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The PUWP Position at the Budapest Conference

Trybuna Ludu of March 1 printed what is apparently the full text of Zenon Kliszko's speech to the Budapest Communist conference. As already reported (Polish Situation Report/14, Radio Free Europe Research, February 29), Kliszko called for an international Communist conference to be held in Moscow in December 1968 or January 1969 -- the latter alternative month probably a reflection of the fact that the PUWP Fifth Congress was planned for December 1968. The Polish Party representative reaffirmed the position (contained in Nowe Drogi, February 1968) that, since the Communist movement could no longer be directed from a single center, international conferences were a necessary institution for the preservation of its international character. All Parties, whether present at Budapest or not, were invited to participate in the work of the proposed preparatory commission, with its seat in Budapest, which would work out "defined documents" to be adopted by the international conference. The conference would be limited to Communist Parties, although it should discuss calling a subsequent, broader anti-imperialist conference. Reaffirming the correctness of the "main evaluations" of the 1960 Moscow Statement (with no mention that any part of it was deficient or outdated, and no reference to Yugoslavia). Kliszko strongly endorsed a broad agenda for the conference -- the key disputed issue among the Budapest meeting participants after the Rumanian departure. Rejecting the position that the conference could either be postponed or limited to the discussion of only a few, unanimously accepted points, we maintained that the agenda had to include such questions as "peaceful coexistence," peace and war, relationship of Communists to the "national liberation movement," and other disputed issues. "The omission of key problems of this kind in the discussion at the conference, because of their controversial nature, would be alien to the spirit of Leninism."

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It would lead in practice to the adoption of vague resolutions which anybody could interpret as they liked. This would create in consequence only a semblance of unity and would be conducive to the various Parties becoming stagnant in the backwaters of nationalism, and would threaten our movement with paralysis as an international force." The PUWP could not agree with the views of "some spokesmen... referring to the principles of sovereignty of every Party and every socialist country," who argued that no "judgment" could be passed on the policy of any Party because that would mean interfering in its internal affairs. "The question is, what is understood by the term interference in internal affairs?" No stand could be "imposed" on an individual Party, nor could it be excluded from the Communist movement, but Parties did have the right to exchange views on an individual Party "whose position has come into conflict with the vital interests of other Parties or socialist countries." In this context, Kliszko condemned the "present leadership" of the CCP for its "scissionist policy" and "slandorous propaganda" against the CPSU and other Parties.

Stressing the necessity of internationalism, so defined, Kliszko nevertheless stated -- in more explicit form than in the PUWP's pre-Budapest comments -- that this did not signify "full unity" in the Communist movement; a demand for "full unity" signified "either a return to the methods of the period of the cult of personality, or an abandonment of the very idea of a world conference of our movement." Since under present conditions total unanimity was not possible, Kliszko continued, it would "not be abnormal" if some participants in the international conference refrained from endorsing specific parts of the documents or even refrained from signing one of them entirely. Such a Party would be entitled publicly to defend its position. "If some Party even decided that the resolutions of the conference as a whole were not suitable, it should have the right to present its distinctive viewpoint in a separate document."

On the basis of the texts of the speeches at the Budapest conference presently available, this view -- the PUWP's stand on an all-embracing agenda notwithstanding -- goes the furthest in endorsing possible dissent at the world conference by any of the participants. At the same time, however, Kliszko formulated more sharply the PUWP's stand on the internationalist limits on the national foreign policies of ruling Communist Parties. Stressing the "profound correlation of interests" of ruling Parties bound by inter-state alliances as well as ideological ties, Kliszko affirmed that, while each Party autonomously determined its own external as well as internal policy, "this does not mean that each Party and country formulates its policy in international matters without considering the obligations arising from its allies, the opinions and policies of other Parties and socialist countries." The USSR, he maintained, played a "special role" in defending the "socialist camp," which had to be respected by all Parties, but especially the ruling Parties. In an obvious reference to Rumania, he continued: "It is difficult to agree to the proposition that one Party and socialist country must bear the

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international responsibility for and thus take into account the interest of the socialist commonwealth, while another Party and country is free of that common responsibility, in the name of a falsely comprehended sovereignty and independence."

Polish media provided full and rapid coverage of the entire proceedings of the meeting.

Polish Delegation to the Warsaw Pact Meeting

The Polish delegation to the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, which started its debates on March 6, is as follows: chairman of the delegation, First Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka; Politburo members: Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz, CC Secretary Zenon Kliszko, Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki, and National Defense Minister Marshal Marian Spychalski; CC members: Deputy Foreign Minister Marian Naszkowski and Deputy National Defense Minister, Chief of the General Staff Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

While listing these persons as having left Warsaw for Sofia in the morning of March 6, Radio Warsaw stressed that Kliszko would be coming to the Bulgarian capital direct from Budapest, where he headed the Polish delegation to the Budapest Communist consultative meeting. (Radio Warsaw also reported in the evening of March 6 that the remaining members of the Polish delegation to the Budapest meeting -- Artur Starewicz, Jozef Czesak and Andrzej Werblan -- had already returned to Warsaw.)

The delegation to the Warsaw Pact meeting was bid farewell at the Warsaw airport by Party and government leaders, headed by Politburo member and State Council Chairman Edward Ochab. In this connection, reference is made to the Polish Situation Report/7, February 2, where Ochab was described as a "conspicuous absentee" at two important conferences taking place in Warsaw.

In addition to the seven persons listed above, the Polish delegation to the Sofia meeting includes also -- as a matter of routine -- Ambassador Ryszard Nieszporek.

(more)

While Poland is not the only country to send to Sofia more than the four persons expected to appear at such a meeting (i.e. the Party leader, the chief of government, the foreign and defense ministers), the composition of the delegation raises several questions. First of all, it is significant that Kliszko is included. Is he there as a chief Party ideologist, and, if so, are ideological matters on the agenda of the ostensibly military meeting? If not, does it mean that his presence in Sofia is intended as a personal build-up intended to stress that he is unquestionably the second most important leader today and the main possible successor to Gomulka?

Naszkowski's presence may be explained by Rapacki's poor health; the deputy could step in should the minister suffer a collapse. However, in view of Rapacki's remarkable past performance, in spite of his reportedly poor health, one may be tempted to ask whether there are additional reasons for Naszkowski's presence. It might be that Rapacki may be persuaded to retire soon (for health reasons!) and that Naszkowski is in Sofia so as to be up to date with the business at hand. Given Naszkowski's Jewish origin, and his relative political unimportance, his appointment as foreign minister now would be a typical Gomulka solution.

The inclusion of Jaruzelski, in addition to Spychalski, might be explained by the fact that, militarily, Spychalski is a figure-head.

A Book by Kliszko on the Warsaw Rising in 1944

Warsaw Rising. Articles, Speeches, Recollections, Documents is the title of a book which appeared on sale in December 1967 and whose author is Zenon Kliszko, Politburo member and CC Secretary. At the time of the Rising (August-September 1944), Kliszko was commander of the People's Army (Communist) units in the Zoliborz ward of Warsaw.

It appears from a spate of reviews -- all complimentary -- that the book [not yet available here] is divided, according to its subtitles, into three parts: 1) the author's speeches and articles, 2) personal recollections, and 3) documents. According to the reviewers, the most interesting are the personal recollections. Kliszko does not hesitate to recount such personal details as the crossing of the Vistula with his wife and 16-month-old daughter to join the Soviet Army on the river's right bank. (Of some 50 People's Army soldiers who attempted to cross the river, only 28 succeeded.) However, the book's importance lies in its political nature, and Kliszko's argument is directed not so much against the rank-and-file of the Home Army as against its political leaders, and particularly against the Polish government-in-exile (in London), who are charged with attempting to present to the advancing Soviet forces a fait accompli by seizing power in Warsaw.

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Similar criticism was voiced by the book's reviewers. Thus Jerzy Feliksiak, writing in the youth paper Sztandar Mlodych (February 15), stressed the anti-Communist activities of the Home Army. A far more hostile attitude to the Home Army was displayed by Wladyslaw Machejek, a former People's Army member, in Zycie Literackie (February 25). Quite restrained on this point is Zbigniew Czajkowski, one of the leading "Pax" journalists, who preferred to stress the ideological and educational value of the book (Kierunki, February 4). This cautious attitude should not be surprising in view of the fact that "Pax" published in the past a number of memoirs on the Warsaw Rising by former Home Army members.

In this latter connection, Kliszko's book may be interpreted as a counter-move to several publications which appeared in the more "liberal" past, all praising the heroism of the Home Army, although not without criticism of its political leadership. However, the impact of these publications was certainly favorable to the Home Army as a whole and thus negative from the point of view of the Party, and particularly of former People's Army members. While this suggestion may sound logical, one may ask why Kliszko's book appeared so late. He, or any other outstanding member of the People's Army, might have published such a book ten or five years ago.

This delay suggests another explanation. Exactly six years before the publication of Kliszko's book, Mieczyslaw Moczar published his Barwy walki (Shades of Battle) which, although poor in almost every respect, has had several reprints, has been translated and published in almost every country of the Soviet bloc, and even made into a film (cf. Polish SR, 14 January 1965). Against the background of Moczar's political offensive and ambitions, the question may be asked whether Kliszko's book is not intended as a sort of antidotum to Moczar's undeniable "literary" success and political ambitions.

Rapacki's Visit to Prague

Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki spent two days in Prague (February 29 and March 1) on what the Radio Warsaw correspondent in the Czechoslovak capital called "a consultative visit." Interviewed at the end of his stay in Prague, Rapacki stated that it had been "a happy coincidence" that his visit occurred on the first anniversary of the renewal of the Polish-Czechoslovak friendship treaty. (On the latter occasion the leaders of the two countries exchanged congratulatory messages, Radio Warsaw reported on March 1).

Asked about the subject of his discussions with his Czechoslovak opposite number, Vaclav David, Rapacki stated that the agenda included "European security," which means the German problem, and that there was full mutual understanding and unanimity of views between the two partners. "We shall remain shoulder to shoulder vis-a-vis the basic problems of our security, of the security of our countries, of all the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and the security of the whole of Europe," Rapacki declared.

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Reporting from Warsaw for Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (March 1), Angela Nacken stressed that two weeks before his Prague visit, Rapacki also spent two days in East Berlin on discussions with Otto Winzer, the GDR's Foreign Minister. She also recalled that on February 26 East Berlin was the meeting place of the deputy foreign ministers of the member states of the Warsaw Pact and that on the eve of Rapacki's arrival in Prague, Marshal Ivan Yakubovsky, C-in-C of the Warsaw Pact forces, appeared in the Czechoslovak capital and was received by First Secretary of the CPCS, Alexander Dubcek.

East-West Contacts

Two Polish statisticians arrived in Sweden on March 4 for a four-day study visit, an RFE Special from Stockholm reported on March 5. They are Dr. Wincenty Kawalec, Director of the Polish Central Bureau of Statistics, and Benedykt Askanas, Chief of a department in this bureau.

The Polish woman journalist Monika Warnenska, who spent several months with the Vietcong, gave a lecture in Munich on March 6, it was reported on the same day.

A Polish trade delegation arrived in Madrid on March 5 for a ten-day study of trade possibilities between the two countries, according to news agencies reports on the same day.

Poland is participating in the Ninth Festival of the People's in Florence, with a variety of documentary films, an RFE Special from Rome reported on March 5. The festival was opened on March 4 and continues until March 10.

An exhibition of drawings and watercolors by Polish artist Tadeusz Kulisiewicz opened at West Berlin's Tiergarten Art Center on March 5, an RFE Special from Berlin reported on March 6.

The Polish firm Polservice sold recently to a German firm the license for production of a mining machine named Barbara Ross 3, Radio Warsaw reported on March 4.

A Polish cultural delegation arrived in Algeria on March 6, Radio Warsaw reported on the same day. They will sign an agreement on cooperation for 1968-1969.