

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## EAST EUROPE

Poland/40  
9 May 1968

### SITUATION REPORT

- + Gomulka in Moscow
- + Messages to Czechoslovakia
- + Polish-Czechoslovak Strife
- + Polish Yugoslav Ideological Quarrel
- + New Polish Ambassador to Brussels
- + Purges, Dismissals, Appointments
- + East-West Contacts
- + Correction

#### Gomulka in Moscow

First Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka's presence at the Moscow meeting of the leaders of selected East European Communist countries (Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and Poland) on May 8 was announced by Radio Warsaw only at 2300 hours of the same day. Even more curious was the fact that the announcement was in the form of a quotation of a Tass dispatch. The same procedure was applied in the early morning (0500 hours) newscast on May 9. Quoting Tass, Radio Warsaw reported that the subject of "the exchange of views" had been "current problems of the international situation and of the world Communist and workers' movement. The meeting took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere." Two hours later, Radio Warsaw -- again quoting Tass -- added that "those attending the meeting informed each other about the situation in their respective countries and expressed the firm will to support future, overall development of friendly relations and cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

(over)

9 May 1968

Messages to Czechoslovakia

While there could be little doubt that the Moscow meeting mentioned above also discussed the situation of the two conspicuous absentees, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, the Polish congratulations sent to the Czechoslovak leaders on the occasion of the latter's national holiday seem to reflect the recent Polish preoccupation with Czechoslovak developments (the next item lists specific problems). The three top Polish leaders sent their Czechoslovak counterparts messages "containing cordial greetings and good wishes," Radio Warsaw reported on May 9. After referring to the fact that the Czechoslovak national holiday is linked with the day of victory over Hitlerite Germany in World War II, the messages stated that Poland and Czechoslovakia "had drawn the proper conclusions from the tragic experiences of the last war by basing the fate and security of their nations on their unbreakable alliances with the Soviet Union. Today, guarding our security and peace in Europe is the power of the nations of the Warsaw Treaty, the continuous strengthening of which we regard as one of our basic duties. We express the warm desire for an overall development of cooperation between our countries, both on the basis of bilateral relations and within the framework of Comecon, in the conviction that the development of such cooperation well serves the interests of both our countries."

In an editorial devoted to the Czechoslovak national holiday, Trybuna Ludu of May 9 -- as quoted by Radio Warsaw -- stressed that Czechoslovakia finds itself "at an important turning point of history." While there is an obvious trend toward making up for the mistakes of the past, "in this process of renewal" there has also appeared "an alien, anti-socialist stream which would like to bring about the undermining of the leading role of the Party of the working class, the liquidation of the people's authority, and discord between the CSSR and other socialist countries." The editorial concluded on the optimistic note that the Czechoslovak Communists -- "keeping historical experience in mind" -- will manage to guarantee that their country "will enjoy further propitious development within the framework of socialist democracy."

Polish-Czechoslovak Strife

The strain in official Polish-Czechoslovak relations reached a new level when, on May 6, Polish Ambassador to Prague Wlodzimierz Janiurek handed identical notes to the CPCS CC and to the head of the government about an "anti-Polish campaign" which had been conducted recently at "some public meetings" and in the Czechoslovak press, radio and TV. This news was carried by a PAP communique and broadcast for the first time on the same day by Radio Warsaw as the sixth item in its 2300 hours newscast. It was not mentioned in the dispatch from Prague that was broadcast immediately after that newscast. The protest was again reported as the fourth item in the 0500 newscast of the following day.



9 May 1968

The Polish ambassador had delivered a verbal protest to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Prague press and TV criticism of Polish events as early as April 27 (cf. Polish SR/37 Radio Free Europe Research, April 29).

In a clear endeavor to prepare Polish public opinion for this unprecedented occurrence in relations between two East European Communist countries, several Polish leading dailies (Zycie Warszawy, Sztandar Mlodych and Zolnierz Wolnosci) on May 4 carried an article by Wlodzimierz Zralek, AR (Workers' Press Agency) correspondent in Prague. The article, entitled "Beyond the Southern Frontiers -- Are Question Marks Justified?" said that "while positive changes... seem to be profoundly justified, there have appeared anti-socialist voices which postulate the rejection of some basic principles." Zralek also observed that "in foreign policy, neutralist and anti-Soviet trends have appeared in Czechoslovakia.... Numerous statements demanding extensive development of economic and cultural relations with West Germany have given Bonn the hope that the maintenance of the official Czechoslovak position on diplomatic relations with West Germany... is only a tactical delay dictated by ... obligations toward the Soviet Union and the GDR."

Zralek also criticized Czechoslovak press reports on Polish affairs: "... from our point of view... the fact that... the Czechoslovak press has been reporting the character of events in Poland in an obviously tendentious manner, often exclusively on the basis of Western agency reports, deserves particular attention."

On the same day on which the Polish ambassador to Prague delivered his written protest (May 6), his Czechoslovak counterpart in Warsaw, Antonin Gregor, held a press conference, on the subject of the approaching Czechoslovak national holiday. At this press conference, according to the PAP communiqué and Radio Warsaw of May 7, Polish journalists expressed their concern over the fact that articles had frequently appeared in the Czechoslovak press which presented Polish problems tendentiously and inaccurately. Ambassador Gregor replied that the processes which were under way in Czechoslovakia "have not yet come to an end" and that one must distinguish between the point of view of the Party and government and other points of view, also expressed publicly in the press, radio and TV."

According to Radio Warsaw of May 7, Polish ambassador to Moscow Jan Ptasinski paid a call on Alexander Shelepin, CPSU Politburo member. The communiqué stressed that "the visit was made in a cordial atmosphere," a phrase significantly lacking from the news item on the visit paid by Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Hajek to Prime Minister Kosygin.

One item in the program "Music and Topical Events" of May 8 was devoted by Radio Warsaw to the Czechoslovak national holiday. It was written in a friendly tone, but also contained the following phrase: "It is with concern that we hear and observe voices and attitudes (from Czechoslovakia) that endeavor to trouble our friendship."

### Polish-Yugoslav Ideological Quarrel

Rather unexpectedly, Polish-Yugoslav relations have likewise been somewhat overshadowed recently. This started when Tadeusz Reczek, Belgrade correspondent of PAP, wrote a letter to the weekly Komunist (published in its issue of April 18),<sup>in</sup> which he accused Oskar Davico, a Yugoslav Party functionary and prominent writer, of having maliciously reported on alleged anti-Semitism in Poland (in an article published in Komunist of March 28). Davico answered Reczek's accusation in a lengthy article that appeared in Komunist of May 1 (cf. CAA Background Report, "Yugoslav Party Functionary Answers Polish Journalist on Anti-Semitism in Warsaw," RFER, 2 May 1968).

Other voices of protest against the trend of developments in Poland have also appeared in Yugoslav press media. Thus the May-June 1968 issue of the Zagreb philosophical bi-monthly Praxis published the text of 25 letters by Yugoslav, East European and Western Marxist philosophers, protesting against the Polish anti-Semitic campaign. (For more details, cf. CAA Background Report, Slobodan Stankovic, "Yugoslav Periodical Organizing Worldwide Campaign Against Anti-Semitism in Poland," RFER, 6 May 1968.)

On May 5, the official Party newspaper, Borba, published a letter from the Yugoslav Philosophical Association protesting to Poland over the expulsion of a number of leading professors and students from Warsaw University. According to a UPI dispatch of May 5, the letter had first been published in the literary magazine Knjizevne Novine. It was signed by 160 professors, scientists, writers, painters and journalists.

In an interview granted by Professor Zygmunt Rybicki, pro-rector of Warsaw University, to Milika Sundic, Radio Zagreb's special Warsaw correspondent on May 5, it was revealed that letters from a group of professors of Sarajevo University and from the student union of Zagreb, had been sent to the University of Warsaw, asking that the removal of Leszek Kolakowski and other professors be reconsidered.

In view of these critical Yugoslav voices, it is not very surprising that Radio Prague reported on May 6 that "the delegation



9 May 1968

of the Polish parliament (Sejm) which was scheduled to arrive in Yugoslavia today, has cancelled its visit. Western observers assume that the reason for the cancellation is the reports by the Yugoslav press on the latest developments in Poland."

#### New Polish Ambassador in Brussels

Franciszek Modrzewski has been appointed the new Polish Ambassador to Belgium, immediately after removal from his post as Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, Radio Warsaw announced on May 6, adding that Modrzewski was a member of the Democratic Party.

Modrzewski replaces Jan Wasilewski, who had been Polish Ambassador to Belgium and Luxemburg since September 1961, thus having served a longer term there than is normal for ambassadorial posts.

Since Modrzewski's transfer takes place at a time of widespread reshuffles, dismissals, and purges in Poland, it is not surprising that some interpretations and speculations suggested that this was a demotion. Both a Reuter dispatch from Warsaw (May 6) and Jonathan Randal's article from Warsaw in The New York Times (May 6) quoted some observers as saying that the transfer was possibly a demotion though there was on the face of it, no clear evidence of this, or that the ambassadorial post was less important than a deputy Ministers' position in the Foreign Trade Ministry. Another and probably sounder appraisal of the nomination came from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's Warsaw correspondent, Angela Nacken, who observed that with Modrzewski's nomination, Warsaw had placed in the Common Market headquarters in Brussels a foreign trade policy specialist (particularly on trade with Western countries). Though there are other possible reasons (Modrzewski's advanced age -- he is now 66 -- and the trend toward rejuvenating the staff of the ministries), this might provide the real clue to Modrzewski's transfer.

Born in 1902, Franciszek Modrzewski, an economist, was already active in Polish foreign trade firms between the two World Wars. He spent the war years in England, and served as the Polish representative on the International Red Cross Committee in Scandinavia and the Middle East. He returned to Poland in 1947, and in 1957 (after the "Polish October") was nominated Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, the post he occupied until his recent nomination to Brussels. Within the ministry, he was mainly concerned with trade agreements with East European countries and the US, but he also negotiated many trade agreements all over the world and represented Poland at numerous trade conferences (including GATT). He was considered one of the ablest and most experienced persons within his ministry, a skilled

9 May 1968

negotiator and a "Westerner" with excellent manners. In spite of his pro-Western leanings and the fact that he did not belong to the Communist Party (he became a member of the Democratic Party's Central Committee in 1965), he was rewarded in 1964 with the Order of the Banner of Labor (first class).

Thus there are no available indications that Modrzewski has been demoted. Had this been the intent, he could easily have been retired.

On the other hand, Modrzewski's long-standing contacts in West European trade circles undoubtedly make him a most suitable person for any possible contacts with the Common Market authorities in Brussels. Although no official confirmation is available, there are grounds for assuming that Poland is maintaining contact with the Common Market through the Polish Embassy in Brussels. The first unofficial contacts between Poland and the Common Market Commission were reported to have taken place in Brussels at the beginning of 1965; these grew out of contacts established within the framework of GATT in Geneva. To be sure, Poland following Moscow's lead, cannot at the present moment consider official representation on the Common Market Commission, but nevertheless the reality of the existence of the Common Market and the necessity of coming to terms with the organization have been accepted by many Polish experts for some years. Modrzewski himself was reported as having said in Geneva in 1960, that despite "the existence of West European groupings, it is possible to achieve Europe-wide cooperation."

Only the future will show whether Modrzewski's new appointment was a well-deserved reward in the form of an attractive ambassadorial post for an aging high official, or a calculated move in Poland's foreign trade policy.

#### Purges, Dismissals, Appointments

Aleksander Postolow has been recalled from the post of director of the Lodz Publishing House, the local daily, Glos Robotniczy, reported on April 13-14. The paper explained that the decision had been taken by the minister of culture and the arts upon the suggestion of the executive of the Lodz Party Committee of February 16. Postolow was replaced by Party member Wieslaw Jazdzynski, "a well-known Lodz writer." Jazdzynski, a Home Army veteran, and almost by definition a ZBoWiD member, had made a name for himself during the last decade by quite a number of "constructive" books which may well suit the current "patriotic" trend.



9 May 1968

After resigning from his post in the face of criticism, Wladyslaw Wedrowski, head of state farms for Warsaw Voivodship, was expelled from the Party, Trybuna Mazowiecka -- as quoted by UPI -- reported on May 6. He was accused of ignoring and bypassing the Party organization and of tolerating "discredited persons and drunkenness" on his staff.

Szymon Jakubowicz, a senior editor on the staff of Zycie Warszawy and of Jewish origin, resigned because of disagreement with the paper's policies and particularly with its anti-Israeli line, UPI reported on May 6. Another Zycie Warszawy editor of Jewish origin, Artur Hajnicz, asked for transfer to a small intellectual magazine, Widnokregi (Horizons). In addition, Kamila Chylinska, (who is not Jewish), and two other editors offered their resignations, UPI added. Queried by Reuter (May 7) on these changes, the editorial secretary of Zycie Warszawy said he was not aware of the transfer of Hajnicz ("he was still working at the newspaper") but confirmed that Jakubowicz had resigned in order to work at the Institute of Planning and that Chylinska "had stopped writing for the newspaper."

At a two-day plenary meeting of the Main Board of the Trade Union of Publishing House, Press and Radio Workers, which took place on May 6 and 7, Jerzy Boronski, a Warsaw TV employee, was elected chairman. He thus replaced Wisla Pankiewicz-Morawska, who had "resigned" earlier (cf. Polish SR/34, RFER, April 18). Maria Namyslowska of the State Economic Publishing House was elected Vice Chairman of the Union. In connection with the meeting, the chairman of the Polish State Radio and Television Committee, Wlodzimierz Sokorski, came under fire for failing to attend. Glos Pracy, the trade union daily, as quoted by UPI on May 8, did not refer to Sokorski by name, but stated that the absence of the chairman of the committee was "incorrect."

#### East-West Contacts

France - The Polish National Philharmonic Orchestra, under Witold Rowicki and Antoni Wit, has left for its 24th tour abroad, this time to France and Switzerland, to give 11 concerts in these two countries, Radio Warsaw announced on May 6. (The Swiss part of the tour was mentioned in Polish SR/39, RFER, May 6).

Scotland - A delegation of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce arrived in Warsaw at the invitation of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade for talks on the possibilities of increasing Polish-Scottish trade exchanges and economic cooperation, Radio Warsaw announced on May 7.

Sweden - A group of Swedish industrialists is visiting the Gdansk coastal area and is engaging in talks on Polish-Swedish contacts in the field of shipbuilding, Radio Warsaw announced on May 7.

9 May 1968

Swedish Minister of the Interior Rune Johansson, who is also overlord of the Swedish construction industry, arrived in Warsaw on May 6, according to a Radio Warsaw broadcast of the same day. (The visit had first been announced by Radio Warsaw on May 3, cf. Polish SR/39, RFER, May 6).

Austria. The chairman of the Austrian State Industry Control Council, Secretary of State Dr. Josef Faust, held talks on May 7 with the first vice chairman of the Polish Committee for Economic Cooperation with Foreign Countries, Kazimierz Olszewski, on the future development of economic relations and of cooperation between the two countries, Radio Warsaw reported on May 8.

International Organizations. The Polish representative to the World Federation of the Association of Friends of the UN, Professor Remigiusz Bierzanek, was elected one of its vice chairmen at the latest plenary session in Geneva, Radio Warsaw reported on May 6.

Jerzy Bohdanowicz, a department director in the Polish Foreign Trade Ministry, has been elected vice chairman of the 16th session of the UN Trade and Development Board, which opened in Geneva on May 7, according to a Radio Warsaw broadcast of the same day.

A three-day congress of the International Federation Motoring Experts is opening on May 9 in Warsaw, Radio Warsaw announced on May 7. Under discussion will be methods of calculating motoring damages and car depreciation, road safety and technical standards of motor vehicles, reported the broadcast.

Correction: The name of the last person listed under the heading "Purges, Dismissals, Appointments" in the Polish SR/39, RFER, May 6 should read Dr. Jerzy Wolczyk (not Molczyk as misspelled).