

RAPPORT

Van: KA-R.A.

Aan: HC

No. E.503.

ONDERWERP: "POLEN-de Raad van State".

13 MRT 1950

ACD/01747

Sardine deed ons ter bestudering en om te behouden bijgaand rapport toekomen, betreffende "POLEN-de Raad van State". Sardine verzoekt ons de gebruikelijke security voorzorgen in acht te willen nemen.

10-3-50.

## P O L A N D

### THE COUNCIL OF STATE

1. The Council of State (Rada Państwa) came into force under Chapter IV, Article 15 of the so-called Lesser Constitution of 19th November, 1947.

According to law, the following are members of the Council of State:

- a) The State President- as Chairman
- b) The Marshal and the Vice Marshals of the legislative chamber (Sejm)
- c) The President of the Supreme Chamber of State Control
- d) In time of war - The Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

On a united motion in the Council of State, the Sejm can increase the membership of the Council by three.

2. Article 16 of the Lesser Constitution lays down the extent of the powers of the Council of State. To its duties belong:

- a) Supervision of the territorial People's Councils (according to the law of 11th September, 1944, governing the organisation and activity of the People's Councils)
- b) Recognition of parliamentary decrees issued on the strength of the powers of the Sejm.
- c) To determine the extent of the authority of the presidency of the National People's Council, according to compulsory legislation
- d) Passing of resolutions on the introduction of a state of emergency and a state of war (Article 19, paragraph 2.)
- e) Recommendation of laws concerning the State budget, the national economic plan and the calling up of recruits in the cases provided in Article 8.
- f) Legislative initiative
- g) Examination of reports from the Supreme Chamber of State Control

Note: In practice, the Council of State independently makes certain rulings which are published in the code book.

3. The present committee:

- a) Bierut Boleslaw, Chairman (State President)
- b) Kowalski Wladyslaw, member (Marshal of the Sejm)

- c) Szwalbe Stanislaw, member (Vice Marshal of the Sejm)
- d) Zambrowski Roman, member (Vice Marshal of the Sejm), Jew,
- e) Barcikowski Wacław, member (Vice Marshal of the Sejm)
- f) Jozwiak Franciszek, pseudonym Witold, President of the Supreme Chamber of State Control (President to 1948 - Kolodziejcki Henryk)
- g) Niecko Jozef, member, by nomination Leader of the People's Party
- h) Zawadzki Alexander, member, by nomination member of the Politburo, leader of the Trade Unions, former Vice Minister President
- i) Zymierski Michael, former Marshal and Minister of National Defence, predecessor of Rokossowski.

4. The composition of the Council of State, according to political parties, is as follows:

- a) PZPR - Bierut  
Szwalbe (former Socialist)  
Zambrowski  
Jozwiak  
Zawadzki
- b) ZSL - Kowalski  
Niecko
- c) SD - Barcikowski
- d) Non party - Kolodziejcki  
Zymierski

Note: The active members of the Council of State are members of the Central Committee of the Politburo or of the PZPR: Bierut, Zambrowski, Zawadzki and Jozwiak. The remaining members have no authoritative powers but form part of the facade.

5. The institution of the Council of State was originally intended as the last word in the move towards self-government but today merely gives a decorative form to the hierarchy of the executive organs whose main representatives are the State President, the State Council and the government.

The Council of State is more or less a facade to deceive public opinion for, although it is a collegial body, embracing representatives of different parties and even non-party personalities, its members are not all equally entitled to take decisions. The members of the Communist Party or the Politburo alone are empowered, here as in all other governmental organs, to decide on all important matters of state. Thus the Council of State is just one more of the many instruments of the government which serves to ensure the power of the Communist Party in all sectors of the administration.

6. Head of the Chancery of the State Council is the present chief of the Civil Chancery of the State President Kazimierz Mijal, an old communist from Lodz, his representative being the pre-war Vice Minister Dr. Maurycy Jaroszynski.

7. The Council of State comprises of the following offices:
- a) Legal Office - Head Klajnerman Izak (Jew)
  - b) Organisation office - Head Wendel Adam (Jew)
  - c) Office for the finances of self-administration - Head Sobotka Kazimierz
  - d) Flaming office - Head Zandfos Tadeusz
  - e) Section for rewards - Head Bilowiczowa (Jewess)

8. In addition, the Council of State disposes of the following offices:

- a) Control bureau - Director Brubecki Jan, Jew (Director to 1948) and three Vice Directors at the head.

Note: Brubecki, ostensibly a member of the PL (People's Party) is today one of the Vice Presidents of the ZSL. The Control Bureau consists of 8 departments and an economic research office, and has delegates throughout the whole country. Seat of the bureau: Warsaw, Al. I. Armii W.P. No. 23.

- b) Special Commission for the combatting of economic sabotage and other offences.

Seat: Warsaw, Krakowskie Przedmiescie 25.

Chairman: Zambrowski Roman (Jew)

The Commission consists of 8 members, appointed by the Council of State.

Zambrowski's representatives were:

Dr. Jasinski Kazimierz, representative of the central commission of Trade Unions

Gacki Henryk, Public Prosecutor of the Supreme Court and in the confidence of the Minister President.

9. The most important members of the special commission were:

Chajn Leon, (Jew) Vice Minister of Justice - representative of the Ministry of Justice, in the confidence of MBP

Mme. Chajn, wife of the above, functionary of the MBP

Swietlik Konrad, General - representative of the Ministry of National Defence (present Vice Minister of the MBP)

Mietkowski Mieczyslaw, Jew, Vice Minister in the MBP and representative of the MBP on the commission.

The executive office was under the direction of Dr. Kazimierz Jasinski (Deputy to Zambrowski).

His deputies were:

Gacki Henryk

Dr. Walawski Boleslaw, former director of Bierut's civil chancery

Kalinowski Stefan

10. Members of the Executive Office:

Gottesman Leon, Public Prosecutor, Jew, Leader of the Department for Investigation.

Jakubiec Ignacy, Judge, Leader of the Section for Criminal Procedure.

Dr. Kostrzewa Janusz, Judge

Madey Marian, Public Prosecutor

Pazinska Bronislawa, Public Prosecutor

Roszkowski Alexander, Section Leader

Rzymowski Wlodzimierz, Judge (Brother of the former Foreign Minister)

Slusarczyk Januariusz, Public Prosecutor

Strucinski Juliusz, Section Leader

Trembalowicz Michael, Public Prosecutor

Zmijewski Franciszek, Member of the Sejm.

11. The Executive Office has its delegations in the following towns:

1. Bialystok, ul. Warszawska 48, Head Andzilewko Milocjusz
2. Bielsko, ul. Krasickiego 24, Head Kowalik Zdzislaw (Lawyer)
3. Bydgoszcz, Waly Jag. 2, Head Dworadowski Wladyslaw (Workman)
4. Czestochowa, ul. al. III., Head Tomzik Marian (Worker)
5. Gdansk, ul. Nowy Swiat 30, Head Pawlak Longin (Tradesman)
6. Jelenia Gora, Al. 3 Maja, Head Kowalczyk Teofil, (Lawyer)
7. Katowice, Pi. Wojwodzki 1., Head Glowa Leon, (Judge)
8. Kielce, ul. Sienkiewicza 59, Head Maj Tadeusz, (Public Prosecutor)
9. Krakow, ul. 1 Maja 6., Head Skarzynski Jerzy (Mechanic)
10. Lublin, ul. 3 Maja 20, Head Fic Marian (Lawyer)
11. Lodz, ul. Gdanska 107, Head Maddy Stanislaw (Weaver)
12. Olsztyn, ul. Stalina 34, Head Zurawski Wiktor (Assessor)
13. Poznan, ul. Dabrowskiego 5a, Head Piotrowicz Stanislaw (Technician)
14. Rzeszow, Sad Okreg., Head Kosztirko Kazimierz (Public Prosecutor)
15. Szczecin, ul. P. Skargi 16, Head Burda Andrzej (Lawyer)
16. Walbrzych, ul. Stalina 20, Head Kronental Salezy (Lawyer)
17. Warszawa, ul. I. Armii W.P. 25., Head Kraicki Stanislaw (Public Prosecutor)
18. Wroclaw, ul. Podwale 1., Head Suchocki Zbigniew (Public Prosecutor)

The two last-named special organs were reorganised some time ago to strengthen their effective power. The functions of the Control Bureau were widened and intensified and the Special Commission is developing into a powerful instrument of the party, in the same way as the MBP, and is effective in all sectors of public life. If it is so desired even the smallest offence can be dealt with by the Special Commission. The importance of the Special Commission in the eyes of the party can be seen in the appointment of such an important personality and confidant of Moscow as Zambrowski to be chairman.

12. In the order of their political importance, the following are the leading men in the Council of State:

Bierut,  
Zambrowski,  
Zawadzki,  
Jozwiak.

Worthy of note is that recently there have been several instances of Zawadzki's ranking higher than Zambrowski.

A- Bierut, is a leading figure in the State and in the party represents the co-ordinating element in the Council of State.

B- Zambrowski Roman, Jew, outwardly, at any rate, stands next to Bierut in the hierarchy of the State Council. Aged about 40, small in stature with semitic appearance, is by trade a metal worker. He is a member of the communist party of long standing and a former Komintern agent. Zambrowski has been repeatedly found guilty in the past of activity against the interests of the state and lived for some time in France, where he learned to speak French. In the latter years, he underwent a long special training in the Soviet Union. In the Berling army with the rank of Colonel he was in charge of political training. For special services he was awarded the Order of the Red Star. Officially Zambrowski holds the following posts at present: Vice Marshal of the Sejm, member of the State Council, head of the Special Commission and head of political training in the ORMO (civilian militia reserve).

His wife, Hanna, who similarly underwent a special training in the Soviet Union, is the director of the State Motor Traffic Office in Warsaw - ul. Grojecka 42a.

In the hierarchy of the party, Zambrowski was representative of the secretary of Politburo Berman, whom he resembles in certain characteristic features. The difference between the two lies solely in origin. Berman is without doubt an intellectual while Zambrowski is a proletarian. Complete and uncompromising devotion to Moscow, to the exclusion of all other considerations, is characteristic to both of them. One reason for this attitude is most probably their Jewish origin and negative relationship to the Polish community. Zambrowski can be considered as the 100% confidant of Moscow to whom had been entrusted Polish political problems. He is one of the most fanatical apostles of a rapid and complete sovietisation of Poland and, in this respect, surpasses even Berman who, on account of his age, is perhaps more cautious. Zambrowski exercises a great influence on the development of the "socialistic way of life", directs propaganda and press, and supervises literature and the education of youth.

C- Alexander Zawadzki, fair haired, medium height, well preserved, always wears glasses, is married to a Jewess. One of the Polish communists of longest standing, aged 60 years, Pole, he is known as the "Wojewode" to distinguish him from his brother, the former tramworker from Warsaw and now General Stanislaw Zawadzki, and of late gives the impression of playing an ever-increasing role within the Communist party. Zawadzki served in the Russian army during the first world war and even at that time made common

cause with the Communists. He underwent a thorough special training, was a member of the Red Guard, of the GPU and later the NKVD, and, as a Soviet citizen, was finally promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. It is always maintained that in 1936 Zawadzki fell into disfavour with the authorities in Moscow and was deported for some time for forced labour in a mine on the Manchurian frontier. During visits to Poland, Zawadzki was twice arrested, in 1925 and again in 1938 when he was finally condemned to 15 years' imprisonment. After his release, owing to the turn of events in 1939, Zawadzki went to the Soviet Union and there played a part in the defence of Stalingrad and partisan warfare. In 1944, Zawadzki, as one of the leading personalities in the "Soviet Union of Polish Patriots", joined the Berling army as political commissar. In January, 1945, he returned to Poland, and was first Wojewode appointed by the new regime in Katowice. In 1948, Zawadzki was called to the central committee of the Polish Communist Party which sent him for some while to Moscow and, on his return, he was finally promoted to Vice Minister President following the elimination of Gomulka. Zawadzki's ambitious nature was by no means satisfied. As Vice Minister President he was replaced by Hilary Minc and became the Chief of Trade Unions with a seat in the State Council.

As a Pole and proletarian by origin, Zawadzki seems to take precedence on a number of public occasions over his colleague Zambrowski, whose Jewish origin and appearance have a disadvantageous effect on popular opinion. For this very reason the party has replaced Zambrowski by Zawadzki as leader of its campaign against the church and, for the same reason, it was Zawadzki who was entrusted with the task of spreading Marxist-Stalinist propaganda among the Polish masses. In this latter task Zawadzki, through his kinship with the people, can already claim certain successes among the Upper Silesian miners. In Poland today, the opinion is already prevalent that Zawadzki will play a yet greater political role. With Bierut and Radkiewicz, Zawadzki has a very close and friendly relationship. With Berman, on the other hand, the relationship is noticeably a formal one and it is felt that the reason for this is that Berman looks upon Zawadzki as a very definite rival. In every respect Zawadzki is an out and out Soviet type for whom no national sentiments of any kind can be expected to have any significance.

D- Jozwiak Franciszek, commonly known as General Witold, is the next most important Communist personality in the Council of State due to his position as President of the Supreme Chamber of State Control. Jozwiak, of medium height, aged about 50, Polish, comes from the district of Lwow (Lemberg) and is a Communist of long standing. Physically, Jozwiak is somewhat of a wreck who has repeatedly suffered punishment for his activity against the state in pre-war years. In 1944, under the pseudonym Witold, Jozwiak was appointed Chief of Staff of the so-called People's Militia. As Chief of the People's Militia he became Vice Minister in the MBP and there was talk for a while that he would replace Minister Radkiewicz and, at least outwardly, re-organise the apparatus of the MBP in a Polish sense. At the time, it was considered that the Jewish element in the MBP was in need of a certain suppression because of the great antipathy which it caused among the public. Things, however, took a different course, Jozwiak was deposed from his position of Chief of the People's Militia and Vice Minister and in 1948 was appointed to be President of the Supreme Chamber of State Control where, in actual fact, he would have very little influence. It appears that Jozwiak has indeed outplayed his role in the party but it should not be forgotten that, in the higher echelons of the party hierarchy, he enjoys a very considerable popularity.

Jozwiak's wife, Hanka, was a Captain in the People's Militia and played an important part in the organisation of this body.

E- Dr. Kolodziejcki Henryk, Jozwiak's predecessor in the Chamber of State Control and in the Council of State, was a friend of Bierut from the co-operative movement of pre-war days and had to withdraw from public life for reasons of health. Dr. Kolodziejcki was an absolutely honest man who did much good during his time of office and exerted a moderating influence, especially on Bierut. He was reported to have said latterly that he realised the hopelessness of the situation and it is felt that this was the real reason for his withdrawal from public life.

13. To sum up, it must be stressed that the Council of State or, at any rate, its leading Communist members represent one of the highest organs of the executive power of the state. The Council of State is an instrument for centralising the power of the State and Party and insuring their influence on all matters of state administration and public life.

An especially dangerous and treacherous instrument of the Council of State is the special commission, created by decree in 1945 for the "combatting of malpractices and economic sabotage". Through its agents, this commission not only has insight into all sectors of economic life but indeed controls all sectors of public life. Its decisions and procedure are based purely and simply on political considerations and against its decisions there is no appeal to a normal court.

The Special Commission represents a typical example of the sovietisation of justice in Poland. From a Communist point of view, no confidence could be placed in the ordinary courts of law and so the administration of justice, except as an outward facade, was withdrawn from them and entrusted to an organisation which, in every way, represented the interests and formed part of the executive and security apparatus of the party. In its methods, the Special Commission is based entirely on the Soviet-Russian pattern.