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SITUATION REPORT

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Changes in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

An article on Wladyslaw Tykocinski, the diplomat who defected to the US (cf. Trybuna Ludu, April 13, 14, 15), was interpreted by Angela Nacken (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, April 16) and Christopher Russell (Daily Telegraph, April 14) as veiled criticism of Adam Rapacki, Minister of Foreign Affairs, while the UPI correspondent in Warsaw saw in the article an attack on Deputy Foreign Minister Marian Naszkowski. Both interpretations seem plausible, though it would appear more likely that the Trybuna Ludu article was directed mainly against Rapacki, whose illness might well have been also connected with mounting pressure against his ministry. It is in the light of this situation that the appointment of two new deputy Foreign Ministers, Adam Kruczkowski and Zygfryd Wolniak (cf. Radio Warsaw, April 11), should be viewed.

Thus far, personnel changes in Rapacki's ministry, aside from the routine rotation of diplomats, have been few and far between. Rapacki himself has been in office since 27 April 1956. As for his two old deputies, Marian Naszkowski was appointed on 26 September 1952 and Jozef Winiewicz on 1 January 1956. Of the three General Directors of the Ministry, Maria Wierna and Przemyslaw Ogrodzinski have held this position since 1 January 1956. From September 1962

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to May 1967, Ogrodzinski was ambassador to India, and his ministerial position was kept vacant for him, so that he could return to it after relinquishing the ambassadorial post. The third Director General, Jerzy Michalowski, was a comparative newcomer, having been appointed in August 1960, and on his appointment to be ambassador in the US in May 1967, Wolniak was appointed Director General.

With the two new appointments, it appears that this long-established stability in the top leadership of the ministry is coming to an end. It would seem most unlikely that there will be four deputy ministers for any appreciable period of time. As already indicated, at least Naszkowski is not likely to last too long.

Born in Lwow in 1912, Naszkowski is a Jew, a pre-war Communist who spent the war years in the USSR and in service with Berling's Army as political officer. From 1947 through 1950, ambassador to Moscow; 1950-1952, general, chief of the Political Administration, and Deputy Minister of National Defense; and since 1952, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Naszkowski is vulnerable and ripe for purge on at least three counts, as a Jew, as a Moscow-trained Communist, and as one of those dignitaries who came to Poland with the army in guise of political officers (cf. Interview with M. Moczar, Radio Warsaw, 12 April 1968).

The second Deputy Minister, Jozef Winiewicz -- born in 1905, pre-war follower of Pilsudski, war-time high official in the London-based exile government, until quite recently a non-Party man -- is, next to Rapacki, the best Polish diplomat. While nothing is known about his position among the warring factions and politicians, it is clear that he gets on well with Rapacki, and that in the wider political spectrum his position is somewhere near Gomulka. He would be natural successor to Rapacki but for his lack of a long-lasting connection with the Party and, last but not least, the fact that he is nearing retiring age.

It seems, therefore, that irrespective of whether Rapacki retires now or not, Winiewicz will be a stabilizing factor in the ministry, safeguarding continuity of its operations and making easy the transfer of power into younger hands.

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Adam Kruczkowski, son of Leon, the famous writer, the only consistent hardliner among Poland's really great intellectuals, was born in 1930. He spent his youth (1933-1945) in Cracow, but attended high school in Warsaw, and obtained a doctorate in economics at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Party member since the age of 17, active in the now defunct Polish Youth Union until 1955, later "consultant" at the Higher Party School, since 1956 on the staff of Trybuna Ludu, and since 1960 connected with the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs, and its director since 1964. He is an alternate member of the CC and a deputy to the Sejm.

Zygfryd Wolniak, born in 1922, was, according to his official biography, in the underground during the war, but no further details are given. After the war, studied at the Academy of Political Sciences, and in 1946 entered the diplomatic service. He was, in turn, consul in Montreal, Ottawa and Tel-Aviv. In 1954, envoy to Israel; in 1955-1956 on the staff of the International Control Commission in Indo-China; 1956-1959 ambassador to Burma; 1959-1961 director of the Afro-Asian Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; in 1961-1966 ambassador to Canada.

None of the newly-appointed deputy ministers seems to have connections with the Partisans. They probably reflect Gomulka's choice and his success in guaranteeing his influence in the second (next to the army) most important branch of government.

Purges, Dismissals, Resignations

Professor Adam Schaff resigned as director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Radio Warsaw reported on April 9. His successor is Professor Jan Szczepanski, sociologist. There is no question of Szczepanski's scholarly standing, but the fact that he is known to be an old personal friend of Mieczyslaw Moczar, the Partisan faction leader, provokes speculation whether the appointment was made on the grounds of purely professional standing. Schaff's "resignation" comes as no surprise. He has been publicly criticized since at least March 22 (cf. Polish SR/31, Radio Free Europe Research, April 8).

Two minor transport officials in Lublin were "recalled" from their positions, Radio Warsaw reported on April 9. They are: Izaak Sznajdman, director of a voivodship transport supply enterprise; and Zbigniew Kotowski, deputy director of the voivodship bus transport network.

In addition to expulsions from the Party and dismissals from government posts, other disgraces are reserved for those doomed to disappear from public life. Thus, Jozef Kofman was deprived of his membership in the Plenum of the Trade Union Central Council, Radio Warsaw reported on April 4. Speaking (on April 3) at a session of the council's Presidium and Executive

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Committee, Chairman Ignacy Loga-Sowinski revealed that Kofman had been expelled from the Party for his "double-faced and hypocritical attitude," which led him to advise his son (Wladyslaw) not to give the names of those present at a "tea party" held at Kofman's home on the second day of the disturbances. Loga-Sowinski added that Kofman had shown a "lack of self-determination" during last year's Israeli-Arab war. Kofman was earlier dismissed from his government post (cf. Polish SR/25, RFER, March 26).

Another victim of the trade union purge was Wisla Pankiewicz-Morawska, chairman of the executive board of the Union of Publishing House, Press and Radio Workers, who resigned from this position as well as from her function as a member of the TUCC Presidium. She is the former wife of Poland's first post-war prime minister, Edward Osobka-Morawski. Their son, Michal Osobka-Morawski, was mentioned by the press as taking part in the Warsaw University student demonstrations on March 8. While Loga-Sowinski insisted that this fact had no bearing on the decision to accept the mother's resignation, he conceded that it "speeded up the decision," which was prompted by "criticism of Pankiewicz-Morawska's methods of work."

The government changes of April 11, apart from the purge of Minister Lesz (cf. Polish SR/33, RFER, April 17), were soon followed by the dismissal of two deputy ministers: Walenty Titkow, whose son was implicated in the student opposition, and Stefan Kuhl, who himself resigned from the post of the deputy minister of agriculture, and whose resignation was promptly accepted. Radio Warsaw on April 12 reported that Deputy Chairman Bronislaw Blass of the National Bank of Poland was expelled from the Party "for behavior contrary to the Party Statute and lack of frankness in relations with the Party organization." While Blass probably is a Jew, Rajmund Gwozdz, director of a department in the Institute of Atomic Research, though expelled from the Party for "spreading Zionist opinions," appears more likely to be a Silesian. Jan Gorecki, demoted from his post on March 12 as one of the first three victims of the current purge, has now also been expelled from the Party (on April 12).

Among officials of a lower rank, Adam Drukier, obviously a Jew, deputy director of a department in the ministry of health, was expelled from the Party (cf. Radio Warsaw, April 12).

Another important person purged was Grzegorz Smolar, once chairman of the Social-Cultural Association of Jews in Poland. He was purged as editor-in-chief of the association's daily, the Folksztyme. His son, Aleksander, was mentioned as one of the leaders of the March 8 riots at Warsaw University (cf. The New York Times, April 13).

The most outstanding person to be purged from the university staff is Professor Jozef Piatkowski, Rector of Lodz University, purged from the Party on April 9. He is most likely of Jewish origin. At Cracow's Jagiellonian University, Docent Edward Lukawer and lecturer Andrzej Reiter were deprived of their posts and expelled from the Party "because, during the March riots, they were encouraging students to acting against People's Poland" (cf. Radio Warsaw, April 12). The former is of Jewish origin.

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In connection with the riots in Wroclaw, a lecturer of that university, Wacław Meibaum, was expelled from the Party, as were two employees of the local Party apparatus, Henryk Cebula and Zygmunt Finkelstein; retired journalist Bronisław Winnicki; former director of a hospital, Natan Prywes; and student Marek Wilf.

At present, the purge is moving down from the circles of higher officials, university staff and Party apparatus to factories and is affecting top and middle grade managerial staff.

Thus, in the pharmaceutical factory in Tarchomin, Albin Tennenbaum (of Jewish origin) was expelled from the Party, along with Krzysztof Zarnowiecki, who worked in another institution, reported Radio Warsaw on April 12.

In one of the Lodz textile factories, directors Izrael Rubinstein, Przemysław Granas and J. Sztrowajs were dismissed; the first from his factory post, the second from the Party and the third from both (cf. UPI, April 11).

In Lublin, in various enterprises, both expelled from the Party and dismissed from their posts were" Tadeusz Hirschfeld, Monisz Izralewicz and Andrzej Przytyk, the last a "senior inspector" in the "office of internal affairs" of the Voivodship People's Council.

A senior official of the Chemostal factory in Skierniewice, Alicja Ziolkowska, was expelled from the Party "for an attitude contrary to the PUP Statute."

And, again in Lodz, besides two directors in the textile industry, the deputy director of the Knitting Industry Association, Izrael Rabinowicz, and a director of the Silk and Decorative Materials Industry Association, Bronisław Ralowski, there Leon Lichstein deputy director for administration in the Lodz Medical Academy was also expelled from the Party (cf. Radio Warsaw, April 17).

These are just the names which, from time to time, appear in the limelight. A whole series of less important names appear in the provincial press, which is also starting to print brief reports that, e.g., "the Party organization in Warsaw recently decided to expel more than 50 persons from the Party" (Trybuna Mazowiecka, as quoted by UPI of April 11).

New Nominations

Jerzy Smyczynski has been nominated the government's plenipotentiary for the dispersal of industry in Warsaw, Radio Warsaw reported on April 16. An engineer by profession, Smyczynski was from 1952 to 1960 director of the electric power plant in Żeraz; he was in Siekierski later on, and since 1965 has been the secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee, said the broadcast.

Smyczynski replaces Fryderyk Topolski, who was relieved of his functions a month ago -- one of the first victims in the

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purge of officials, mostly of Jewish origin, after the student demonstrations in Warsaw.

East-West Contacts

A delegation of parliamentarians from Venezuela left Warsaw on April 13 after a five-day stay in Poland, where they visited Warsaw and Cracow, Radio Warsaw reported on the same day.

Poland is taking part in the 9th international review of maritime films in Milan (opening day April 16), Radio Warsaw reported on April 13.

Two delegates are representing Poland at the spring session of the Interparliamentary Union, which opened in Dakar on April 16, Radio Warsaw reported the same day.

Poland will participate next month in two international film festivals: the Cannes festival and the festival of children's films in Venice, Radio Warsaw announced on April 15.

Already 28 countries have announced their participation in the 5th international short film festival in Cracow, June 4-9, according to a Radio Warsaw broadcast of April 14.

Correction

In Polish Situation Report/33 of April 17, in the item New Military Appointments, the 4th paragraph, should begin as follows:

Along with these appointments, three new Deputy Ministers of National Defense were named: Lt. Gen. Boleslaw Chocha, Chief of the General Staff; Lt. Gen. Tadeusz Tuczapski, Chief Inspector of Training; and Lt. Gen. Jozef Urbanowicz, Chief of the Main Political Administration.