

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## EAST EUROPE

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#### Important Government Changes Predicted -- Rapacki Sick

Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki postponed an official five day visit to Algeria scheduled to begin April 22, a short PAP communique -- as quoted by Reuter April 4 --announced.

Although Rapacki is known to suffer from heart trouble, the cancellation of the visit almost three weeks before it was about to begin seems to indicate that the postponement might be dictated by reasons other than health. A number of resolutions demanded a purge of the Polish foreign service from "Zionist elements" (cf. Polish Situation Report/26, Radio Free Europe Research, March 28), and the pressure for such a purge continues. Jonathan Randal (The New York Times, April 5) -- quoting "informed sources" -- reported that younger officials in the Foreign Ministry were circulating a list of 200 employees whom they wanted dismissed. Rapacki may be busy trying to rearrange his staff so as to suit the requirements of the moment.

It is no easy task, particularly at a time when more important persons than foreign service officials may fall victim to what Angela Nacken (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, April 8) called a "new wave" of complete and thorough reshuffle of the whole Party and government apparatus. Usually reliable Yugoslav observers of the Polish scene also noticed this trend. One of them, Lazar Martinovic, the Warsaw correspondent of Borba, stated (on April 4) that at the top of the Polish Party "a process has developed which indicates a settling of accounts" among the leaders. Those most active in their demands for radical purges are "Partisans," Martinovic reported. Quoting "well-informed quarters," the Yugoslav journalist predicted

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"significant personnel changes," which may be announced during the Sejm session on April 9.

Regarding Rapacki himself, one cannot bypass a passage of a recent article of Kazimierz Kakol (whom Nacken described as a spokesman of the "new wave") in Prawo i Zycie (April 7). The passage referred to a wave of vacations, sicknesses, sanatorium cures, etc., recently used by responsible officials as a pretext for avoiding "taking a stand." Another interesting development, which may be a bad sign for Rapacki, is a rather unexpected reappearance in the press and radio of the name of Kazimierz Sidor, the man who for the last few years has been reported as a favorite of the Partisan faction for the post of foreign minister. The daily Zolnierz Wolnosci -- as quoted by Radio Warsaw April 4 -- started a series of articles which are excerpts from a new book by Sidor on "the subject of the aggressive policy conducted by Tel-Aviv and international Zionist organizations."

Sidor spent a number of years in the Middle East as Polish ambassador, most recently to the United Arab Republic. In December 1965 he was recalled and given a job at the Foreign Ministry. There was an element of surprise in that recall, which followed the visit to the UAR of State Council Chairman Edward Ochab at the end of November 1965. Incidentally, Randal (cf. above) reported also that Slowo Powszechne (the pro-regime Pax daily) on April 4 attacked the Front of National Unity headed by Ochab. The newspaper questioned whether the Front had actively fulfilled its role.

In the meantime, the man who is believed to be behind "the new wave," Partisan leader Mieczyslaw Moczar -- who thus far has been conspicuously absent from the public eye -- appeared two nights in a row on Polish television. He did not speak, but was seen with members of the Main Board of his Veteran Association (ZBoWiD) on April 5. The TV commentator said that ZBoWiD was "the first to disclose the anti-state character of Polish student unrest in March," UPI reported on April 6. To credit ZBoWiD with this "merit" instead of its chairman, who is Minister of the Interior, seems to be a deliberate obfuscation. The next day, April 6, Moczar appeared again on the TV screen taking part in the opening ceremony of the 25th anniversary of the (now defunct) ZWM (Zwiazek Walki Mlodych -- Fighting Youth Union), a wartime Communist youth guerrilla group.

#### Dismissals and Purges (Continued)

Wilhelm Billig, Government Plenipotentiary for Matters of Atomic Energy, has been "recalled from his position" by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Radio Warsaw reported on April 4. Billig, 63, of Jewish origin, is a "Moscow" Pole, i.e. he belongs to the group of Polish Communists who spent the war in the USSR and then returned to Poland to take important Party and government posts, often at the expense of the so-called "home" Communists, leaders and soldiers of Communist guerrilla units, who are today associated with ZBoWiD. Thus he is a victim of the old rivalry between "home" and "Moscow" Communists. As early as 1941, Billig was working with the Polish



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Section of Radio Moscow. He became one of the outstanding members of the Union of Polish Patriots set up by Stalin in 1943, returned to Poland in 1944 and occupied several important positions with the Polish Radio, the Ministry of Communications and then with the Atomic Energy Agency. In this latter capacity, he represented Poland at several international meetings, and was also Chairman of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna for a year (September 1966-September 1967). He is said to have been a personal friend of Stalin and of Boleslaw Bierut, the Polish Party leader from 1949 to early 1956. Billig is an alternate member of the CC.

Two sports officials lost their posts on April 5. Radio Warsaw reported that the Chairman of the Main Board of Physical Training and Tourism had recalled as from that date Aleksander Gutowski from the position of director of the Institute for Physical Training, and Tomasz Lempart from the position of a counsellor of the Board's Chairman. Both are Jews, and their dismissals come as no surprise after they had been publicly criticized at a meeting of sports editors (cf. International Herald Tribune, April 4). For at least ten years (1955-1965), Lempart was secretary general of the Polish Olympic Committee and was often referred to as the "eminence grise" of the Committee. Less is known about Gutowski, but he has been active as a sports official for at least 20 years. Lempart is said to be on good terms with Wlodzimierz Reczek, the Board's Chairman. The dismissal of the two officials may be a bad sign for Reczek as well. He has never been in the good graces of the Partisan faction.

The Polish film industry, already undergoing a severe crisis because of censorship and Party policy, is facing further deterioration after the dismissal of Prof. Jerzy Toeplitz from the position of rector of the world-famed Film and Theater Academy in Lodz. A vice-rector of the Academy, Dr. Roman Wajdowicz, was also dismissed, Radio Warsaw reported on April 6. Toeplitz, a 58-year-old Jew, is an internationally known film critic and historian, who had been rector of the Lodz school, with some intervals, since 1949. He has been president of the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) since 1948 and is also director of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Very little is known about Wajdowicz. The immediate cause of, if not pretext for, the dismissal of the two professors might have been the Academy students' demonstrations in March (cf. Polish SR/21, RFER, March 19).

Two members of the teaching staff of the Higher School of Pedagogics in Opole have been expelled from the Party, according to Trybuna Ludu April 7, as quoted by UPI the next day. They are: Col. Izydor Helin, head of military training, and Dr. Marian Treszel, philosophy professor.

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The Black List (Professors and Writers)

The long list of persons dismissed from their professional positions and purged from the Party recently is undoubtedly far from being complete. It should be kept in mind that the reprisals against minor officials are not made public. For instance, Bernard Margueritte reported for Le Monde (April 5) that several ("seven, according to certain sources") assistant lecturers at a number of faculties of the Warsaw University (recently affected by purges of professors and closure) had either been dismissed or suspended. There are also indications that reprisals already taken against certain persons of importance have not been officially revealed.

This seems to be the case of Prof. Adam Schaff. In a Radio Warsaw broadcast (April 4), he was referred to as a former professor of the Warsaw University. Considering Schaff's CC membership, the reference probably cannot be explained by a mistake or a slip of tongue, the less so as the man who thus referred to him was a responsible editor, Aleksander Tarnawski. Furthermore, Tarnawski was not the first to signal Schaff's disgrace. On March 22, Trybuna Ludu published an article by art historian Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski who strongly criticized Schaff for his "power elite" theory (such an elite, according to Schaff, is bound to develop inside "socialist" communities). A few days later (March 26) Trybuna Ludu again attacked Schaff as one of the holders of a "monopoly" for wrong views (cf. Polish SR/25, RFER, March 26). Other scholars were also singled out for criticism by Wieslaw Myslek, author of this Trybuna Ludu article. Along with a number of professors already affected by reprisals, Myslek referred to Juliusz Katz-Suchy (a diplomat of international fame), and philosopher Dr. Krzysztof Pomian. Another scholar who might have already suffered from reprisals is Stanislaw Manturzewski, a well-known sociologist, movie script-and-TV writer, specializing in problems of juvenile delinquency. He was criticized by "Sztandar Młodych (March 28) as one of the "protectors" of the youth "Club of Seekers for Controversies," a breeding place for young "revisionists."

In his speech of March 19, First Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomułka listed the names of at least 11 writers. However, he also stated that at the extraordinary meeting of the Warsaw Branch of the Polish Writers' Union (on February 29) no less than 221 writers voted for the resolution put forward by non-Party people (while the Party counter-resolution received only 124 votes). There can be no doubt that the regime has the full list of the 221 "firebrands," as they were later called by the press. All are potential objects of black-mail and -- should this fail -- of reprisals. The Sejm Committee for Culture and Arts, meeting on March 28, passed a resolution condemning these writers, "known for their oppositional and demagogic



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attitudes," who "spread by force" an idea about the "alleged regression of culture in Poland." Such views, the resolution concluded, serve "imperialist centers of anti-Polish propaganda." The Warsaw branch of the culture and arts employees' Trade Union, meeting on April 1, went a step further in its resolution. It demanded the removal from the administration and from "social organizations, of all sorts of Zionists, people who falsify the picture of Polish culture and history." While this latter demand pertains mainly to officials, the basic cell of the PUWP and the "circle" of the United Peasant Party at the Warsaw Branch of the Polish Writers' Union passed a resolution (on April 3) urging the Union's Main Board to expel from the Union the writers: January Grzedzinski, Pawel Jasienica, and Stefan Kisielewski. The three, for several years, have been conducting political activity "from anti-socialist positions, hostile to the system of People's Poland," the resolution read. A decision on the possible exclusion of them should be taken at the plenary meeting of the Board on April 9.

The question arises why only these three have been singled out for expulsion. Although Gomulka was particularly bitter about Jasienica and Kisielewski, he named nine others, and Grzedzinski was not among them. It seems that the Party is not quite certain about the form of punishment and its effects, including a possible repeal of the Board's decision by a future Writers' Congress. It may be a mere trial balloon to test the reaction. If there is no substantial opposition, motions for further exclusions may follow. Blacklisted by Gomulka himself are: Jerzy Andrzejewski, Jacek Bochenski, Andrzej Kijowski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Jan Jozef Lipski, Antoni Slonimski, Janusz Szpotanski, Melchior Wankowicz, and Adam Wazyk. Fellow writers and journalists have added quite a number of names to the black list. Artur Miedzyrzecki and Seweryn Pollak were both accused of "demagogic statements" by Trybuna Ludu and the periodical Wspolczesnosc (March 27). The two papers did not say so, but there seems to be little doubt that Miedzyrzecki was less "demagogic" at the meeting of February 29 than he was in the weekly Swiat on March 10. He used a review of a book on ancient Greek and Roman philosophy for a pointed selection of sage maxims which could all be interpreted as directed against the regime and Gomulka personally. In addition to Miedzyrzecki and Pollak, Wspolczesnosc also attacked: Mieczyslaw Jastrun; writer and expert on music Zygmunt Mycielski; Arnold Slucki; and Juliusz Zulawski.

#### Reaction to Czechoslovak Events

Polish information media continue the coverage of events in Czechoslovakia in a matter-of-fact way without comments, except when dealing with the newly elected President, General Svoboda.

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Radio Warsaw broadcast the news on the election of the new CC Presidium on the same day, and did the same regarding the decision on the forthcoming resignation of the government, all in concise terms.

In a rather lengthy article, Trybuna Ludu (March 31) quoted extensively from President Svoboda's speech to the population of Prague after his election and gave the text of the telegram of congratulations from the Soviet leaders, ending by a fairly extensive biography of the new president. Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship was repeatedly stressed in the article. The same paper also included a PAP dispatch on the presidential election in Czechoslovakia under the title "Traditional Polish-Czechoslovak Brotherhood in Arms."

The weekly Zycie Literackie (March 31) quoted fairly extensively from the Bratislava weekly Predvoj on the relations between Czechs and Slovaks. Among other similar passages were: "For every serious Slovak it is clear that there exists for our nation no other life but within the Socialist Czechoslovak Republic." Further, that "some natural differences" between the two nations were qualified by some "reactionary forces at home and some enemies abroad" as antagonism.

An interesting reference to the influence the events in neighboring Czechoslovakia had on the latest ferment in Poland could be found in Radio Warsaw's press review on April 4. In the article under review, Roman Bratny was reported to have written in the weekly Kultura about the extraordinary meeting of the Polish Writers' Union. In connection with it he is said to have referred to the "people staring at the events on the other side of the Czechoslovak boundary, unaware of their entirely different mechanism and who fell under the spell of a mass-hypnosis arranged by some particular hypnotists."

#### Franco-Polish Economic Talks

Franco-Polish economic talks, conducted on the Polish side by Foreign Trade Minister Witold Trampczynski, ended in Paris on April 4 with the issuance of a joint communiqué. Reporting on the talks the following day, Radio Warsaw added that both parties stressed with satisfaction the continuous development of economic cooperation particularly in such fields of industry as electronics and non-ferrous metals.. Problems of Franco-Polish economic cooperation will be further discussed during the forthcoming session of the mixed commission for economic cooperation next month in Warsaw, the broadcast said.

On his return to Warsaw, on April 5, Minister Trampczynski told the journalists that his latest Paris talks were the continuation of the Franco-Polish dialogue on economic matters conducted during the visit of Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz in Paris (September 1965) and



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of President de Gaulle in Poland, (September 1967) Radio Warsaw reported.

Reporting on Trampczynski's Paris visit, RFE Specials from Paris (April 3, 4 and 5) said that he held talks with the French ministers of Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance, Agriculture and Industry on stimulating trade between the two countries, based on industrial cooperation. Trade exchanges between Poland and France, according to the Specials, although on an increase, remained below possibilities on both sides.

Le Monde's Warsaw correspondent (April 4) on this occasion stressed France's secondary place among Poland's West European trade partners. He mentioned France's lack of interest in Polish coal as one of the difficulties and said that Minister Trampczynski sees more prospects in the field of industrial cooperation, for example, in the development of Polish copper mines.

There was some speculation (UPI from Paris, April 2) that Trampczynski might have been preparing a Paris trip by Gomulka for next September. However, according to RFE Special from Paris (April 3) Trampczynski stated after meeting with Foreign Minister Couve de Murville that no political questions were broached during the meeting.

#### Polish-Turkish Trade Protocol

Trade exchanges between Poland and Turkey will reach the value of almost 30 million dollars under the terms of the trade protocol signed in Warsaw on April 9, Radio Warsaw reported the same day. The new protocol secures for Poland possibilities of deliveries to Turkey of various types of machines, ships and complete industrial objects. The protocol covers the period up to March 1969 the broadcast said.

#### East-West Contacts

A Swedish art exhibition opened in Warsaw on April 4, Radio Warsaw reported on the same day.

According to the same source, an Austrian poster exhibition opened in Warsaw on April 4.

The Polish ensemble "Mazowsze" was expected to leave Warsaw on April 8 for a tour through France and Switzerland, Radio Warsaw reported on April 6.

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A group of 15 Italian combatants of the Spanish Civil War were awarded Polish decorations in a ceremony at the Polish Embassy in Rome, Radio Warsaw reported on April 7.

Poland is participating in an international trade fair in Osaka, Japan, which will open on April 9, a Reuter's dispatch from Tokyo reported on April 6.