "warm," but later it was "courteous but generally quiet" (NYT, April 6). The arrival ceremony was covered by Polish, Soviet, Czechoslovak and East German TV and radio stations. (The same referred to the public meeting in Warsaw on April 8 and to the departure of the Soviet delegation on April 9.)

The reception of the Soviet delegation in Wroclaw (in the recovered territories) on April 7 was, "in spite of a heavy rain," much "warmer than the one two days earlier in Warsaw," Angela Nacken reported for Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (April 8). This fact was also stressed by other Western agencies.

To add to the publicity of the Soviet visit and of the new pact, an album under the title "Common Road" has been published in Polish and in Russian in both "brotherly" countries. It is devoted to the 20th anniversary of the treaty of 21 April 1945 and it illustrates what Radio Warsaw (April 6) referred to as the "most important fields of contacts between the two brotherly



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countries." A more serious event marking the occasion was a two day (April 6 and 7) "all Polish scientific conference" organized in Warsaw in connection with the anniversary. No less than 200 scientists and activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society took part in the meeting, at which seven reports were read.

### Oswiecim Anniversary

The 20th anniversary of the liberation by Soviet troops of the former Nazi extermination camp at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) was celebrated on April 11 by the delegations of 18 countries occupied by Hitlerite Germany during the last war and by thousands of former camp inmates, Radio Warsaw and agencies reported on the same date. The celebrations were part of the "week of the international solidarity of the resistance fighters." Former Oswiecim camp inmate and the present Polish Premier, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, delivered a speech which, appropriately for the occasion, was violently anti-West German and -- less appropriately but not surprisingly -- anti-US. "There is no better place than this from which to warn that the war in Vietnam cannot be won but the peace of the world could be lost," Cyrankiewicz said. "Come to your senses while there is still time," he appealed to "Washington".

### A New Weekly

A new weekly, Forum, will be published in the "very near future," Radio Warsaw announced on April 8. It will be devoted to a "weekly review of world press," the broadcast explained, from the field of "economy, culture, military life, science and technics."

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The daily press was better informed. According to the advertisements in Trybuna Ludu (and Trybuna Robotnicza of Katowice as well) of April 7 the first issue of Forum was slated to appear on April 9. For Polish conditions, Forum is a big paper, 24 pages, which means double the size of such weeklies as Kultura or Polityka. Its price of seven zloty per copy is rather selective (Kultura costs three zloty, Polityka two zloty per copy).

Within the last few weeks this has been the second announcement on the appearance of a new periodical, and it seems that -- as in the case of Poezja (cf. SR March 22) -- Forum appears as a token concession to intellectuals who last year protested about censorship and shortage of newsprint (cf. SR May 20). In this connection it is worth noting the tactics of the Party's cultural leaders. They did not yield to the demands of the 34 last year. Censorship has not eased and very little was done to increase paper allocation. But now, a year after the storm, two new periodicals appear. The point is that the 34 did not ask for these new periodicals. They asked for more important concessions. What they managed to achieve are the appearances of concessions in the form of two periodicals, both well controlled by the Party.

#### Whose Portraits Censored?

The last issue of the satirical weekly Szpilki (April 11) brings a rare evidence of censorship. As a rule, articles are censored before print, and there is a principle that no "white spots" or left out portions should as much as suggest to the reader that such an institution as censorship exists. This time Szpilki appeared with two words clearly and intentionally blotted with black paint. What are these words? A conjecture can be made on the basis of the article's content. It is about cheap art, and in particular about painters making fortunes by painting huge portraits of provincial dignitaries and newly rich ones. It is portrait painting that is most popular

in the society, the article states. Then follows the critical passage: "Whose portraits, you will certainly ask, are in such demand? (Two words erased.) Those of film stars? Of the saints repainted from Marx or Engels?" (Regarding this last category, the author of the article refers to the old trick of cheap dealers in picture of saints who make saint Josephs and saint Nicholases by repainting the portraits of Marx or Engel's printed on good government paper.) Another intriguing circumstance regarding this case of censorship is the fact that the article was written by no less than the editor-in-chief of Szpilki, i.e. by the man who is supposed to know his limits. Apparently he did know, but a busybody of a censor might have been afraid that some readers might associate the passage with the recent display of huge portraits of Polish and Soviet leaders.

#### Further Protests Against Death Sentence

What could be considered as the first open protest against the death sentence on an embezzler recently executed in Poland (cf. SR February 4, March 22 and April 8) appeared in the Cracow weekly Zycie Literackie (March 28). The Nestor of the Polish science (and one of the 34 signatories of the now famous letter of Polish intellectuals), Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbinski, wrote an essay in which he flatly opposed the death sentence. The old liberal and atheist professor did not refer to the recent execution. Instead, he reviewed the institution of legal punishment in general, the educational role of work, and the rationale of prison and death sentences. "Let's never sentence anybody to death, no matter for what reason," Kotarbinski concluded.



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The recent death sentence for an economic crime was a "painful blow to many of the country's intellectual group, including some lawyers," Vincent Buist, Reuter's correspondent reported from Warsaw on April 8. "Death for cheating on meat, however extensive the racket, seemed to many people out of proportion," Buist continued. Many people "thought the death penalty appropriate only for murder."