

Anti-Gomulka Pamphlets

Pamphlets criticizing First Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka's policy were printed and distributed in Poland by a group of former Stalinists, RFE learned from reliable sources recently.

At least two Western papers, namely "The Economist" of May 9 and "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" of yesterday referred to the affair, but offered few facts and few details. According to "The Economist", "leaflets were recently circulated among Party members in Warsaw arguing that, although mistakes had been made before 1956, it is since then that the Communists have lost their purpose and the country has run into an economic crisis". "According to unconfirmed reports", the paper continued, "many arrests (a figure of 300 has been mentioned) have been carried out among members of this opposition, which is loosely called 'Stalinist' or 'Chinese'...The reported arrests, on the other hand, would, if confirmed, be a new departure. True, some of the people said to be in trouble -- particularly Mr. Mijal and Mr. Klosiewicz -- are men who look back nostalgically to the time when it was normal practice to purge "opponents". The FAZ report, written by Angela Nacken from Warsaw, is less specific. It only refers to bitter experiences of some "remnants" of former Stalinists who "had put their critical observations in an anonymous pamphlet" only to learn that Gomulka and his "apparat" are still "holding the reins" of power.

According to RFE sources, the chief exponents of the group were Kazimierz Mijal, Stanislaw Lapot and Wiktor Klosiewicz, all discredited Stalinists. They produced a 90 page pamphlet printed in a state shop, in which they summed up all the sins of Gomulka, such as the abandonment of the collectivization of agriculture, slowing the pace of industrial development of the country, leniency toward the Catholic Church, and, in general, Gomulka's pragmatic approach toward solving matters of the state, ^{and} pragmatism held to be detrimental to the cause of socialism and its development. Reportedly, the Stalinists also accused the partisan faction of nationalism and the "liberals" (Roman Zambrowski group) of "cosmopolitism" and of readiness to compromise with the West. The authors of the pamphlet complained also about Gomulka's firing from influential Party posts of about 60 faithful "Marxist-Leninists". The security service soon

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found that the chief culprit was Mijal, who was arrested and deprived of his position as director of the Investment Bank. A number of Stalinists, and in this connection 30 (say: thirty, not 300) persons were arrested. Also involved, although purely incidentally, was Ryszard Nieszporek, the chairman of the Voivodship People's Council in Katowice. Nieszporek was not arrested, but on 17 April 1964 Radio Warsaw broadcast that he "resigned" his post "in connection with his transfer to the diplomatic service". This date would indicate that the whole incident with the pamphlet took place sometime at the beginning or in mid-April.

Problems of Agriculture

"The nationalization of land and of the investment goods in agriculture is not a goal in itself, but a means for achieving a goal", Mieczyslaw Mieszczankowski, an agricultural expert and one of the leading proponents of agricultural circles, stated in the theoretical Party monthly "Nowe Drogi" of May (cf. Polish PS No.1706 of May 20). Writing on "The Evolution of the Character of the Peasant Economy in People's Poland", Mieszczankowski asserted that "large-scale modern agricultural production can ensure lower costs of production than can the small peasant economy", but in Polish conditions and "with the present state of production forces", large-scale agricultural production "is not superior to the peasant economy. The socialist farms have a much lower average per hectare yeild than the individual farms (one-third lower)". The transformation of Polish agriculture into a socialist one is not possible now, Mieszczankowski said, because "our national economy does not as yet have adequate means at its disposal which would permit the implementation in a short time of a technical reconstruction of agriculture". There are two ways of transforming the agricultural economy: the direct and indirect socialization. "The indirect socialization means that the characteristics of the peasant economy under the capitalist system have ceased to exist and that this economy has been included in the orbit of the socialist economy, subjected to its economic laws, that it functions and develops in conformity with these laws". This "indirect socialization" of the Polish peasant economy has already taken place, Mieszczankowski claims. Then he goes on to describe the processes of the gradual

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direct socialization already initiated in Poland through the state's share in agricultural investments (about 70 per cent) in general and through the creation of the Agricultural Development Fund in particular. As known, this fund was designed to help the agricultural circles and to set up new ones. Mieszczankowski lists also several other organizations which contribute toward the gradual transformation of the Polish countryside and concludes that "this short review of the elements of direct socialization of agriculture shows that the implementation of the new agricultural policy means building socialism in agriculture 'for today'. It means that from year to year the position of the socialist economy in the individual economy is growing". To dot the "i", Mieszczankowski states that the various functions of the peasant economy gradually become detached from it. The agricultural circles detach the production functions from the peasant economy, and therefore they have the main role in the socialization of the countryside".

Mieszczankowski's defense of the Polish new agricultural policy does not constitute something new in the Polish expert literature on the subject. A few weeks before Mieszczankowski's article appeared in "Nowe Drogi" (and the fact of the publication of the article in the official Party mouthpiece should be interpreted as a confirmation and/or restatement of Party policy), Oskar Lange wrote in "Zycie Gospodarcze" of April 5 (cf. Polish PS No. 1690, April 11) an article on "Some Problems of Economic Development", in which he strongly defended Polish agricultural policy against its critics abroad and at home. His line of defense was almost identical with that of Mieszczankowski. Again, two years ago, Artur Bodnar published two articles in "Polityka" of 28 April and 12 May 1962 (cf. Sit. Rep. of 10 and 17 May 1962 and/or Polish PS No. 1329 and 1331 respectively) presenting a Marxist explanation and/or justification of Polish agricultural policy which assumes collectivization only after a sound technical basis has been established. In this connection, Henryk Cholaj wrote earlier, also in "Polityka", that the pace of socialist reconstruction of the Polish countryside must be slow and that the ultimate shape of "reconstructed" farms cannot be defined at present (cf. Sit. Rep. of 29 March 1962). Cholaj was reviewing the book of another agricultural expert, Prof. Jerzy Tepicht. Both Cholaj and Tepicht agreed on a slow pace of

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change of the Polish agriculture and both made the socialist reconstruction of the Polish countryside dependent upon a previous establishment of a sufficient technical basis.

Agricultural Circles

Agricultural circles and collective farms were discussed at a meeting (the second this year) of the Committee for Agricultural Affairs, which took place May 19, Radio Warsaw reported the next day. The Committee deliberated under the chairmanship of Politburo member Edward Ochab. Two reports were delivered, one on the work of the Agricultural Bureau attached to the CC, and another on winter training of peasants and on the realization of the so-called "agrominimum" (a minimum of application of agricultural knowledge in running a farm required of a peasant). The reports were delivered by head of the CC Agricultural Department Jozef Tejcma and his deputy Jan Klecha. However, the main attention of the Committee centered on the activities of agricultural circles in the last year. In this connection it was stated that by the end of 1963 the number of agricultural circles was over 30,000, while that of Village Housewives' Circles had increased to almost 18,700. Altogether these two organizations associate almost 1,300,000 "inhabitants of the countryside". Thus, in over 78 per cent of the villages there are agricultural circles and in almost 46 per cent of the villages there are Village Housewives' Circles. (Radio Warsaw did not report on the percentage of peasant farms which were members of agricultural circles. However, the pre-Congress theses refer in this respect to 27 per cent.) The Committee noted the improvements in the activities of the circles and shortcomings (among these bad exploitation of tractors and machinery and deficit economy in as many as 4,000 circles). In this latter respect it is worth comparing Mieszczankowski's article in "Zycie Gospodarcze" of 17 March 1963 (Sit. Rep. of 14 June 1963) on agricultural circles and on the reasons for their slow development. Also the previous figures on agricultural circles are to be found in Sit. Rep. of 14 June 1963.

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Comings and Goings

- 1) Dr Johannes Dieckmann, Chairman of the East German Parliament, arrived at Warsaw on May 20, at the head of a parliamentary delegation. The delegation will stay in Poland seven days and will visit several cities with Cracow, Wroclaw, Opole and Oswiecim amongst them.
- 2) Prof. Francois Perrin, French High Commissioner for Atomic Energy Problems, arrived in Warsaw on May 20, on an invitation of his Polish counterpart, Wilhelm Billig. On May 21 Perrin was received by Deputy Prime Minister Eugeniusz Szyr. According to Radio Warsaw the problems of Polish-French cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy were discussed.
- 3) A delegation from the American Academy of Sciences arrived in Warsaw on May 20 to study the work of several institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences, PAP reported. The delegation is composed of Robert Marshak, Professor of Physics at Rochester University, Professor David Goddard, vice president of Pennsylvania University, Professor Antony Zygmund of Chicago University and Professor Henri Faul of South Western University. The visitors will also hold talks on cooperation between the US and Polish academies and on the development of scientific exchanges between the two states.