

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## EAST EUROPE

Poland/2  
10 January 1969

- \* Opinions on Comecon Integration
- \* Party Personnel Changes
- \* Indictment in Kuron and Modzelewski Trial

### Opinions on Comecon Integration

Problems connected with Comecon integration have lately come to the fore in economic articles published in both the specialized as well as the general press. The frequency with which this subject has been referred to has been especially high since the Fifth Party Congress, and attention to it still seems to be on the increase. During recent weeks such newspapers as Zycie Gospodarcze and Gospodarka Planowa have published at least one and quite often several articles in each issue, devoted to the need for speeding up the pace of integration in Comecon. Many of these articles try to formulate a specifically Polish requirement for such integration.

This aspect was particularly clearly stressed in an article written by Andrzej Kruczkowski and entitled "Integration for what Purpose?" which appeared in Zycie Warszawy (January 7) in the column "Free Opinions." The author has held various important posts in the Ministry of Foreign Trade (including that of director in the department of treaties). During the course of his career he has conducted complicated trade negotiations and represented Poland in discussions in the EEC. For many years he was in Paris as commercial attaché at the Polish Embassy. Kruczkowski's article was accompanied by an editorial note which explained that the manuscript of the article had been received in the editorial office at the time of the preparatory discussions preceding the Fifth Party Congress and that, as a result of the large amount of material on hand, it could not be published at an earlier date.

The author of the article sharply criticizes the effectiveness of the present system of industrial production in the Comecon countries, and the fact that it allows some obvious absurdities to continue. In connection with this, he says that "we act like people

10 January 1969

after a numbing dose of morphia." He states that the economic integration of the Comecon countries is a sine qua non for maintaining the present sphere of influence of the Communist bloc. He asks "Can the Elbe River become an irreversible frontier of the socialist bloc if we fail to introduce gradually, with prudence, but in a resolute manner, a radical change in our methods of economic collaboration?"

As far as Poland in particular is concerned, Kruczkowski thinks that: "The only permanent way in which our relations with the FRG can be resolved is by the creation of a political climate in which it will be possible for us and our friends to create a definite set of conditions under which the movement of goods, people and means of investment will have an opportunity which is qualitatively different from anything that has existed up to now: geometrical increase is a possibility."

Calling for a formulation which will take into account this aspect of the case -- a program of integration -- Kruczkowski states that: "It will be impossible to solve this crucial problem of our foreign policy, unless under its protection and because of our policy, we achieve a clear vision of a program of economic integration for the countries of our bloc.... The more clearly and openly we formulate our Polish viewpoint about the future of our part of the European continent, the more easily in subsequent talks with our partners shall we manage to carry out in practice the tasks which we now describe by the term 'integration'." In order to achieve that end, however, we must have some "conflicting points of view" and we have to rid ourselves of the conviction that all these difficulties "can be solved without controversy."

Alluding to the necessity to adjust the economic structure and qualification of the personal cadres to the needs of intensive integration, Kruczkowski ends his article as follows:

We must state openly that there is no way of permanently counteracting the centrifugal tendencies in our camp and of permanently solidifying the frontier on the Elbe as the frontier of peace unless we get rid of our own lack of understanding of the real facts of modern life, and of our lack of clear vision of the perspectives of our actions as creators of the bases of the unity of economic interest among the states of our bloc.

Additional light is thrown on the ultimate political meaning of the above article by the following footnote:

Of all the persons known to me who have discussed this problem, which is a most vital one for the Polish people, only the series of articles written by J.E. Osmanczyk a few years ago formulated with brutal clarity the necessity of integrating the socialist countries as the only organic hope of establishing a permanent relationship between Poland and the remaining countries of the socialist bloc on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany (which is becoming integrated with the other countries of the West) on the other. Some journalists, however, have rushed to the support of General de Gaulle as if the solution of our most vital foreign interests could be entrusted to someone else's foreign policy -- even if such a policy would have a most sympathetic reception in our country.



10 January 1969

Party Personnel Changes

Tadeusz Bialkowski has been elected First Secretary of the Olsztyn Voivodship Party Committee, Trybuna Ludu reported January 4. He thus replaced Stanislaw Tomaszewski, who has been appointed secretary-general of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles (cf. Polish Situation Report/93, Radio Free Europe Research, 20 December 1968).

Born in 1920 "into a worker family," Bialkowski spent the wartime period in Germany as a forced laborer. On returning to Poland in 1945, he enrolled in the CP, graduated from the Central Party School in 1950, worked in the CC until 1955, then as voivodship Party secretary in Rzeszow and (since 1957) in Gdansk. While holding this last position, he managed to graduate from the Higher School of Economics in Sopot. He was elected a CC member at the Fifth Party Congress in November 1968.

The plenary session of the Voivodship Party Committee in Olsztyn which took place on January 3 and at which the change was effected was attended by Politburo member and CC Secretary Zenon Kliszko and two lesser CC officials. Judging by the coverage of the meeting by Trybuna Ludu, as well as by Kliszko's utterances, Tomaszewski's removal from Olsztyn cannot be interpreted as a sign of disgrace. It would rather seem that his transfer to a desk job in Warsaw was an expression of trust.

On the same day, a plenary session of the Warsaw Voivodship Party Committee took place. Adam Stolarzewicz was elected secretary in place of Stanislaw Kania, who has been appointed head of the CC Administrative Department (cf. Polish SR/1, RFER, 3 January 1969). Stolarzewicz, born in 1932 "into a peasant family," has a university education. He started his political career early: as a 15-year-old-boy he was active in peasant youth organizations, and then in the Polish Youth Union (the Polish equivalent of of Komsomol). Active in the Party apparat from 1955 to 1959, he was sent to direct the Warsaw Voivodship Rural Youth Union from 1959 to 1962, whereupon he was elected deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Warsaw Voivodship People's Council.

Indictment in Kuron and Modzelewski Trial

Two days after the trial of two former Warsaw University assistants, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, opened before the Voivodship Court of the City of Warsaw, Trybuna Ludu (January 4) published a PAP communiqué giving details of the indictment.

According to the agency, the two defendants have been accused of being active in an organization which was based on a political program devised by them which was hostile to the Polish People's Republic and which aimed at inciting public anti-state demonstrations. The indictment also alleges that the defendants, while planning activities detrimental to the Polish state, had gotten in touch with a foreign organization hostile to the Polish Republic which bears the name of "The Fourth International."

10 January 1969

According to Reuter's dispatches from Warsaw (January 7 and 9), after extended interrogation of the defendants, the court began on January 7 hearing testimony from the first of the 17 witnesses, an expelled Warsaw University student, Henryk Szlajfer, who is himself in custody awaiting trial.

For information on the opening of the Kuron-Modzelewski trial see Polish SR/1, RFER, 3 January 1969.

Born in 1920 into a worker family, Blaskowski spent the wartime period in Germany as a forced laborer. On returning to Poland in 1945, he enrolled in the CP, graduated from the General Party School in 1950, worked in the CC until 1952, then as voivodship secretary in Rzeszow and (since 1957) in Gdansk. While holding this position, he managed to graduate from the Higher School of Economics in 1957. He was elected a CC member at the Fifth Party Congress in November 1958.

The plenary session of the voivodship Party Committee in January which took place on January 3 and at which the charges were effected was attended by Politburo member and CC Secretary Leon Kiszko and two lesser CC officials. Judging by the coverage of the meeting by Trybuna Ludu, as well as by Kiszko's utterances, Komarski's removal from office cannot be interpreted as a sign of disgrace. It would rather seem that his transfer to a desk job in Warsaw was an expression of trust.

On the same day, a plenary session of the Warsaw Voivodship Party Committee took place. Adam Starowicz was elected secretary in place of Stanislaw Kanis, who has been appointed head of the CC Administrative Department (cf. Polish SR/1, RFER, 3 January 1969). Starowicz, born in 1932 into a peasant family, has a university education. He started his political career early: as a 15-year-old boy he was active in peasant youth organizations, and then in the Polish Youth Union (the Polish equivalent of Komsomol). Active in the Party apparatus from 1955 to 1959, he was sent to direct the Warsaw Voivodship Rural Youth Union from 1959 to 1962, whereupon he was elected deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Warsaw Voivodship People's Council.

#### Indictment in Kuron and Modzelewski Trial

Two days after the trial of two former Warsaw University assistants, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, opened before the Voivodship Court of the City of Warsaw, Trybuna Ludu (January 4) published a PAP communiqué giving details of the indictment.

According to the agency, the two defendants have been accused of being active in an organization which was based on a political program devised by them which was hostile to the Polish People's Republic and which aimed at inciting public anti-state demonstrations. The indictment also alleges that the defendants, while planning activities detrimental to the Polish state, had gotten in touch with a foreign organization hostile to the Polish Republic which bears the name of "The Fourth International."