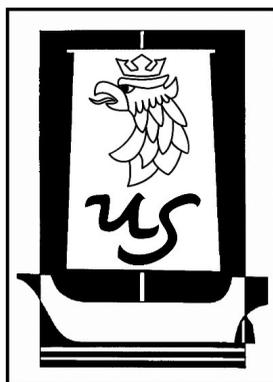


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**PRZEGLĄD
ZACHODNIOPOMORSKI**



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SZCZECIN 2020 – ROCZNIK XXXV (LXIV) – ZESZYT 4

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**PRZEGLĄD ZACHODNIOPOMORSKI
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A R T Y K U Ł Y

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**GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH AND ITS CLERGY
IN THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN TERRITORIES OF POLAND
BETWEEN 1947 AND 1957 – AN OUTLINE OF A COLLECTIVE
PORTRAIT***

Key words: Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Ukrainian minority in Poland, western and northern Polish lands

Słowa kluczowe: ukraiński Kościół greckokatolicki, mniejszość ukraińska w Polsce, zachodnie i północne ziemie Polski

Introductory Remarks

Biography is not a very popular field when it comes to the historiography of the Greek Catholic Church after 1945. There are only a few studies regarding the clergy of the Eastern Catholic Rite in post-war Poland. The most extensive study seems to be done on Basil Hrynyk – commonly regarded as one of the most

* The time frame adopted for this text finds its justification in the history of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland. The starting point is related to the “Vistula” action – the resettlement of about 140 thousand people of Ukrainian nationality from the south-eastern areas to the west and north of Poland (it is estimated that 2/3 of the displaced people were Greek Catholics). The “Vistula” action therefore liquidated the existing parish structure of the Greek Catholic Church within the postwar Polish borders. The closing date is justified by the fact that it was in 1957 that the communist authorities agreed to establish (only in its residual form!) a Greek Catholic pastoral ministry in the western and northern territories of the country.

important figures among the Greek Catholic priests who lived during the communist period.¹ However, other prominent priests of that time as Mirosław Ripecki,² Mikołaj Deńko,³ Stefan Dziubina, or Basilian Fathers Paweł (Piotr) Puszkarski, and Josafat (Józef) Romanyk do not have their published biographies. Only a few separate publications mention them – whether in the form of small brochures⁴ or articles published in collective works or academic journals.⁵ Biographies available in biographical-encyclopaedic publications can be considered as compensation. Chronologically, as first can be mention here a three-volume lexicon of the repressed Catholic clergy edited by Fr Jerzy Myszor, in which, among others, 40 biographies of individual of the Greek Catholic Rite (2 bishops, 28 diocesan priests, 3 monks and 17 nuns)⁶ were listed. Examples of local biographical dictionaries include a two-volume work by Fr Andrzej Kopiczko covering the Diocese of Warmia,⁷ a study by Fr Józef Marecki covering the Province of Cracow,⁸ and

¹ Igor Hałagida, „Szpieg Watykanu”. *Kapłan greckokatolicki ks. Bazyli Hrynyk (1896–1977)* (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2008).

² It is worth yet to mention some extended biographical texts about this priest. See Ivan Pavlyk, “Khshaniwska Lehenda”, *Kalendar “Blahovista”* (1996), 111–117; Ivan Polanskyi, “Otec mitrat Myroslav Ripetskyi, *Bohoslovia* 38 (1974), 227–234; “Otec mitrat Myroslav Ripetskyi”, in: *Nadbuzhanshchyna, Sokalshchyna, Belzhchyna, Radekhyvshchyna, Kamianechchyna, Kholmshchyna i Pidlashia.*, vol. 1, ed. Mykola Martyniuk et al., (New York–Sydney–Toronto: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1986): 768–790. See also Krzysztof Sychowicz, „Ks. Mirosław Ripecki – kolejny niepokorny wobec systemu komunistycznego. Głos w dyskusji”, in: *Śladami unii brzeskiej*, ed. Radosław Dobrowolski, Mariusz Zemło (Lublin–Supraśl: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2010), 481–492. At least one MA thesis was also written about the priest.

³ For basic information about him, see Oleksandr Bobak, *Sluha Bozhyi Mykola Denko. Dokumentalknyi narys* (Sambir, 2003); Roman Lubiniecki, „Ksiądz kanonik Mikołaj Deńko”, in: *Problemy Ukraïnców w Polsce po wysiedleńczej akcji „Wisła” 1947 r.*, ed. Włodzimierz Mokry, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo „Szwajpolt Fiol”, 1997): 386–387.

⁴ See: Oksana Hajdukevych, *Spomyny pro zhyttia ta dushpastyrsku pratsiu ottsia shambelna Volodymyra Haidukevycha ta ioho rodynu* (Horlytsi: Chyn Sester Vasyliia Velykoho, 2005); Mykhailo Kozak, *Nevtomnyi dushpastyr o. kan. Volodymyr Borovets* (Peremyszl–Szczecin–Lwiv, 2007).

⁵ Igor Hałagida, „Greckokatolicki kapłan ks. Włodzimierz Boziuk (1913–1969) i jego skomplikowane losy w PRL, *Komunikaty Warmińsko-Mazurskie* 3 (2009): 325–350; Igor Hałagida, Jarosław Wąsowicz, „Ukraïński greckokatolicki zakonnik o. Arseniusz (Antoni) Kulibaba OSBM i jego posługa w parafiach rzymskokatolickich w Pile oraz Wałczu”, *Studia i materiały do dziejów Ziemi Wałeckiej* 3 (2013): 109–119.

⁶ *Leksykon duchowieństwa represjonowanego w czasach PRL*, vol. 1–3, ed. Jerzy Myszor, Jacek Żurek (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Verbinum”, 2002–2006).

⁷ Andrzej Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo katolickie diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1945–1992*, vol. 1–2 (Olsztyn: Kuria Metropolitalna Archidiecezji Warmińskiej, 2002–2007).

⁸ Józef Marecki, *Represje wobec osób duchownych i zakonnych na terenie woj. krakowskiego 1944–1975. Leksykon biograficzny*, vol. 1–2 (Kraków: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2014–2016).

publications by Fr Robert R. Kufel.⁹ The fundamental publication of such a character for the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl and the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land is a two-volume study by Rev. Bohdan Prach, containing a huge amount of information about the clergy and their families.¹⁰ The main drawback of these studies, however, was the fact that they did not “build” an overall picture of the clergy, despite containing enormously valuable and unique detailed biographical information. And yet – as an author studying one of a Roman Catholic nuns’ order said thirty years ago – “prosopography is much more than trying to compile a catalogue of many thousands of entries in the hope that some of them might interest someone. It is possible to write a history of a monastery knowing only the names of the superiors and not dealing with the individual nuns; but only by knowing as much as possible about individual people, one can write the history of not an institution but a group, team, or congregation. This kind of historiography is still in its infant stage, but it should be considered for many reasons. It is a healthy antidote to history understood only as a mechanical process of economic change and is a logical consequence of recognizing the primacy of the human person among created values.”¹¹ To a certain extent, these words can be considered universal and can also be applied to the Greek Catholic clergy during the communist period, who, so far, were not the subject for such reflection. This publication is, therefore, an attempt to fill this research gap.

To study the history of the Greek Catholic Church in communist Poland is no easy task. The main obstacle, which appears at the very beginning of any attempt made, is access to sources. During communist times, the Greek Catholic Church was not recognized *de jure* in Poland, most of the clergy served in the Roman Rite, and the formal guardians of Greek Catholics were the successive primates of Poland.¹² Therefore, most of the archival materials – including personal documents – are in the Roman Catholic Church archives. An important, but complementary, role is played by the documents generated by the central and regional units of the Office for Religious Affairs, as well as party and security apparatus structures.

⁹ Robert Romuald Kufel, *Słownik biograficzny księży pracujących w Kościele gorzowskim 1945–1956*, vol. 1–4 (Zielona Góra: Agencja Wydawnicza „PDN”, 2016–2019).

¹⁰ Bohdan Prach, *Dukhovenstvo peremyskoi ieparkhii ta apostolskoi administrastii Lemkivshchyny*, vol. 1–2 (Lviv: Ukrainskyi Katolytskyi Uniwersytet, 2014).

¹¹ S. Borkowska, „Prozopografia polskich zakonów żeńskich”, *Nasza Przeszłość* 73 (1990): 316–317.

¹² More on this subject later in the text.

The arduous search and study of these archives made it possible to create a database of Greek Catholic clergy in the People's Republic of Poland, which contains both basic biographical data and – perhaps most importantly – information about their life after consecration.¹³

According to the information I have collected so far, 238 clerics and consecrated persons of the Greek Catholic Church remained within the borders of the Polish state permanently or temporarily after 1947. The number includes 105 diocesan priests (44.12%), 21 monks (8.82%), and 112 nuns (47.06%). Although this figure seems to be complete, the fact that minor adjustments may occur in the future cannot be ruled out.¹⁴

In the case of the diocesan clergymen, the largest number of priests came from the Diocese of Przemyśl – 61 priests (58.1% of all diocesan priests) and 31 priests (29.52% of all diocesan priests) from the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land. The remaining priests came from the Archdiocese of Lviv (11 priests or 10.48%), the Diocese of Stanislaviv (1 priest or 0.95%), and the General Vicariate for the Greek Catholics in Bukovina (1 priest or 0.95%). These proportions should not come as a surprise. The priests from the first two groups reside in parishes, which – after new post-war borders had been established – remained in Poland. The thirteen other priests found themselves here most often as a result of the war turmoil.

The most numerous men's order was the Order of St. Basil.¹⁵ In the years 1947–1957 there were 17 Basilian monks in Poland (80.95% of all Greek Catholic monks in Poland). Among them were 14 fathers and 3 brothers. The presence of friars from other congregations – Studite Fathers (3 monks or 14.29%) and Redemptorist Fathers (1 monk or 4.76%) – was rather symbolic, although visible in percentage terms.

¹³ Regrettably, the lack of access to some archives makes it impossible to collect all the information, but it seems that the data already collected is sufficient to present some generalisations and hypotheses.

¹⁴ All figures given in this text are the result of the author's calculations based on the church archives (Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic) and the available literature on the subject. Their exact specification would exceed the framework of this text.

¹⁵ The post-war history of the Basilian Order in Poland has not yet been thoroughly researched, thus the MA thesis by Igor (Jan) Harasim still remains the most serious attempt so far. See his *Bazylianie w Polsce w latach 1945–1985* (Warszawa, 1988) (typescript in the archives of the Basilian monastery in Warsaw).

The situation was slightly different in the case of women’s orders and congregations, where the most numerous group of nuns were the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate.¹⁶ In the period, there were 74 sisters in the congregation (over 67% of all sisters). Much less numerous was the congregation of the Josephine Sisters (28 nuns or more than 25% of all the sisters), while a small number of the Sisters of Saint Basil stayed in various monasteries.

The picture outlined above does not fully reflect reality. The situation was dynamic. Some of the clergy died during the period discussed, some were imprisoned, others did not perform – for various reasons – their pastoral duties.¹⁷

Out of the 238 people mentioned above, only 142 (i.e. less than 61%) can be described as those who stayed – permanently or temporarily – during the period discussed in the broadly understood western and northern parts of Poland where they have been deported during Operation “Vistula”.¹⁸ Their fate will be analysed in this text later.

Table 1. Greek Catholic clergy in the western and northern parts of Poland between 1947 and 1957 according to church structures.

	Church unit / Order / Congregation	Number of people
1.	Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land	31
2.	Lviv Archdiocese	11
3.	Diocese of Przemyśl	61
4.	Diocese of Stanislaviv	1
5.	General Vicariate for Greek Catholics in Bukovina	1
6.	Basilian monks	17
7.	Studite monks	3
8.	Redemptorist monks	1
9.	Basilian nuns	8
10.	Josephine nuns	27
11.	Servants nuns	77
Total		238

Source: Author’s calculations.

¹⁶ More about the Polish province of Servants nuns, see Vasyliia Chykalo, Sofiia Lebedovych, *Narys istorii provintsii Materi Bozhoi Neustannoï Pomochi* (Warszawa, 1988) (typescript in the archives of the Basilian monastery in Warsaw). At present an extensive new study is being conducted; this effort has been undertaken by sister Anna (Irena) Drozd.

¹⁷ More on this subject later in the text.

¹⁸ In the case of 11 people, it was not possible to collect data in an indisputable way to find if they were present in the area of interest at that time.

From the History of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland in 1944/1947–1957

The history of the Greek Catholic Church in post-war Poland was largely the result of actions taken against the clergy and the faithful of this community predominantly in the USSR, but also in other countries of the so-called Eastern bloc, particularly in Romania and Czechoslovakia.¹⁹ However, the situation in Poland was slightly different, because the policy towards Greek Catholics was not only a result of the general religion policy of the communist regime but also of its attempt to remove some of the national minorities (first and foremost Ukrainians) out of newly created national boundaries.²⁰ Although in the beginning, the expulsion of Ukrainians to the USSR was voluntary, it transitioned into forced deportation. In total, between 450 and 483,000 Ukrainians (both Orthodox and Greek Catholics) left Poland between 1944–1946.²¹ Most Greek Catholic diocesan clergy followed, abandoning their parishes.

Josaphat Kotsylovski, Bishop of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl, was urged by the authorities to support the resettlement by issuing, for an instant, a pastoral letter. However, these efforts did not bring any results. Therefore, on June 26, 1946, he was arrested together with his Suffragan Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota and most of the other members of Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl and exiled to the USSR. Both bishops died later in prison. In October 1945, the authorities liquidated the Greek Catholic Seminary in Przemyśl and banned two diocesan charitable societies – “Eparchalna Pomich” (Eparchial Help) and “Institute of Widows and Orphans of Greek Catholic Priests”. In the spring of 1946, the Mayor of Przemyśl to the USSR issued an order to resettle both the orphanage and nursery, which were being run in Przemyśl by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

¹⁹ There is extensive literature on this subject. Its discussion would require a separate text.

²⁰ On the policy of Polish communists towards Ukrainians at that time, see Roman Drozd, *Polityka władz wobec ludności ukraińskiej w Polsce w latach 1944–1989* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Tyrsa”, 2001), 28–36; Eugeniusz Mironowicz, *Polityka narodowościowa* (Białystok: Belarusian Historical Society, 2000), 51–60; Leszek Olejnik, *Polityka narodowa Polski w latach 1944–1960* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2003), 266–291.

²¹ About the resettlement, see Roman Kabaczij, *Wygności na stepy. Przesiedlenia ludności ukraińskiej z Polski na południe Ukrainy w latach 1944–1946* (Warszawa: Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, 2012); Jan Pisuliński, *Przesiedlenie ludności ukraińskiej z Polski do USRR w latach 1944–1947* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2009). See also Dariusz Iwaneczko, „Przysięgi wierności dochowam. Wsiedlenia Ukraińców a Kościół greckokatolicki w Polsce 1944–1947”, *Więź* 6 (2002): 91–105.

However, the deportation of bishops from Przemyśl and members of the canonry (*kapituła*) to the USSR did not mean the automatic liquidation of Greek Catholic structures in post-war Poland. This fact was not sanctioned by any legal act, neither was it recognized by the Holy See. Moreover, the official Vatican yearbook “*Annuario Pontificio*” still mentioned their existence in Poland.²² As a result, on October 25, 1946, Pope Pius XII granted the Primate August Hlond and Cardinal Adam Sapieha special powers concerning the Greek Catholic Rite.²³ On December 10, 1946, he appointed the primate (during his stay in the Vatican) as his special delegate for Eastern rites – Greek Catholic, Byzantine-Slavonic and Armenian. On April 2, 1947, the primate also approved three priests as vicar generals of the Diocese of Przemyśl and the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land. In practice, however, due to the resettlement of the Ukrainian population to the western and northern territories of Poland, which began a few weeks later, the assignment of these posts was purely symbolic.

After the deportation of much of the Ukrainian population to the USSR, about 140,000 people of Ukrainian nationality still remained within the Polish state. The Soviet side did not agree to extend the action. In such a situation, the idea of resettlement of the Ukrainian population to the western and northern territories began to take shape in military circles. On April 28, 1947 – after several months of planning – the operation of resettlement of the remaining in Poland Ukrainians began under the code name Operation “Vistula” (*Akcja Wisła*). As a result, within a few months, more than 140,000 Ukrainians were resettled to the western and northern parts of Poland. In line with the authorities’ guidelines, they were to be dispersed in small quantities all over the territory of a few northern and western provinces of Poland.²⁴ The clergy were deported along with the faithful; thus, the

²² In the yearbook for 1947, it was stated that the bishop and his suffragan were deported – “deportatio” (*Annuario Pontificio* 1947: 288). In the following years, the Diocese of Przemyśl was reported as unstaffed. The same was the case with the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land.

²³ Ievhen Misylo, „Hreko-katołytska Cerkva u Polshchi (1944–1947)”, *Varshavski ukrainiznavchi zapysky* 1 (1989): 63; Stanisław Stępień, „Sapiehowie a obrządku wschodnie kościoła katolickiego”, in: *Kardynał Adam Sapieha – środowisko rodzinne, życie i dzieło*, ed. Stanisław Stępień (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1995), 77; Jan Pietrzak, *Pelnia prymasostwa. Ostatnie lata prymasa Polski kardynała Augusta Hlonda 1945–1948*, vol. 2 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2009), 574–577.

²⁴ Despite the passage of years, the progress in academic research and a considerable number of publications, Operation “Vistula” has been a source of much controversy among historians to this day. For an overview of the research to date, see Andrzej Leon Sowa, „Akcja ‘Wisła’ w polskiej historiografii – aktualne problemy badawcze”, in: *Akcja „Wisła”*, ed. Jan Pisuliński

centuries-old Greek-Catholic parish network was destroyed. In the opinion of the communist authorities, after 1947 the problem of the Greek Catholic Church had been resolved in Poland, although it was not through legal means. Therefore, with the end of Operation “Vistula”, attempts were made to prevent contact between the displaced people and their native church by all means.²⁵ “The local [Provincial – I.H.] Office, hoping to prevent the renewal of the Ukrainian movement, banned the creation of Greek Catholic parishes, and placed the clergy under the control of the Provincial Public Security Office. The problem of Greek Catholics was solved by the Roman Catholic Church; it accepted [their] priests into its circle and entrusting them, after some training, with the function of vicars” – as stated in a report from the Olsztyn Voivodeship.²⁶

In fact, after Operation “Vistula”, almost all Greek Catholic priests and monks were faced with the decision of remaining with the native rite, thus exposing themselves to possible harassment and depriving themselves of any means of existence, or – as suggested and recommended by Primate Hlond – accepting the indult of biritualism. After passing the Western liturgy exam (and living unaccompanied, which concerned married priests), they would then take on the functions of vicars in Latin parishes. The vast majority of priests chose the latter option. The only priest who did not follow this path was Mirosław Ripecki, who, from 1947, consistently celebrated services in the Eastern Rite in the chapel in Chrzanowo, Elk County. He created the chapel despite risking conflict with the Roman Catholic diocesan curia in Olsztyn or even the Primate Wyszyński.

(Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej: 2003), 12–25; Ihor Iliuszyn, „Akcja ‘Wisła’ w historiografii ukraińskiej”, in: *ibidem*, 26–35; Krzysztof Bortnik, „Akcja ‘Wisła’ w polskiej historiografii krajowej”, *Historica* 1 (2007), 101–123; Ihor Tsenda, „Operatsiia ‘Visla’ v polskii istoriohrafii”, *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 3 (2002): 84–93.

²⁵ For more information on the situation of displaced Greek Catholic Ukrainians in the Polish People’s Republic see, among others, Igor Hałagida, „Sytuacja wyznaniowa Ukraińców na zachodnich i północnych ziemiach Polski”, in: *Ukraińcy w najnowszych dziejach Polski (1918–1989)*, ed. Roman Drozd (Słupsk–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Tyrsa”, 2000), 159–184; Roman Drozd, „Życie religijne ludności ukraińskiej w Polsce w latach 1944–1956”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 1 (2004): 77–93; Piotr Gerent, „Prawosławni i grekokatolicy na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1956”, *Sobótka* 4 (2002): 433–454; Andrzej Kopiczko, „Duchowieństwo grekokatolickie w diecezji warmińskiej 1947–1960 – między akomodacją a odrębnością”, in: *Kościół grekokatolicki na Warmii i Mazurach. Wobec doświadczeń przeszłości i przemian społeczno-politycznych w Polsce*, ed. Marek Melnyk (Olsztyn, 2006), 53–62; Anna Korzeniewska, „Kościół grekokatolicki na Warmii i Mazurach po II wojnie światowej”, *Studia Warmińskie* 43 (2006): 69–89; Jarosław Syrnyk, „Kwestia wyznaniowa wśród ludności ukraińskiej na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1989”, *Ridna mowa* 4 (2004): 52–69.

²⁶ Quote from: Hałagida, „Sytuacja”, 162.

However, even in such a tragic situation, some priests tried to break the existing bans and administer the sacraments „behind closed doors”. There were also secret services, sometimes held in private houses.

Despite dispersion over western and northern parts of Poland, as well as restrictions, in the first years after Operation “Vistula”, the Ukrainian population did not give in to significant assimilation processes. One can even say that the administrative restrictions imposed, and the pressure of the largely unfriendly Polish milieu, caused the strengthening of intra-group ties among the Ukrainian displaced peoples, creating of a kind of national “ghetto”. This phenomenon was manifested by the concealment of one’s nationality or the preference for marriages within one’s national group. To preserve a separate culture and native tradition, old customs were secretly cultivated inside homes, their mother tongue was maintained, and holidays were celebrated according to the Julian calendar. This “cultural underground” appeared suspicious to the authorities, leading to accusations of “Ukrainian nationalism”. As a result, in the early 1950s, the communist authorities were forced to correct their policy towards Ukrainians. On December 31, 1951, a special commission was established in Warsaw with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Zawadzki at the head, which was instructed to “collect material and determine the places of concentration of Ukrainian nationality, explain their moods, cultural needs and their demands”.²⁷ The result of the commission’s activity, which collected relevant data from the area, was a note from March 13, 1952. The document stated, among other things, that about 125,000 Ukrainians were living in the western and northern parts of Poland, and that there are strong feelings of impermanence and tendencies to return to the former lands. The reasons for this were seen – as it was described – in the influence of “nationalist circles” in the country and abroad, and the secret activities of the Greek Catholic clergy. The current economic policy towards Ukrainians was criticised (e.g. the level of taxation), discriminatory practices in cultural and religious life were noted, the problem of illegal returns and the related possibilities of conflicts between the returnees and the Polish population settled in the post-Ukrainian areas were analysed. Changing official policies towards the Ukrainian population was proposed, including free communication in Ukrainian, as well as school instruction. The effect of this note was the resolution of the Political Bureau of

²⁷ Quoting from: Leszek Olejnik, „Problem ukraiński w polityce narodowej państwa polskiego w latach 1944–1957”, in: *Polska i Ukraina po II wojnie światowej*, ed. Włodzimierz Bonusiak, (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1998), 117.

the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), adopted on April 4, 1952, titled, "On measures aimed at improving the economic situation of the Ukrainian population in Poland and intensifying political work among them." The "April Resolution", as the quoted document is commonly referred to, also contained recommendations on religious issues, which were also criticised as one of the reasons delaying the assimilation processes. "[The Ukrainian] population is partly Orthodox, partly Greek Catholic, and rarely attend the masses in neighbourhood Roman Catholic churches. There are Orthodox parishes, where priests generally respond loyally to the state and influence the population in this spirit. However, to a large extent, especially among Greek Catholics, secret services are held, and holidays are celebrated secretly according to the Eastern Rite." It was explicitly stated and therefore recommended that "while respecting the principles of freedom of conscience and religion [...], the underground Greek Catholic nationalist agenda should be vigorously fought."²⁸ Similar phrases were also found in the resolutions adopted on the level of the provincial administration and other documents developed at that time.

Contrary to popular opinion, the political and social situation in Poland did not ease after Stalin's death in 1953. This statement also applies to religious issues, and there is much to suggest that the policy on these issues had even been somewhat tightened. It could be justified to say that the death of the Soviet leader indirectly gave [the President] Bierut a free hand in trying to finally crackdown on the Roman Catholic Church. For example, it was manifested by an attempt to interfere in the personnel policy of the Church authorities (what was protested in the famed letter "Non possumus"); the trial of Bishop Czesław Kaczmarek from Kielce, or the arrest and internment of Primate Wyszyński. In the end, Stalin's death did not change much in the situation of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland. One could go as far as to say that, in this case, repressions intensified (e.g. in April 1954, priest Hrynyk was arrested, and later sentenced to six years in prison for alleged spying for the Vatican).

The situation changed only in the second half of the 1950s – as part of the wave of change following the workers' revolt in Poznań and the political crisis

²⁸ Roman Drozd, Igor Hałagida, *Ukraińcy w Polsce 1944–1989. W walce o tożsamość (dokumenty)* (Warszawa: Burchard Edition, 1999), 68, dok. nr 19: Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (KC PZPR) on measures to improve the economic situation of the Ukrainian population in Poland and to intensify political work among them, [April 1952].

that brought Władysław Gomułka to power. One of the elements of the activities legitimizing the new team in the public perception was – although passingly – nevertheless a reevaluation of the existing anti-religious policy, especially towards the Roman Catholic Church. This was manifested, among other things, by the release of Primate Wyszyński from his internment and the withdrawal by the authorities of the February decree on the staffing of church posts. Although this new religious policy lasted for a relatively short time (until 1958), this period of “breathing” was capitalized on by the most active and brave Greek Catholic priesthood, who began efforts with both the Church (Primate Wyszyński) and the state authorities to re-establish the Greek Catholic pastoral ministry in Poland. They were largely successful in the spring of 1957 when the communist authorities agreed to create the first unofficial pastoral points in the western and northern parts of Poland.²⁹ Although this did not mean recognition of the Church by the state *de jure* – this had to wait until 1989 – in practice, it was the first step in this direction. This change also marked the end of the most difficult and tragic period for priests of the Greek Catholic Church, who remained in Poland after 1947.

Greek Catholic Clerics and Consecrated Persons in the Western and Northern Lands – an Attempt to Draw a Collective Portrait

Out of the total number of Greek Catholic priests and consecrated persons, who remained in Poland after 1944, only 142 (less than 61%) can be defined as those who stayed – permanently or temporarily – during the discussed period in the western and northern parts of Poland.³⁰ Among them were 65 diocesan clergy (33 from the Diocese of Przemyśl, 23 from the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land, 9 from the Archdiocese of Lviv, and 1 from the Vicariate for the Greek Catholics in Bukovina), 8 monks (6 Basilians, 1 Redemptorist, and 1 Studite) and 69 nuns (48 Servants, 17 Josephines, and 4 Basilians).

In terms of nationality, this was a fairly homogenous group with the majority declaring themselves Ukrainian. Only two out of 23 priests from the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land – Józef Chylak and Jan Polanski – were in favour of the Lemko (Ruthenian) nationality. Although what could have influenced the

²⁹ On this subject see more: *Odnowienie duszpasterstwa greckokatolickiego w Polsce 1956–1957 (dokumenty)*, ed. Igor Hałagida (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Bazyliada”, 2011) („Bazylikańskie Studia Historyczne”, vol. 1).

³⁰ In the case of 11 people, it was not possible to collect data in an indisputable way to find if they were present in the area at that time.

process of their national self-identification remains an open question, we should not exclude the strategy chosen by many other individuals, in which concealment of nationality and the option for Polishness may have played an important role.³¹

In general, it can also be stated that in the discussed decade, a significant part of the analysed group was already at a very advanced age, with the difference between the youngest (two nuns from the Congregation of Sister Servants – Teresa (Helena) Łukowicz and Emilia (Stefania) Paszkowiak) and the oldest (Michał Jurczakiewicz, a priest in the Diocese of Przemyśl), was 62 years old. The above-mentioned nuns were born in 1931, and the priest – in 1869. In total, as many as 45 people (31.49%) were born before 1900, and another 65 (45.77%) in the years 1900–1919.³²

Table 2. Greek-Catholic clergy and monks in the western and northern parts of Poland between 1947 and 1957, broken down by year of birth

Decade of birth							
Before 1870	1870–1879	1880–1889	1890–1899	1900–1909	1910–1919	1920–1929	After 1930
1	3	14	27	37	28	30	2

Source: Author's calculations.

This general description does not reflect the complexity of the issue; it is better illustrated by “splitting” groups into different categories: diocesan clergy, monks, and nuns. It shows that all priests – that is, 65 people – were born before 1920, and more than half of them (35 priests) was born before 1900. The three monks who were born in the 90s of the 19 century only make this age statistic worse. The situation is slightly different for the nuns, of whom only 7 were born before 1900, while 31 were born in 1920 or later (the youngest ones, by the way, tied their fate with the consecrated life after 1947).³³ The age structure not only

³¹ This can be proven by the fact that not all priests returned to their native ritual when it became possible.

³² See Table 2.

³³ More on this subject later in the text. The entry of several young girls into the congregation of ss. Servants is the only Greek Catholic vocation in the period under discussion. The first Basilian monks appeared only in 1959 (and the next ones only in the seventies).

explains a variety of attitudes or decisions made by the Greek Catholic clergy but also shows that it was not easy for them – despite their generally sound education – to master the Latin liturgy in bid to serve in Roman Catholic parishes.

Of the above mentioned 142 people, at least 19 died in the decade discussed (9 priests from the Diocese of Przemyśl, 6 – from the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land, 3 – from the Archdiocese of Lviv, and 1 nun (Servant). It was not possible to determine the year of death for 3 of them. While in the case of orders and congregations, one could hope for new vocations to fulfil the gap, then in the case of diocesan priests such shortage, which also was created by the unavailability of newly ordained priests, soon – i.e. after the renewal of the Greek Catholic pastoral ministry – became an extremely urgent problem.

Table 3. Greek Catholic clergy in the western and northern parts of Poland between 1947 and 1957, broken down by year of birth (divided into diocesan clergy, monks, and nuns)

Decade of birth							
Before 1870	1870–1879	1880–1889	1890–1899	1900–1909	1910–1919	1920–1929	After 1930
Diocesan clergy							
1	3	12	19	22	8	–	–
Monks							
–	–	–	3	1	3	1	–
Nuns							
–	–	2	5	14	17	29	2

Source: Author’s calculations.

The date of ordination corresponds with age. In the case of diocesan clergy, as many as 39 (60% of diocesan priests in the western lands) were ordained in the years 1920–1939 (21 in the decade 1920–1929 and 18 in the period 1930–1939), 9 (13.85%) before 1910 (3 in the years 1890–1899, 7 in the period 1900–1909), 11 (16.92%) in the years 1910–1919, and the last 6 (9.23%) in the period of World War II – the last one in 1944. The overwhelming majority of them – as many as 46 – ordained presbyterate in Przemyśl, which is also quite obvious because they were students of the Greek Catholic Seminary existing in that city. In the meantime, some of these clerics studied in Lviv, either in the local seminary or at the Faculty of Theology of the Jan Kazimierz University, but – according to

the current practice – they returned to Przemyśl to be ordained by their bishop. To this group, we could also add 2 other priests who were ordained in Stary Sambir. 10 other priests were ordained in Lviv, although 2 of them later served in the Diocese of Przemyśl, and 4 in the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Land. Three more were ordained in Stanislaviv (including 1 for the Diocese of Przemyśl), 1 – in Vienna (also from the Diocese of Przemyśl). In the case of the last 3 clergymen it was not possible to find such information.

The young clerics were ordained, most often, by local diocesan ordinaries or their suffragans. In the case of Przemyśl (and Stary Sambir), the most were ordained by the following Bishops of Przemyśl: Bishop Julian Pelesh – one, Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovich – 10, and Bishop Jozafat Kotsylovski – 26. Auxiliary Bishop of Przemyśl Hryhoriy Lakota ordained 6 new priests. In some cases, the visiting bishops from other dioceses ordained the clerics. Out of the group of priests ordained in Przemyśl, 4 were ordained by Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn from Stanislaviv, and 1 was ordained by Suffragan Bishop Yosyf Bocian of Lviv. Regarding the priests ordained in Lviv, one of them was ordained by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytski, 1 – by his successor Metropolitan Yosyf Slipyi, 3 were ordained by the Suffragans of Lviv (2 – by Ivan Buchko and 1 – by Mykyta Budka), and 2 more were ordained by Bishop Mykola Czarnetskyi. In 3 other cases, such information could not be established. This picture is completed by 3 more priests ordained in Stanislaviv by Bishop Khomyshyn.

An issue that cannot be overlooked is the problem of celibacy, which is (generally speaking) voluntary in the Eastern Churches. For the Greek Catholic Church in the first three decades of the twentieth century, however, the question was in sharp dispute and of high importance, known later in historiography as “the war for wives”. Of the 65 priests, just over half – 36 – got married before ordination. The data on this subject is scarce, but it is known that in the decade discussed at least four were already widowers, and the marriage of one priest (from the Archdiocese of Lviv) fell apart after he was arrested by the Soviets and deported to the gulag. The remaining 27 priests were celibate and in 2 cases the relevant information could not be found.

The family situation of Greek Catholic clergy in the western and northern parts of Poland was important because most of them, taking up pastoral work in the Roman Rite, had to live separately from their families as not to “make it worse” for their Roman Catholic faithful, who were not accustomed to Catholic

priests with wives and children. In the early days, almost everyone seems to have complied with this requirement.

The question of celibacy did not, of course, concern members of congregations. Of the 6 Basilians, 3 were ordained in Przemyśl, 2 in Lviv and 1 in Lavriv. Four of them were consecrated by Bishop Kotsylovski and the other two by Bishop Budka. Father Stetsura of the Studite was ordained by the Metropolitan Shaptytski. At this moment, it is not possible to determine who consecrated the Redemptorist Fr Porodko.

While it is relatively easy to trace the beginnings of the clerical ministry of priests and monks based on either printed schematism or personal files kept in diocesan archives, access to the personal data of the nuns is difficult. This is partly related to regulations in the monasteries and houses where the sisters live, and partly related to the condition of the archives. Therefore, the information collected on this subject is unavoidably fragmented; nevertheless, it gives us a general picture.

As mentioned above, the most numerous Greek Catholic female congregation was the Servant Sisters. In total, 48 nuns stayed here during the discussed period. As many as 38 of them joined the congregation in Krystynopol in Sokal County, where the General House of the sisters was located. Eight more nuns joined the congregation after the end of the Second World War (1 in Adampol where the General House was moved from Krystynopol), 1 – in Chelm, 4 – in Warsaw. For 3 others I did not manage to establish such data. A separate case is Sister Eugenia (Maria) Łukowicz, who joined the congregation in 1945 in Stanislaviv and probably made it to Poland in the early 1950s.

It is interesting to analyse the dates of the vocation. Perhaps it is not surprising that 28 of them decided to take this step in the 1930s or 1940s (12 and 16 persons respectively). After all, this corresponds to the above-mentioned average age of nuns. However, it may be interesting that out of the last 16 nuns, as many as 10 entered the Congregations in 1943, 2 – a year earlier, and 1 a year later. Could this be proof of the otherwise normal phenomenon of an increase in religiousness during the war? Perhaps it is confirmed by similar information concerning the Josephine Sisters. Out of the 17 analysed, 1 entered the congregation in 1942, and 6 more in 1943. All of them in Tsebliv in Sokal County, where the General House of this congregation was located. It is also known that two other nuns, for whom no year of entry was established, also chose the novitiate in Tsebliv. On the other

hand, 4 Basilian Sisters had joined the Order earlier, in the 1920s (2 in Slovita in Zolochiv County, 1 in Lviv, and in 1 case such information could not be found).

Table 4. Dates of accession to the congregation/congregation of Greek Catholic sisters from western and northern Poland

Years							
Before 1899	1900–1909	1910–1919	1920–1929	1930–1939	1940–1949	After 1950	NN
Servant Sisters							
–	1	5	7	12	16	7	–
Josephine Sisters							
–	–	–	–	–	7	–	10
Basilian Sisters							
–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–

Source: Author's calculations.

As mentioned above, after the deportation of the bishops of the Przemyśl, the Greek Catholic priests received permission (and even a recommendation) for biritualism from the Vatican, (i.e. the possibility to celebrate in the Latin Rite and becoming usually vicars in Roman Catholic parishes). Out of the 65 the diocesan clergymen, a vast majority, because of as many as 51 priests (78.46%), decided to take such a step. In fact, the only priest who did not follow this path was Mirosław Ripecki from Chrzanowo. A possibility of biritualism was not available to priests Włodzimierz Borowiec and Rev. Konrad Jaćków, who, after being arrested, spent most of this period in exile in the USSR and came to Poland in the first half of 1957. Three other priests – Emilian Kotys, Teodor Sereżyński, and Andrzej Złupko – were too old or ill to perform any pastoral ministry, and their activity was limited to occasional services. They all died before 1957.

Approximately 6 Greek Catholic priests did not undertake pastoral work during this period, hiding their origins and their clerical status. Out of these 6, only Jan Różycki did not return to the priesthood and his further fate is unknown. The remaining 5 in the 1960s served the Greek Catholic faithful in more or less regular ways in the so-called pastoral points already existing at that time. There is no news about the fate of the two other priests.

The fifty-one priests who took up work in Latin parishes, most often became vicars; with time, they sometimes took on the functions of administrators

or pastors (*proboszczy*). As many as 12 (23.53%) did not return to their native rite. It is difficult to establish their motives. We can only suppose that the fear – both in common sense and of their well-being – played a decisive role. After all, a permanent job in a single parish provided much greater stability than the journeys – sometimes tens of kilometres long – to the scattered Greek Catholic faithful, who were unable to provide the clergyman with a permanent living situation.

Twenty-three priests decided to return to pastoral work among Greek Catholics, but not all of them did so as soon as it became possible (i.e. in 1957). Some priests returned to their native rite only after they reached an appropriate age to retire from their Roman Catholic parishes. In the case of as many as 16 priests (31.37%) serving in the Western Rite, the question of returning to the Greek Catholic Rite did not arise at all, since these priests died before 1957.³⁴ Of the Basilians, all six served in Latin parishes and all of them returned to the Eastern Rite after 1957, although two of them did this while living abroad – Fr Soter (Stefan) Junyk in the USA and Fr Pasyv (Petro) Shevaha in Brazil. The situation was slightly different for the nuns as most of them served in Latin parishes.

The vast majority of the Greek Catholic priests and religious persons were kept under the close watch of the administrative authorities and the security apparatus.³⁵ Some were also affected by direct repression. From 1947–1949, fifteen priests from the western and northern lands were prisoners of the “Ukrainian sub-camp” in the concentration camp, officially known as the Central Jaworzno Labour Camp. In total, 22 Greek Catholic and 5 Orthodox priests were imprisoned at Jaworzno.³⁶ Four other priests were imprisoned during the period – most often on false charges of cooperation with the Ukrainian underground.

On the other hand, at least 9 priests were involved in the activities of the so-called “patriotic priests” or the state-controlled “Caritas”.³⁷ It seems, however, that most of them were rather passive members. The most active should be considered Jan Polanski, mentioned earlier, who was not only an active “patriotic priest”

³⁴ This sheds additional light on the issue of the age of the Greek Catholic clergy in the western and northern parts of Poland in the 1950s and 1960s.

³⁵ On this subject, see, among others, Igor Hałagida, „Ukraińskie duchowieństwo greckokatolickie przed stalinowskimi sądami w Polsce w latach 1944–1956 (podsumowanie dotychczasowych badań)”, *Peremyški Archijeparchalni Widomosti* 11 (2011): 257–294. Also further topic related literature there.

³⁶ This issue is presented in my book *Duchowni greckokatolicy i prawosławni w Centralnym Obozie Pracy w Jaworznie (1947–1949). Dokumenty i materiały*, ed. Igor Hałagida (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, 2012).

³⁷ “Patriotic priests” – a term referring to priests supporting the government and the changes taking place in communist-run Poland after 1944.

but also the secretary of the regional office of the politically charged “Committee for Peace Defenders”. In the 1950s, this priest publicly spoke at various meetings supporting the party and authority line, which was reported by the local press. The Roman Church authorities apparently were unhappy with his activities and he was asked to explain himself at the Curia of the Wrocław diocese. In 1964, he was awarded the Gold Cross of Merit by the state authorities.

Summary and Research Proposals

Carried out in 1947, Operation “Vistula” was intended by its organizers to speed up the assimilation processes among the Ukrainians dispersed over the western and northern areas of Poland. This was to be facilitated by draconian limitations and restrictions to which the displaced people were subjected. One of such constraints was also an actual ban on the functioning of the Greek Catholic pastoral ministry, despite the presence of 142 Greek Catholic clergy and consecrated persons (diocesan priests, monks, and nuns) in that area in the first years after the resettlement.

The analysis of these people’s biographies allows us to draw some general conclusions. First of all, it should be stated that this group of people was homogeneous in terms of nationality, with a firmly established Ukrainian self-identification. As it seems, this could have been the key element determining the fact that, despite all obstacles, most priests and monks returned to pastoral service among the faithful of their native rite. This should not be surprising and should not be reduced to pastoral issues alone. The Greek Catholic clergy have always played an important role in the extra-religious sphere of the life of the Ukrainians because a significant part of the emerging intelligentsia originated from its ranks. That is why priests not only cared about the spiritual life of their parishioners but were also often animators of local social and cultural life, setting up educational societies like “Society Prosvita”, organising various courses, or supporting the cooperative movement. We can probably risk a statement that they were “from the people” and “with the people” to a greater extent than the Latin clergy.

The situation of Greek Catholic clergy at that time was complicated by the fact that most priests were already in quite advanced age. As it seems, this could explain their decision to take up ministry in the Latin Rite. Theoretically, this should not have been too much of a problem – in the Greek Catholic seminaries the clergy had a good education, including thorough knowledge of Latin – but in

practice, some of them had considerable problems with adaptation to the new rite. Although most of the priests found placements in Roman Catholic parishes, in practice, they had to deal with difficult material conditions, most often acting as vicars at first. Their material status was of even greater importance since many of them had families – wives and children – who most often had to live separately. The issue of the functioning of married Greek Catholic clergy in the realities of the predominately Latin environment of the Polish People’s Republic in the terms of clergy and believers, and where a married priest was associated with Orthodoxy and Protestantism rather than Catholicism, is an issue that awaits historical analysis. It should be emphasized, however, that – unlike the Ukrainian SSR or other countries of the Eastern Bloc – no Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest joined the Orthodox Church in Poland.

The nuns were also in a very difficult situation. They had to earn their living not only by serving in Latin parishes, but also by working in state hospitals, sanatoriums, or children’s shelters. All this took place under strict regulations and the control of the security apparatus, who do not hesitate to create difficulties. The fate of the Ukrainian congregations in communist Poland should also be studied in more detail in the future. The ideal would be to study the history of the Basilian, Josephine and Servants Sisters in the form of thorough studies, although taking into consideration the specificity of these communities and the difficult access to the archives for outsiders, it appears that this can only be done by individuals from these congregations.

The information collected about Greek Catholic priests and other religious persons also gives them positive testimony in the context of submissiveness to the authorities or participation in “licensed” organizations.³⁸ Their firm stance against the authorities is another argument in support of the thesis that I already voiced on many occasions, that the Greek Catholic community in the People’s Republic of Poland was a specific phenomenon, particularly against the background of the history of the Greek Catholic Church in other Eastern bloc countries. Taking into consideration the age of the clergy and consecrated persons and the situation in which they found themselves in the western and northern territories, there

³⁸ They coincide with the findings regarding the number of people broken and forced to cooperate with the repressive apparatus in various ways. This thread I analysed in another publication. See Igor Hałagida, *Działania komunistycznych organów bezpieczeństwa przeciwko duchowieństwu greckokatolickiemu w Polsce (1944–1956) (dokumenty)*, ed. Igor Hałagida (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Bazyliada”, 2012) („Bazylikańskie Studia Historyczne”, vol. 2).

existed a belief in the circles of authorities responsible for religious policy that in the near future the Greek Catholic Church will cease to exist as a separate entity. In the official correspondence, they often stated that discussion of this subject after the resettlements at the end of the 1940s was pointless and out of date. The fact that the events took a different course is largely due to the small group of priests and monks who made efforts to renew the Catholic Eastern Rite in Poland. Such priests as Hrynyk, Ripecki, Deńko, Dziubina, or Fr Puzzkarski distinguished themselves with their courage, ingenuity, and determination. Others discussed in this text also contributed to the revival of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland. It is to their credit that the Greek Catholic communities (and speaking in the national dimension – the Ukrainian minority) survived the after-deportation period in the western and northern parts of Poland until the end of communism.

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ABSTRACT

The text is an attempt to show a group portrait of Greek-Catholic clergy and consecrated persons who, after 1947, (after the “Vistula” action) found themselves in the western and northern parts of Poland. The analysis was carried out based on 142 people (diocesan priests, monks and nuns), who had to function in extremely unfavourable conditions, which in practice resulted in an actual ban on the functioning of the Greek Catholic pastoral ministry and on any religious performance by consecrated persons of the ministry among – also resettled – believers.

On the basis of archival materials from state and – above all – ecclesiastical (Greek-Catholic and Roman-Catholic) archives, as well as the literature on the subject, the aforementioned group was analysed in terms of age, date of ordination, entry into the monastery or congregation, or the exercise of ministry – in the absence of an alternative – in the Latin rite. The question of a return to the native spiritual habit (when it was possible) and of the involvement in structures loyal to the authorities (the state “Caritas” or “Patriotic Priests”) was also examined.

This publication is the first attempt to address the issue on such a nationwide scale.

**GRECKOKATOLICCY DUCHOWNI ORAZ OSOBY KONSEKROWANE
NA ZACHODNICH I PÓLNOCNYCH ZIEMIACH POLSKI W LATACH 1947–1957 –
SZKIC DO PORTRETU ZBIOROWEGO**

ABSTRAKT

Tekst jest próbą ukazania zbiorowego portretu greckokatolickich osób duchownych i konsekrowanych, które po 1947 r. (tj. po akcji „Wisła”) znalazły się na zachodnich i północnych ziemiach Polski. Analizie poddano 142 postaci (kapłani diecezjalni, zakonnicy i zakonnice), którym przyszło funkcjonować w skrajnie niesprzyjających warunkach, sprowadzających się w praktyce do faktycznego zakazu funkcjonowania duszpasterstwa greckokatolickiego oraz pełnienia przez osoby konsekrowane jakiegokolwiek posługi w tym rycie wśród – także przesiedlonych – wiernych.

Na podstawie materiałów archiwalnych z archiwów państwowych oraz – przede wszystkim – kościelnych (greckokatolickich i rzymskokatolickich), a także literatury przedmiotu, przeanalizowano wspomnianą grupę m.in. pod kątem wieku, daty święceń, wstąpienia do zakonu lub zgromadzenia czy też pełnienia posługi – w warunkach braku alternatywy – w obrządku łacińskim. Nie pominięto także kwestii powrotu do rodzimego rytu duchownych (gdy już to było możliwe) oraz zaangażowania w strukturach lojalnych wobec władz (państwowy „Caritas” czy „księża patrioci”).

Publikacja jest pierwszą próbą podjęcia tytułowego zagadnienia w takiej skali.

**P R Z E G L Ą D Z A C H O D N I O P O M O R S K I
R O C Z N I K X X X V (L X I V) R O K 2 0 2 0 Z E S Z Y T 4**

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**COLLECTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL BIOGRAPHY? A COMMUNIST
IN “REGAINED LANDS” JUST AFTER THE WW2**

Key words: Western and Northern Lands in Poland, Polish Government Plenipotentiaries, communists, biography, 1945, human resources policy

Słowa kluczowe: Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne w Polsce, Pełnomocnicy Rządu RP, komuniści, biografistyka, 1945 rok, polityka kadrowa

It would be appropriate to begin by explaining the research perspective outlined in the title. The key to the analysed problem, i.e. the biographies of people taking over and being in power after the end of the Second World War on the Western and Northern Territories, were ideological choices made by them. They determined their fate, and it is through their prism that we can look at the history of regions which, as a result of the post-war transformation of Europe, found themselves within the borders of Poland. It should be noted, however, that the subject under consideration is only a research “sample” as it is limited to a relatively small collection. It is made up of biographies of people who, in March 1945, were appointed government plenipotentiaries of new administrative districts.¹ Of this group, special attention will be paid to one of them – Leonard Borkowicz (until 1944 Berkowicz). It is his personalised history that will allow us to analyse the

¹ Archive of New Files (hereinafter: AAN), Ministry of Public Administration, Excerpt from the minutes of the meeting of the Council of Ministers of 14 March 1945, ref. 2441, 14.

question contained in the title of the article and it will also be the main point of reference.

The choice of Borkowicz as a representative of the analysed group is dictated by several considerations. The most important is the knowledge of his life, which took me almost a decade to study.² Writing it, I opted for a method of contextual biography in which “the character is much stronger [...] innate, incorporated as it were, into social entities and into historical processes.”³ With such an assumption, it is necessary to describe an epoch which becomes the background and context of a story, and thus acquires the characteristics of a historical biography.⁴ However, it is important to maintain proportions. It would be an abuse to say that the history of Borkowicz can be treated as the “excuse” to describe the history of Poland in the 20th century. But already during the reconstruction of 1945 in Western Pomerania, Borkowicz can be considered a “globalising core”, because it was around him that important issues concerning the history of this region were concentrated.

Borkowicz’s pre-war and wartime biography is of great importance for his choice – his experiences of that time place him in the generation of Polish communists of Jewish origin, born around 1910, who joined the movement in the 1920s and 1930s, presented by Jaff Schatz. Most of them survived the war in the East, and when they returned to the country at the side of the Red Army, they not only rebuilt their lives in Poland, but above all rebuilt them for the millions of people living there.⁵ Often doing so with fervour worthy of “apostles of the new faith.”⁶ Their new position in the structures of power created was therefore determined not so much by personal qualities, education or the course of their

² Katarzyna Rembacka, *Komunista na peryferiach władzy. Historia Leonarda Borkowicza (1912–1989)* (Szczecin–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IPN, 2020).

³ Tadeusz Łepkowski, „Kilka uwag o historycznej biografistyce”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3 (1964): 713.

⁴ As Leonid Zaskilniak claims, (“Difficulties of biographical research or how to see a forest behind trees?”, in: *Biografistyka we współczesnych badaniach historycznych. Teoria i praktyka*, ed. Jolanta Kolbuszewska, Rafał Stobiecki (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2017, 29) “a biography can only be called historical if it fits/is inscribed in the historical context and all its intersecting aspects”.

⁵ Jaff Schatz, *The Generation. The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communists of Poland* (Lund: University of Lund Press, 1989), 11.

⁶ Janina Broniewska („Jeden z apostołów”, in: *Ludzie Pierwszej Armii*, Warszawa: GZPW 1946, 25–28) called “apostles” the first group of political-educational officers who were sent in 1943 to the camp in Sielec nad Oko, where the 1st Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division was being formed. Among them was also Leonard Borkowicz.

professional career, but first and foremost by their imprisonment in the communist, party circle.

Such capital was certainly at Borkowicz's disposal – from the age of fifteen he was associated with communism. A member of the illegal Communist Party of Poland, a listener and frequenter of the pre-war prison "universities": the Bastion in Cracow, the Brigidek in Lviv and Drohobycze, the Centralniak in Warsaw and finally Bereza Kartuska, a professional party activist or "funk", carrying out tasks in Altenburg, Berlin, Lviv and Cracow⁷. During the war, in Lviv, a communist agitator, director of a soviet soap factory, and after 1941, a forced worker of the tunic battalion. Later, a Red Army soldier and a Polish political officer in the 1st Tadeusz Kosciuszko Infantry Division, established by Józef Stalin. Borkowicz was so available and loyal that he became a representative of the Polish National Liberation Committee for the Białystok Region and a deputy commander in chief of the Civic Militia. This carousel of posts ended in 1945, when he was entrusted with the mission to develop Western Pomerania.

Was it similar to other attorneys? Did the representatives of the communist Provisional Government in Opole Silesia, Lower Silesia or Warmia and Mazury have similar resumes? How many common, collective features can be found in them? Was their stay in the so-called Recovered Territories a promotion or did it herald degradation? Was it just a stop on the way to other, more important dignities, or maybe "the happiest period in life"?⁸ And finally (which does not mean that the catalogue of questions has been exhausted), to what extent "their" history became the history of the lands they administered and how – or maybe if – they were remembered there.

As indicated earlier, the article is of a causal nature so not all issues will be clarified. However, just formulating them, or drawing attention to them, may lead to new research tracks. Perhaps it will also allow us to face the problem of cohesion and uniformity of all the regions of the "Regained Lands", which has already been pointed out by the creators of the Network of Western and Northern Lands

⁷ Katarzyna Rembacka, „Wykluczony, skarcony, zmarginalizowany? Załamanie kariery politycznej Leonarda Borkowicza w 1950 roku – studium przypadku”, in: *Elity komunistyczne w Polsce*, ed. Mirosław Szumiło, Marcin Żukowski (Warszawa–Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Wydawnictwo IPN, 2015), 506.

⁸ Alicja Maciejowska, „Odchodzę z życia”, in: Alina Głowacka, Alicja Maciejowska, *Pisane mikrofonem* (Szczecin–Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo KaDruk, 2004), 33.

who are creating a research project entitled *Western and Northern Lands – region or regions?*⁹

On 14 March 1945, i.e. during the successful operation of the Wisłańsko-Odrzańska Operation by the Red Army, the usurping Provisional Government decided to “divide the Western territories – newly liberated, into four administrative districts and appoint a plenipotentiary for each one.”¹⁰ District I included Opole Silesia and was to be managed by Aleksander Zawadzki, District II was Lower Silesia, and its plenipotentiary was Stanisław Piaskowski, previously the vice-voivode of Kielce. District III was designated on the territory of Western Pomerania, which was to be administered by Aleksander Kaczocho-Józefski, and finally East Prussia (District IV) supervised by Jerzy Sztachelski.

It soon turned out that these appointments were temporary because two attorneys, after a few weeks, ceased to perform this function. On 30 March, Sztachelski, who had been entrusted with the Ministry of Provisions and Trade, was replaced by Jakub Prawin (he operated in Warmia and Mazury).¹¹ On 11 April, Kaczocho-Józefski took over as deputy minister of public administration.¹² On the proposal of the Minister of Public Administration, Edward Ochab, the government decided to “appoint citizen L. Borkowicz to the West Pomerania District regardless of his work as Plenipotentiary to the 1st Belarusian Front.”¹³ In this way, a temporary team was formed to manage the new borders of the land whose “return to the mother country” was a propaganda slogan used by the communists

⁹ *Akademia Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych*, accessed 10.04.2020, <http://szip.pl/akademia-ziem-zachodnich-i-polnocnych-nabor>.

¹⁰ AAN, MAP, Extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Council of Ministers of 14 March 1945, ref. 2441, 14.

¹¹ “It is worth explaining that in March 1945 the term ‘East Prussia’ or ‘Prussia’ was still in use. From the end of the month, in accordance with the resolution on the administrative division of the Regained Territories, the name of the Mazurian District was introduced, and a little later the Warmia-Masuria District”. Anna Magierska, *Przywrócić Polsce. Przemysł na Ziemiach Odzyskanych 1945–1946* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 32.

¹² Anna Magierska, *Ziemie zachodnie i północne w 1945 roku. Kształtowanie się podstaw polityki integracyjnej państwa polskiego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Książka i Wiedza, 1978), 75.

¹³ “Resolution of the Council of Ministers of 11 April 1945”, in: *Pierwszy wojewoda szczeciński. Dokumenty i komentarze (1945–1949)*, ed. Zdzisław Chmielewski, Kazimierz Kozłowski (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Glob, 1986), 18.

to legitimise their power.¹⁴ It would therefore seem that the filling of key positions in this area should be based on a well-thought-out personnel policy. But was it so?

Let's stop at the nominations of March 14th and look at the party roots of the nominees. Out of the four people indicated at that time, two were members of communist organizations in the pre-war period – these were Dr. Jerzy Sztachelski and General Aleksander Zawadzki. The latter could boast in his biography not only because of his membership in the Communist Party of Poland, of which he was a party officer, or two years of military training in Moscow, but also due to repeated stays in prisons during that time.¹⁵ Against this backdrop, Sztachelski's political card appeared much more modestly, and he also had an important feature on it. It was a membership of the nationalist, pre-war Polish Youth (*Młodzież Wszepolska*).¹⁶ His views evolved dynamically and he quickly joined the ranks of the communist youth in Vilnius, which brought him to the court. He was also affected by other repercussions.¹⁷ Stanisław Piaskowski, in turn, joined the Polish Socialist Party in the 1920s, from which he was to be removed in December 1936 for his "crypto-communist" views.¹⁸ However, despite his radical left-wing sympathies, it is difficult to consider him a typical communist activist. The furthest from this trend was Aleksander Kaczocha-Józefski (actually Aleksander Józef Kaczocha), who belonged to the pre-war People's Party (SL) which was a peasants' movement.

¹⁴ For more see: Mariusz Mazur, „Argumentacja legitymizująca przynależność Ziemi Zachodnich i Północnych do Polski w pierwszych latach po II wojnie światowej”, *Studia Zachodnie* 10 (2008): 81–101; Radosław Domke, *Ziemia Zachodnie i Północne Polski w propagandzie lat 1945–1948* (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2010).

¹⁵ AAN, Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (hereinafter: KC PZPR), Faculty of Human Resources, Aleksander Zawadzki, Survey for Party Activity, December 8, 1948, sign 237/XXIII–340, 4–7. Zawadzki also graduated from the military school in Leningrad, which Bolesław Bierut graduated from. Elżbieta Kowalczyk, „Szkoła Wojskowa w Leningradzie dla działaczy Komunistycznej Partii Polski. Zarys genezy i funkcjonowania (1925–1932)”, *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 1 (2016): 309–326.

¹⁶ While studying in Vilnius at the Stefan Batory University, Jerzy Sztachelski found himself in the group of “a host of unusual individuals,” to which Jerzy Putrament also included Czesław Miłosz, Stefan Jędrzychowski and Henryk Dembiński. It was under the influence of the latter that both Putrament and Sztachelski were eventually bound up with the left-wing current. Emil Pasierski, *Miłosz and Putrament. Żywoty równoległe* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2011), 25–36.

¹⁷ Sztachelski was suspended from student rights for his communist activities. AAN, KC PZPR, HR department, Jerzy Sztachelski, Biography, n.d.a., sign. 237/XXIII-837, 6–7.

¹⁸ Sebastian Ligarski, „Stanisław Piaskowski – pierwszy wojewoda dolnośląski”, *Dolny Śląsk* 11 (2005): 142. I would like to thank Mr. Stefan Bednarek for his help in obtaining the material.

The fate of the nominees during the war was also different, which was influenced by their stay at the time. Piaskowski and Kaczocha-Józefski remained on the territory of the German-occupied country and both were engaged in underground activities. The socialist was active first in the Polish Association for Armed Struggle, which was subordinate to the pre-war Polish authorities, then in the Home Army, while the folklore was engaged in secret teaching. On the other hand, the communists found themselves on the territory of the Soviet Union and it was there, after the initial period of stagnation, that their political careers accelerated. Both were directed to the 1st Tadeusz Kosciuszko Infantry Division, where the promotion of “Aleksander Zawadzki from Corporal to Major and then very quickly to General” echoed in the soldiers.¹⁹ Equally surprising could be the fact that he was entrusted with the leadership of the Central Office of Polish Communists, which most probably should be combined with some form of agency cooperation with the Soviets.²⁰ Sztachelski’s position was also strengthened – in the Kosciuszko Division, as commander of the sanitary battalion, he was promoted to captain, and in the spring of 1944, together with the ubiquitous Zawadzki, he found himself on the Main Board of the Polish Patriots’ Association.²¹

But not only individual careers of Polish communists were strengthened. At least since the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad it was known that “liberation will come from the East, that it will be liberated by the Soviet Union and its army. This awareness led to the creation of new political programmes and the “re-definition of previous assessments and attitudes.”²² Perhaps it was precisely these factors that led Aleksander Kaczocha-Józefski to power the satellite in the face of the Polish Workers’ Party, which was strengthening its position and created by

¹⁹ Bolesław Dańko, *Bez układów* (Warszawa: s.n., 1993), 69.

²⁰ Janusz Mokrosz, *Aleksander Zawadzki – działacz komunistyczny i wojewoda śląski (1945–1948)* (Katowice–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IPN, 2017), 72–78.

²¹ “On April 13th, 1944, a plenum of the ZPP Main Board was convened in Moscow, at which the nine-month activity of the Union was criticized and significant personnel changes were made. At the request of Stefan Jędrychowski, the plenum elected subordinate Andrzej Witos as deputy chairman of the ZPP, Jerzy Sztachelski as a member of the presidium and secretary general of the ZPP and Aleksander Zawadzki as a member of the presidium. Then, at the request of A. Witos, the Plenum added 6 people to the General Board, including Aleksander Zawadzki, Jerzy Sztachelski, Kan Grubecki, Jakub Berman and Stanisław Radkiewicz. Czesław Grzelak, Henryk Stańczyk, Stefan Zwoliński, *Armia Berlinga i Żymierskiego. Wojsko Polskie na froncie wschodnim 1943–1945* (Warszawa: Neriton: Akademia Świętokrzyska im. Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach, Filia w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim, 2002), 46.

²² Jacek Chrobaczyński, *Konteksty przełomu 1944–1945. Społeczeństwo wobec wojennych rozstrzygnięć. Postawy – zachowania – nastroje* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Universitas, 2005), 24.

it, the People’s Party “Will of the People”.²³ In this way, he found himself in the orbit of the communists’ influence, licensing the party system and monopolizing power. It is not known whether he was guided by ideological motives,²⁴ a sober assessment of the situation or extreme opportunism. However, the support given to the peasants allowed him to occupy high positions in the SL leadership, “initially called “red” and then “false”²⁵ and to “represent” their voters in the Sejm (National Assembly).²⁶ And what about Piaskowski? Almost immediately after the liberation of central Poland from German occupation, he started to hold a function in the new apparatus of power, without giving up his membership in the Polish Socialist Party, or more precisely its “Lublin” part.²⁷ In a sense, he thus followed a path analogous to Kaczocha-Józefski.

However, the CVs of the “March” attorneys differed in other, for obvious reasons, areas that were independent of them, which were determined by the metric or origin. They also did not always have an influence on their education, which was related to the financial status of their families. The eldest was Aleksander Zawadzki, who was born in 1899 in Będzin, in a Polish workers’ family and completed only a few classes of a common school. Apart from professional party work, he was also involved in mining. Aleksander Kaczocha-Józefski came from the Małopolska village of Słupiec. He was born in 1906, most probably to a Polish peasant family. He graduated from the gymnasium in Tarnów and began legal studies at the Jagiellonian University, which he was unable to complete due to his difficult financial situation. He worked as a school manager. Stanisław Piaskowski, born in 1901 near Garwolin, also chose a similar profile of education as

²³ “Created by the communists in the rural circles, the ‘Will of the People’ group joined the National Council at the end of March 1944, where it was officially presented as a representative of the peasants movement”. Janusz Wrona, *System partyjny w Polsce 1944–1950. Miejsce – funkcje – relacje partii politycznych w warunkach budowy i utrwalania systemu totalitarnego* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1997), 68.

²⁴ Aleksander Kaczocha most probably was also a member of PPR since January 1943. *Aleksander Kaczocha*, Biuletyn Informacji Publicznej IPN.pl, accessed 2.04.2020, <https://katalog.bip.ipn.gov.pl/informacje/601149>.

²⁵ Janusz Wrona, „Elity kryptokomunistyczne w partiach satelickich”, in: *Elity komunistyczne w Polsce*, ed. Mirosław Szumiło, Marcin Żukowski (Warszawa–Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Wydawnictwo IPN, 2015), 155–156.

²⁶ Tadeusz Mołdawa, *Ludzie władzy 1944–1991. Władze państwowe i polityczne Polski według stanu na dzień 28 II 1991* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1991), 267–269.

²⁷ The communists managed to attract a small group of the most left-wing socialists for cooperation. Acting against the majority, this group, headed by Edward Osóbka-Morawski, became part of the National Council. Wrona, *System*, 72–77.

he did, taking up legal studies at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov and finishing them, after various perturbations, at the University of Warsaw. Piaskowski's father, Antoni, was a district governor in Radom, and it was there that Stanisław was head of the department in the Municipal Council. Jerzy Sztachelski, who was born in 1911 in Puławy, to a Polish intellectual family and graduated in medicine in Vilnius, was in the best position.

So what, apart from the ideological choices, predestined the above four to be entrusted with the extremely difficult task of "preparing the land for the Polish settlement?"²⁸ Piaskowski and Sztachelski were certainly supported by their experience in managing the field administration. He gained his first practice in the Kielce Province, where he served as deputy government plenipotentiary just after the liberation of the area from the German occupation (Edward Ochab was then his superior). From summer 1944, Dr. Jerzy Sztachelski, on the other hand, managed Podlasie, acting as the Białystok voivode. Entrusting him with the management of the region's neighbouring East Prussia was a logical consequence of his earlier actions. Sztachelski, (without waiting for any signal from the central authorities), on his own began to develop the lands occupied by the Red Army and "prepare their administration. His zeal can be explained by the geographical proximity of these areas and the plan to connect eight districts of former East Prussia to the province he managed."²⁹

Directing Kaczochy-Józefski to Western Pomerania was certainly connected with the party key used in the division of positions in local administration. According to Mirosława Szumiło's findings, "in 1945, under various inter-party agreements, 14 provinces and districts were divided into parties represented in the National Council and the Provisional Government of National Unity", in which the People's Party had a significant share.³⁰ It actively supported the concept of settlement of new lands and their development.³¹ It also had a lot to say on this

²⁸ Magierska, *Ziemie zachodnie*, 84.

²⁹ Tomasz Tadeusz Majer, „Pełnomocnik Rządu RP na Okręg Mazurski – budowa aparatu państwowego”, *Studia Prawnoustrojowe* 18 (2012): 104.

³⁰ Mirosław Szumiło, „Wojewodowie i okręgowi pełnomocnicy rządu w pierwszych latach Polski Ludowej (1944–1950)”, in: *Dzieje biurokracji na ziemiach polskich*, vol. II, ed. Artur Górak, Dariusz Magier (Lublin-Siedlce: Wydawnictwo Radzyńskie Stowarzyszenie Inicjatyw Lokalnych, 2009), 297–298.

³¹ "The General Council of the Party at its meeting in March 1945 called on all subordinate units to organize settlement groups among peasants and direct them to the land in consultation with the authorities west and north." Małgorzata Ryś, „Stronictwo Ludowe na Pomorzu Zachodnim wiosną i latem 1945 roku”, *Śląskie Studia Historyczne* 5 (1997): 180.

subject because two successive heads of the public administration ministry came from their ranks.³² Thus, Kaczocho-Józefski was followed by both the strength of the group itself and its position within it, public political activity (a member of the KRN) and some experience in management.

However, the most interesting seems to be the candidacy of Aleksander Zawadzki, a man who could certainly be regarded as one of the most important political figures at the time. As his biographer Janusz Mokrosz points out, the fact that the deputy commander-in-chief of the Polish Army for political and educational affairs was sent to "the disposal of the Provisional Government" resulted from the desire to separate him "from the highest circles of power".³³ Both Władysław Gomułka, as well as people gathered around him, had aversion towards Zawadzki. At the same time, however, the central authorities gave him practically unlimited freedom of decision making, which resulted both from his position and the key importance of Silesia for the post-war reconstruction of Poland.³⁴ Not without significance was the fact that before the war Zawadzki worked as a miner and lived in this region, which could be used as propaganda.

However, as previously written, the March nominations proved to be short-lived. Sztachelski was replaced after a dozen or so days by Jakub Prawin, and Kaczocho-Józefski, after almost a month, by Leonard Borkowicz. It is in the CVs of the new attorneys that most common elements can be found. But are there enough of them to give them a collective biography?

Both Prawin (born 1901) and Borkowicz (born 1912) were Polish communists of Jewish origin. Both of them had a long party experience, the status of "funk", both were imprisoned in Bereza Kartuska for their political activities.³⁵ They were very different in terms of the level of their education – Prawin, who studied in Vienna with the title of Doctor of Laws, while Borkowicz, who was expelled for his communist activities from subsequent schools, did not manage to finish middle school. Prawin also enjoyed greater trust of his Moscow comrades

³² First, the Ministry of Public Administration was headed by Stanisław Kotek-Agroszewski and Józef Maślanka from the People's Party, respectively (until April 1945). Mołdawa, *Ludzie władzy*, 180.

³³ Mokrosz, *Aleksander Zawadzki*, 93–94.

³⁴ Adam Dziuba, „A New System, New Parties, and a New Elite. Beginnings of the Post-war life in the Voivodeship of Silesia”, *CzasyPismo* Special Issue (2019), 68.

³⁵ AAN, KC PZPR, HR Department, Prawin Jakub, ref. 237/XXIII-407; AAN, KC PZPR, Personal files of Leonard Borkowicz, ref. 306.

than he had in the party discipline and conspiracy principles, Borkovich.³⁶ This became apparent during the Soviet occupation of Lviv, when in early 1941, Prawin was admitted to the VKP(b) with an internship in KPP.³⁷ Borkowicz “was proposed to join the JPC(b)” only two years later.³⁸ During the war, apart from Lviv, both soldiers were joined by service in the Red Army, in which they were “polishers”, officer promotions obtained there, and then command posts in the Kościuszko Division. They also found themselves in a team of leading party activists included in the CBKP work system. “The members of the team fulfilled the role of the Office’s shop stewards, being a direct link between the Office and the communists in the units.”³⁹ The year 1944 was marked by great dynamism in their lives and increasingly new functions and tasks – at that time they both gained experience in administrative work at the local (Borkowicz) and central (Prawin) levels. Both of them still wore uniforms and obtained higher and higher military ranks.

Their fates were once again united on 26 February 1945, when the decision of the Provisional Government to establish the composition of plenipotentiaries to act on the Soviet fronts was made. Eugeniusz Szyr was assigned to the 1st Ukrainian Front, while Leonard Borkowicz, Julian Kole (quickly named Antoni Alster) and Jakub Prawin were assigned to the three Belarusian fronts.⁴⁰ In this case, it is difficult to speak of any inter-party agreements, and the selected group had an obvious common denominator, certainly taken into account for these nominations. All of them (Alster, Borkowicz, Kole, Prawin, Szyr) were connected by the Kapepsk past, all of them came to Poland from the East, all of them were engaged in political work in the army, holding command posts. They did not

³⁶ Patrycja Bukalska, *Krwawa Luna* (Warszawa: Wielka Litera, 2016), 65–81.

³⁷ AAN, KC PZPR, HR Department, Jakub Prawin, Biography, 3 VII 1950 r., sign. 237/XXIII–407, 6b.

³⁸ Russian State Archive of Social and Political History in Moscow, f. 494, op. 252, d. 5, The Files of Leonard Borkowicz, 24.

³⁹ According to Fryderyk Zbiniewicz (*Polish Army in the USSR. Studia na problematykę pracy politycznej*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo MON, 1963, 177) „The team included: M. Mietkowski, R. Zambrowski, E. Ochab, S. Jędrychowski, W. Grosz, J. Prawin, J. Gawroński, J. Urbanowicz, I. Korniluk, St. Kondratowicz, Wł. Maskalan, E. Pszczółkowski, M. Naszkowski, St. Zawadzki, A. Alster, L. Krzemień, L. Borkowicz, K. Świetlik, E. Szyr, H. Toruńczyk, Z. Okręt, K. Witaszewski, L. Rubinstein, J. Burgin, M. Szleyen, J. Kratko, W. Konopka, W. Stresser, St. Sobczak and several others.

⁴⁰ AAN, MAP, Extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Council of Ministers of 26 February 1945, ref. 2441, 5.

graduate from military academies, but while serving in the political and educational corps, they obtained officer status. "Everybody knew Russian, everybody knew each other. They also knew – and this was perhaps the most important thing – the comrades from their brother's army, with whom they were supposed to settle disputes."⁴¹

In the course of their tasks, both Borkowicz and Prawin operated in the areas that were to be covered by the Polish administration, during the personnel reshuffles carried out by the Provisional Government. Their relatively best preparation for the management of Western Pomerania and East Prussia was evidenced by their orientation on the state of infrastructure and economy in the regions. They obtained it, among other things, during field reconnaissance, and they included their observations and observations in reports sent to central authorities.⁴² Borkowicz showed not only perceptiveness but also concern for the future fate of Western Pomerania by including in the report his concerns about the state of the Soviet military commanders and the lack of any action on the part of Poland to secure these lands.⁴³ And since he submitted the report at the time when Kaczocha-Józefski interrupted his Western Pomeranian mission by deciding to return to the capital and take over the portfolio of the deputy minister of public administration, he became probably the best, and probably the only one, candidate for the district.

Therefore, it seems legitimate to state that the nominations of Borkowicz and Prawin were more influenced by their place of residence, their specific availability and experience resulting from the implementation of the tasks at that time than by the well thought-out strategy of the central authorities. They were simply at

⁴¹ Rembacka, *Komunista na peryferiach*, 206.

⁴² The rightful reconnaissance of East Prussia took place on 14–22 March 1945 – "1945 March 23, Warsaw. Plenipotentiary of the Polish Government at the 3rd Belarusian Front Colonel dr Jakub Prawin to the Prime Minister Edward Osóbka-Morawski. Report from talks with the front command and the situation of the eastern and central part of East Prussia", in: Tadeusz Baryła, *Okręg Mazurski w raportach Jakuba Prawina. Wybór dokumentów. 1945 rok* (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego, 1996, 53–55). Borkowicz, on the other hand, made a tour of Western Pomerania in the first week of April 1945, reaching Kołobrzeg, Gorzów, Świebodzin and Stargard, among others. The Pomeranian Princess House, Special Collections, The legacy of Leonard Borkowicz, sign. 3001, *Pierwsze miesiące dwuwładzy i władzy*, k. 6.

⁴³ "1945 April 16, Wałcz – Letter of the Plenipotentiary of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland to the Command of the First Belarusian Front of the Soviet Army Lieutenant Colonel Leonard Borkowicz to the President of the National Committee of the Republic of Poland – Bolesław Bierut", in: Władysław Góra, „Początki władzy ludowej na ziemiach odzyskanych”, *Z pola walki* 31 (1965), 3: 175–178.

hand. Thus, it may be difficult to defend the thesis about conscious directing only former soldiers to new districts, which would testify to the communists' special interest – in terms of personnel – in the “Regained Lands”.⁴⁴ Neither the casting of Lower Silesia, where for a few years the socialists were in the lead,⁴⁵ nor Western Pomerania, where the staffing of the operational groups was influenced by the folklore Kaczoch-Jozefski,⁴⁶ prove this. PPR at that time was more focused on expanding the party and security apparatus than on staffing monopolizing the field administration, because “temporarily” it did not have such possibilities. That is why it drew a full handful from the reservoir of people who were connected by Polish western thought, and that is why it used pre-war officials giving them an illusory sense of equality.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, at the district level, both Borkowicz⁴⁸

⁴⁴ “In 1945 the Polish Workers' Party had only four governors and plenipotentiaries: in Lublin, Katowice, Szczecin and Olsztyn. As you can see, the communists were mainly interested in the Regained Territories”. Szumiło, *Wojewodowie*, 298.

⁴⁵ “In 1945, the Lower Silesian PPS and PPR units were convinced of the decisive predominance of socialist influence in the area. (...) In the people of Stanisław Piaskowski and Bolesław Drobner two key positions in the administration fell to the PPS”. Elżbieta Kaszuba, „Dzieje Śląska po 1945 roku”, in: Marek Czaplinski, Elżbieta Kaszuba, Gabriela Wąs, Rościsław Żerlik, *Historia Śląska* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), 478.

⁴⁶ At least in some cases, representatives of individual ministries were delegated to the Kaczochy-Józefski operational group, which was decided by their heads. State Archive in Szczecin, Szczecin Voivodship Office, Letters of the Plenipotentiary of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland to the Director of the Compensation Office, Main Liquidator and Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Warsaw, 30 March 1945, No 3, 11–13.

⁴⁷ For more on this subject see: Grzegorz Strauchold, *Mysł zachodnia i jej realizacja w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1945–1957* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek Publishing House, 2003).

⁴⁸ It is worth quoting here opinions on Borkowicz formulated by two writers, Maria Dąbrowska and Maria Boniecka. Dąbrowska, who visited Szczecin in September 1948, was astonished to learn that “a gentleman of a strong stance, disguised as Maciek Borkowicz Matejko – with black moustaches falling and as black as a beetle [and] altogether nice” was the Szczecin voivode. She also quickly found out that this “Jew – a pre-war communist – supposedly knew how to win the kindness of the people here” (Maria Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, selection, introduction and elaboration. Tadeusz Drewnowski, Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1988, 164–165). Boniecka, in her book published in exile, wrote that Borkowicz “in the Chrobry's Bulwarks he rules like an absolute monarch, swears like a true soldier, and, what is most important, he blunts various pigeons and combiners without mercy, making little of their mighty Warsaw protectors” (Maria Boniecka, *Ucieczka za druty*, Londyn: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1975, 123). For more about the Western Pomeranian personnel see: Kazimierz Kozłowski, *Pomorze Zachodnie w sześćdziesięcioleciu (1945–2005). Społeczeństwo – władza – gospodarka – kultura* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2007), 337–360.

and Zawadzki⁴⁹ were able to establish cross-party cooperation, appreciating and respecting the professionals around them.

Does the information presented above allow us to create a collective figure of a district and at the same time communist attorney? Yes, and no. The common and overriding feature connecting Borkowicz, Prawin and Zawadzki was their ideological past, it was the past that distinguished and marked them valuable, and it was this factor that, after the war, led them to the honours, despite the lack of formal education, professional qualifications and professional experience. Possible complexes, if they faced this human affliction at all, were to be eliminated by the confession and practice of "religious-like communism".⁵⁰ If not Prawin,⁵¹ then surely Borkowicz and Zawadzki, in arranging propaganda events, making occasional speeches or cutting ribbons, were really efficient.⁵² This was due to their propaganda skills and experiences in 'brainwashing' polished up as an integral part of their "political" service in the army and the rank of their commanders. The military uniform and the high, officer's ranks were another elements connecting them. In 1945 Borkowicz was a lieutenant colonel, Prawin a colonel and

⁴⁹ "Eventually, for most of his stay in Upper Silesia, this communist from Zagłębie will benefit to a large extent from the experience gained mainly by Jerzy Ziętek's pre-war staff [Michał] Grażyński, despite various negative suggestions coming from his closest party background, which was the provincial organization of PPR. (...) The consistency shown by Zawadzki in this matter was probably related to the fact that he simply realised how much he needed qualified pre-war personnel and social and political activists who knew the local specificity to manage the region". Mokrosz, *Aleksander Zawadzki*, 99–100.

⁵⁰ See: Marcin Kula, *Religiopodobny komunizm* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2003).

⁵¹ In 1945 Prawin was sceptical about the initiative to organize the anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald: "In Olsztyn, due to his function, Government Plenipotentiary Jakub Prawin, who took over the leadership of the Provincial Committee for the Celebration of the Grunwald Feast, was to supervise the organization of the celebrations. It is said that at first he was not delighted with the organization of the celebrations, and the available materials indicate that in summing up the celebrations, he was not satisfied with their organization and course either. He was perfectly aware of the situation, here on the spot, in Olsztyn and in the field. He believed that in the face of a number of needs and enormous difficulties in the Mazury Region, if at all, it would be better to organize small, only local celebrations. Probably he was also fully aware that in such a short period of time, in difficult post-war conditions, the preparation of a prestigious event will require a lot of effort". Ryszard Tomkiewicz, „Pierwsze powojenne obchody rocznicy bitwy grunwaldzkiej (15 lipca 1945)”, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 3 (2010): 328.

⁵² The inhabitants of Western Pomerania particularly remember an exceptional event organized in 1946 under the patronage of Borkowicz "We keep the Guard over the Oder". It was then that the scouts, manifesting their support for the Oder border, at the same time loudly expressed their support for Stanisław Mikołajczyk and the opposition to the communists, the Polish People's Party. Radosław Ptaszyński, *Trzymamy Straż nad Odrą: propaganda – fakty – dokumenty* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo IPN, 2007).

Zawadzki a general. In the chaotic and confused period of transition, the military decoration heralded the strength that civilian clothes could not yet provide. With time it changed, bringing different consequences for each of the attorneys.

And here we come to the question signalled at the beginning of the text – what was it like for district attorneys to be entrusted with this task? Promotion, degradation or transition? It seems that only in relation to General Zawadzki can we talk about the action planned by Gomułka's people, aiming at pushing him out of the strict political elite by directing him away from Warsaw. This does not mean, however, that he considered the years spent in the Silesian Voivodeship to be wasted, all the more so, because the scope of power of the proxies was very wide.⁵³ Nevertheless, high party and governmental positions, and thus moving to the top of power, did not bring Zawadzki until 1948, when his stay in Katowice⁵⁴ ended. In turn, the rather accidental way of directing Borkowicz and Prawin to the “Regained Lands” proves that in their case it is difficult to talk about a personal strategy implemented by the party headquarters, although one could find a greater strategy here. Only those who were closer to the name of “Moskals” (Russians) than the “nationalists” were directed to the new provinces.⁵⁵ However, both Borkowicz and Prawin had already had their chance to appear at the headquarters – the first as Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the MO, and the second

⁵³ Plenipotentiaries, theoretically, were representatives of the second instance of general administration and in territorial administration held a position equivalent to that of voivodes. It should be stressed, however, that unlike voivodes, the Plenipotentiaries – temporarily – also exercised power over a number of offices and non-segregated (special) institutions. In the case of Western Pomerania, in the spring of 1945, Borkowicz was subordinate to, or was under his authority, tax chambers, school district superintendents, the Land Office, the District Automobile Office or the Temporary State Administration. Robert Degen, *Kancelaria wojewódzkich urzędów administracji ogólnej na Ziemiach Odzyskanych w latach 1945–1950* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2005), 28–31.

⁵⁴ Mokrosz, *Aleksander Zawadzki*, 271–291.

⁵⁵ Such a division resulted mainly from the different fates of Polish communists during the war and the dispute over the central primacy of the party apparatus among them. As Władysław Gomułka recalled [*Pamiętniki*, vol. 2, ed. Andrzej Werblan (Warszawa: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza BGW, 1994) 450], one of the most important contenders for taking power: “The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party (KC PPR) was constituted at the beginning of August 1944 in the following composition: 1. Władysław Gomułka (Secretary General); 2. Bolesław Bierut; 3. Jakub Berman; 4. Hilary Minc; 5. Aleksander Zawadzki. (...) The Politburo therefore included two members of the former secretariat of the CPC PPR and three members of the former Central Communist Office in Moscow. My original quantitative concept assumed an equal ratio – three out of three meaning a parity.”

as head of ministerial departments.⁵⁶ But the war is not over yet and it is possible that the directing to the front was more appealing to them than working in offices.

However, in 1945, the paths of Borkowicz and Prawin went two different directions because for Prawin, the Doctor of Law, the stay in the Mazury District turned out to be only a stopover.⁵⁷ More important for him, and not only for political but also economic reasons, was certainly the several years spent in Berlin and directing the Polish Military Mission.⁵⁸ Whereas for 33-year-old Lt. Borkowicz, a four-year presence in Western Pomerania, was a period of his professional fulfilment. Never before or after had he had such extensive power, sense of independence and commonly shown him the attraction.⁵⁹ If so, the search for a biographical *iunctim* in this respect will not be successful.

The biographies under analysis will also differ in their memory and material expressions. Starting with⁶⁰ memorial materials published shortly after death, issuing occasional postcards⁶¹ or naming squares and streets,⁶² through documentary films⁶³ or texts popularizing – or analysing – the life and activity of

⁵⁶ AAN, KC PZPR, HR Department, Prawin Jakub, Autobiography, Warsaw, 7 July 1950, ref. 237/XXIII-407, 7.

⁵⁷ In mid-December 1945, as a governmental plenipotentiary, Prawin was replaced by Dr. Zygmunt Robel, who was associated with the Labour Party. Majer, "Government Plenipotentiary", 117.

⁵⁸ AAN, KC PZPR, Department of Human Resources, Prawin Jakub, Autobiography, Warsaw, 7 July 1950, ref. 237/XXIII-407, 7.

⁵⁹ The environment of artists who settled in Szczecin for a short time and received a lot of support from it contributed to building a positive image of Borkowicz. As Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński wrote (*Listy z fiołkiem*). Quote from Robert Cieślak, "Spojrzenia (na) Gałczyńskiego", *Pogranicza* 3 (2003): 17–18 "If the Governor of Szczecin was not an angel, could we feel like in heaven with him? Angelology".

⁶⁰ For example: Henryk Kotlicki et al., *Jakub Prawin (wspomnienia)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Książka i Wiedza, 1959); Henryk Rechowicz, ed., *Wspomnienia o Aleksandrze Zawadzki* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk”, 1971).

⁶¹ Such an occasional postcard was issued in connection with the death of Aleksander Zawadzki and presented the funeral ceremonies organized in Warsaw on 11 August 1964. Mokrosz, *Aleksander Zawadzki*, 290.

⁶² Most such forms of commemoration concerned Aleksander Zawadzki, who died in 1964. In reference to Jakub Prawin, who died in 1957, there is an anecdotal information about giving his name to the park in Olsztyn. He died in 1989. Leonard Borkowicz was not honored in this way, which should be combined with the transformation of the political system.

⁶³ Edmund Szaniawski *Aleksander Zawadzki* (film) (Polska: Wytwórnia Filmowa Czołówka, 1977); Andrzej Androchowicz *Pełnomocnik Rządu* (film) (Polska: Telewizja Polska Szczecin, 1987).

the proxies.⁶⁴ Most of these memorials did not stand the test of time. Top-down patronage, hagiographic articles and books have been socially and scientifically revised. The researchers also lost their interests in the biographies of party and government activists, which Jerzy Eisler explained, among others, that: “a significant part of people (also a number of historians, including even *those focused on communism in Poland*) are simply of the opinion that it is not worth to deal with them and devote separate books to them, and that the time spent on this type of activity would be better spent on preserving in the common memory the achievements of their political opponents and, at the same time, national heroes.”⁶⁵ This situation is gradually changing and more and more publications are available in the publishing market (published after the political transformation) presenting the profiles of Polish communists, although mainly those from the “first ranks”.⁶⁶ Therefore, it seems justified to shift interest into their depths, to reach an indescribable background and outline a “field” perspective. Full and individual stories of district attorneys (and then voivodes), would allow for a better understanding of the processes taking place in the Western and Northern Territories, where after all, they set the pace. The awareness of who these people were before and how their future proceeded would help to supplement the knowledge of the importance that the communist authorities gave to the new borders of the country and the real place they occupied in their plans. Without a doubt, drawing individual biographies is an arduous work and, as Felix Tych stated years ago, “there will

⁶⁴ Chmielewski, Kozłowski, *Pierwszy wojewoda*; Henryk Rechowicz, *Aleksander Zawadzki. Życie i działalność* (Katowice–Kraków: PWN, 1969).

⁶⁵ Jerzy Eisler, „Dlaczego nie lubimy biografii dotyczących osób z czasów PRL?”, *Polish Biographical Studies* 2 (2014): 43.

⁶⁶ Jerzy Eisler, *Siedmiu wspaniałych. Poczet pierwszych sekretarzy KC PZPR* (Warszawa: Czerwone i Czarne, 2014); Barbara Fijałkowska, *Borejsza i Różański. Przyczynek do dziejów stalinizmu w Polsce* (Olsztyn: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Olsztynie, 1995); Piotr Gajdziński, *Gomułka. Dyktatura ciemniaków* (Warszawa: Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, 2017); Andrzej Garlicki, *Bolesław Bierut* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2004); Czesław Kozłowski, *Namiestnik Stalina* (Warszawa: „BGW”, 1993); Eryk Krasucki, *Międzynarodowy komunista. Jerzy Borejsza – biografia polityczna* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2009); Piotr Lipiński, *Bierut. Kiedy partia była bogiem* (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2017); Paweł Machcewicz, *Władysław Gomułka* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1995); Andrzej Paczkowski, *Trzy twarze Józefa Świątły. Przyczynek do historii komunizmu w Polsce* (Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2009); Anita Prażmowska, *Władysław Gomułka* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo RM, 2016); Andrzej Skalimowski, *Sigalin. Towarzysz odbudowy* (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2018); Anna Sobór-Świdorska, *Jakub Berman. Biografia komunisty* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IPN, 2009); Mirosław Szumiło, *Roman Zambrowski 1909–1977. Studium z dziejów elity komunistycznej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IPN, 2014).

never be any recipe for a good biography, because how many people there are, how many situations, how many different means of expression have to be found in order to reflect a person's silhouette, to show in full the choices he faced and the decisions he made."⁶⁷ That is why we should look for books presenting the comprehensive biographies of Leonard Borkowicz, Jakub Prawin, Stanisław Piaskowski and Aleksander Zawadzki – even if it was only a few years that they spent on "Regained Lands" that made them historical figures.

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⁶⁷ *Biografistyka dziejów najnowszych* (wypowiedź F. Tycha), *Dzieje Najnowsze* 3 (1973): 167.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to compare the biographies of the governmental plenipotentiaries who were sent to Poland in 1945 and to search for the elements connecting them. The profiles of people managing the "Regained Lands" just after the war are presented – Leonard Borkowicz, Jakub Prawin, Stanisław Piaskowski and Aleksander Zawadzki. The biographies of those who, although nominated, did not take over their posts – Aleksander Kaczochy-Józefski and Jerzy Sztachelski – have also been presented. Particular emphasis was placed on the political and ideological choices they made. The article also discusses the human resources policy of Polish communists.

BIOGRAFIA KOLEKTYWNA CZY INDYWIDUALNA? KOMUNISTA NA „ZIEMIACH ODZYSKANYCH” TUŻ PO WOJNIE

ABSTRAKT

Celem artykułu jest porównanie życiorysów rządowych pełnomocników kierowanych w 1945 r. na nowo przyłączane do Polski ziemie oraz poszukiwanie łączących ich elementów. Zaprezentowano sylwetki ludzi zarządzających tuż po wojnie „Ziemiemi Odzyskanymi” – Leonarda Borkowicza, Jakuba Prawina, Stanisława Piaskowskiego oraz Aleksandra Zawadzkiego. Przybliżono także biografie tych, którzy choć nominowani, nie przejęli powierzanych im stanowisk – Aleksandra Kaczochy-Józefskiego oraz Jerzego Sztachelskiego. Szczególny nacisk został położony na podejmowane przez nich polityczne i ideologiczne wybory. W artykule podjęto również rozważania na temat polityki kadrowej polskich komunistów.

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PIOTR ZAREMBA (1910–1993). BIOGRAPHY TO BE UNVEILED

Key words: biography, Western Pomerania, Szczecin, Piotr Zaremba

Słowa kluczowe: biografistyka, Pomorze Zachodnie, Szczecin, Piotr Zaremba

1. Over a quarter of a century has passed since Piotr Zaremba's death. To this day, no book has been written that would give a deeper look at his activity and personality.¹ This may come as a surprise not only because the contribution to the post-war history of Western Pomerania and Szczecin is unquestionable in this case, but also because Zaremba is still arousing an uncommon interest. There is his white and black legend. For some, he is the "Szczecin of the century", a man symbolizing the success of Polish post-war aspirations, an internationally renowned urban

¹ Although there is no published biography of Piotr Zaremba, there are quite a few works that can be helpful in bringing closer the figure and personality of Piotr Zaremba, see e.g. Kazimierz Kozłowski, „Piotr Zaremba – pierwszy prezydent polskiego Szczecina z perspektywy III RP”, in: *Prezydenci Szczecina. Suplement do „Kroniki Szczecina”*, ed. Piotr Chrobak, Kazimierz Kozłowski, Zdzisława Pacała (Szczecin: Szczecińskie Towarzystwo „Pogranicze”, Oficyna Wydawnicza Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie „Dokument”, 2014), 9–34; Kazimierz Kozłowski, „Dwaj prezydenci polskiego Szczecina i ich czasy”, *Acta Cassubiana XXI* (2019): 143–158; Eryk Krasucki, „O Piotrze Zarembie, jego pamiętnikarskim dziele i o tym, co dziś znaczy dla szczecinian”, in: Piotr Zaremba, *Wspomnienia Prezydenta Szczecina. Pierwszy szczeciński rok – 1945* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Księży Młyn, 2016), 7–27; Eryk Krasucki, „Zaremba non-fiction. Kilka refleksji wokół sporu o biografię”, in: *Kronika Szczecina 2012*, ed. Anna Bartczak, Maria Frenkel, Kazimierz Kozłowski (Szczecin: Oficyna Wydawnicza Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie „Dokument”, 2013), 199–207; Paweł Zaremba, *Koligacje rodzinne pierwszego prezydenta Szczecina Piotra Zaremby* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie „Dokument”, 2013).

planner.² Others see him as a careerist, a communist, an informer and a bad president.³ However, such strongly polarised opinions do not provoke new research, and the discussions that occasionally erupt, such as the one about Zaremba's biogram at the Breakthrough Dialogue Centre or the one about the initiative to build his monument, are to a large extent limited to expressing one's convictions, and are certainly not an authentic debate, which is backed by an in-depth knowledge of historical sources.⁴ For this reason, the most popular knowledge carrier for the first President of Szczecin is still his memoirs from the years 1945–1950, published since the 1960s and recently reissued again.⁵ This source is indisputably important, but it has its limitations and – what is most important – refers only to a short moment of a long and extremely rich life.

² The most complete expression of appreciation for Piotr Zaremba was found in the plebiscites announced in 2000: "Szczecin of the Century", organized by the local branches of "Gazeta Wyborcza", Polish Radio and TVP, and "Pomorzanin of Our Times", which was announced by "Głos Szczeciński", "Gazeta Pomorska" and "Głos Pomorza" newspapers. The first president won in them with an overwhelming number of votes, see Joanna Dżaman, ed., *Szczecinianie stulecia*, (Łódź–Szczecin: Friday of the 13th-Agora, 2000); Krystyna Pohl, *70 Nieprzecierzecirzecinych, Pomorzanin Naszych Czasów*, gs24.pl, accessed 10.05.2020, <https://gs24.pl/70-nieprzecierzecirzecinych-pomorzanin-naszych-czasow/ar/5261254>. Respect for Zaremba's achievements is also reflected in the establishment in 2019 of the Social Committee for the Construction of the Monument of the First Polish President of Szczecin, Professor Piotr Zaremba, see Resolution No. 1/2019 of 11 June 2019 on the creation of the Social Committee for the Construction of the Monument of the First Polish President of Szczecin, Professor Piotr Zaremba, held by the author.

³ See, among others, Krzysztof Sałaciński, „Kto zdewastował Szczecin? (kilka pytań do prof. P. Zaremby)”, *Solidarność Szczecińska – 80* 100 (1990), 24: 4; „Zaremba versus Sochański. Dyskusji wysłuchał Wojciech Jachim”, *Gazeta Wyborcza Szczecin*, 22.12.2006, 13–14; Maciej Maciejowski, „Zaremba lukrowany czy rzeczywisty”, *Kurier Szczeciński*, 23–25.01.2014, 22.

⁴ Jolanta Kowalewska, *Będzie nowy biogram Piotra Zaremby. Historycy sprawdzą też inne*, 1, szczecin.wyborcza.pl, accessed 10.05.2020, <https://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34939,19539399,bedzie-nowy-biogram-piotra-zaremby-historycy-sprawdza-tez-inne.html>; Adam Zadworny, *Zrozumieć Piotra i Pawła (w Centrum Dialogu Przelomy)*, 1, szczecin.wyborcza.pl, accessed 10.05.2020, <https://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,150424,19550222,zrozumiec-piotra-i-pawla-w-centrum-dialogu-przelomy-komentarz.html>; Eryk Krasucki, *Lista godności i podłości Piotra Zaremby*, 1, szczecin.wyborcza.pl, accessed 10.05.2020, <https://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,150424,19648139,lista-godnosci-i-podlosci-piotra-zaremby-esej-eryka-krasuckiego.html>; Adam Zadworny, *Protest byłych opozycjonistów przeciwko cenzurze biogramu Piotra Zaremby*, 1, szczecin.wyborcza.pl, accessed 10.05.2020, <https://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34939,19753704,protest-bylych-opozycjonistow-przeciwko-cenzurze-biogramu-piotra.html>; Paweł Zaremba, *O biogramie Piotra Zaremby. Oświadczenie syna pierwszego prezydenta*, 1, szczecin.wyborcza.pl, accessed 10.05.2020, <https://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34939,19784833,o-biogramie-piotra-zaremby-oswiadczenie-syna-pierwszego-prezydenta.html>.

⁵ Piotr Zaremba, *Wspomnienia Prezydenta Szczecina 1945–1950* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1980); Piotr Zaremba, *Wspomnienia Prezydenta Szczecina. Pierwszy*.

What are the reasons why Piotr Zaremba should have an extensive biography? This is not only due to his visible, almost 50 years of presence in the social and political life of Western Pomerania. After all, it is known that contemporary biographies may concern people who have not had contact with the so-called great history and the story of their lives is often something of a servant, which includes an attempt to reflect on the epoch and its conditions, the human or family situation at that time, may finally be a testimony. Zaremba's biography combines both perspectives. It would therefore be a story about a man who made history, the one by big H, as well as about a person connected with his time, in whose fate a certain truth about the epoch in which he lived. Synthetic images relating to the life of a long-time professor at the Szczecin University of Technology have not, so far, gone beyond standardized encyclopaedic notes.⁶ This gave rise to a misleading feeling that we are dealing with someone whose life is banally "flat": he was born somewhere, lived somewhere, did something, directed something, taught something, wrote, spoke, was rewarded, and finally died. His personality was completely lost here, the era and all the colours that should accompany the description of the life of a person who has left a huge legacy – material and symbolic – and who still arouses passionate disputes.

In order not to be vindictive, but also to avoid overly synthetic discussion of the whole biography of Piotr Zaremba, I would like to point out only three threads that make it possible to realize how much cognitive potential is hidden in it. I would like to point out straight away that I choose less unobvious "threads", although actually in relation to this biography, almost all of them are such, maybe apart from the history of the five-year presidency, although there are still many issues that are not reflected in literature. My proposals are closed in three themes: a. Family Zaremba; b. Urban planner with an international position; c. Consistent statesman. Through these themes I want to show how important problems concerning the 20th century history of Poland and the world can be touched by the biography of Piotr Zaremba, among them the issues related to emigration and its difficult choices, the problems of local and global urban planning, and finally, the question of what it meant to be a state ruler in relation to a large part of the

⁶ See e.g. Kazimierz Kozłowski, Stanisław Latour, *Piotr Zaremba. Prezydent*, in: Dżaman, *Szczecinianie*, 11–12; Wojciech Banaszek, *Pierwszy polski prezydent Szczecina*, sedina.pl, accessed 11.05.2020, <http://sedina.pl/wordpress/index.php/2006/10/18/pierwszy-polski-prezydent-szczecina-1/>; Wojciech Pęski, *Zaremba Piotr*, in: *Encyklopedia Szczecina*, ed. Tadeusz Białęcki (Szczecin: Szczecińskie Towarzystwo Kultury, 2015), 1259.

previous century, dynamic and full of situations not obvious from the point of view of various doctrines and ideologies.

This text also aims at analysing the reasons why serious biographical reflection in relation to Piotr Zaremba does not exist, despite the fact that he is an emblematic figure for Szczecin and Western Pomerania. I will be examining the reasons for this state of affairs. I will also examine whether this focus is exceptional for the West Pomeranian biography, so my text will also try – although only to a cursory extent – to analyse the state of biographic writing in relation to people relevant to the post-war history of the region. This, I believe to be a particularly justified question in a situation where biography – after years of neglect in this area – has for some time become an extremely popular genre of historical writing in Poland, giving historians with their messages the unique opportunity to go far beyond the field set by academic circles.⁷

2. When I write about family matters, I mean not so much what is connected with widely understood genealogical issues, but above all what is connected with Piotr Zaremba's functioning in the family environment, both before and after World War II. Admittedly, Paweł Zaremba, the President's younger son, wrote that: "the obligatory home reading, as I remember from my childhood, was the family tree,"⁸ which the president patiently and carefully complemented over the years with the help of his loved ones, but stories dating back to the Middle Ages and some mythical Gedeon, son of Thomir from Stieg and Alfilda, can do very little to help understand the biography of a man living in the 20th century. Of course, they should be taken into account, this is part of a phenomenon that can be called after the German philosophers of *Weltanschauung* or "intellectual eyewitness", but we should also be aware that in this case we are dealing with intellectual fun rather than something that can significantly broaden our knowledge of the man we are interested in.⁹

⁷ See Jolanta Kolbuszewska, Rafał Stobiecki, Introduction to *Biografistyka we współczesnych badaniach historycznych. Teoria i praktyka*, ed. Jolanta Kolbuszewska, Rafał Stobiecki (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2017), 7–9.

⁸ Paweł Zaremba, *Koligacje*, 21.

⁹ Genealogical "games" were dealt with by several people in the Zaremba family, which is confirmed by the letter of Piotr Zaremba's cousin, Jerzy, called "Lubelski" in the family, to distinguish him from Jerzy Zaremba – the older brother of the first president of Szczecin: "I'm still in correspondence with Andrzej now, I'm making this exception because I'm sending him news about the family, he's interested in it and he's making copies for Jerzy. I have a lot of these data today and, apart from the necessary gainful activities, I sit at home, read and prepare my notes, at

I admit that other sentences from the cited publication by Paweł Zaremba are much more inspiring, namely, those where he synthesizes, several hundred years of his family history, with a special emphasis on what happened in an era which has been assumed to be called differently: the age of the Holocaust, the century of peoples' wandering, or a difficult or unpleasant age. Piotr Zaremba's son writes about a family "flooded and pushed through European history. The roots of the family are deeply rooted in Wielkopolska, which is making its pilgrimage with the persistent aim of returning to its roots, passed down from generation to generation. She meets other families, equally experienced by the fate of Italy, France and Germany, on her way and joins them. Hence: For a family, the pre-partition period is a time of blossoming and splendour. The period of partitions is a time of fall and wandering, of one's own and not one's own will. The Great War period is a time of heroic struggle for the state. The inter-war period is a time of dreamlike return to the roots, marked by the stigma of internal disputes. The Second World War is a time of struggle for survival and wandering. The post-war period is a time of life scattered on both sides of the Iron Curtain."¹⁰

In these few sentences, a number of issues have been outlined, in reference to the biography of Piotr Zaremba, not touched at all so far. However, the extremely plastic-sounding formula about "a family flooded and pushed through the history of Europe" is not only a metaphor, but also a concrete one, which is reflected in documents, letters and various notes, e.g. in this memory of Piotr Zaremba concerning his departure from Russia in the first days of November 1918: "We're going on a long train. Mom, Pawelek, me and Alusia. We get off and pull things – some old grandfather helps us. The crowd in the hall, the trains are still not going. We wait a long time. Then mom comes and we go through the tracks for a long time, long time to the house of some railwayman. There I drink tea and sleep. Then we go somewhere again, and things go by car. Through the road the barriers and gates. They watch everything in our luggage. They even cut through my toy dog. Then it's dark. The barrier rises and again [the word illegible], but others scream too. We move quickly to the 'German' side."¹¹

least let me have this benefit", State Archive in Szczecin (Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie) (hereinafter: APSz), Legacy of Piotr Zaremba (Spuścizna Piotra Zaremby), signature (hereinafter: sygn.) 1050, Letter from Jerzy Zaremba (so called „lubelski”) to Piotr Zaremba, Lublin, April 22, 1957.

¹⁰ Paweł Zaremba, *Koligacje*, 21.

¹¹ Archive of Piotr Zaremba's family (Archiwum rodziny Piotra Zaremby) (hereinafter: ARPZ), Memoirs since 1913, no. 20, written down in 1971.

These sentences were written down by Piotr Zaremba after many decades, during his holiday in Wisła in 1971, but they are saturated with the excitement of an infant excited about his journey. At the same time, they have been marked by the awareness of a middle aged man who realizes how important in life are the moments of transition, these markers, the passing of which brings an irreversible change. They may concern great and small issues, historically significant from the point of view of the state and nation, but they may also touch upon trivial issues, though important in an individual assessment. This is also the case in the described case: in a moment Poland will regain its independence, and the Zaremba family is going where they can feel at home again. Although temporarily ‘disembodied’ – Piotr’s father and brother, Jerzy, have been serving in the ‘blue army’ of General Józef Haller for several months – they are relieved to see the change taking place. It is a transition between the world of revolution and chaos, towards a space of order, temporarily only called “German”. There have been many similar passages in Piotr Zaremba’s life (including the move to Poznań in 1926; the choice of Lviv as a place of study in 1930; the decision to move to Szczecin made during the war and accept the post of city president in 1945; the decision to leave for North Korea in 1954). He noticed all of them, meticulously noted them and tried to understand their far-reaching meaning.

Almost always at these moments, matters closest to him, strongly connected with his family, were also important. Of course, it is difficult to determine whether it was really in the centre of his world, but some issues are not in doubt. For example, when in 1971 Piotr Zaremba, in an attempt to sum up his life to date, wrote down a set of the most important dates in his life, many of them concerned family issues: issues related to his wife and children (“the most important chance of life”, “dates that give me much of a joy”). Especially the extensive correspondence that he had for “decades” with his brothers, wife, children, and close and distant relatives brought in a lot of information about how important family was to the reality of the first president of Szczecin. This happened regardless of the moment and conditions in which Zaremba was located. For example, letters to his wife Barbara, which he sent in April 1945, despite extremely unfavourable circumstances and with virtually no certainty that they would reach their addressee.¹²

¹² ARPZ, Letters from Piotr Zaremba to his wife Barbara, April 15–29, 1945.

In the case of the professor's biography, family correspondence is a documentation almost completely undiscovered.¹³ Apart from a few excerpts quoted by his son in his valuable publication, there has been no insight into what it contains. And these are documents of paramount importance, illuminating the life of Piotr Zaremba as well as his family environment. Particularly noteworthy are the post-war letters from the brothers Jerzy and Paweł; the siblings returned to regular correspondence in 1956. This is significant because it shows how important this year was in the life of many Poles. It abolished the fear, impossibility and complete cutting off of brothers and sisters living in exile. Although they met in 1946, they remained silent, knowing nothing about each other and what was happening to them. The political "thaw" was thus the beginning of a long-term exchange of letters, allowing the reader to learn about the specificity of everyday life in exile, but also about the permanence of family ties, loyalty and feelings. There is not much politics in these letters, at any rate, that would be expressed directly. It is hidden between the poems, in understatements and atmosphere, it is a certain addition to the family saga, which, however, is entirely embedded in a great history. These poignant, sometimes funny epistolary testimonies can be supplemented by other sources. A good example are the completely unknown in Poland memories of Eve Zaremba, the daughter of Jerzy, the niece of the President of Szczecin, who gained great popularity in Canada as an author of¹⁴ crime novels.

Although it would sound paradoxical, the deep relationship with younger brother Paul is also reflected in the material that has evoked the most emotions in recent years, i.e. documents collected by the Security Service on the occasion of cases code-named "Emir" and "Academic".¹⁵ Careful reading of them, combined with knowledge of letters and family messages, allows us to see that, yes, both brothers participated in the game proposed by the secret police, but it takes place on their terms. The status of Piotr Zaremba, which he gained in the People's Republic of Poland, through his work and political involvement, allowed him to run the game without much concern for his career. For Paweł – the Security Service wanted to bring him back to Poland – the situation was certainly intellectually

¹³ A large part of Piotr Zaremba's private correspondence is located in his legacy in the State Archive in Szczecin, the rest of the letters are owned by his family.

¹⁴ Eve Zaremba, *The Broad Side. Reflections on a Long Life* (Ontario: Insomniac Press, 2015).

¹⁵ See the Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance (Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej) (hereinafter: AIPN), sign. BU 01592/40/Jacket, Piotr Zaremba, 1975–1987; AIPN, sign. BU 01263/597/Jacket, Code-named "Emir", 1960–1979.

very interesting. He is coaxed by the services of the People's Republic of Poland, who make him an offer, but this happens when he does not have to succumb to any temptations. His life in the professional and private sense is fully stabilised at that moment, although it could probably be more satisfying in terms of writing, as Paweł Zaremba has repeatedly mentioned in his letters. But this is another matter. So SB has no "carrot", anything that could make its offer really attractive, but its officers do not know about it.

Perhaps somehow they have gained information that Piotr is convinced that his younger brother is wasting his talent in the West, that he could do much better in Poland – both writing and university. Perhaps. But it is also necessary to know that each of the Zaremba brothers maintained his inner integrity, was himself "the rudder and ship", and that the choices made by one were absolutely respected by the other. Even if the game that they are playing with the SB is not fully understood today, it is far from the zero-one interpretation proposed a few years ago, where money and other low motives played the main role.¹⁶ There are far more family dependencies than politics in these contacts, and the documentation that has been produced makes it clear that detaching it from its personal context precludes any meaningful conclusion. This observation applies, of course, not only to the operational matters of the "Emir" and "Academician", but should be applied in virtually every case where we are dealing with such "sensitive" issues. This is not always possible, but in this case, it is all the more, surprising is the scale of the controversy that has arisen years ago in connection with the whole matter.

3. Similarly, in too simple a way, it seems, there was an account of Piotr Zaremba's urban achievements. This remark refers especially to Szczecin, where one actually forgets what the basic professional occupation of the first president was. In the capital of Western Pomerania, he is still for many (most of them?) an architect, not an urban planner; one can even sometimes get the impression, listening to various remarks about him, that the main field of his professional activity was just only Szczecin itself. This is completely untrue. In the hall of the Zarembów house at 27 Wyspiańskiego Street there was a wall map of the world at a scale of 1:30 million, on which all of the hero's professional journeys were drawn. The densities of lines running from Poland in various directions show not

¹⁶ Krzysztof Tarka, „Pawła Zaremby „gra” z wywiadem PRL”, *Zeszyty Historyczne (Paryż)* 168 (2009): 140–152.

only the geographical range of his activity, but also, to some extent, the scale of its oblivion today.

Although this may not be particularly surprising that, after all, the “my home is my castle” approach was prioritised as local issues often overshadowed the global ones. Thus, Zaremba has been connected nowadays with the decisions of the 1940s and 1950s concerning the reconstruction and rebuilding of the city, accusing him of abandoning the conservation of the surviving buildings and infrastructure (sometimes there is even a claim that Szczecin abandoned any form of protection and renewal of what was left of the pre-war urban structure!) and of allowing for a theft-based economy, which caused the city to lose, among others, several representative buildings. The exemplification of these accusations can be found in the text published in 1990 by the architect Krzysztof Sałaciński *Kto zdewastował Szczecin (kilka pytań do prof. P. Zaremby)* (transl. *Who devastated Szczecin (several questions to Professor P. Zaremba)*). The author addresses the following questions to Piotr Zaremba: “1. Do you still consider your concept of the Nadodrże Boulevard to be correct? So many years have passed and this boulevard still leads nowhere (that is, from the station to the Chrobry Embankment – and it was supposed to be a fast route connecting Gryfino with the Police). The specialists consider this concept to be wrong, all the more so, as it caused the city to turn away from the river. 2. Even if we were to assume that the construction of this artery was necessary for Szczecin, why was the whole Podzamcze, and not only its part, through which the artery was to run, liquidated? 3. What happened to (...) studies showing the state of war damage in the Old Town? Do you not have any materials on this subject in your private collections? 4. Did you make the decision to level the described area with the ground on your own or as a result of, top-down inspiration or pressure.”¹⁷ The tone of this article, the use of such terms as “barbaric and shameful” the strategy of conduct and the application of a peculiar form of discourse (“We do not count on Mr. Piotr Zaremba to answer these few questions”), a lot speaks by itself of how unceremoniously they referred in the beginning of the transformation to everything that happened in the first post-war years and in the period of communism in Poland. Zaremba is not a discussion partner here, he is put in the position of a “boy to be beaten” and pointed out his submissiveness, inaction, bad will and what else is possible. There is actually no

¹⁷ Sałaciński, „Kto”, 4.

place for an informed discussion in all this. At least it seems to be a one-sided and closed for any debates view.

However, Zaremba reacted and answered Sałaciński's accusations in a matter of fact, although it can be assumed that it was not only to the architect in question that the answer was addressed. By the way, one can add that in the archival legacy of the first president one can find a lot of various polemics, sometimes referring to trivial, or sometimes first-rate matters, as in the case discussed. Thus, he reminded us about the possibilities of the post-war period and the trends in world urban planning and architecture of that time. He referred to economics and politics; matters that were important after all, but at a temporary distance difficult to see, especially with such a critical attitude that was characteristic of his adversary. Clearly irritated by the categorically preposterous changes and a certain amount of absurdity of the charges, he asked: "– For if there was no reconstruction and maintenance – where did Poles live in Szczecin, whose number increased from 25,000 at the end of 1945 to 132,000 at the end of 1947? – If there was no reconstruction of schools where children were taught, whose number increased from 200 in September 1945 to 9,200 in September 1947? – If there was no reconstruction of the surviving city infrastructure, how could Szczecin have drawn more than one million cubic metres of water at the end of 1947 and obtained 980,000 cubic metres of gas from its own reconstructed gasworks through the city? – If there was no reconstruction of the technical infrastructure, how did it happen that at the end of 1945 there were 12 km of tram lines in operation, which reached 34 km in 1947?"¹⁸

In the second part of his interview, Zaremba explained the motives behind the construction of the Nadodrzańska Artery, while negating the supposition in Sałaciński's text that the expansion of this route of communication caused the destruction of large fragments of the Szczecin Podzamcze. He accused his adversary of lacking historical knowledge about the state of destruction in this part of the city, but also of a lot of bad will in understanding the intentions behind the project. He stressed that the plans of that time went beyond simple thinking about reconstruction, as they were an attempt to shift Szczecin's current, westward development axis to the north-south direction, definitely more beneficial from the point of view of both the agglomeration and state interests. Zaremba was certainly right, but the point is that several decades after the war, in a situation

¹⁸ APSz, Legacy of Piotra Zaremba, sign. 62, Piotr Zaremba, „Szczecińska przeszłość i przyszłość (insynuacje i prawda)”, July 31, 1990 [no pagination].

where other components of the original plan could not be realised for various reasons (not because of Zaremba!), this original intention, which was to connect the priority areas of the agglomeration and ensure good communication between the northern parts of the city and the port and the country, ceased to be readable, and the author of the project may not have been fully aware of¹⁹ it. Therefore, he might have been surprised, probably also irritated, by the constant talk about moving the city away from the Oder River, a fact which is difficult to deny regardless of the interpretation of the motives behind the artery designers. No one was especially interested in the fact that similar diametrical solutions were willingly used in Poland (e.g. in Łódź) and in the West (e.g. in Paris)²⁰ at that time.

Looking at Piotr Zaremba's polemics after many years, its vastness and strongly didactic character, one has an impression that the author is trying to gather all accusations against him, and with his answer he closes the discussion about his Szczecin urban development achievements. For him, it is a kind of summary of matters about which he wrote and spoke many times, but which were either forgotten or reinterpreted in the spirit of political change taking place in Poland. It was certainly not an easy text for him, not only because of the form in which the discourse addressed him, but also because at that time (and for a long time, which resulted from the definition of his profession) he was more interested in the future than in the past. "Society [he wrote] is already tired of babbling around in the past, it waited in 1990 for a clear formulation of new prospects for the development of its city – region – country. This is the basis for the basic, servant duty of the Polish press, although it is much easier to deny than to create, as exemplified by the statement just discussed."²¹ For Piotr Zaremba, this leaning towards the future is not just a rhetorical trick. It is followed by the presentation of several issues which, in his opinion, require serious consideration at this time. They are sometimes formulated in general terms, sometimes in more detail, but

¹⁹ See Zaremba, *Wspomnienia*, 421. On the reconstruction of Szczecin e.g. Bogdana Kozińska, „Neue Stadtstrukturen und Symbole des Neuanfangs in Stettin. Die sozialistische Stadt im Gefüge historisch gewachsener Städte”, in: *Die Schleifung. Zerstörung und wiederaufbau historischer Bauten in Deutschland und Polen*, ed. Dieter Bingen, Hans-Martin Hinz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 66–79; Jan Musekamp, *Między Stettinem a Szczecinem. Metamorfozy miasta w latach 1945–2005*, (Poznań: Nauka i Innowacje, 2013).

²⁰ See Paweł Zaremba, Konrad Zaremba, „Rola inżyniera Piotra Zaremby, pierwszego prezydenta Szczecina, w koncepcji odbudowy miasta”, typed script owned by the author.

²¹ APSz, Legacy of Piotr Zaremba, sign. 62, Piotr Zaremba, „Szczecińska przeszłość i przyszłość (insynuacje i prawda)”, July 31, 1990 [no pagination].

each of them, looking from today's perspective, brings with it a significance that goes beyond what is current. So the professor writes about ecology and greenery, the city and local government, transport and tourism, also about the Oder and the port. In the last case he writes: "the service of Berlin by the port of Szczecin; the city as co-owner and user of the port; the economic and spatial relationship of the city with the port; special economic zones in the port and in the city."²² Piotr Zaremba's several years of involvement in the creation of the Special Economic Zone in the Oder Mouth Region (the idea failed, unfortunately, as a result of a lack of political agreement at the regional level) may be an example of the fact that after the political transformation of 1989, his enthusiasm and energy sought an outlet in new and original projects.²³

The discomfort of responding to the various "Szczecin hoaxes" can also be associated with the fact that for many decades, at least since the mid 1950s, Piotr Zaremba's field of interest has been far removed from the local ones. Alicja Gzowska and Piotr Bujas, Warsaw art historians from the University of Warsaw, who analyze the achievements of the urban character of this text, inscribe him in the context of international research aimed at creating supranational structures in architecture, urban planning, also in the economy, which serve to exchange experiences and support sustainable development in developing countries, often referred to at the time as the Third World countries.²⁴ The Cold War policy behind this is obvious – e.g. in the conclusion of a text written after his first visit to Korea, Zaremba writes: "We believe that we will be able to help the liberated peaceful countries of Asia to build their new, best possible free future"²⁵ – but his activity was not in fact different from what was done at the time in London at the Architectural Association School of Architecture, at the University of Liverpool or at the Institute of Housing Studies in Rotterdam.²⁶ The most important element of this informal transnational project was the Study of Urban Planning and Regional

²² Ibidem.

²³ ARPZ, Collection of documents related to the establishment of the Special Economic Zone in the Odra Mouth Region, 1985–1990 [no pagination].

²⁴ Alicja Gzowska, „Piotr Zaremba – szczeciński urbanista o światowym rozmachu „, lecture at TRAF0 Trafostacji Sztuki in Szczecin, 27 October 2018.

²⁵ Piotr Zaremba, „Metodyka pracy urbanistycznej w Korei”, *Miasto 3* (1956): 32.

²⁶ Piotr Bujas, Alicja Gzowska, „New Agencies: Convergent Frameworks of Research and Architectural Design”, in: *Re-Scaling the Environment: New Landscapes of Design, 1960–1980*, vol. 2: *East West Central Re-Building Europe, 1950–1990*, ed. Ákos Moravánszky, Karl R. Kegler (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017), 299–300.

Planning of Developing Countries, operating at the Szczecin University of Technology in 1966–1998 and most of the time under the management of Zaremba. They are sometimes referred to as “Szczecin export product”.²⁷ The figures speak for themselves: nearly 500 graduates from 47 countries in Africa, South America and Asia (the largest number of students came from Egypt, India and Mexico).

The general objectives of the study are defined as follows: “a. to offer theoretical knowledge based on the latest methodological achievements; b. to adapt the programme to the current situation of developing countries; c. to implement to work in multidisciplinary teams; d. to present Polish achievements in the field of spatial planning.”²⁸ The thematic scope formulated in this way allowed for the acquisition of general knowledge, serving to quickly “transplant” it in relation to the countries from which the students came from. Also the presentation of Polish achievements was not accidental in all this. The idea of establishing the study was based on the conviction that the Polish experience related to the post-war reconstruction may prove particularly valuable for “young” and not very wealthy countries. It should be reminded that the post-war planning activity was based on the theory of directional urban planning, which gave urban organisms a chance for fast and desirable development, despite the scarcity of financial and organisational resources and the lack of properly educated staff. Wojciech Pęski, one of many students of Piotr Zaremba, who is not afraid to call him one of the most eminent urban planners of the 20th century, wrote that the method used at the time “consisted in determining long-term spatial-functional alternatives and choosing the one that best met the conditions for sustained development.”²⁹ By the way, it can be noted that the achievements of Polish urban planning from the 1940s, which after 1989 was considered to be unequivocally subordinated to ideological goals, or at best not very interesting (although its roots lie in the 20th century), are nowadays the subject of important studies and debates.³⁰

²⁷ Alicja Gzowska, „Szczeciński produkt eksportowy, czyli jak zrobić miasto?”, *Stettiner* 3 (2013): 104–109.

²⁸ Krystyna Mieszkowska, „Podyplomowe Studium Urbanistyki i Planowania Regionalnego dla Krajów Rozwijających się 1966–1990 / Postgraduate Course of Town and Regional Planning for Developing Countries 1966–1990”, *Przestrzeń & Forma / Space & Form* 22 (2014), 3: 190, 196.

²⁹ Wojciech Pęski, „Aktualność idei oraz prac prof. Piotra Zaremby”, *Przestrzeń & Forma* 10 (2008): 91.

³⁰ See e.g. Andrzej Skalimowski, *Sigalin. Towarzysz odbudowy* (Wołowiec: Czarne, 2018); Grzegorz Piątek, *Najlepsze miasto świata. Warszawa w odbudowie 1944–1949* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2020).

A characteristic feature of the Szczecin study was that great importance was attached to mastering practical team design skills. This was a strong inspiration for Piotr Zaremba, who had always attached great importance to “first things”, as is shown by his notebooks and notebooks from his studies at the Lviv Polytechnic.³¹ As early as the 1960s he wrote that “design classes, based on solid theoretical preparation, allow urban planners from various countries to implement themselves into interdisciplinary design work, enabling them to establish international, professional contacts.”³² Being a holistic approach to spatial design was the source of the study’s success, in addition to being available for study. Cooperation is one thing, but each of the students had a chance to implement their own ideas, because in the final stage of their studies, the students focused on individual work. Interestingly, most of them focused on developing ecological and social problems in spatial planning, on the analysis of regional settlement systems in coastal areas, and on designing urban spatial structures. It is not difficult to notice that each of the issues mentioned above was a derivative of the scientific and practical interests of Piotr Zaremba and the approach which today is referred to as sustainable development management, i.e. such an arrangement of space which will not exclude the realisation of aspirations and ideas of subsequent generations.³³

It is a truism to say that Szczecin’s study would not have been possible without Piotr Zaremba, although obviously the selection of staff and the involvement of such researchers as Halina Orlińska, Jerzy Piątkiewicz, Bronisław Sekuła, Jerzy Byrecki, Leszek Czernik, Liliana Kamińska, Krystyna Mieszkowska and Wojciech Pęski also played a great role in the success of this idea. However, the initiative was based on the direct experience – referring to the years 1954–1964 – resulting from Zaremba’s numerous trips to such countries as North Korea, China, Ghana or Vietnam. He was there, sometimes for many months, as an expert and advisor on spatial planning issues and as a visiting professor.³⁴ This was only the beginning of his international adventure and the list created in 1989 on the occasion of Piotr Zaremba’s candidacy for the Third World Prize awarded

³¹ APSz, Legacy of Piotr Zaremba, sign. 10–13, Notebooks with notes from the period of studies at the Lviv Polytechnic 1928–1933.

³² Piotr Zaremba, „Studia podyplomowe w zakresie planowania przestrzennego dla słuchaczy krajów rozwijających się”, *Życie Szkoły Wyższej* 10 (1966): 42–43.

³³ Wojciech Pęski, *Zarządzanie zrównoważonym rozwojem miast* (Warszawa: Arkady, 1999).

³⁴ APSz, Legacy of Piotr Zaremba, sign. 4, Scientific resume prepared for Piotr Zaremba’s application to UNESCO Scientific Prize for Exceptional Contributions to Scientific and Technical Progress, April 15, 1983, 5–7.

by the Board of Trustees the Third World Foundation, funded by the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, includes 54 scientific trips as a lecturer at foreign universities and institutes (including the University of Ghana and Vietnam). There are also 14 trips as an advisor and expert (including Libya, China, the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Iraq, Mexico, France, the United States and the Soviet Union).³⁵ He was also a Szczecin-based scientist, head of project teams or urban consultant in cities such as Mamou in Ghana, Baghdad in Iraq or La Paz in Mexico, and since the mid-1970s he has regularly participated in international forums established by UNESCO. It can be added that since 1979 this UN agency has also sponsored and financed several courses that the employees of Szczecin University of Technology organized outside Poland.³⁶

The achievements of this nearly four decades of Piotr Zaremba's international career are enormous. It consists of project documentation, books and articles, but also family and official correspondence and various private notes, of which travel diaries seem to be the most interesting. There are about a hundred of these densely written notebooks documenting each foreign study stay, full of notes, drawings, sketches and maps, but also useful contacts. To illustrate their cognitive value, it is worthwhile looking at one of them, for example the one about Zaremba's trip to China and North Korea in September–December 1957. This was not the first trip of a Polish urban planner to this corner of Asia, and he already had long, many months' stays between 1954 and 1956. It was not the last trip, either, he visited China 11 times in total, and North Korea three times. This time he came with lectures, but also to see the effects of his work from previous years.

Thus, the notebooks from 1957 contained a lot of data relating to lectures and projects, which were consulted by the scientist. This is a meticulous account of his travels through Wusi, Canton, Wuhan, Beijing, Pyongyang, Won San, Ham Chyn and Chongjin, among others. Numerous remarks show how attentive Zaremba was, but also how much of his various sentimental reflexes. For example, in the Korean Chongjin, he writes down his impressions from meetings with his

³⁵ APSz, Legacy of Piotr Zaremba, sign. 5, Scientific resume prepared by prof. Jan K. Kostrzewski for Piotr Zaremba's application to Third World Prize, November 12, 1989, 1–43.

³⁶ Piotr Bujas, Alicja Gzowska, Łukasz Stanek, *Postgraduate Course in Urban and Regional Planning for Developing Countries, Szczecin University of Technology*, radical-pedagogies.com, accessed 20.05.2020, <https://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/p03-postgraduate-course-urban-regional-planning-developing-countries-szczecin-university-technology/>.

former colleagues, which he has not seen for a year and a half.³⁷ He notes with satisfaction that his ideas are being implemented and that everything is going in the right direction, although he also notices some difficulties, such as the fact that the poorly calibrated amendments made to the general plan create confusion. He tries to correct this, probably also knowing the reality in which he is turning. But Korea and China is not only a job, as it would be in any other place, it means something more. So it's a pleasure for Zaremba to have a beautiful view out from the window, of mountains and sea, small culinary pleasures, meetings with people, the ability to move around, and dynamics. Especially interesting seems to be the record that the professor made in Wuhan, on the occasion of his visit to Donghu Park: "A long walk all over the waterfront park now ready. And he thinks: why not create the same park on Lake Dąbskie in Szczecin? Where does the Chinese come from with this fantastic freedom to create beautiful things – if they do not imitate strangers, but are themselves? What else can I give to them, besides understanding of the function of the city – apart from understanding that they are unique – and not copying anyone. And here I am to convince them not to imitate anybody!"³⁸

In these few seemingly carelessly sketched sentences one can find something like a program. Its component is respect for what is found. There is no trace of cultural superiority here, no trace of mentoring. Zaremba has been looking carefully at what he has seen, realizing that a drastic interference into the existing space would be something inappropriate, especially in the face of many centuries of culture and achievements. He has respect for culture, but also for nature and sensitivity to ecological problems will become a characteristic feature of his output. This is also the novelty of Piotr Zaremba as an urban planner. Greenery, which he has been dealing with since his studies, is not only a decorative element. It is something much bigger, which he has expressed in numerous texts and lectures, where he stressed that in spatial planning, ecological priorities should be at least equivalent to economic ones, that only by such arrangement of issues is it possible to create. He was also not afraid to use strong words in his texts, as when he wrote about man as a creator and destroyer of the landscape and nature

³⁷ ARPZ, Journal of Travels to China and Korea in 1957, Notes of December 6–7, 1957 [no pagination].

³⁸ *Ibidem*, Notes from November 11, 1957 [without pagination].

ruthlessly attacked by technology.³⁹ What he wrote back in the 1940s is still valid today and fits perfectly into the ideology of ecological movements, which may come as a big surprise to many, probably not the first and not the last when it comes to the impressive professional output of Piotr Zaremba.

4. In an interesting interview with “*Pogranicza*” bimonthly, Krzysztof Zaremba, grandson of the first President of Szczecin, recalled: “When my grandfather, Piotr Zaremba, was dying, he was going through very hard times – he was very weak and he became speechless. When I visited him in the last moments of his life, he asked me to come closer and I understood that he wanted to tell me something – but how? He managed to hold a pen in his fingers and then, on a piece of paper he sketched the mouth of the Oder River, from Szczecin to Świnoujście with a few quick strokes.”⁴⁰ This picture can probably only be compared with the famous leaflet/declaration of 7 July 1945, saying, or actually shouting, that “POLACY, Szczecin is Polish!” Here is a clasp that clips nearly half a century of activity not free of political commitment. Today, it is controversial in many points.

Today, when describing the political elections of Szczecin’s first president, the analysis gives way to simplifications, becoming a “list of dignity and meanness.”⁴¹ He is denied membership in the Polish Workers’ Party, and later in the Polish United Workers’ Party, leading the Nation’s Unity Front for years and being active in numerous propaganda initiatives that were organized in the following decades of the Polish communism. All this is true. However, each item on this list could be considered further, because – on the contrary to what some people claim – it is not about ordinary opportunism. There is a deeper thought behind it, which I would refer to as a consistent prophetic attitude. According to its assumptions – neither codified nor ever written down by Piotr Zaremba – working for the state became his superior value. Regardless of personal and political sympathies and antipathies, regardless of the conditions, it is not always beneficial for the protagonist of this text. This attitude is inspired by the organic work (Karol Marcinkowski is, after all, the patron of Zaremba’s high school in Poznań) and by his aversion to political changes, which are doomed to failure in advance. Perhaps something that was taken from the conviction that human life is closed within

³⁹ Piotr Zaremba, *Planowanie zieleni i krajobrazu. Zieleń w urbanistyce i komunikacji* (Warszawa: Instytut Badawczy Budownictwa, 1946).

⁴⁰ „Szczecińskie kontrowersje. Z Krzysztofem Zarembą rozmawiają Wojciech Banaszak i Marcin Pabisiak”, *Pogranicza* 68 (2007), 3: 62–72.

⁴¹ Krasucki, *Lista*.

a certain time, geographical and cultural framework and it is the duty of a person who wants to act in the public sphere to understand their limitations in order to make good use of their time.

The reconstruction of the political involvement of Piotr Zaremba, and above all his political way of thinking, resembles a bit of a jigsaw puzzle. Sources give some clues in relation to particular years and there are a lot of various official documents, but actually nothing that would allow to define him unambiguously as a politician. There is no arbitrariness here that the signature under the photo of Zaremba in *Time* magazine in December 1947 carried with it. “Communist Mayor of Szczecin” – this is how he was characterized, and in the article itself the term “communist” was used.⁴² Formally, this could be accepted because since March 1947, Zaremba was indeed a member of the PPR, and later of the PZPR, but if it was a real distinction, I would have a lot of doubts.⁴³ There is another signature under the mentioned photograph from the American weekly: “Poland is worth a mass”, and in the text we will find a description of a Catholic ceremony that took place in Szczecin on the occasion of the opening of a city hospital. The paraphrase of the famous saying by Henryk IV Burbon – although it seems to be only a neat rhetorical trick in the text – can be used as a key to understanding Piotr Zaremba’s post-war political activity.

If so, ask what, when engaging in politics, he had to give up. The first association: a system of values, conservative, strongly marked by his right-wing view of the world, brought from home. It is common knowledge, however, that the post-war development of the “Regained Territories” was enthusiastically supported by people connected with national thought from before the war, to mention only Zygmunt Wojciechowski, Edward Serwański or Andrzej Wojtkowski,⁴⁴

⁴² “Foreign News: Poland – Plan Fulfillment”, *Time* 22 (1947): 22–23.

⁴³ It is worth remembering that Zaremba joins PPR at the persuasion of Leonard Borkowicz, the Governor of Szczecin and his “protector”. This proposal is made when Borkowicz realizes that it will be more and more difficult for him to defend himself against accusations of class hostility, which are made against the president. The fact that the President of Szczecin was indeed perceived by the hard core of the power apparatus as a stranger can be proved by the operational weld that the Security Office set up against him at the end of 1946, see Archive of Institute of National Remembrance, Branch in Szczecin (Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Oddział w Szczecinie) (hereinafter: AIPNSz), sign. IPN Sz 009/607, The case of an agency investigation, codenamed „Żarówka” / „Neron”, concerning Piotr Zaremba, 1945–1954.

⁴⁴ See Tomasz Nodzyński, „Twórcy myśli zachodniej w kraju przed i po 1945 r. Wybrane sylwetki poglądy”, in: *Rzeczy dotyczące myśli zachodniej Nad Odrą i Bałtykiem. Myśl zachodnia: ludzie – koncepcje – realizacja do 1989 r.*, ed. Magdalena Semczyszyn, Tomasz Sikorski, Adam Wątor (Szczecin: IPN, 2013), 31–49; Marian Mroczo, *Polska myśl zachodnia 1918–1939*

so there was no particular dissonance here. As far as conservatism is concerned, expressed, for example, in his religious attitude, he even wrote in a biography prepared for PPR in August 1947: “I am a believing and religious man and I acknowledge that this fact does not hinder anything, but it facilitates work for the good of Poland under the political and social direction of the Polish Workers’ Party.”⁴⁵ This document brings another important declaration: “I have undergone a major evolution of concepts in the last year and have arrived at this and no other outcome of the thought process. I believe that Poland’s future on the Oder River, its resilience against Germany and its internal compactness can best be achieved by pursuing the political agenda represented by the PPR, and therefore I consider my accession to closer cooperation a consequence of this conviction.”⁴⁶ So it is not about communism itself, not about class struggle, revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, collective ownership of the means of production and what else there is to do with communism as a compact ideological project. The accession to the party in this case is determined by pragmatism and the conviction that at a given moment the communists are the guarantors of what is most important to him, with the Oder, Western Pomerania and Szczecin in the first place.

And the German threat is worth emphasizing, because this component is often overlooked. Zaremba – a Poznań-born in Heidelberg, who had a great command of the German and who knew the Germans well, even from the occupation years – saw them not only as powerful neighbours but also as rivals. He was convinced that what happened in 1945, i.e. the takeover of the “Regained Territories” by Poland, would not be accepted by them (never?). This assumption will condition his evaluation and attitude on the occasion of various “hot” events. Both as obvious as the support for the Polish authorities on the occasion of the conflict in the Pomeranian Bay,⁴⁷ but also much more ambiguous, as for example in 1970 during the workers’ revolt, when in his text published in “*Kurier Szczeciński*”⁴⁸ he saw a real danger of destroying his work and the generation

(*kształtowanie i upowszechnianie*) (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1986); Grzegorz Strauchold, *Mysł zachodnia i jej realizacja w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1945–1957* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2003).

⁴⁵ AIPNSz, sign. IPN Sz 009/607, Copy of Piotr Zaremba’s biography, August 18, 1947, 202–203.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ Tomasz Ślepówroński, „Geneza konfliktu między PRL a NRD w Zatoce Pomorskiej”, *Przeгляд Zachodniopomorski* 44 (2000), 3: 95–118.

⁴⁸ „Potępienie aktów wandalizmu, bandytyzmu i chuligańskich ekscesów. Wypowiedzi ludzi pracy Szczecina”, *Kurier Szczeciński*, 18–19.12.1970, 3. See Eryk Krasucki, „Grudzień’70 /

close to him, a peculiar end of the world that was being built in the post-war period. This was in harmony with the vision of the authorities, it was in their hands, perhaps behind the text was the inspiration of the local party apparatus, but one can also argue that the full identity of the goals did not exist here. The calm on the western borders was in his opinion something necessary, as the escalation of the conflict could turn against Polish interests. It also seems that he was not indifferent to the fate of the protesting workers. In his notebook he wrote down under the date 17 December 1970, i.e. on that “black Thursday”, when 13 people were killed on the streets of Szczecin: “My heart is squeezing something – but I’m not giving up – it had to happen.”⁴⁹ So he saw, this is how it can be interpreted, the historical moment described as a dramatic conflict of rightful reasons, in which he was to unequivocally stand up for what he had sacrificed his life to. He saw the situation in 1946 on the occasion of the demonstration of *Trzymamy Straż nad Odrą / We Keep the Guard Over The Oder*, when he did not in any way support Stanisław Mikołajczyk, enthusiastically received by the scouting youth (*incidentally*, he did not value the leader of the PSL, which is reflected several times in his notes)⁵⁰ and it was similar in 1981, when he supported the introduction of martial law.

In each of these cases, when Piotr Zaremba supported unambiguously the policy of the ruling party, he did not galvanise either faith in the ideology, nor in any clear opportunism, so frequently accused of it, sometimes even by people who are sympathetic to it. For example, Leonard Borkowicz noted in his memoirs (with his characteristic love for hyperbole): “Zaremba is of course a disgusting conformist, but at the same time he is a valuable man, universally useful and genuinely cultural.”⁵¹ This was because “Poland was worth a mass”, because “Szczecin was worth a mass”, especially when a dozen or so kilometres from this city the border with Germany ran, when the international political situation was far from stable. In this context, the *Memoirs of the Mayor of Szczecin 1945–1950* are a very interesting document. It is worth reading them as a testimony to the anti-German attitudes of the time, both in relation to the post-war community of

Styczeń’71 – szczeciński przełom”, in: *Poznań, Szczecin, Wrocław. Trzy uniwersytety, trzy miasta, trzy regiony*, ed. Waldemar Łazuga, Sebastian Paczos (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2010), 213–225.

⁴⁹ ARPZ, A diary from 1970, Notes of December 17 1970 [no pagination].

⁵⁰ ARPZ, Journal 1945–1947, Notes of 13–14 April 1946 [no pagination].

⁵¹ Pomeranian Library of Szczecin (Książnica Pomorska w Szczecinie), Special Collections, The legacy of Leonard Borkowicz, sign. 2999, Leonard Borkowicz’s Notes, notebook VIII, May 30, 1983, 151. I would thank Dr. Katarzyna Rembacka for drawing my attention to this memoir.

Szczecin and the President himself. The basic source of this aversion, or, more properly speaking, hatred, is the war and occupation, the way the Germans treated the Poles, but also one can see here undoubtedly something more, so the fear of Germans, marked by the endemic way of thinking, as an eternal threat. An interesting testimony of the worldview is also a record of a conversation with older brother Jerzy.

It was October 1946, the men saw each other for the first time since 1939. The scene of the conversation was London, where Piotr came to talk about the reconstruction of the country and what had been achieved in the “Regained Lands” during numerous official meetings. This is the record of the then exchange of opinions: “1. He does not deny the need for social reforms and the internationalization of industry. 2. believes that there must be a war between two worlds – the West and the East. Poland, in his opinion, must take part on the western side, because of the spiritual and cultural community, etc. The nation is not a language, but a culture. I answer, or rather ask myself: what kind of participation is Germany supposed to take. A. – On the west side. Me: so against the Polish territories? A. Yes. I: isn’t this a dark spot in the reasoning? A: there is no... – but [...]. The tendency for us to leave the Regained Territories... I: did he take into account the fact that life itself produces a new type of people in the western lands, a new type of Poles attached to those lands and not intending to leave them? It crosses your calculations that, having suddenly opened a road to the east, these people will throw away what they already had. – A. – It states that this is a strong argument. I: Germany is not defeated – and biologically, war is a new biological death for Poland. The statement that Germany is no longer the greatest and only⁵² enemy of Poland is a denial of the facts and beliefs of the Nation.”⁵³

Once again, I would like to draw attention to the fact that recreating Piotr Zaremba’s political thinking is a necessity to refer to various, highly dispersed documents and testimonies, to what is official and unofficial, often reading between the lines, which in itself is a fascinating activity. Simplified interpretations, referring only to political external forms, undoubtedly impoverish the image of the characters and cannot help to fully understand their activity. This does not mean that Zaremba’s future biographer will be able to omit them. Unfortunately, there is no escape from reading the subsequent minutes of meetings of various

⁵² Underlined in the text.

⁵³ ARPZ, Journal 1945–1947, Notes of October 12, 1946 [no pagination].

party bodies, the Front for National Unity or the analysis of speeches more or less marked by political improvisation. At the same time, I have no doubt that the main stitch of political views of the first President of Szczecin is already perfectly visible. He is determined by his consistent prophetic attitude and almost unconditional devotion to what happened in the western and northern lands as a result of post-war decisions. An excellent description of this attitude and this way of thinking is brought by one of the notes from Piotr Zaremba's notebook. In 1982, the first months of martial law, he visited Paris and there, having a moment for quiet reflection, he crossed out a few words that might be considered his political credo: "(...) I sit on the Trocadero terrace, look at the Eiffel and think... How rare is the time – and the condition to think. There is no more important event for Poland from the early Middle Ages to 1945 – like Poland's return to the Oder. Szczecin/Wrocław, these are symbols of the 20th century – not Gierek, Gomułka, Jaruzelski or Wałęsa. In the years 200, all this will become entangled in people. Just like the average Pole, Zygmunt Stary and Korybut or Augusts are intertwined. But one thing will remain: in this bizarre, often alien arrangement of conditions – Poland got involved in the affairs of history, put its foot in the closing door, did not let itself be closed in 1945, although it closed a few years later. And we entered these 'Lands', with intuition, not political expression, according to the growing grassroots national subconscious, which we could not express. It was indeed a 'deed of the Poles' more important than the right and important rush of August 1980. And I was there, doing my job – as I can see now that there is no more important role for me than to instil in the Jurkish (my conversation with him on 31.8.1981) and in the Jaruzelski (my conversation with him on 17.4.82), that the most important thing is that our successors, those conditions of the third generation, could live permanently in the Polish Szczecin of the 21st century. Whoever helps us to achieve this, regardless of the facts and inclinations, is our friend. Who is against it – our enemy, even if of a kind attitude to traditional views. It is not easy to see it this way, but it is necessary."⁵⁴

5. Referring to selected threads from Piotr Zaremba's biography, I tried to show how huge potential opens up to researchers of recent history. It is a journey towards a rich family history, dating back several centuries, but especially fascinating in relation to 20th century history. It is also a journey towards urban and planning fascination, in which we can accompany a scientist gradually gaining

⁵⁴ ARPZ, Journal of 1982, Notes of April 16, 1982 [no pagination].

international recognition, not forgetting where he came from and giving his beloved place the opportunity to benefit from the prestige surrounding him. It is, after all, an entry into the world of complicated relations binding a man brought up in a national and conservative tradition, trying, in the name of higher reasons, to find himself in a political reality dominated by an essentially alien ideology. Each of these threads is illuminated by a huge number of sources of various provenance. Their proper use gives a chance for a colourful description, extremely saturated with details, and above all, comprehensive, devoid of the banality of black and white studies. The situation is similar in relation to other parts of Piotr Zaremba's biography. Thus, it can be concluded that the basic skill of his biographer should be an above-average ability to select information.

So it is worth returning to the question from the beginning: why hasn't the biography of Piotr Zaremba been created so far? It cannot be simply justified as the basic body of sources has been known for many years. The legacy that the first president's family donated to the State Archive in Szczecin in 1995 is over 1104 archival units and covers over 23 running meters.⁵⁵ The files of the City Board, the Szczecin Voivodeship Office, as well as other documents concerning the presidency from 1945–1950 (including, of course, memoirs) have been available for decades. The situation is similar with regard to the academic activity of Piotr Zaremba and his involvement in various political bodies from the period of People's Poland. For a dozen or so years now, due to the activity of the IPN Archives, materials collected about him by the secret police have also been available. The situation is worst when it comes to the work of an urban planner on the international forum. I don't know if anyone has looked into the archives in China, Vietnam, Mexico or Iraq, but it is also worth noting that most of the material related to Piotr Zaremba's foreign trips is available through the legacy donated to the archive by his family and in the family archive, which is also worth a word here. It consists of personal materials under the care of the professor's children – diaries, travel diaries, notebooks, notes, correspondence, photographs, i.e. biographical material of considerable importance, allowing us to learn about both public and private life.

The material stored by the family is not available to the public and to use it you need the family's consent. The same applies to the legacy stored in the State

⁵⁵ APSz, Inventory to the collection: Legacy of Piotr Zaremba, Iga Bańkowska, *Notatka informacyjna do inwentarza zespołu archiwalnego (65/1067). Spuścizna Piotra Zaremby (1910–1993) 1926–1993*, Dezember, 2013, 1–11.

Archives, although in this case obtaining permission is a pure formality. Can such an obstacle be an obstacle in writing Piotr Zaremba's biography? To a certain extent, probably yes, but it is also nothing unusual and biographers of recent history meet with a similar situation very often. So I would not see here the main reason for this state of affairs. What seems more important to me is something that has already been signalled to some extent in relation to the above mentioned threads. The biography of Piotr Zaremba is a huge research challenge, connected with the need for good discernment and in the specificity of different, often very different epochs, and in the specificity of various local environments, and in the specificity of various disciplines or scientific fields, because both urban planning and planning are at stake, architecture, politics, history of ideas, history of science, some knowledge about the activities of the secret services, the history of Polish post-war emigration, diary literature, but also various *hobbies*, which occupied the professor all his life, with his beloved philately at the forefront. It should also be noted that his life was not only on the Polish plan, so it is also necessary to know the international context. It seems particularly important to know the history of the so-called developing countries.

Such an erudite challenge is actually standard in biographical research today, but the enormity of material and matters that occupied Piotr Zaremba could have been of some importance in deciding whether or not to start writing such a book. It is worth noting at this point that in the past there were already several "approaches" to it and all of them failed. What determined it? Probably the biggest factor was lack of mature approach, trying to sail out into "the deep ocean on a small boat". Maybe the lack of distance, that was necessary to face a character so spectacular. However, these are only speculations, because in general, the success is determined by willpower and diligence. Here, I would like to draw a particular attention to one element, because it is connected with the regional context. In Western Pomerania – especially in Szczecin – Piotr Zaremba is still an iconic figure, and thus almost everyone has some kind of attitude, some kind of a view of him. Analysing the phenomenon of Zaremba from the point of view of collective memory, understood as a field of constant encounters and conflicts, constructed images of the past and people working in it, would be a fascinating, though certainly also a rather difficult task.⁵⁶ However, it seems necessary. A dry, factually escaping biography will not explain anything especially in this matter,

⁵⁶ Barbara Szacka, *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit* (Warszawa: Scholar, 2006), 32–45.

but it is also about the inhabitants of Western Pomerania finding out from the basis of Piotr Zaremba's biography something important about themselves, or to be precise – what and how they remember.⁵⁷

The sum of the above mentioned conditions could have determined why Piotr Zaremba's biography has not yet appeared on the bookstore shelves. But it is also not easy for the reader to find a lot of other studies on persons more or less significant in relation to the post-war history of Western Pomerania. Regional biographical research did not go beyond causal studies, which does not take away their value.⁵⁸ Often these are texts filling many important cognitive gaps and actually necessary for a meaningful recognition of post-war reality in its various dimensions, most often published in regional scientific periodicals. The books themselves – although not classic author's monographs – are not insignificant, but they are often occasional editions, serving more to commemorate an important person for a given milieu than a critical reflection on his/her life and activity. These are most often studies referring to the activity of representatives of intelligent groups, such as doctors, teachers, artists, church or maritime workers.⁵⁹ They are complemented by collective studies, bringing knowledge about selected environments or simply reflecting on the most important figures of the era. In this case, I take into account both works of a scientific nature, as well as those that

⁵⁷ Andrzej Szpociński, ed., *Wobec przeszłości. Pamięć przeszłości jako element kultury współczesnej* (Warszawa: Instytut im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2005).

⁵⁸ Many texts of this type were published recently in *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, for example see: Maria Jaremek, „Działalność Karola Czejarka – księgarza, współorganizatora instytucji i społecznego ruchu kulturalnego na Pomorzu Zachodnim, germanisty, autora licznych publikacji”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 3 (2019): 107–125; Radosław Ptaszyński, Magdalena Żukowska, „Bolesław Nagay (1926–2014). Szkic do portretu chirurga”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 2 (2019): 79–98; Artur Kaźmierczak, „Słuchacze Szkoły Prawniczej Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości w Szczecinie skierowani na odbycie aplikacji sądowej w okręgu Sądu Apelacyjnego w Szczecinie. Na podstawie akt osobowych aplikantów Sądu Apelacyjnego i Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Szczecinie”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 1 (2017): 125–155.

⁵⁹ For examples of publications from this group, see Ireneusz Kojder, ed., *Marek Eisner* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Pomorskiego Uniwersytetu Medycznego, 2014); Paweł Migdański ed., *Szkołę tworzy człowiek. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Pani Danucie Rodziejewicz* (Szczecin: KAdruk, 2012); *Erazm ze Szczecina. Twórczość Erazma Kalwaryjskiego / Erasmus von Stettin. Erazm Kalwaryjski und sein Werk*, transl. Paweł Kowalski (Szczecin: Stowarzyszenie Czas Przestrzeń Tożsamość, KAdruk, 2013); Anna Gut-Czerwonka, *Zygmunt Wujek, artysta nietypowy* (Koszalin: Archiwum Państwowe w Koszalinie, 2019); Kazimierz Kozłowski, Grzegorz Wejman, ed., *Arcybiskup prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Majdański. Obrońca życia i mąż stanu* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2011); the series *Ludzie morskiego Szczecina* by Ryszard Techman, consisting of several dozen texts, printed in the „Kronika Szczecina”.

do not fit into strictly academic categories.⁶⁰ Of course, all kinds of publications – memoirs, diaries, dailies, interviews – are of great importance from the point of view of West Pomeranian biography. It is, however, a separate group of publications, which have an auxiliary character from the point of view of research, but here, too, the books are very rare.⁶¹

In fact, the only monographic study that meets all scientific criteria is the biography of Leonard Borkowicz by Katarzyna Rembacka.⁶² In the perspective of a few years, books devoted to the life and activity of Marian Jurczyk, Andrzej Milczanowski and Alfred Wielopolski, among others, should also be published. This may not be a “biographical revolution”, but a certain stir in research is noticeable.

Piotr Zaremba should finally have an extensive biography. He is too important a figure for Western Pomerania to be able to stay longer in conversation about him on causal texts or worse on some unfounded ‘thoughts about him and his work as evident today.

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⁶⁰ For example publications from this group, see Józef Rutkowski et al, ed., *Ludzie nauki Szczecina w 50leciu. Księga osiągnięcia*, vol. 1 (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1996); Katarzyna Rembacka, ed., *Szczecin – history is created by people. Second Educational Conference, Szczecin II XII 2009* (Szczecin: IPN Szczecin, Szczecin City Hall, 2010).

⁶¹ For further readings on this matter, see Roman Kostynowicz, *W blasku katedr. Ostatnie artykuły, dziennik* (Szczecin: Stowarzyszenie Konserwatorów Zabytków – Oddział w Szczecinie, Oficyna Wydawnicza Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie „Dokument”, 2010); Piotr Zieliński, *Marian Jurczyk. Zły prezydent. Wywiad-rzeka* (Szczecin: Piotr Zieliński, 2008); Tadeusz Białecki, *Szczecin – przystanek na całe życie*, vol. 1: *Wspomnienia z lat 1933–1958*, vol. 2: *Wspomnienia z lat 1958–1975* (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska, 2009–2012); Alfred Wielopolski, *Z herbem po służbach. Wspomnienia*, ed. Aleksander Wit Labuda (Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, 2016).

⁶² Katarzyna Rembacka, *Komunista na peryferiach władzy. Historia Leonarda Borkowicza 1912–1989* (Szczecin–Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2020).

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ABSTRACT

Piotr Zaremba (1910–1993) was the first post-war president of Szczecin, an internationally renowned urban planner and planner, and the author of fascinating memories of the first post-war years. He was also the winner of several plebiscites, a specific game crowning the end of the previous century. The verdict of the participants was recognized as “Szczecin of the century” and “Pomerania of the century”. It is therefore astonishing that there is no extensive biography of the former rector of the Szczecin University of Technology and one of the co-founders of the University of Szczecin, although it would have been a study that would have given contemporary people considerable knowledge about the important problems of 20th century history. Not only regional, but also national and European history. By discussing selected threads: family, urban and political, the author of the article tries to show, on the one hand, the richness of source material connected with Piotr Zaremba’s biography and, on the other hand, the possibility of multi-faceted lighting of its individual fragments. He tries to multiply the questions more than to give final answers. For these to appear, an extensive biographical book is necessary. In the second part of the text, therefore, the aim of the text is to analyse the reasons why serious biographical reflection on Piotr Zaremba does not exist, despite the fact that he is an emblematic figure for Szczecin and Western Pomerania. The author also follows whether the case under examination is something exceptional for the West Pomeranian biography, characterising the state of biographical writing in relation to people relevant to the post-war history of the region. This seems to me to be a particularly justified question in a situation where biography – after years of neglect in this area – has for some time become an extremely popular genre of historical writing in Poland, giving historians the opportunity to go far beyond the circle set by academic circles with their message. The article is based on a wide range of archival queries, often referring to documentation that has not been in scientific circulation so far.

PIOTR ZAREMBA (1910–1993). BIOGRAFIA DO ODSŁONIĘCIA**ABSTRAKT**

Piotr Zaremba (1910–1993) był pierwszym powojennym prezydentem Szczecina, urbanistą i planistą o międzynarodowej sławie, również autorem fascynujących wspomnień dotyczących pierwszych lat powojennych. Był też zwycięzcą kilku plebiscytów, specyficznej zabawy wieńczącej koniec poprzedniego wieku. Werdyktem uczestników został uznany za „szczecinianina stulecia” i „Pomorzanina stulecia”. Zdziwiał więc brak obszernej biografii byłego rektora Politechniki Szczecińskiej i jednego ze współtwórców Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, choć byłoby to opracowanie dające współczesnym nie małą wiedzę na temat istotnych problemów XX-wiecznej historii. Nie tylko regionalnej, ale ogólnopolskiej i europejskiej. Poprzez omówienie wybranych wątków: rodzinnego, urbanistycznego i politycznego, autor artykułu stara się pokazać z jednej strony bogactwo materiału źródłowego wiążącego się z życiorysem Piotra Zaremby, z drugiej zaś możliwość wieloaspektowego oświetlenia poszczególnych jego fragmentów. Stara się w większym stopniu mnożyć pytania, niż udzielać ostatecznych odpowiedzi. Aby te się pojawiły niezbędna jest obszerna książka biograficzna. W drugiej części tekst stawia sobie więc za cel przeanalizowanie przyczyn, dla których poważny namysł biograficzny w odniesieniu do Piotra Zaremby nie istnieje, pomimo tego, że jest on dla Szczecina i Pomorza Zachodniego postacią emblematyczną. Autor śledzi także, czy badany przypadek jest czymś wyjątkowym dla zachodniopomorskiej biografistyki, charakteryzując stan pisarstwa biograficznego w odniesieniu do osób istotnych dla powojennej historii regionu. Wydaje mi się to pytaniem szczególnie uzasadnionym w sytuacji, kiedy biografistyka – po latach zaniedbań w tym obszarze – staje się w Polsce od pewnego czasu niezwykle popularnym gatunkiem piśmiennictwa historycznego, dającym historykom możliwość wyjścia ze swoim przekazem daleko poza krąg wyznaczany przez środowiska akademickie. Artykuł opiera się na szerokiej kwerendzie archiwalnej, odnosząc się nierzadko do dokumentacji niebędącej jak dotąd w obiegu naukowym.

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**JAN LEMBAS (1914–2000). CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE VOIVODSHIP NATIONAL COUNCIL IN ZIELONA GÓRA
(1956–1973) AND THE VOIVODE OF ZIELONA GÓRA
(1973–1980)**

Key words: communism, Poland, Zielona Góra Province, voivode

Słowa kluczowe: komunizm, Polska, województwo zielonogórskie, wojewoda

Introduction

The aim of this publication is to present the figure of Jan Lembas – a man who had a significant influence on the post-war history of the region nowadays called Ziemia Lubuska. In the years 1956–1980, he headed the local administration at a regional level. In editing the article, the authors used the documentation held by the State Archive in Zielona Góra, articles from the regional daily newspaper “Gazeta Zielonogórska” and information obtained from interviews with Jan Lembas’ former associates.

Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła – one of the founders of scientific life in the Lubuskie region – met Jan Lembas many times, as a long-term councillor of the Voivodeship National Council in Zielona Góra, and in the years 1969–1973 when he was a member of the Presidium of the Voivodeship National Council.¹ Józef Grzelak started working in the Presidium of the Voivodeship National Council in

¹ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author.

Zielona Góra in 1955. In 1968, he became chairman of the Voivodeship Economic Planning Commission which was the unit playing a major role in the Presidium. In 1973, Józef Grzelak took over as Deputy Chairman of the Presidium, and later became the Deputy Governor. He was one of Jan Lembas' closest associates². In addition, Marian Kopij had regular contact with Jan Lembas since 1960, when he started working in the state administration in the Zielona Góra Province. In 1973, he became a member of the Voivodeship Economic Planning Commission in the WRN Presidium, and in 1978 he became its chairman. Similarly to Józef Grzelak, he was one of Jan Lembas' closest colleagues.³

The beginnings of Jan Lembas' career

On 28 June 1950, the National Assembly of the Republic of Poland passed a law changing the administrative division of the entire country. Three new voivodeships were created: Koszalin, Opole and Zielona Góra. Zielona Góra voivodeship was shaped from seventeen counties, which were previously part of Poznań and Wrocław voivodeships. It covered the area of 14,500 km², representing about 5% of the country and was inhabited by about 556 thousand people.⁴ The city of Zielona Góra became the headquarters of the Voivodeship National Council (WRN), which was the highest local authority. Out of 102 councillors of the first term of the WRN in Zielona Góra, 55 belonged to the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), 21 to the United People's Party (ZSL), 5 to the Democratic Party (SD), and 21 were officially non-party members.⁵ Both the ZSL and SD were "satellite" parties in relation to the PZPR, recognising the primacy of this biggest party in the political life of Poland. The first session of the WRN in Zielona Góra took place on 8 July 1950 in the hall of the Zielona Góra theatre. During the session, the Bureau, which was the executive and governing body of the National Council, was established through internal election. The Bureau consisted of the President, his deputies, a secretary and members. The Bureau acted collectively and the number of its members was not determined. A special role was assigned to the Chairman of the Presidium, who was the highest representative of state authority

² Interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

³ Interview with Marian Kopij, conducted on 15 December 2016, held by the author.

⁴ Hieronim Szczegóła, „Powstanie rad narodowych na Ziemi Lubuskiej”, *Rocznik Lubuski* XI część 1 (1981): 127.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 128–129.

in a province.⁶ During the communist rule in Poland, however, the real centres of power were shifted from those National Councils to the local structures of PZPR.⁷ Consequently, the most important figure in any Polish voivodeship was not the Chairman of the Presidium of the WRN, but the 1st Secretary of the Voivodeship Committee (KW) of the PZPR.⁸

The composition of the MRN Bureau in Zielona Góra, which emerged on 8 July 1950, changed several times thereafter. During the WRN session in Zielona Góra on 26 April 1952,⁹ Jan Lembas was elected Secretary of the WRN Bureau. The characteristics of the candidate were then presented to the local councillors.

“Citizen Lembas Jan was born on 16th May 1914 in Słosowicze, the county of Krakow. His father worked as a carpenter until 1939 and belonged to PPS (Polish Socialist Party). Citizen Lembas had an incomplete secondary education. After completing four grades of the Junior High School, he started working in the Life Insurance Company in Kraków as a messenger, janitor and then as an office assistant. He worked there until 1937, i.e. until his appointment to the military service, which he did in Kraków from 1937 to 1938. After his return from the army, he worked as a stoker in the State Industrial School in Kraków, from where he was released after six months. In 1939, after the outbreak of WW2, he took active part in the fight against Germany. He was taken prisoner by the Germans near Tomaszów. After escaping from captivity, he stayed in Słosowicze for the whole period of the occupation, working there as a stoker in the Metropolitan Bath Factory, and then in a margarine factory followed by a nail factory. After the liberation he was called up to the newly established Revived Polish Army, from where he was demobilized in December 1945. From 1946 to 1949, he worked in the former

⁶ Act of 20 March 1950 on local authorities of the single state authority, Dz. U. 1950, no. 14, item 130, article 17.

⁷ Ewa Nowacka, *Samorząd terytorialny w systemie władz publicznej w Polsce. Studium politycznoprawne* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1994), 31; Hubert Izdebski, *Historia administracji* (Warszawa: LIBER, 2001), 58; Wojciech Witkowski, *Historia administracji w Polsce 1764–1989* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2007), 428.

⁸ Bohdan Halczak, „Podstawy prawne funkcjonowania administracji terenowej w Polsce w latach 1950–1956”, in: *Prawo samorządu terytorialnego – doświadczenia, wyzwania i perspektywy. Lubuskie Forum Prawa Samorządu Terytorialnego*, ed. Andrzej Bisztyga, Anna Chodorowska, Anna Feja-Paszkiwicz (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2019), 557.

⁹ The State Archive in Zielona Góra (hereinafter: APZG), Presidium of the Voivodship National Council in Zielona Góra (hereinafter: PWRN), Minutes of the 4th Session of the Voivodship National Council in Zielona Góra, held on 26 April 1952. The minutes of the 4th Session of the Voivodship National Council in Zielona Góra, held on 26 April 1952, ref. 160.

local council, and from 15 February 1949, he held the position of Deputy County Governor in Koźuchów. He held this position until 7 June 1950, i.e. until he was elected chairman of the Presidium of the Koźuchów County National Council, a position he has held to this day. In February 1945 he joined the Polish Workers' Party in Cracow, and since the reunification he has been a member of the Polish United Workers' Party."¹⁰

A biographical note by Jan Lembas, identical in content to that given during the session of the WRN on 26 April 1952, was published on 30 April 1952 by the local newspaper 'Gazeta Zielonogórska'.¹¹ However, this biography was not fully accurate. Jan Lembas was not born in 'Słosowicze' but in Swoszowice (now the County of Kraków). Also, quite an important episode from Jan Lembas' biography was omitted. During the occupation, he was involved in underground activity with Związek Walki Zbrojnej (the Union of Active Resistance), and then in Armia Krajowa (AK – Home Military Resistance).¹² However, this episode of his biography was effectively hidden by Jan Lembas for many years. Undoubtedly, he had reasons for this. Until 1956, inside the PZPR organisation in Zielona Góra, any affiliation of party members during the occupation period revealed resulted in an immediate exclusion from the PZPR party membership.¹³ Needless to say, such exclusion greatly limited the possibility of any career in the country ruled by the communists.

For example, in 1951 the case revealed that the head of the Education Department of the WRN Presidium in Zielona Góra belonged to the AK.¹⁴ On February 9th, 1951, there was a stormy discussion on this subject during the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Poland in Zielona Góra.¹⁵ A motion was made to remove the person from his post, which was justified by the observation that: "As far as belonging to the AK is concerned, we have one

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ „Ob. Franciszek Grocholski – przewodniczącym WRN w Zielonej Górze – tow. Jan Lembas – sekretarzem”, *Gazeta Zielonogórska*, 30.04.1952, 1.

¹² Marian Pietrzak, „Jan Lembas – wieloletni Przewodniczący Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej, Wojewoda Zielonogórski (1914–2000)”, *Studia Zielonogórskie VII* (2001): 288.

¹³ Bohdan Halczak, *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza w powiecie. Funkcjonowanie powiatowych instancji PZPR na przykładzie Zielonej Góry (1949–1989)* (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2011), 75.

¹⁴ APZG, Komitet Wojewódzki PZPR w Zielonej Górze (hereinafter: KW PZPR), Protokół nr 7 posiedzenia Egzekutywy KW PZPR w Zielonej Górze dnia 9.II.1951 r., sygn. 193.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

line of action...”¹⁶ Interestingly, without the approval of the Executive Director of the Polish United Workers’ Party (KW PZPR) the head could not perform his function. The Chairman of the WRN Presidium present at the meeting tried to defend him, explaining that his political attitude did not raise any objections and that he performed his duties very well. He argued that running the Education Department requires competence, and that he currently does not have a suitable replacement candidate for the post. Ultimately, the Enforcement agreed to leave the manager in his current position, but only until a suitable candidate was found. There is no doubt that if Jan Lembas’ affiliation to the AK was revealed, he would, at best, be only tolerated as an employee in the Presidium of the WRN in Zielona Góra, with no career opportunities in the future.

Jan Lembas was not the only person in the Presidium of WRN in Zielona Góra who concealed certain episodes in his biography from the authorities. In 1956, the Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the WRN in Zielona Góra and the head of the Voivodeship Board of Internal Affairs was removed from his position because, as stated in the minutes of the WRN meeting: “...recently some inaccuracies have emerged regarding the activities of the Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the WRN (...) during the Nazi occupation”.¹⁷ There have also been cases of “adding” fictional episodes to the biographies. For example, Wiktoria Hetmańska – deputy chairman of the WRN Presidium in Zielona Góra, in the years 1954–1956 claimed in her official biography that during the occupation period she conducted underground activity in the structures of the PPR (Polish Labour Party) in Poznań, and in the meantime, according to Anna Hekert, she started her political activity only in 1945, after the city was captured by the Red Army.¹⁸

In the years 1950–1956, the Presidium of the WRN in Zielona Góra consisted of 22 officers in total, 14 of whom belonged to the PZPR, 5 to the ZSL, 2 to the SD and one was non-party. The function of Secretary of the WRN Presidium was performed exclusively by members of the PZPR. As far as education was concerned, 7 officers showed higher education (full or incomplete), 9 secondary

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ APZG, PWRN, Protokół z przebiegu I-ej Sesji Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Zielonej Górze odbytej w dniu 28 lutego 1956 t., sygn. 167.

¹⁸ Anna Hekert, „Działalność Wiktorii Hetmańskiej w strukturach Polskiej Partii Robotniczej”, in: *Studia z historii najnowszej Polski*, ed. R. Łatka, M. Szumiło (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2018), 77.

(full or incomplete), and 6 elementary. Most of them came from the County of Poznań and the former eastern provinces of pre-war Republic of Poland, which were annexed to the USSR after World War II. Two functionaries started their political activity in the interwar period, in the Communist Party of Poland (KPP). On a kind of “opposite pole” to them there was a non-party doctor Stanisław Dzieciuchowicz, since 1950 the Head of the Health Department, and in the years 1954–1956 also a member of the WRN Presidium in Zielona Góra. When during the meetings of the WRN Presidium, other officers declared their support for the idea of building a socialist system in Poland, Stanisław Dzieciuchowicz remained silent. He was tolerated, however unenthusiastically, as a member of the WRN Presidium due to his high qualifications¹⁹. According to Łukasz Bertram, in Poland, in the years 1949–1956, even on high government positions, there were a number of non-party “loyal experts”, not related to communism in any ideological way, but distinguished by a high level of genuine and practical knowledge²⁰. Most of the members of the WRN Presidium in Zielona Góra, from 1950 to 1956 until the outbreak of World War II, were low-level officials or manual workers. After the war, they joined the ranks of the Polish Workers’ Party (PPR), or the People’s Party (SL – Stronnictwo Ludowe) or Democratic Party allied with it, which enabled them to have a fast career in state administration, sometimes significantly disproportionate to their qualifications. Jan Lembas’ biography then, was quite a typical one for this environment.

As mentioned earlier, the key feature of the communist power state apparatus was the domination of the PZPR party over the state administration at all levels. This dominance was ensured primarily by the system of filling supervisory positions in the administration with party representatives²¹. Jan Lembas also owed his rapid career in administration since 1945 to this nomenclature. According to Andrzej Friszke’s findings, the members of the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR) were, in the first twenty years of the party’s existence, a rather poorly

¹⁹ Bohdan Halczak, „Skład i zarys funkcjonowania Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Zielonej Górze w latach 1950–1956”. *Studia Prawnoustrojowe* 48 (2020): 25.

²⁰ Łukasz Bertram, „Towarzysze podróży. Bezpartyjni w polskiej elicie rządowej (1949–1956)”, in: *„Polska Ludowa” 1944–1989 – wybrane problemy historii politycznej i społecznej*, ed. Dorota Litwin-Lewandowska, Krzysztof Bałękowski (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe TYGIEL, 2016), 51.

²¹ Andrzej Friszke, „Próba portretu zbiorowego aparatu partyjnego”, in: *PZPR jako machina władzy*, ed. Dariusz Stola, Krzysztof Persak, (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2012), 57.

educated group of functionaries, especially in the local context.²² In 1953, among the 12,231 full-time employees of the PZPR's political committees, one third had incomplete primary education, and half had full primary education. Only 84 officers had completed their studies. Approximately 69% declared a worker background, 28% a peasant background, and only 1.6% an intellectual background.²³

Jan Lembas was therefore quite a typical representative of the regional government apparatus in Poland in the 1950s. His position was somewhat weakened by the fact that he could not show any links with the communist movement in Poland before 1945. He was not a member of the Communist Party of Poland (KPP) operating on Polish soil in the interwar period. He also did not belong, during the occupation period, to the underground structures of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) or to its armed organization – Gwardia Ludowa (GW-the People's Guard) and since 1944 to the Armia Ludowa (AL – People's Army). In the leadership elite of PPR and later PZPR, veterans of the pre-war KPP had a strong position.²⁴ They were not a large group. Nevertheless, in 1953 almost half of the secretaries of KW PZPR (County Committee of PZPR) belonged to the KPP even before it gained power in Poland after WW2.²⁵ The issues of party affiliation before the war, or in the first post-war years, lost importance in the party apparatus of PZPR much later in the 1970s.

Jan Lembas served as Secretary of the WRN Presidium in Zielona Góra until 1954, when he was sent to the Central School at the Central Committee (KC) of the PZPR in Warsaw, which he completed in 1956. This opened up new promotion opportunities for him.

Jan Lembas in October 1956

In 1956, the People's Republic of Poland experienced a serious political crisis, which culminated in October 1956.²⁶ This crisis caused strong political tension

²² Ibidem, 65.

²³ Ibidem, 68.

²⁴ Andrzej Friszke, *Polska. Losy państwa i narodu 1939–1989* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo ISKRY, 2003), 173; Mirosław Szumiło, „Kierownictwo Polskiej Partii Robotniczej (1944–1948) – portret historyczno-socjologiczny”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 2 (2014): 300.

²⁵ Friszke, “Próba”, 70.

²⁶ Andrzej Friszke, „Rok 1956”, in: *Centrum władzy w Polsce 1948–1970*, ed. Andrzej Paczkowski (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 2003), 201–202.

also in the Zielona Góra County.²⁷ During the meetings held in different factories the relations prevailing in the whole country were openly and very seriously criticized. They demanded the improvement of living conditions, the rehabilitation of political prisoners, the change of Polish-Soviet relations and the state policy towards the Church. The assumption of the function of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (KC PZPR), the most important position in the country, by Władysław Gomułka, was met with an enthusiastic reaction in the Zielona Góra County with many enthusiasts of the new reforms there. Support for Władysław Gomułka was immediately declared by the local PZPR apparatus.²⁸ Meetings were held in the workshops, during which support for Władysław Gomułka was declared. The unconditional support for the new First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR was also declared by officers of the security apparatus in Zielona Góra.²⁹

After the replacement of the 1st Secretary of the KC PZPR, also the 1st Secretaries at the voivodship level were being immediately substituted. According to Marcin Markiewicz: "...in this way the party authorities wanted to quickly prove to the enthusiastic (but also impatient society) their democratic zeal. The immediate removal of certain functionaries, often discredited and hated, was relatively easy, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it met social expectations."³⁰ The former First Secretary of the County Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (KW PZPR) in Zielona Góra – Feliks Lorek was accused of practising "cult of personality" and forced to resign from his function during the board meeting of the KW PZPR in Zielona Góra on the night of 22–23 October 1956.³¹ Tadeusz Wieczorek took over the function of the First Secretary of the PZPR Headquarters in Zielona Góra. Interestingly, he was not previously known in the Zielona Góra region. He was brought "as a puppet" from Warsaw, which, according to Marcin

²⁷ Czesław Osękowski, „Październik 1956 r. w województwach zielonogórskim i szczecińskim”, in: *Październik 1956 na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych*, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński (Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1997), 98.

²⁸ Ryszard Zaradny, *Władza i społeczność Zielonej Góry w latach 1945–1975* (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2009), 188; Halczak, *Polska*, 118.

²⁹ „Rezolucja pracowników Wojewódzkiego Urzędu do Spraw Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego”, *Gazeta Zielonogórska*, 25.10.1956, 7.

³⁰ Marcin Markiewicz, *Odwilż na prowincji. Białostoczczyzna 1956–1960* (Białystok–Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Oddział w Białymstoku, 2019), 78.

³¹ Zaradny, *Władza*, 188; Halczak, *Polska*, 118.

Markiewicz was a common practice in the whole country: “It was probably due to the fact that it was difficult to find staff for all voivodship committees *ad hoc*...”³²

The “October breakthrough” also brought about personnel changes in national councils at all levels across the country.³³ The changes did not bypass Zielona Góra County. During the WRN session in Zielona Góra, on 25–26 October 1956, the councillors severely criticised the Head of the Presidium, Szczepan Jurzak, for what was, in their opinion, his excessive submission to the former First Secretary of the Communist Party of Poland (PZPR), Feliks Lorek. At the end of the meeting, a resolution was passed, demanding, among other things, “certain personnel changes in the composition of the Presidium of the Voivodeship National Council (WRN).”³⁴ Thus, Szczepan Jurzak sent a letter to the Executive Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR) asking for the President of the Voivodeship National Council: “to agree to resign”. The Executive body gave their consent during the meeting on 15 November 1956.³⁵

The new composition of the Presidium of the WRN in Zielona Góra was initially established at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the PZPR on 24 November 1956:³⁶ “It was decided to put forward comrade Lembas, who was scheduled for this post while he was still at school, as the Chairman of Presidium WRN.”³⁷ There was no information that other nominations would be discussed. However, a problem arose as the candidature caused strong resistance on the part of the provincial leaders of the allies of the ZSL (Polish People Party) and SD (Social-Democrats). As it was stated during the session of the Enforcement on November 30, 1956, ZSL put forward its own candidature, in the form of the Chairman of the Voivodship Committee (WK) of ZSL Jerzy Rumianek and: “SD came out with some serious accusations against Mr. Lembas, which were made by people from the area who knew him from the past (...) where he is accused of committing obstruction (or embarrassment) to people when he worked in councils

³² Markiewicz, *Odwilż*, 77.

³³ *Ibidem*, 91.

³⁴ APZG, PWRN, Protokół Nr VI/56 z przebiegu VI-ej Sesji Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Zielonej Górze, odbytej w dniach 25 i 26 października 1956r., sygn. 168.

³⁵ APZG, KW PZPR, Protokół nr 51 posiedzenia Egzekutywy KW PZPR w Zielonej Górze z dnia 15.XI.1956 r., sygn. 236.

³⁶ APZG, KW PZPR, Protokół nr 52 posiedzenia Egzekutywy KW PZPR w Zielonej Górze z dnia 24.XI.1956 r., sygn. 236.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

in Nowa Sól and surrounding areas.³⁸ Jan Lembas, present at the meeting of the Enforcement Officer, when asked to respond to the accusations, stated: "...that he doesn't recall in his business that there were any facts of the obstruction there could be signs of a verbal confrontation but nothing more than that..."³⁹ From a contemporary perspective, it is not clear what events were involved in these allegations. It is characteristic that Jan Lembas did not deny that he had committed the acts, but merely stated that he "does not remember" such cases. Instead, he openly confessed to the "verbally loud."

There was a lively discussion between the members of the local PZPR decision-making group. There were many critical comments about ZSL. It was admitted that this opposition is quite strong in Zielona Góra County, and there were "Mikołajczyk-like" tendencies there. In the opinion of the members of the local decision-making group of PZPR members, ZSL allied with SD and aimed at intercepting power in the province by taking over the national councils. Their way to achieve this was to "undermine" local PZPR activists. The charges against Jan Lembas were also considered a manifestation of this policy. At the same time, the members of the Enforcement admitted that the propaganda spread by ZSL and SD activists was also propagated by some councillors of the PZPR club in the Voivodeship National Council therefore the outcome of a possible vote on Jan Lembas' candidacy for the Chairman of the Presidium would stay uncertain.

The position of the First Secretary of the Communist Party (KW), Tadeusz Wiczorek, was decisive in this case. He stated that in a situation where the Polish People's Party (ZSL) and the Social-Democrats (SD) are trying to discredit "our activist", it is absolutely impossible to resign from Jan Lembas's candidacy for the chairmanship of the WRN Bureau. The executive decided to hold talks with WRN councillors from the PZPR club and to offer SD the position of deputy chairman of the WRN Presidium and to remove from the Presidium members of the PZPR not liked by ZSL and SD activists. During the meeting a proposal was made to establish a "reserve" candidate for the post of Chairman of the WRN Presidium in case the candidacy of Jan Lembas was not accepted by the WRN. However, this proposal was finally rejected.

³⁸ APZG, KW PZPR, Protokół nr 53 posiedzenia Egzekutywy KW PZPR w Zielonej Górze z dnia 30.XI.1956 r., sygn. 236.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

On 5 December 1956 the 7th Session of the Voivodeship National Council in Zielona Góra took place.⁴⁰ The main purpose of the session was to make changes in the composition of the Presidium of the WRN. The resignation from the position was submitted by President Szczepan Jurzak and two other officers who were members of the PZPR. The resignation was accepted by the councilmen. Election of a new Chairman of the Presidium took place. The PZPR Councilors' Club nominated Jan Lembas. This candidacy was also supported by the ZSL councillors' club, and the SD councillors' club did not object. A vote was held, as a result of which out of 83 councillors present at the session, Jan Lembas received 72 votes. No one voted against Jan Lembas' candidacy, but 11 councillors abstained. At the same WRN meeting, two representatives of SD were also elected to the WRN Bureau. One as deputy chairman and the other one as member. This was probably the "price" paid by the Executive Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) to regional authorities from SD for refraining from protesting against the election of Jan Lembas as Chairman of the WRN Presidium. In December 1956, Jan Lembas became not only the Chairman of the Presidium of the WRN in Zielona Góra, but also became a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party (KW PZPR) in Zielona Góra, which significantly strengthened his position in the province.

According to Tadeusz Dzwonkowski, the appointment of Jan Lembas to the post of Chairman of the WRN Presidium "as a local" was intended to counterbalance the nomination of Tadeusz Wiczorek, who was "brought in a briefcase" from Warsaw to Zielona Góra.⁴¹ Jan Lembas could be considered as "local" by the inhabitants of Zielona Góra County because he had been associated with the region for a long time. Nevertheless, in the course of his activity in the Zielona Góra Province, Jan Lembas gained the opinion of a man practising the so-called "verbally loud" approach in relation to his subordinates.

According to Marcin Markiewicz, changes in national councils at the level of communities and districts were usually forced from the bottom up, but in voivodship national councils they were the result of the clash of fractions.⁴² The election of Jan Lembas to the post of Chairman of the WRN Presidium in Zielona Góra

⁴⁰ APZG, PWRN, Protokół Nr VII/56 z przebiegu VII-ej Sesji Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Zielonej Górze, odbytej w dniu 5 grudnia 1956 r., sygn. 168.

⁴¹ Tadeusz Dzwonkowski, *Wydarzenia Zielonogórskie w 1960 roku* (Poznań–Warszawa–Zielona Góra: Wyd. Katolickie Stowarzyszenie "Civitas Christiana", 2010), 39.

⁴² Markiewicz, *Odwilż*, 91.

was undoubtedly not the result of “grassroots” pressure, but the result of a clash of fractions on the political stage. The decisive factor was the strong support given to Jan Lembas by the First Secretary of the Communist Party’s Committee of the Communist Party (PZPR) Tadeusz Wiczorek.

The “Host” of Zielona Góra Region

Jan Lembas held the position of Chairman of the WRN Presidium in Zielona Góra until 1973. The institution of the collegial WRN Presidium was then replaced by the voivode. Jan Lembas took over this position and held it until his retirement in 1980. For many years, Jan Lembas’ figure had become so strongly “rooted” with the County that there was even a joke circulating in the country that the Zielona Góra province was: “Lake, forest and Lembores”. In the reality of communist Poland, the fact that the voivodeship was nationally associated with the Chairman of the Presidium of the National Council and then the Voivode was extremely significant. In the existing political realities, the most important figure in the voivodeship was – as mentioned earlier – the First Secretary of the Voivodeship Committee of PZPR. Jan Lembas gained, however, a very strong position in the region over the years.

Jan Lembas had very good relations with the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party (KW PZPR) Tadeusz Wiczorek. According to Hieronim Szczegóła and Józef Grzelak, they were even privately friendly.⁴³ This does not mean that President Lembas had equally good relations with the whole Voivodship Committee (KW). According to Józef Grzelak, some of the so-called departmental secretaries were reluctant to respond to him.⁴⁴ The “decision-making procedure” in the WRN Presidium was that if a certain matter was referred to in a meeting of the WRN Presidium, it meant that the “political authorities” allowed it to be considered, or simply ordered it. Clearly, every resolution adopted by the Presidium had to be accepted by the “political authorities” beforehand. More detailed issues were agreed on an ongoing basis by the heads of WRN departments with the respective secretaries of KW PZPR. In fact, the structure of the KW divisions was duplicated by the Presidium. More important matters were personally agreed by the Chairman of the WRN

⁴³ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author; interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

⁴⁴ Interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

Presidium with the 1st Secretary of the KW PZPR.⁴⁵ Jan Lembas strictly followed this “decision-making procedure”. In general, however, he was able to convince Tadeusz Wieczorek that he was right in many cases.

The WRN Presidium was in the nomenclature of KW PZPR, as were the managerial positions in the Presidium departments. Some of the posts were filled by the “departmental secretaries”, and in other cases by the 1st Secretary of the KW PZPR, or by the whole Enforcement. The Chairman of the WRN did not actually have the opportunity to pursue his own personnel policy. However, Jan Lembas managed, in most cases, to fill those posts with the people he wanted, or at least accepted. According to Józef Grzelak, he tried to ensure that the people holding managerial positions in the offices subordinate to him had the appropriate substantive qualifications.⁴⁶ However, this opinion is difficult to verify. The substantive level of the managerial staff in the Presidium of the WRN in Zielona Góra increased significantly after 1956. It cannot be stated unequivocally to what extent this was the result of Jan Lembas’ efforts and to what extent it was the result of the modification of the personnel policy of the “political authorities” which paid more attention to the qualifications of candidates for managerial positions after 1956 than before 1956.

In 1968 Tadeusz Wieczorek was replaced by Mieczysław Hebda as First Secretary of the KW PZPR. Officially, the reason for the change was due to a serious accident that Tadeusz Wieczorek suffered from. In fact, it was part of the purge of Jewish activists accused of favouring Zionism, which was carried out in the PZPR at that time. This purge was carried out on the initiative of the circle of the so-called “partisans”, gathered around Mieczysław Moczar. According to Czesław Osękowski, in 1968, about seventy managerial positions were changed in Zielona Góra Province, which can be linked to the political situation in the country at that time⁴⁷. Mieczysław Hebda – the new First Secretary of the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR) in Zielona Góra was considered a man of Mieczysław Moczar.

⁴⁵ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author.

⁴⁶ Interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

⁴⁷ Czesław Osękowski, „Marzec 1968 na Ziemi Lubuskiej”. *Studia Zachodnie* nr 4 (1999): 238.

Mieczysław Hebda, like Jan Lembas, came from Małopolska.⁴⁸ However, they did not find a “common language”. There was an antagonism between the First Secretary of the Communist Party and the President of the Presidium of the Communist Party. According to Hieronim Szczegóły and Józef Grzelak, the antagonism was not caused by Jan Lembas, who tried to maintain the best possible relations with Mieczysław Hebda.⁴⁹ Nor was the antagonism between Jan Lembas and Mieczysław Hebda based on differences in political views. Jan Lembas unconditionally supported the policy of the PZPR leadership. He did not oppose the purge of Jewish activists carried out in 1968 and even supported it.

At the WRN session in Zielona Góra on 26 April 1968, Paweł Puterman was removed from his post as Deputy Chairman of the WRN Presidium.⁵⁰ Jan Lembas personally submitted this request. In support of the request, he accused his deputy of never having condemned: “...the international Zionism, which attacks and defames the entire Polish nation. Such an attitude from citizen Puterman has provoked fierce criticism in many circles, both among members of the Party, activists and employees of national councils, as well as plants and institutions in our county.”⁵¹ Paweł Puterman argued in his speech that although he is of Jewish descent, he feels like a Polish communist and condemns Zionism. However, his speech did not make a great impression on the participants. 74 councillors voted in favour of the dismissal of the deputy chairman of the WRN and two abstained from voting.

According to Marian Kopij, the antagonism between Mieczysław Hebda and Jan Lembas was primarily due to personality differences.⁵² Mieczysław Hebda was not as good as the President of the WRN in terms of his potential for intelligence, organisational skills, hard work and efficiency. However, he was very sensitive about his prestige in the local area. He simply perceived Jan Lembas as a rival. In 1971, Mieczysław Hebda tried to remove Jan Lembas from the post of President of the WRN Bureau.⁵³ Such a change, however, required the approval of

⁴⁸ Dariusz Śmierczalski-Wachocz, *Partia komunistyczna wobec przejawów wiary katolickiej w swoich szeregach na Środkowym Nadodrzu 1945–1970* (Ząbki: APOSTOLICUM, 2004), 114.

⁴⁹ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóły, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author; interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

⁵⁰ APZG, PWRN, Protokół Nr XV/68 z przebiegu obrad piętnastej sesji Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Zielonej Górze, odbytej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1968 r., sygn. 199.

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² Interview with Marian Kopij, conducted on 15 December 2016, held by the author.

⁵³ Interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

the Central Committee of the PZPR, which Hebda ultimately did not receive and so Jan Lembas remained in his post until retirement.

According to his former colleagues, Jan Lembas was a passionate communist by conviction.⁵⁴ In his public and private statements he repeatedly expressed his belief in the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist one, in the inevitable victory of socialism all over the world and in the permanent Polish-Soviet alliance. According to his former collaborators, these statements were sincere. From the contemporary point of view, Jan Lembas' communist beliefs had a somewhat 'nationalistic' tone, according to his co-workers. He combined his own faith in communism with a strong but peculiar Polish patriotism. He was also, (according to his collaborators), emotionally connected with the Lubuskie region and sincerely wanted the inhabitants of the province to live better.

For some reason Jan Lembas did not like the Catholic Church and the actions of the communist authorities against the Church were strongly supported by him. In 1959, on the initiative of Jan Lembas, a list of 113 religious' buildings in the province was created, under various circumstances prepared for demolition.⁵⁵ The list included many valuable monuments (e.g. the Pope's Synagogue in Gościków). Only for technical reasons the mentioned objects were not demolished. In 1960, Jan Lembas was eagerly involved in the efforts to collect the parish of St. Hedwig in Zielona Góra of the Catholic Social House at Wielkopolski Square.⁵⁶ The consequence of this decision was a protest of the inhabitants of Zielona Góra on May 30, 1960, which turned into street riots which were brutally suppressed by the militia.

According to the opinion of his former colleagues, Jan Lembas' relations with the local environment did not go well. According to Hieronim Szczegóła, Jan Lembas was a disliked person in the local environment.⁵⁷ He did not participate in social life preferring to spend his free time in the company of his wife and daughter, with whom he was strongly connected. He was unpleasant and rude towards people, however, if he cared about a person, he was able to convince

⁵⁴ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author; interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author; interview with Marian Kopij, conducted on 15 December 2016, held by the author.

⁵⁵ Dzwonkowski, *Wydarzenia*, 69.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 76–77.

⁵⁷ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author.

them of his good intentions. The discussion with the voivode Lembas was hard. He was stubborn, but if the interlocutor presented concrete, factual arguments, he could accept them. However, even among people who did not like him, according to Hieronim Szczegóła, Jan Lembas aroused respect with his diligence and good organization.

For Józef Grzelak, the voivode was, above all, a very efficient clerk. He had extensive experience of working in state administration in various positions. As far as Jan Lembas' attitude towards his surroundings is concerned, Józef Grzelak stated of the voivode "He had his sympathies and aversions." And sometimes "He was abrupt".⁵⁸ According to Marian Kopij, Jan Lembas was choleric by nature. When he got nervous he easily lost control over himself, screamed and called out. His outbursts of anger were felt mainly by clerks in the departments of the WRN Presidium and later in the Voivodship Office.⁵⁹ Jan Lembas had a habit of organising 'raids' on the canteen in the basement of the main office, where the clerks regularly drank coffee, and in sharp words would chase them back to their offices. The effect of these activities was that the "social life" of the office moved to... women's toilets, where the voivode could not enter. The clerks hid kettles, coffee and glasses in the toilets. According to Marian Kopij: "There's no clerk around the world who wouldn't start work by drinking coffee and exchanging gossip with her friends."⁶⁰ Prof. Janina Stankiewicz – a contemporary valued specialist in the field of management worked as a clerk in the Presidium of the WRN in Zielona Góra from 1967 to 1970.⁶¹ In her opinion, Jan Lembas was indeed the fear of the office employees. He easily fell into anger and was then absolutely unpredictable. The anecdotes about "angry Lembas", who challenged the clerks in a "non-parliamentary" way, still function today in the local environment of Zielona Góra.

However, regardless of the difficult nature of Jan Lembas' character, the people who cooperated with him stressed his great effectiveness during the interviews. According to Marian Kopij Jan Lembas' substantive preparation for his function was quite weak. In many important matters he was almost a dilettante. However, his high inborn intelligence and organisational skills partly compensated for his lack of substantive knowledge. Of great importance was the fact

⁵⁸ Interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

⁵⁹ Interview with Marian Kopij, conducted on 15 December 2016, held by the author.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ Interview with Prof. Janina Stankiewicz, conducted on 7 September 2017, held by the author.

that he had a long seniority in administration in various positions. He knew the functioning of the state administration “from the inside out”, and he was able to use his knowledge effectively.

The years 1950–1956 were a time of great “stagnation” in the Zielona Góra Province. No major investments were made in the province. The years 1957–1980 were a period of quite dynamic development of Zielona Góra and the whole province⁶² and the region was developing economically, cultural life revived and universities were established. The reasons for the development of Zielona Góra in the years 1956–1980 varied. In the years 1950–1955, during the implementation of the so-called “six-year plan”, the communist authorities neglected the western and northern lands in economic terms.⁶³ In the years 1957–1980 many investments took place in the western and northern lands. The development of Zielona Góra Province was therefore an element of a wider process.

Nevertheless, according to Hieronim Szczegóła, Józef Grzelak and Marian Kopij, Jan Lembas’s contribution to the development of Zielona Góra Province in the years 1957–1980 is hard to overestimate. The voivodeship authorities were convinced that Jan Lembas was ‘their’ man to solve any problems directly in Warsaw. The effectiveness of his actions was very pronounced. Before taking up a case, Jan Lembas first analysed the problem well with people he considered to be experts in the field and then the actual trip to the capital took place hence he was often accompanied by Marian Kopij, as an expert in economic matters on his business trips to Warsaw. According to Marian Kopij, after arriving, when in Warsaw, Jan Lembas underwent a complete metamorphosis where he transformed from a local dignitary into a humble requester, the rudeness towards people disappeared and he became a nice, extremely pleasant old man: “He had a huge number of friends in many institutions, sometimes they were managers and sometimes lower-level officials, who could do a lot. He attached great importance to good contacts with secretaries and he knew perfectly well who to turn to for a case he wanted to deal with obviously having an excellent contact with his interlocutor. He usually started his conversation with questions about the family, having a perfect memory he was always well aware of the problems of his

⁶² Hieronim Szczegóła, *Zielona Góra. Rozwój miasta w Polsce Ludowej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1984), 92–224; Zaradny, *Władza*, 322–458.

⁶³ Robert Skobelski, *Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne Polski w okresie realizacji planu sześciolatniego 1950–1955* (Zielona Góra: Redakcja Wydawnictw Humanistyczno-Społecznych Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2002), 180.

interlocutors' family life and he did not regret small gifts. Visits to Warsaw were often exhausting marked by long kilometres of walking along the corridors of various institutions and sometimes his legs hurt from walking, but Lembas never showed any tiredness. On the way back, in the car, he would tell us what things he managed to. He showed clear happiness sometimes. He was a completely different man from the one I knew in Zielona Góra".⁶⁴ To this day the belief that Jan Lembas was able to do everything he wanted to in Warsaw has been preserved in the local community of Zielona Góra. There is certainly a lot of exaggeration in this opinion. Nevertheless, in the light of the quoted relation of Marian Kopij, one can indeed describe Jan Lembas as an efficient "lobbyist".

Among Jan Lembas' numerous Warsaw friends, the most important figure was undoubtedly Piotr Jaroszewicz (1909–1992).⁶⁵ In the years 1952–1970, he was Deputy Prime Minister, and in the years 1970–1980, the Prime Minister. Because of his intervention the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Mieczysław Hebda, did not obtain the consent of the PZPR Central Committee to change the Chairman of the WRN Presidium in 1971. Piotr Jaroszewicz intervened personally with Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.⁶⁶ According to Józef Grzelak, Jan Lembas was also helped by the fact that the Zielona Góra County was considered very peripheral in Warsaw and did not arouse much interest. Jan Lembas did not bother anyone in the capital.

Privately, Piotr Jaroszewicz was an avid hunter and this factor was used by Jan Lembas to make a closer acquaintance with him. For the needs of the Deputy Prime Minister and later the Prime Minister, a numerous series of hunts were organized in the Zielona Góra's forests, and Piotr Jaroszewicz was always very happy to respond positively to such invitations. For Jan Lembas it was an excellent opportunity to talk to the Prime Minister of the government on topics that interested him. Paradoxically, Jan Lembas did not like hunting at all.⁶⁷ He carried a shotgun on his shoulder when he accompanied the Prime Minister during the hunt, but probably did not fire it once.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author; interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author; interview with Marian Kopij, conducted on 15 December 2016, held by the author.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ Interview with Prof. Hieronim Szczegóła, conducted on 24 November 2016, held by the author.

What Jan Lembas considered as the most important of his achievements was his major plan – the opening of the Combined Heat and Power Plant in Zielona Góra.⁶⁸ In the autumn and winter period, heating in Zielona Góra was provided by numerous small heat plants. Tractors with trailers filled with coal were constantly circulating along the city streets. Above all, however, coal dust floating from the chimneys of the heating plant polluted the air. In winter the atmosphere in Zielona Góra often resembled industrial cities in Silesia. It was necessary to build a large central heat source in Zielona Góra. Unfortunately, the regulations of the communist Poland allowed such investments to be made only in large industrial centres, and Zielona Góra was not one of them.

In 1964, however, the WRN Bureau made efforts to build a CHP plant in Zielona Góra. The project caused strong resistance from the central authorities, especially from the Ministry of Mining and Energy. A specific battle for the central heat source in Zielona Góra was extensively presented by Robert Skobelski and Ireneusz Wojewódzki in their monograph on the history of the Zielona Góra CHP Plant⁶⁹. In their opinion, Jan Lembas and the then Deputy Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz were very strongly involved in this project⁷⁰. The Deputy Prime Minister officially explained his involvement in this matter by the fact that he was a member of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic from Zielona Góra Province. However, even the support of the Deputy Prime Minister was initially unable to overcome the resistance of the central authorities to this investment. The situation changed in 1970, when Piotr Jaroszewicz's political position increased significantly. He became Prime Minister of the government. The resistance of the central authorities to the construction of the Combined Heat and Power Plant in Zielona Góra began to disappear. On May 28, 1971, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland passed Resolution No. 106 qualifying the Zielona Góra Heat and Power Plant as one of the most important newly commenced investments in 1971⁷¹. The commissioning of the CHP plant took place in 1974. A monograph by Robert Skobelski and Ireneusz Wojewódzki indirectly confirms the opinions of Hieronim Szczegółka, Józef Grzelak and Marian Kopij on the

⁶⁸ Interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

⁶⁹ Robert Skobelski, Ireneusz Wojewódzki, *Z prądem i pod prąd. Historia zielonogórskiej Elektrociepłowni* (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2011).

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 18.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 36.

effectiveness of Jan Lembas' "lobbying" activities in the central authorities in Warsaw and on his relationship with Piotr Jaroszewicz.

According to Józef Grzelak's account, the finalisation of the consent for the construction of the Combined Heat and Power Plant did not go without some complications. When the matter was almost settled, an unpleasant episode occurred during the hunt with the Prime Minister's participation: "Piotr Jaroszewicz shot the boar that was chased especially for him by everyone who participated, but he missed. The boar escaped. The Prime Minister turned the matter into a joke, but it was clear that he was dissatisfied. When the Prime Minister went back to Warsaw Lembas ordered the foresters to shoot some similar boar and 'preserve it. Then he ordered me to take the head of this boar to Warsaw and personally give it to Jaroszewicz. I was supposed to tell the Prime Minister that he actually did not miss and the injured boar ran a certain distance, before it fell down and was found by forest workers. I went very reluctantly. I had more important things to do than delivering hunting trophies, and most of all I was afraid that I would look like a fool. I didn't believe that the Prime Minister could buy such a naive fairy tale. To my surprise, Piotr Jaroszewicz believed in everything. He was happy like a child with his trophy."⁷² Soon afterwards, the Council of Ministers adopted the aforementioned resolution no. 106.

Summary

Jan Lembas died on 6 May 2000 in Zielona Góra. His memory lasts in the local environment of Zielona Góra. The house in the city centre where he had an apartment is called "lembasówka" by the Zielona Góra inhabitants. In the memory of the inhabitants of Zielona Góra, Jan Lembas remained primarily an anecdotal figure ("the screaming voivode"). Nevertheless, he is also mentioned as an operative host of the province, who was able to "do everything" in Warsaw. In the reality of an extremely centralised state such as the People's Republic of Poland, this ability was very important. It is hard to resist the reflection that Jan Lembas resembled former Galician officials. However, a servant who was often unpleasant to the environment and absolutely loyal to the central authorities, tried in his own way to take care of the province. He was an ambiguous figure.

⁷² Interview with Józef Grzelak, conducted on 8 December 2016, held by the author.

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ABSTRACT

The article shows the complex figure of Jan Lembas (1914–2000). A family member of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), a member of the Home Army (AK), who came out of the family traditionally associated with the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) during the occupation, turned into an ardent communist after the war. He became a member of the party's “nomenclature” and quickly made a career. As the head of state administration in Zielona Góra Province, in the years 1956–1980 he proved to be a good host. To a large extent thanks to his efforts, the previously neglected voivodeship developed. However, Jan Lembas was a widely disliked figure in the local community due to his difficult, despotic character and reluctant attitude towards the Catholic Church.

**JAN LEMBAS (1914–2000). PRZEWODNICZĄCY PREZYDIUM
WOJEWÓDZKIEJ RADY NARODOWEJ W ZIELONEJ GÓRZE (1956–1973)
I WOJEWODA ZIELONOGÓRSKI (1973–1980)**

ABSTRAKT

W artykule ukazano złożoną postać Jana Lembasa (1914–2000). Wywodzący się z rodziny związanej tradycyjnie z PPS, w okresie okupacji członek AK, po wojnie przeobraził się w żarliwego komunistę. Wszedł w skład partyjnej „nomenklatury” i szybko robił karierę. Jako zwierzchnik administracji państwowej w województwie zielonogórskim, w latach 1956–1980 okazał się niezłym gospodarzem. W dużej mierze dzięki jego staraniom zaniedbane wcześniej województwo rozwijało się. Jan Lembas był jednak postacią powszechnie nielubianą w lokalnym środowisku z racji swojego trudnego, despotycznego charakteru oraz niechętniej postawie wobec Kościoła katolickiego.

**P R Z E G L Ą D Z A C H O D N I O P O M O R S K I
R O C Z N I K X X X V (L X I V) R O K 2 0 2 0 Z E S Z Y T 4**

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**JAN BUK AND THE WESTERN AND
NORTHERN POLISH LANDS. CONTRIBUTION
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SORBIAN-POLISH CONTACTS**

Keywords: Jan Buk, Painting, Sorbs, Poland, Germany

Słowa kluczowe: Jan Buk, Malarstwo, Serbołużycanie, Polska, Niemcy

Introduction

The representatives of the Polish sorabistic take up research and scientific issues from political, sociological, linguistic and historical perspectives. These are activities that are located in broader contexts of the research being carried out. Over the last several decades, there has been a visible continuity of undertaking the sorabistic issues by researchers from Poznań, Cracow, Wrocław, Szczecin, Zielona Góra or Warsaw. Thanks to this, the knowledge about the contemporary condition of the Sorbian nation is updated and expanded, and the Polish-German borderland is a meeting place for representatives of both nations and a beneficiary of these relations. Open lectures, exhibitions, meetings with writers enable direct contact with the Sorbian culture. The cultural policy implemented in this field allows for a better understanding and understanding of the historical fate of the Sorbian nation over the centuries.

The fate of Jan Buk is a natural part of the little-known and popularised Sorbian-Polish relations in the second half of the 20th century. As an artist and Sorbian, he was noticed and appreciated by Polish cultural institutions on the

Polish-German border. The correlation between the pro-polish attitudes and actions of the painter was a derivative of his post-war years in Poland. The author of the article concentrates on two research aspects: the position of the Polish authorities towards the Sorbs after 1945 and the exemplification of the far-reaching effects of these actions on the representatives of the Sorbian nation, and Jan Buk in particular. The article presents the process of building Sorbian-Polish relations and against this background a description of an individual's fate in the process of socio-political transformation is placed. So far, no monograph presenting the contemporary achievements of Sorbian artists has been published in Poland.

Sorbs in the modern history of Europe

In the Federal Republic of Germany (Germany), the Sorben is located in the two federal states of Brandenburg (Lower Lusatia) and Saxony (Upper Lusatia). They are an indigenous national minority with Slavic roots and an estimated 60,000 people. Over the centuries, the Upper Lusatia area has been part of various state organisms: Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Germany. The territorial regulations of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 led to a breakdown in the cohesion of the Sorbian settlement. From then on, the Saxon and Prussian governments pursued a dual policy of tolerance and assimilation towards the Sorbian people, which led in 1912 to the creation of the national organisation Domowina (Home-land) to coordinate the work of the Sorbian associations in Upper and Lower Lusatia. The First World War revitalised the Sorbian national movement, emphasising the demand for political equality of minorities. After 1937, the situation of the Sorbs changed drastically, all institutions and minority organizations were banned. The hostility of the Nazi system towards German citizens of Sorbian nationality was reflected in the persecution and repression they experienced as representatives of the Slavic nation.

After the Soviet troops entered Lusatia, the Sorbs took a number of administrative and political measures to obtain political sovereignty with the support of the Soviet bloc countries, or to obtain territorial and political autonomy to meet their national needs. Initially, the Soviet side was quite sympathetic to these demands, but with the tightening of relations around the problem of the political shape of post-war Germany they were rejected. Józef Stalin decided that with the formation of the communist government and the reforms of the nationalisation of land and factories, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) would become

the patron of minorities. Slavic states involved in Sorbian affairs, such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, were forced to stop working for the Sorbian minority. It was not possible for the Sorbian people to submit the issue of independent political existence to the United Nations (UN), with the demand to obtain neutral status. It was blocked by the Soviet Union.

In the 20th century, this was the second attempt to exclude the Lusatian and Sorbian areas from the German state administration. The first one took place after the end of World War I. At the Paris Conference, the Czechoslovakian delegation took up the issue and the Sorbs presented their own arguments based on the right to self-determination of nations. The Entente States did not approve of such territorial and political solutions. The European movement that was initiated at that time in support of the Sorbian demands gave rise to the consolidation of the sorabistic and scientific circles. Thanks to it, also after 1945, Europe took an interest in the post-war fate of the Sorbs and demanded the creation of appropriate conditions for the preservation of national identity. Until the establishment of the GDR, Sorbs had the opportunity to study in the neighboring countries within the framework of the activities postulated by local Slavic committee agendas. Slavic solidarity had real dimensions. After 1949, the political narrative changed, and it was recognised that the Sorbian actions were destructive to the unity of the bloc of states of popular democracy, and were contrary to the political interest of the GDR. From the perspective of evaluating the post-war fate of the Sorbs, they treat the years 1945–1989 as a time of support and adjustment. In March 1948, the Saxony Law on the Protection of the Rights of the Serbian Population was adopted. It laid the foundations for the institutionalization of the cultural and scientific life of minorities as fully-fledged citizens of the state. In return, the Sorbs became part of the political system, constructed by the Socialist Party for German Unity (SED). The party's political and ideological monopoly led to the rejection of national values by the post-war Domowina in favour of building socialist Lusatia. The development of the country's energy sector at the expense of the liquidation of Sorbian villages contributed to irreversible cultural and ecological losses in the Lusatian region.

Polish-Sorbian relations in the context of border change

The western lands became part of the territory of the Polish state after World War II.¹ The shifting of the state borders to the west gave an impulse to renew the Polish-Sorbian-Serbian contacts after the establishment of new Polish state borders. The period of 1945–1950 was exceptional in this matter. The question of the independent political existence of Lusatia and the Sorbs was not only articulated but also addressed by the political authorities and Polish public opinion of the time. So far, Lusatia and the Sorbs have mainly enjoyed the interest of Polish literary and scientific circles. These relations had a special, individualised dimension built up on the level of scientific contacts. A characteristic formula of Polish activities was an emotional narrative of the historical fate of the Sorbs. In the interwar period, there was a consolidation of cooperation between Poles and Sorbs as a minority against the assimilation activities of the German state.² The experiences of 1937–1945 confirmed and consolidated them.³

The change in geopolitical conditions after 1945 made Lusatia part of the narrative of the policy of retaliation against Germany and a buffer protecting the Polish border in the west. At that time, territorial illusions were created, and Lusatia's incorporation into Poland was promoted until 1949. These were promoted until 1949, when the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was founded. After 1949, the Polish political elite ceased to be interested in Lusatia on a political level and the subject matter was silenced. It was much more difficult for the authorities to bring about the elimination of authentic and lasting social ties developed within the grassroots social movement, the pro-Lusatian movement. Scientific centres in Poznań, Cracow, Wrocław, and Warsaw became agencies supporting these activities.

¹ During the Second World War, the activities of the Polish resistance movement were engaged by Sorbs – Yuri Ješki, Wojciech Kóčka. The magazine “Sprawy Łużyckie”, edited by Bohdan Gębarski, was distributed in the Polish underground. The Government Delegation for Poland assumed that Lusatia would be included in the discussion on the shape of the Polish state borders.

² The Association of National Minorities in Germany and its press body “Kulturwehr” supported the rights of national minorities, including Poles, living in Germany. Sorbian Jan Skala was then the editor of the magazine.

³ After the banning of national organizations, they fled to Poland to study and study until the outbreak of war. In turn, during the war, many Polish prisoners of war and forced laborers experienced support from the Sorbs, despite the threatening penalties for carrying it.

Pro-Lusatian movement in Poland after 1945

The intensification of pro-Slavic propaganda was connected with two issues: the German problem and the legitimacy of new political structures on the Polish ground.⁴ The view promoted by the political propaganda that the defeated Germany would be forced to accept any change of border generated suggestions for further territorial⁵ claims. In this context, the idea of excluding Lusatia from the territory of Germany, a zone occupied by Soviet troops, seemed justified and realistic. It was treated as a symbol of historical justice, a bill for the historical wrongs not only of the Second World War, but of the entire Elbe region in the past. The case of free Lusatia and “saving the Sorbs” became an example and an illustration of the revival of Slavic solidarity.⁶ Then the Polish Workers’ Party (PPR) promoted the Slavic alliance in the form of an alliance of Slavic states. The main aim of the agreements was to create an effective anti-German and anti-war dam where the dominant argument was a widespread conviction of the continuity of centuries-old German aggression. In 1945, after the end of the war, this stance was perpetuated through the PPR by promoting anti-German attitudes: “The whole society is overwhelmed by hatred for the Germans, everywhere the Poles’ thought is uniform: the German is our enemy, we must defend ourselves together and fight the enemy together.”⁷ The Slavic Sorbs confirmed with their presence the credibility of the claims of the Poles to the newly acquired lands in the west and the north in accordance with the slogan: “We were, we are, we will”.⁸

The second half of the 1940s saw a significant intensification of Polish-Serbian relations. The political and social changes in Lusatia activated the Sorbs to fight for national rights, which found support and understanding on the Polish side. The search for their political place in the post-war world, the revitalization of the slogans of Slavic unity, the closeness of languages, the hope for a better future,

⁴ Mieczysław Tomala, *Patrząc na Niemcy. Od wrogości do porozumienia 1945–1991* (Warszawa: Polska Fundacja Spraw Międzynarodowych, 1997), 22–23.

⁵ Tadeusz Marczak, *Granica zachodnia w polskiej polityce zagranicznej w latach 1944–1959* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1995), 170–197.

⁶ About those changes, see Mirosław Cygański, Rafał Leszczyński, *Zarys dziejów narodowych Łużyczanowych, vol. II lata 1919–1997* (Opole: Instytut Śląski, 1997), 73–106; Tadeusz Marczak, *Granica Zachodnia w polskiej polityki zagranicznej w latach 1944–1950* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1995), 170–197.

⁷ Quoted from Włodzimierz Borodziej, *Od Poczdamu do Szklarskiej Poręby. Polska w stosunkach międzynarodowych 1945–1947* (Londyn: Aneks, 1990), 262.

⁸ Tomala, *Patrząc*, 42.

and the recovery of war times brought Poles and Sorbs together. These actions were overlapped by an action related to securing the Polish state of border possession in confrontation with Czechoslovakia, which actively joined the process of promoting the interests of the Sorbian nation on the international arena⁹.

The Polish side's involvement in Sorbian affairs was confirmed by the creation of a number of organizational entities and information facilities in the form of publications about Sorbs. Spiritus movens creating the image of Sorbs in Poland became at that time: Academic Association of the Friends of Lusatia "Prołuż" in Poznań (among others, A.S. Matyniak),¹⁰ the Lusatian Paper of the Polish Western Association (T. Powidzki, A. Nawka), Society of the Friends of Lusatia (Prof. W. Taszycki, Prof. H. Batowski, Prof. T. Grabowski, Prof. T. Lehr Splawiński),¹¹ Association of Sorbs Students "Lusatia" in Wrocław.¹² "Lusatia" was recognized in May 1948 by the authorities of the University of Wrocław and Wrocław University of Technology. In June 1948, the Sorbs received a house on Stanisławski Street as their own dormitory, they also received state and private scholarships funded by "Prołuż". Of the eighteen founding members of the association, eight more Sorbs were still studying in Poland in 1950, and only two in 1953.

Polish pro-Lusatian organizations and associations were particularly active in the first years after the war. The instrumental treatment of Sorbian affairs was reflected in the foreign policy of the Polish state, their aim being to include the Sorbian area in Poland. The GDR uprising reversed Poland's aspirations in this

⁹ See Timo Meškank, *Kultur besteht- Reich vergeht. Tschechen und Sorben (Wenden) 1914–1945* (Berlin: Mensch&Buch Verlag, 2000).

¹⁰ "Prołuż" had field branches in Warsaw, Krotoszyn, Jarocin, Szczecin and Wrocław, among others.

¹¹ See, among other things: Stanisław Marciniak, „Z dziejów łużyckiego ruchu narodowego w latach 1945–1947”, *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 6 (1993); Małgorzata Mieczkowska, „Łużyce a polska opinia publiczna w latach 1945–1949”, *Létopis* 1 (1993); Małgorzata Mieczkowska, Janusz Mieczkowski, „Problematyka łużycka w pracach Polskiego Związku Zachodniego i Akademickiego Związku Przyjaciół Łużyc „Prołuż” (1945–1950)”, *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 4 (1992); Krzysztof Mazurski, „Łużyce w polskiej opinii lat czterdziestych”, in: *Łużyce w nowożytnych i najnowszych dziejach Europy Środkowej*, ed. Tomasz Jaworski, Mieczysław Ostrowski (Zielona Góra: Verbum, 1995); Piotr Pałys, „Kwestia serbołużycka w prasie Polskiego Związku Zachodniego w latach 1945–1947”, *Létopis* 1 (1996); Piotr Pałys, „Pierwszy ogólnopolski zjazd łużycoznawczy w Poznaniu 5–6 października 1946 r.”, *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 17 (1996); Jakub Brodacki, „Prołuż” – *Akademicki Związek Przyjaciół Łużyc: historia wewnętrzna organizacji (1945–1949)* (Warszawa: Polska Grupa Marketingowa, 2006).

¹² Krzysztof Radosław Mazurski, „Łużycanie po II wojnie światowej we Wrocławiu i Polsce”, in: *Łużyce. Bogactwo kultur pogranicza. Materiały z Ogólnopolskiego Sejmiku Krajoznawczego*, ed. Jerzy Tomasz Nowiński (Żary: PTTK. Oddział Powiatu Żarskiego, 2000), 25–29.

regard, Lusatia became part of eastern socialist Germany. This political solution automatically disavowed the existence of pro-Lusatian organisations and influenced the negative position of the Polish authorities towards them. Gradually, but consistently, their liquidation was ordered.¹³ The political separation was made from the ideas of independent, free Lusatia, in return for which cooperation on a scientific and cultural level within the states of popular democracy was proposed.

An interpretation was formulated that the Sorbian state is the exclusive patron of the East German Sorbs. Whilst at the same time, the state administration of the GDR did not agree to the continued presence of the Sorbs in Poland. 'Domowina' who sent them to Poland to study did not extend their departure cards where they were ordered to study in the country, if they were studying humanities or philology. As the last Sorbes, Jan Korjeńk and Yuri Cuška graduated in 1953.

Education of Sorbs in Poland

The western lands have become centres and facilities for building Sorbian-Polish relations. Wrocław, Opole, Zielona Góra, Szczecin have actively joined the mainstream of activities aimed at bringing the two nations together. A special role was played by the proximity of the Lusatian territory to Wrocław. The involvement of state structures in creating a good atmosphere for the Sorbs was evident. In June 1946, the Government Plenipotentiary for the Administrative District of Lower Silesia issued a circular to treat the Sorbs living in the area as indigenous peoples and to protect them. The next stage was to establish a boarding school in Zgorzelec. This educational institution, thanks to the initiative of the Slavic Committee, with the support of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Regained Territories (MZO), was supported by financial subsidies, which allowed for the training of 50 people. Unexpectedly, the problem of crossing the border appeared, the Soviet authorities applied a policy of obstruction, and formal requirements were increased. The opening of the gymnasium in Budziszyn in 1947 closed this topic. In view of the complex political and economic situation of the Sorbs after the liberation, Domowina activists decided that academic education

¹³ In December 1948, the Ministry of Education forbade the establishment of "Prołuż" circles on the premises of secondary schools, and in 1949 it did not agree to the registration of the "Prołuże" Society of Friends of Lusatia. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied the legitimacy of continuing the pro-Lusatian action in Poland, which was considered undesirable, secessionist in relation to the democratic changes implemented in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany.

abroad was a desirable solution. Apart from Wrocław, Poznań and Kraków were actively involved in this task. In 1947, the Ministry of Education issued a regulation on this issue and preferential treatment of Wrocław was conditioned by two reasons, the proximity of the Lusatian territory and the versatility of secondary and higher education opportunities. These advantages made it possible to consolidate the Sorbian learning environment in Wrocław.

Jan Buk's contribution to the development of Sorbian-Polish contacts in the Western and Northern Territories

The Wrocław stage of shaping the Sorbian-Polish references and relations has contributed to the creation of a background for the Polonophilic attitudes of the Sorbs. In a number of Sorbian institutions and scientific institutions they created a positive image of Poles and Poland, regardless of official GDR propaganda.¹⁴ This group includes Jan Buk as one of the most prominent contemporary Sorbian visual artists. His work has been appreciated in Poland thanks to exhibitions organized in Szczecin, Opole, Brzeg, Jelenia Góra. Jan Buk began his artistic development in post-war Wrocław, in the Regained Territories. He was a frequent guest in post-war Poland and received Poles in his home and he eagerly remembered his time in Poland, during interviews for the Sorbian cultural monthly *Rozhled*. As a well-known artist in the seventies of the twentieth century, he participated in organized open-air workshops, exhibiting his works in Western Pomerania in the National Museum in Szczecin.¹⁵ Thanks to the cooperation of the Museums from Szczecin¹⁶ and Budziszyn, Jan Buk's paintings were presented in Szczecin in 2003.¹⁷ This event was recorded by Jan Buk in an interview: "I am glad that my

¹⁴ This trend was reflected in the Sorbian side's statements and actions also after 1990, when Polish-Sorbian contacts intensified. For example, Bożena Nawka-Kunysz (b. 1946), who received her artistic education at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. After graduation she lived in Katowice and created works for Sorbian institutions. Having a family home in Budziszyn, she often stayed in Lusatia. Her father Anton Nawka, who before and after the war studied in Poland, translated Polish literature into the Upper Sorbian language many times. He also was a declared Polonophile.

¹⁵ From this period there is a painting by Jan Buk in the collection of the National Museum in Szczecin entitled "The Shipyard", oil 65x54 cm, the author's donation to the museum.

¹⁶ The patron of these contacts was the long-standing director of the museum, Professor Władysław Filipowiak.

¹⁷ The last exhibition of Jan Buk's works in Szczecin took place in 2003 and was part of the Polish-Sorbian Days scientific contacts carried out at the University of Szczecin within the framework of the conference "Politics and minorities in the borderlands at the turn of the 20th and 21st century". The exhibition was curated by Marta Poszumska.

works can be seen in Szczecin... This is my second visit to this city. I was here for the first time outdoors in 1970.”¹⁸ Earlier, in 1996, during the Polish-Sorbian Days in Szczecin, his posters on ecological issues were presented. Klaus Hammer¹⁹ was a reviewer of the extensive artistic output presented in 2003 at the exhibition. The artist’s biography confirms how important the years of his stay in post-war Poland were for him and how Polish-Sorbian contacts were developing at that time.

“Every painting is a new beginning” was referred to by the director of the Sorbian Museum in Budziszyn Christina Boguszowa from Budziszyn in her article in *Rozhľad* about the most outstanding contemporary Sorbian painter.²⁰ Jan Buk was born on 2 August 1922 in Njebelčice,²¹ a small village in Upper Lusatia. He returned to his small family home in 1996 to continue his creative work there. For nearly forty years he lived with his family Budziszyn, the centre of Sorbian national and cultural life. As a child, he showed artistic interests and while observing the stages of renovation of the interior of the church where he lived decided to become a painter. Between 1937 and 1940, he was trained as a decorative²² painter, during World War II, like many representatives of his generation, he was called up for military service and sent to Friesland, where he served as a sailor in Flensburg.²³ After the end of the war, he returned home, remaining faithful to his passion for painting. An episode from 1947 turned out to be important from the perspective of the formation of his life and professional path. It was then that Jan Buk painted a painting for Jurij Handrik the parish priest from his village on the occasion of his 50th anniversary. The president of Domowina²⁴ Pavol Nedo and Dr. Jan Cyž, the district governor, who were present at the celebration of the jubilee, decided that since the Sorbs need educated artists, they should undertake

¹⁸ mhb, *Exhibition of paintings by Jan Buk*, accessed 3.02.2020, <http://www1.gazeta.pl/szczecin/1.34938.1684770.html>.

¹⁹ The text of the article has been accompanied by a fragment of the laudation of the artist’s output presented during the exhibition opening.

²⁰ A quote from Christina Boguszowa, „Kóždy wobraz je nowy započatk”, *Rozhľad. Serbski kulturny časopis* 6 (2019): 31–34.

²¹ Jan Hansky (b. 1925), the author of posters and paintings of post-war political commitment, also comes from the same village.

²² Alfred Krawc-Džěwinski, „Jan Buk”, in: *Kolo serbskich twarjacych wumělcow* (Budyšin: Nowa doba, b.d.).

²³ Besides, the first contacts with the Sorbs in Flensburg were made by the later Szczecin-based sorabophile Aleksander Walczak.

²⁴ An organization bringing together and representing the Sorbs, founded in 1912.

artistic studies. Initially, Jan Buk worked as a volunteer in the graphic design department of Domowina's Secretariat. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Jan Cyž, he was sent to Poland to develop his skills there. In Poland, in Wrocław, he first studied at the High School of Fine Arts under Prof. S. Kopystyński,²⁵ and after graduation he took up studies at the academy. Already then, he belonged to the group of promising students. His mentors at that time were Prof. E. Krcha and Prof. H. Krzetuska-Geppertowa.²⁶ The time of his studies in Poland had a great influence on his artistic path and life decisions.²⁷ Polish and European painters of the modern era became the inspiration for their own artistic experiments, hence Jan Cybis was particularly artistically close to him, which is visible in his works. While living in a boarding school in Wrocław, he not only found Polish friends and mastered the Polish language very well, but also realized how important mother tongue was for him. Years later, he assessed Wrocław's quality of education as very high, having already been on a scale comparable to the education in Dresden. He appreciated the fact that the Dresden period was a time of learning a reliable craft, however, he lost his friendly contacts with the student environment in Dresden during his studies in Poland. His stay in Wrocław was interrupted in 1950 because the GDR authorities did not grant him permission to continue his studies outside the East German state. An administrative order to return to the GDR was sent to all Sorbian students studying in their Slavic brother countries. Nevertheless, Jan Buk hoped that he would still be able to study in Kraków.²⁸ However, not having obtained permission to continue his studies in Poland, he took up studies in Dresden out of necessity. Jan Buk completed his studies in 1953 with a diploma under the supervision of Professors R. Bergander and F. Dähn.

Being an independent artist, Jan Buk as an artist rejected themes located in political and social contexts, focusing on the colours of his works and not on their main themes because he did not want to participate in promoting the ideological content of the socialist system. His years in Poland gave him a sense of openness

²⁵ He was the founder of the State High School of Visual Arts in Wrocław and co-founder of the State Higher School of Visual Arts.

²⁶ Maria Mirtschin, *Jan Buck. Malerei* (Pulsnitz: Herausgeber Ernst-Rietschel-Kulturring e.V., 2002), 73.

²⁷ „Za mnie je wuměłstwo nutřkowne duchowne rozestajenje z realitu. Interview z Janom Bukom”, Jěwa-Marja Čornakec, *Rozhlad. Serbski kulturny časopis* 6 (2002): 218.

²⁸ Ibidem.

to the world and the need to get to know it,²⁹ the dominant feature was the expression and realization of artistic freedom. The growing propaganda of the GDR promoting socialist values in the political and social space and the provincial treatment and understanding of the role of painting by political decision makers pushed him towards abstraction and nature. In one of the interviews, the painter addressed this issue in the following way: “Creativity is to be free. As a creator, you have to change yourself to be able to change your paintings. This is a goal that you will never achieve. Every painting is a new beginning.”³⁰ In the circle of GDR artists Jan Buk was noticed in 1967, at the sixth GDR artists’ exhibition in Dresden and was elected to the board of directors of the artists’ association in Dresden. At that time, he was also chairman of the association of Bucharest artists. In 1974 he was also included in the board of directors of the Sorbian artists’ circle. For many years he was a teacher of artistic subjects in schools in Bautzen, working with young people, he tried to present the world of art to them as a unique space for creating their own judgements. In the 1970s and 1980s he travelled a lot staying in Central Asia, the Dolomites, South Tyrol, the Balkans and Western Europe which was reflected in the colouring of his works and the creative transformation of the landscapes he learned³¹. After the reunification of Germany in 1990, as a recognised artist, he exhibited his paintings in many galleries, a large part of which were either in private hands or bought by foundations. The same year an exhibition was also held in Paris, where an exhibition presenting the artistic output of Sorbian artists was organized, in which Jan Buk also participated.

As a creator, he was classified as a “national artist” and his work was placed in the category of “national creativity”. Jan Buk himself stressed that the essence of his perception of the world were his Sorbian roots.³² “The credo of my work is Lusatia, with all its nuances. Every motif of my paintings I paint is perceived by me as Sorbian.”³³ However, this did not mean alienation from artistic trends. Thanks to the correlation of two worlds, local and European, in which he

²⁹ Maria Mirtschin, „Jan Buck und die Moderne. Dem sorbischen Maler zum 90. Geburtstag”, *Lětopis 2* (2012), 4–5.

³⁰ The quote from Christina Boguszowa, „Kóždy wobraz je nowy započatk”, *Rozhlad. Serbski kulturny časopis 6* (2019): 31–34.

³¹ Marija Měrcinowa, „Nieznaže samospokojnosć myslenja. K wosomdžesaćinam Jana Buka”, *Rozhlad. Serbski kulturny časopis 7–8* (2002): 295–297.

³² Among the few paintings left at the painter’s house, there is a painting of a Sorbian girl in green impressionistic tone.

³³ Boguszowa, „Kóždy”, 33.

functioned as a man and an artist, he raised the rank and significance of Sorbian painting. In 1986, Jan Buk was awarded the Myto Čišinsky Prize in recognition of his contribution to artistic creation and in 1988 he received the Hans-Grundig Medal. In the following years he was awarded the Budziszyn Art Prize (1994) and the Upper Lusatia Art Prize (1995). The creative years in Jan Buk's painting were particularly marked in the late eighties and nineties where time of political change is not directly articulated in his works, but there is a visible metamorphosis of expression and reference to the complexity of social and national life in Lusatia. The dynamics of political and social change surprised the Sorbs as the distinctness of origin and historical experiences did not fit into the narrative of the unification process "We are one nation" hence, concerns about the future of the Sorbian people accompanied the artist. At that time, he and his wife moved to their home town of Njebejlčica, where he created a number of mature, outstanding works promoting the beauty of Lusatia. His artistic workshop was versatile, from ink and oils to tempera and watercolour. He gained particular recognition in and outside of Lusatia for his series of works, which touched upon the ecological and national discourse of the areas left by opencast mines, devastated in the Middle and Lower Lusatia. This was the artist's contribution to defending the natural beauty of Lusatia and at the same time a warning of what Lusatia could become in the future.³⁴ Jan Buk's works are in the collections of cultural institutions in Japan, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary, among others, as well as in the Sorbian museums in Budziszyn and Chociebuż³⁵ and private collections. His oeuvre is impressive, with more than 1000 paintings, made in various painting techniques. In 2007, in recognition of his merits, the city of Budziszyn granted him the title of honorary citizen, where for the first time in his history he was honoured as a Sorbian. With his work, Jan Buk not only enriched contemporary European painting, but also left a rich, priceless legacy for the Sorbian nation. The painter died on 1 April 2019 at the age of 96.

³⁴ Měřínowa, „Nieznaje”, 296.

³⁵ Titles of selected works by Jan Buk: *Uniwersitna cyrkej we Wrocławju*, 1949; *Burska snědaň*, 1954; *Koš z plodami*, 1967; *Zelene čišno ze sadowej šklu a blešu*, 1970; *Čołmy I*, 1970; *Samarkand*, 1973; *Jutrowna nóc*, 1973; *Krušwy*, 1976; *Wopyt*, 1978; *Skala*, 1979; *Rozžohnowanje*, 1981; *Jama*, 1982; *So kupace žony*, 1983; *Wotkryta jama I*, 1984; *Nócne camprowanje*, 1989; *Zničena krajina*, 1990; *Spreewald*, 1999.

Completion

The Sorbian nation functions as one of four minorities enumerated in Germany. Its representatives are determined and committed to highlight their origins, language and history, but also actively participate in creating the present and future. Many Sorbian artists emphasise the conditions which influenced the choices of their attitudes and behaviour. One of them is Slavic contexts, among which there are pro-Polish attitudes. Their existence was influenced by many factors, such as politics, science, education, religion, institutional cooperation of cultural institutions and individualised social relations.³⁶ The space for their realization is the borderland, which has become a platform for Polish-Sorbian cultural cooperation in modern times.³⁷ Jan Buk was not only their beneficiary but also their continuator.

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³⁶ Małgorzata Mieczkowska, *Polska wobec Łużyc w drugiej połowie XX wieku. Wybrane problemy* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2006).

³⁷ Piotr Pałys, „Obrazy Jana Buka na Opolszczyźnie”, *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 37/38 (2004): 190–191.

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the issues of the relations between the Sorbs and Poles after 1945, with particular emphasis on the figure of the outstanding painter Jan Buk. It presents the conditions for the creation of the pro-Sorbian movement in Poland and assesses its consequences for contemporary Sorbian-Polish relations.

**JAN BUK A ZIEMIE ZACHODNIE I PÓLNOCNE POLSKI. WKŁAD W ROZWÓJ
KONTAKTÓW SERBOŁUŻYCKO-POLSKICH**

ABSTRAKT

W artykule podjęto zagadnienia kształtowania się relacji Serbołużyczan i Polaków po 1945 r. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem postaci wybitnego malarza Jana Buka. Przedstawiono uwarunkowania powstania ruchu prołużyckiego w Polsce oraz dokonano oceny jego następstw dla współczesnych relacji serbołużycko-polskich.

Annex

Klaus Hammer

SPEECH ON THE OPENING OF THE JAN BUK EXHIBITION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN SZCZECIN (extracts)³⁸

Dear Janie Buck, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Jan Buk's paintings are unusual and disturbing, but at the same time disturbingly beautiful. I don't think anyone can resist their magical radiation. In a grey, discoloured and formless thing that seems to be understandable by itself and inspiring confidence, in a zone that overturns habits, Jan Buk allows us to create dimensions of imagination with mysterious energy, created to evoke in the viewer those unusual experiences brought out of the shallow zone of everyday visual habits. The Sorbian painter, who only a few years ago moved from Budziszyn – the Sorbian centre – to his family home in Nebelschütz near Kamenz, where Lessing was born, works on the verge of a growing and increasingly transient objectivity, whose remains suggest a metamorphosis and enchantment, a dream and longing.

³⁸ Extract from the opening speech of the exhibition on 22 September 2003.

Only the process of painting triggers associations that circulate between the initial and final matters of life. The layers of paint form – one could say – the ground under one's feet, from where the artist gains extraordinary perspectives bordering on the unimaginative. He has put a spot by a spot, a form by a form, a tissue jumping from one imagination to another from spring shining and transparent spots, such as peculiarly dark broken colours, texture fields interrupted by stenographic signs. Although the objectivity is obscured by the interplay of pink, carmine, azure, emerald and dark violet, and the forms almost sink in colour, they can still be deciphered. Layer by layer, plastered with the colours of the region's earth, the reds of the sienna and pink, ochre shades, yellows. This is a painting with a great variety of references, forms, colours and a special way of treating them.

Jan Buk finds his artistic and pictorial starting point in the landscape. It is the landscape of Lusatia, where he spent his whole life, but also the Central Asian landscape, the landscape of Bulgaria, the Dolomites, the southern landscape, which inspired him during his occasional short trips. Nature allows you to reach the maximum personal distance that is necessary to get closer to it. In this way, Cezanne's principle works in Bucharest, not to reproduce nature but to work in a natural way, just as nature does. His landscapes rise up to the horizon, their elements are dense, plane or in motion textures dissolving in colour surfaces. Focusing the individual elements and a free-wandering gaze sets the whole picture in constant motion, in constant transformation. Everything that is provincial, local, and wall-mounted is foreign to these works. The artist consciously opposes all the doctrines of the art of the past, but also any contemporary commercialization, the marketization of today.

It enters into magical and emotional contact with inconspicuous still life objects (fruits, dishes, bottles, fish), astonishes them with their nobly sparkling but also delicate colours, their structures and components, brings out to the surface both the "miracle of creation" as well as the tense object and its negative environment. They could be called in the spirit of Morandis and his magical images of things-metaphysical still life's. But the aspect of *memento mori* and *vanitas* doesn't make Buk's artistic admonitions. On the contrary, from the respectful and loving contemplation of these objects, he gains energy for creative activity.

In this way, his ink drawings were created, which in the 1970s freed him from the hitherto rawness of still life and from the static property of the image elements. In the phase of the first movements of the image, a delicate grid of

vibrations appears. Then the brushstrokes, spots, blobs like stenographic signs overwhelm the same Informal working method – the basic structure, without covering it. The tendency to forms is getting bigger and bigger, after a lack of orientation, there is a thickening, emphasizing, defining. The shape is separated from the texture – rhythm and space are created. The planes will join together, clamp together, at the same time, the brushstrokes penetrate into the yarns, they are explained, defined or interrupted. Everything remains visible, nothing is lost. A kind of an inverted fugue is gone. The topic appears only in the final phase of the drawing, in the state of density and joining of all planes. In the case of Jan Buk, the case meets the inexorable rules of painting. “The known result of unknown reasons, as defined by the Voltaire case, is always surprising. To see what comes and not to do what one already knows. To see what is possible in the world of painting. The objects that emerge here and there and disappear again like objects in his still life’s are often as if the painter had never seen them before, as if he had a vague idea of them. After all, he has to make them from scratch, i.e. make them into a pictorial form, because there is nothing in a painting that is not painting. The old master is sceptical about the art where there is a suspicion of the pictorial art, i.e. about the possibility of exact differentiation, recreation. The approach to the world of things avoids all indications of their actual existence and essence. Only such objects appear in the paintings by Jan Buk. (...)

**PRZEGLĄD ZACHODNIOPOMORSKI
ROCZNIK XXXV (LXIV) ROK 2020 ZESZYT 4**

A R T Y K U Ł Y

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**MARIAN JURCZYK IN THE SO-CALLED “TRIAL OF ELEVEN”
(1981–1984)**

Key words: democratic opposition, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union “Solidarity”, martial law, repression under martial law, political process, communist regime

Słowa kluczowe: opozycja demokratyczna, Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy „Solidarność”, stan wojenny, represje w stanie wojennym, proces polityczny, reżim komunistyczny

The introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981 is undoubtedly one of the most controversial events in the history of post-war Poland. Discussions are still ongoing to this day concerning the legitimacy of applying this institution provided for in the Constitution of the People’s Republic of Poland. As General Wojciech Jaruzelski stated in his speech declaring martial law: “History will evaluate our actions”.¹ Hence the need to assess certain elements of martial law, and among them the investigations and criminal trials against activists from the Solidarity Trade Union, among them the so-called “trial of eleven” in the years 1981–1984, were prominent. Marian Jurczyk was one of the accused activists of KSS KOR and the leaders of Solidarity. He was primarily a shipyard worker, and then the leader of the August 1980 strike in Szczecin, during the “Solidarity Carnival” one of Lech Wałęsa’s rivals for the position of union leader. Later, he was interned,

¹ Speech of 13 December 1981, in: Wojciech Jaruzelski, *Przemówienia 1981–1982* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1983), 213.

accused in the trial discussed below, after which his role in the trade union movement diminished. After the political changes in 1989, still being critical of the idea of “round table” debate he held a senatorial mandate in the years 1997–2000 and the function of Mayor of Szczecin in the years 1998–2000 and 2002–2006, after which he withdrew from political activity. He died on 30 December 2014, reaching the age of 79 years.

The aim of the text is to show one of the so-called critical moments in Marian Jurczyk’s life, which “[...] have changed a lot in his personal life by having sometimes stimulating or inhibitory effects on its particular spheres.”² In his work on Marian Jurczyk’s biography, the author advocates a method of contextual biography which, in this article, may show the broader problem of man’s position in relation to the communist regime, because the fate of Marian Jurczyk in the so-called eleventh trial was simply the fate of the oppositionist in the proceedings before the apparatus of the totalitarian regime.³ This text is based on several different sources like the documents of the Ministry of the Interior, above all the procedural documents, supported to a marginal extent by bibliographical items concerning Marian Jurczyk and the so-called “Process of Eleven”, which, unfortunately, are extremely limited in the subject matter.⁴ At the present stage of his research, the author has not collected witness accounts of the described events, concentrating, according to the title of the article, on the procedural documentation concerning Marian Jurczyk in the so-called Process Eleven.

Consideration of the above should begin with the introduction of martial law. An attempt to reconstruct this event goes beyond the framework of this text, however, the sequence of events relating to Marian Jurczyk, who was intended for

² Witold Wojdyło, Arkadiusz Fordoński, „Refleksje historiograficzne Profesora Romana Wapińskiego odnośnie Biografistyki w Polsce” *Dzieje Najnowsze* 3 (2016): 146.

³ Tadeusz Łepkowski, „Kilka uwag o historycznej biografistyce”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3 (1964): 715. Similarly in: Ryszard Kołodziejczyk, *Piotr Steinkeller kupiec i przemysłowiec 1799–1854* (Warszawa, 1963): “The author wants to understand the mechanism of operation of Polish conquering capitalism [...] through the prism of the experiences of one capitalist.”

⁴ This book should be mentioned here: Andrzej Friszke, *Sprawa Jedenastu. Uwięzienie przywódców NSZZ „Solidarność” i KSS „KOR” 1981–1984* (Kraków: Znak Horyzont, 2017). The work’s description focuses primarily on the members of KSS “KOR”, and to a lesser extent on the activists of “Solidarity”, including Marian Jurczyk, hence the item does not contain a number of important information about him or his ideological distinctiveness towards KOR, the description of the internment period or the epilogue of the trial in the form of a decision to change the legally binding decisions to discontinue the investigation, as well as many other issues.

internment called ("Jodła")⁵ – one of the special government actions, definitely requires a further analysis. Just before the imposition of martial law, a meeting of the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarność was held at the famous Gdańsk Shipyard, in which Marian Jurczyk eagerly took part. On the way back to Szczecin, during the night of December 12–13, 1981, near Stargard Szczeciński a car with the returning Jurczyk and Stanisław Kocjan and Ryszard Bogacz was stopped by the Civic Militia (MO – communist police), from where the activists of the Szczecin "Solidarity" movement were transported, through the MO headquarters in Stargard Szczeciński, to the arrest located at the Goleniów Prison.⁶

The next stage was the retreat centre in Wierzchów Pomorski, where Jurczyk was transferred, together with a group of other oppositionists on 12 January 1982.⁷ Earlier, on 14 December 1981, Marian Jurczyk made the following demands to the Provincial Commander of the MO: to determine the status of the interned in the light of international law, to meet with the prosecutor and to publish a full list of the interned with their actual place of residence.⁸ These demands were supplemented by further postulates.⁹ The internment period was the time of the SB's operational activities against Marian Jurczyk. Franciszek Skwierczyński, a member of the Regional Board, who was a secret collaborator of the Security Service, was in the cell with Jurczyk.¹⁰ His denunciations allowed the Security Service to

⁵ Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (hereinafter: IPN) Sz 0012 367/6, pp. 74–75, Decision No. 66/81 on the internment of Marian Jurczyk.

⁶ Krzysztof Jagielski, *Za burtą legendy* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Punkt, 1992), 166; Robert Spatek, „Pomorze Zachodnie”, in: *Stan wojenny w Polsce 1981–1983*, ed. Antoni Dudek (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2003), 597; IPN Sz 0012 367/6, p. 76, Order to detain and bring Marian Jurczyk; IPN Sz 0012 367/6, p. 78, Confirmation of picking up the interned Marian Jurczyk.

⁷ IPN Sz 0012 367/6, p. 77, Communication of January 12, 1982 regarding the admission of the interned Marian Jurczyk. More about Marian Jurczyk's stay in internment centers, in: Tadeusz Dziechciowski, *Dziennik z internowania: Goleniów – Wierzchowo Pomorskie – Strzebielinęk (1981–1982)* (Szczecin: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Oddział w Szczecinie, 2011); Marta Marcinkiewicz, *Ośrodki odosobnienia 1981–1982. Wierzchowo Pomorskie, Jaworze, Darłówek i Głębokie* (Gdańsk: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Oddział w Szczecinie 2016); Jan Mur, *Dziennik internowanego grudzień 1981-grudzień 1982* (Paryż: Instytut Literacki, 1985).

⁸ IPN Sz 0012 367/6, p. 79. Demands of the internees of December 14, 1981.

⁹ IPN Sz 0012 367/6, pp. 81–82. Letter from Marian Jurczyk to the Provincial Commandant of MO in Szczecin of December 24, 1981.

¹⁰ More on the activities of Franciszek Skwierczyński in: Przemysław Benken, Magdalena Dźwigał, Marcin Stefaniak. *Franciszka Skwierczyńskiego „Tajna kronika” szczecińskiej „Solidarności” w latach 1980–1982* (Szczecin: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Szczecinie, 2020).

obtain information about discussions and exchange views among the interned. TW „Kamil” informed, among others, on the radicalization of Jurczyk’s views.¹¹ He also provided information about his reflections on emigration, which later on could be very useful for the Security Service in the context of the planned inducement of the accused to leave the country. Skwierczyński devoted a lot of space in his reports to the mood of the interned. He informed on Jurczyk’s experience of the remarks made to him by Stanisław Kocjan regarding his sharp – “anti-Zionist” – statements.¹² These were certainly reflections of Marian Jurczyk’s meetings in Trzebiatów.¹³ Skwierczyński’s release from internment in February 1982 did not end his activities hostile to Solidarity, which he continued in the underground structures of the association.¹⁴

At that time, during the parliamentary speech on 25 January 1982, Gen. Jaruzelski stated that “Those who do not want to give up illegal activities will remain in isolation. They cannot count on a return to anti-state political activity.”¹⁵ The need to eliminate “anti-state” and “anti-socialist” elements from public life was motivated by concern for state security. As early as December 16, 1981 Professor Jerzy Bafia, the Minister of Justice, in a letter to General Jaruzelski noted that in order to maintain the rules of legalism, it was necessary to demonstrate the occurrence of forces hostile to the constitutional order of the socialist state, which were to induce the Council of State to introduce martial law. Prof. Bafia stated that the fact that the security of the state is threatened by a potential change of the political system needed to be seriously taken into consideration.¹⁶

The beginning of martial law was associated with the awakening of the spirit of retaliation among parts of the party apparatus, as noted by e.g. Mieczysław

¹¹ IPN Sz 0024 296/3, pp. 117–120, Note of Capt. W. Wojciechowski from the meeting with the TW „Kamil”, January 15, 1982.

¹² IPN Sz 0024 296/3, pp. 121–122, Note of Capt. W. Wojciechowski from the meeting with the TW „Kamil”, February 1, 1982.

¹³ The case concerns the meeting in the Furniture Factory in Trzebiatów of 25 October 1981, in which Marian Jurczyk raised, among other things, the issue of settling the party nomenclature in Poland and the possible punishment of its representatives by hanging, as well as referred to the ethnic origin of the persons performing functions in the security apparatus in Poland. These statements resulted in criminal proceedings against their author, referred to in footnote 79.

¹⁴ Artur Kubaj, *Nie wyrosli z marzeń. Szczecińska podziemna Solidarność* (Warszawa: Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2011), 157–158.

¹⁵ Speech at the meeting of the Sejm of the People’s Republic of Poland delivered on 25 January 1982, in: Jaruzelski, *Przemówienia*, 231.

¹⁶ IPN BU 01101/1/2, p. 30. Letter from prof. J. Bafia to gen. W. Jaruzelskiego, 16 December 1981.

F. Rakowski¹⁷ and Tadeusz Mazowiecki.¹⁸ These tendencies also applied to the leadership circles of “Solidarity” suspended immediately after the introduction of martial law.¹⁹ Despite the awareness of the dangers coming with the idea of any trials during the martial law²⁰, preparations for the trial of “Solidarity” activists had already started before it even began, which was connected with the analysis of the meeting of the Solidarity’s National Commission (KK) in Radom on 3 December 1981.²¹ Which, however, failed to find any examples of violation of the criminal law.

After the introduction of martial law in the Ministry of the Interior Matters, an analysis of the meeting of the Criminal Code in Gdańsk of December 11–12, 1981 was undertaken. As a consequence of that meeting Marian Jurczyk was arrested. On December 21, 1981, the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Interior announced that it would turn to the Military Prosecutor’s Office to initiate an investigation into the crime of conspiracy against the People’s Republic of Poland (Article 123 of the Penal Code), which consisted in undertaking activities aimed at a violent plot against the regime of the People’s Republic of Poland.²² The scale of the charge corresponded with Marian Jurczyk’s speech at the meeting of the CC in Gdańsk on 11–12 December 1981. Initially, he stressed the role of the mass media, demanding the participation of the Solidarity side in access to radio and television, and then stated that: “[...] if the Sejm (the National Assembly) adopts extraordinary powers for the government, a general strike must be declared

¹⁷ Mieczysław Franciszek Rakowski, *Dzienniki polityczne 1981–1983* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo ISKRY, 2004), 140.

¹⁸ Tadeusz Mazowiecki, *Internowanie* (Biblioteka Wolnego Głosu Ursusa – przedruk za Aneks, Londyn, 1983), 16–17.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 145.

²⁰ In a letter to General Jaruzelski, Jerzy Urban, in the context of Edward Gierek’s planned appearance of his team before the State Tribunal, stated that “[...] a long-term judgement in our society in general is conducive to increasing sympathy for the defendants”; Rakowski, *Dzienniki*, 160.

²¹ IPN BU 01101/1/1, p. 192, Note of the Ministry of Interior’s Investigation Bureau of 8 December 1981.

²² IPN BU 01101/1/1, pp. 317–318, Note of the Ministry of Interior’s Investigation Bureau of 21 December 1981 signed by the Head of Department I of the Ministry of Interior’s Investigation Bureau, Colonel Z. Rajewski. As the persons who undertook this crime are listed among others: Zbigniew Bujak, Marian Jurczyk, Jan Rulewski, Grzegorz Palka, Andrzej Słowik, Seweryn Jaworski, Karol Modzelewski, Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik, Andrzej Gwiazda, Bogdan Lis, Jan Waszkiewicz, Leszek Waliszewski, Andrzej Rozpłochowski, Patrycjusz Kosmowski, Andrzej Sobieraj.

immediately.”²³ This statement was in line with the accusation of a general strike conducted by Solidarity.

As part of the preparatory activities carried out by the employees of the Ministry of Interior, the materials seized in the seats of the Regional Boards of the Solidarity Trade Union after the imposition of martial law were carefully reviewed.²⁴ What is worth noting is that the documents of NSZZ “Solidarność” held by the Voivodeship Headquarters of the MO in Szczecin did not go to Warsaw, hence the emphasised need to supplement the evidence in the case of “extremists” like A. Gwiazda and M. Jurczyk.²⁵

The initiation of the investigation into “conspiracy activity of some NSZZ ‘Solidarity’ activists” took place on February 1, 1982.²⁶ The decision to initiate the investigation stated that some activists “using the legal activity of the NSZZ ‘Solidarity’ entered into an agreement with the aim of overthrowing the socialist system in the People’s Republic of Poland with violence and weakening the defensive power of the People’s Republic of Poland by preparing a general strike and creating illegal organizational structures to replace the legal, constitutional state authority, both at the central and local levels.” The investigation was entrusted to the Ministry of the Interior’s Office of Inquiry along the lines set out in the document of 22 February 1982.²⁷ It stressed the role that the NRP, as well as the Confederation of Independent Poland and, to a lesser extent, Ruch Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela (the Movement for the Defence of Human and Citizen’s Rights) influenced the political attitude and radicalisation of the NSZZ “Solidarność”, whose aim was to take over power. There was a gap between the healthy – socialist part of the union consisting of workers and the management –

²³ IPN BU 01101/1/1, pp. 247–277, Note written 11 December 1981 r. About the board meeting of State Committee NSZZ „Solidarność”.

²⁴ Until 8 January 1982, over 700 bags of this documentation were collected from over 35 provinces, IPN BU 01101/1/3, k. 64–66, Letter from the Head of Department I of the Ministry of Interior’s Investigation, Colonel Z. Rajewski of 9 January 1982.

²⁵ IPN BU 01101/1/3, pp. 212–216, Service note on the evaluation of materials on conspiracy activities of some members of the presidium of KK NSZZ “Solidarność” of 23 January 1982.

²⁶ IPN BU 01101/1/4, p. 66, Decision on opening an investigation by the Chief Military Prosecutor, Colonel Ryszard Szczęsny of 1 February 1982.

²⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/5, pp. 93–103, Directions of investigation against certain activists of the management and advisors of NSZZ “Solidarność” of 22 February 1982. The management of the Ministry was acquainted with the directions of the investigation: Minister Czesław Kiszcak IPN BU 01101/1/5, p. 86; Deputy Minister Bogusław Stachura IPN BU 01101/1/5, p. 87; Deputy Minister Władysław Ciastoń IPN BU 01101/1/5, p. 88.

especially the full-time apparatus. The desire to change the constitutional order of the People's Republic of Poland by means of strike blackmail and the rejection by "Solidarity" of the idea of agreement was stressed. The need to document the agreement of the perpetrators and their use of violence to overthrow the system was noted.

The above concept was criticised in a memo made at the MO's Headquarters on 25 February 1982.²⁸ It was claimed that it was doubtful that the activities in the legalised groups were covered by the investigation, and such a group was the trade union NSZZ "Solidarność". The focus should be on prosecuting illegal organisations, i.e. KSS KOR and KPN, and their possible impact on Solidarity. As Andrzej Friszke points out, this concept would mean the possibility of including in the scope of proceedings the Solidarity activists originating from or cooperating with KSS KOR or KPN.²⁹ As a result of such a procedure, it would not be easy to charge e.g. Marian Jurczyk, who has often spoken with reserve about the KSS KOR. An example of this attitude was the reluctance of these circles to get involved in the August 1980 strike: "We had some prejudices about KOR – [...] There was no such KOR in Szczecin [...]. We thought that we would rather have a pure trade union organization, typically a workers' organization, without some other groupings."³⁰ In a different situation, Jurczyk noted on February 21, 1981, that in the Warski Shipyard a "strong, resilient strike organization was created without the help of KOR or any other organizations."³¹ Applying this concept would make it impossible to permanently eliminate the Solidarity leaders from political life, and this was what their demonstration process was supposed to serve³². In the discussion on the directions of the investigation it was postulated that³³ Lech Wałęsa should be included in the investigation and that all investigations should be included in one process.³⁴ At the stage described, i.e. in

²⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/5, pp. 127–129, Note written in the main headquarters of MO from 25 February 1982.

²⁹ Friszke, *Sprawa*, 114.

³⁰ Małgorzata Szejnert, Tomasz Zalewski, *Szczecin – Grudzień – Sierpień – Grudzień* (Warszawa: Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1984), 101.

³¹ TZ, „Najlepsza droga”, *Jedność* 9 (1981): 4–5.

³² Friszke, *Sprawa*, 114.

³³ IPN BU 01101/1/5, pp. 132–133, Letter from the Director-General of the Ministry of Interior, General Edward Tarała, dated 25 February 1982.

³⁴ IPN BU 01101/1/5, pp. 136–138, Comments on the concept of criminal prosecution of persons from anti-socialist groups for acts against the state of 25 February 1982, signed by Gen.

the period from March to May 1982, it was not stated that Marian Jurczyk would be charged.³⁵

Shortly before that, on 24 April 1982, the Supreme Military Prosecutor and Deputy General Prosecutor General Józef Szewczyk formulated the theses of future charges.³⁶ The future defendants were planned to be charged with a crime under Article 123 of the Penal Code, noting that the content of the charge may change and evolve towards the crime under Article 126 § 1 in connection with Article 123 of the Penal Code, which meant that the defendants took preparatory steps to commit the crime which they were to be charged with.³⁷

In July 1982 Marian Jurczyk was included as the person to be charged next.³⁸ By July 1982, more than 200 witnesses had been interviewed in the ongoing investigation, preliminary analysis of documents seized from Solidarity's headquarters and tapes of speeches by Solidarity activists were made.³⁹

The subject of including opposition activists from the KSS KOR and "Solidarity" in one process or treating these groups separately was still discussed. For example, in a document being a plan of investigation, dated August 2, 1982, drawn up by Captain Wiktor Fonfara from the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior Matters⁴⁰ the discussion emphasised big chances linked to the trial, which was to cover the period from the beginning of the activity of

Lucjan Czubiński.

³⁵ Note of the Head of the Department of the Ministry of Interior's Investigation, Colonel Z Rajewski of 9 March 1982, IPN BU 01101/1/6, pp. 182–187, Note prepared in the Ministry of Interior's Investigation Office of 22 March 1982, IPN BU 01101/1/7, pp. 10–15, Note prepared in the Ministry of Interior's Investigation Office of 30 March 1982, IPN BU 01101/1/7, pp. 175–177, Note on criminal proceedings against leading activists of the political opposition of the People's Republic of Poland of 18 May 1982. At that time it was planned to charge Karol Modzelewski, Andrzej Gwiazda, Grzegorz Palka, Jan Rulewski, Andrzej Rozpłochowski and Jacek Kuroń. However, it was expected that the circle of these persons would expand to about 13, in the course of the ongoing proceedings, which were to last until the autumn of 1982.

³⁶ IPN BU 01101/1/7, p. 124, They were immediately sent to Gen. Czesław Kiszcak, who made no comments to them: IPN BU 01101/1/7, p. 144.

³⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/7, pp. 125–127, The expected content of the allegation in case V Pn.śl.II-3/82.

³⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/8, pp. 33–41, A note on the investigation of conspiracy activities of some of the leading activists and advisors of NSZZ "Solidarność" of 9 July 1982, Marian Jurczyk is mentioned here: J. Onyszkiewicz, Z. Bujak and S. Wądołowski.

³⁹ The investigators' interests at this stage of the proceedings included: the meeting of the management of the Association at the Solec Hotel on 02.12.1981; Radom on 03.12.1981; Gdańsk on 11–12.12.1981 and the meeting of the Board of the Lower Silesia Region on 07.12.1981.

⁴⁰ IPN BU 01101/1/8, pp. 63–102, Plan of investigation in case V Pn.śl.II-3/82 concerning conspiracy activity of some activists and advisors of NSZZ 'Solidarność' of 2 August 1982.

“Solidarity”. The plan of investigation described the grounds for accusing individual activists. In the case of Marian Jurczyk, the participation in the strike in the Szczecin Shipyard in August 1980 was mentioned, as well as the position he took after the so-called “Bydgoszcz events”. It was stated that the “hard course” of the suspect was caused by “personal games with St. Wądołowski”. The speeches in which Marian Jurczyk presented “anti-state and anti-socialist views” were mentioned⁴¹. The leader of the Szczecin “Solidarity” was also to be held responsible for “initiated strike actions and demonstrations (including those aimed at blocking Polishports).”

On 5 August 1982, one of the most dramatic situations in Marian Jurczyk’s life took place. On that day his son Adam Jurczyk and his daughter-in-law Dorota Jurczyk died. The question of whether it was a suicidal death remains a controversial issue, even though it was the official version of the investigation in this case,⁴² as Marian Jurczyk repeatedly stated that he did not agree with the findings of the state authorities in this case, which will also be reflected in the further part of his argument. The material aspects of the case will not be addressed in this paper, but what does require to be mentioned are events that followed it up as a consequence for Marian Jurczyk,⁴³ who was then interned. On August 5th, a cryptogram was sent from the Szczecin Voivodeship Command of the MO to the Communist Party’s Communist Party in Gdańsk, where the internment centre in Strzebielinek was located, informing them of the suicidal death of Adam and Dorota Jurczyk. It was obliged to pass this information to Marian Jurczyk without any suggestions concerning the course of events.⁴⁴ On that day, Lieutenant Piotr Szafranski

⁴¹ 29.01.1981 – meeting with members of the Szczecin Land; 01.08.1981 – meeting of the Presidium of the A. Warski Shipyard Management Board; 05.06.1981 – General Meeting of Delegates; 04.07.1981 – Second round of the General Meeting of Delegates; 01.08.1981.1981 – meeting on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising; 08.08.1981 – WKZ RI Congress in Szczecin; September 1981 – speech in the A. Warski Shipyard; October 1981 – speech during the second round of the “Solidarity” Congress; 25.10.1981 – meeting in Trzebiatów.

⁴² The investigation in this case, conducted by the Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation of the Institute of National Remembrance in Szczecin, was discontinued on 31 July 2007 due to “lack of data sufficiently justifying the commission of the communist crime”; *Postanowienie o umorzeniu śledztwa w sprawie śmierci Adama i Doroty Jurczyków*, accessed 16.04.2019, <https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/dla-mediow/komunikaty/10179,Postanowienie-o-umorzeniu-sledztwa-w-sprawie-smierci-Adama-i-Doroty-Jurczykow.html>.

⁴³ The course of events behind Marian Jurczyk in: Jan Marszałek, *Jurczyk kontra Wałęsa* (Warszawa: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1995), 109–112.

⁴⁴ IPN Sz 0012/367/6, p. 88, Cryptogram of the Head of KWMO Department in Szczecin, Lieutenant Colonel J. Rzymkowski of 6 August 1982.

informed Marian Jurczyk about the death of his son and daughter-in-law, stressing that Jurczyk openly expressed his doubts, suspecting a provocation aimed at psychological manipulation.⁴⁵ Jurczyk did not believe in his son's suicide, noting that he was a rational man. Years later he emphasized that the officer giving him messages "turned out to be a civilized man."⁴⁶ He also stated that he did not believe in the version of events presented to him: "For I knew the commune well, I knew what it was capable of. Especially their famous services."⁴⁷ On 7 August Marian Jurczyk applied for a pass,⁴⁸ without receiving it, and asked Przemysław Fenrych, who was then going for a 20-day pass, to mediate in this matter with the auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of Szczecin and Kamień Pomorski.⁴⁹ In case of failure to obtain the pass, the co-interned planned protest actions to force it.⁵⁰ Eventually, Jurczyk was granted a pass, largely thanks to the efforts of Bishop Stanisław Stefanek,⁵¹ only for the funeral – "for the time necessary", which was to take place on August 10, after which he was to return to the internment centre.⁵² During the funeral ceremony, which was attended by a crowd of many thousands, an attempt was made to rescue the leader of Szczecin's "Solidarity", which resulted in street incidents in Szczecin.⁵³ Jurczyk categorically refused to make an attempt to escape, suspecting a communist provocation behind this idea.⁵⁴ After the funeral, Jurczyk was asked for a TV interview, but he did not do anything to

⁴⁵ IPN Sz 0012/367/6, p. 85, Official memo, cf. P. Szafrński of 6.08.1982.

⁴⁶ Piotr Zieliński, *Marian Jurczyk – zły prezydent* (Szczecin, 2008), 136.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ IPN Sz 0012/367/6, p. 86, Letter of Marian Jurczyk to the Provincial Commander of the MO in Szczecin of August 7, 1982.

⁴⁹ Przemysław Fenrych's mission was known to the authorities as it was communicated to the Communist Party in Szczecin in a letter from the Communist Party in Gdańsk; IPN Sz 0012/367/6, p. 87, Letter of 9 August 1982 from the Head of the Investigation Department of the Communist Party in Gdańsk to the Communist Party in Szczecin.

⁵⁰ Dziechciowski, *Dziennik*, 230.

⁵¹ Ibidem, 231. More about the activity of the clergy of the diocese of Szczecin and Kamień Pomorski during martial law in the period of the Second World War: Jan Marcin Mazur, "Kościół na Pomorzu wobec stanu wojennego", in: *Stan wojenny w skali kraju i Pomorza Zachodniego, informacje źródłowe i refleksje*, ed. Małgorzata Machałek i Jan Macholak (Szczecin: Szczecińskie Towarzystwo Naukowe i Wydawnictwo „Dokument” Oficyna Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie, 2005), 225–232.

⁵² IPN Sz 0012/367/6, p. 92, Decision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (KW MO) on the leave of an interned person of 9 August 1982.

⁵³ As a result of the riots 26 people were detained – 2 of them were arrested, 12 were fined; for: Kubaj, *Nie wyrosli z marzeń*, 123.

⁵⁴ Zieliński, *Marian*, 136.

satisfy the media.⁵⁵ This personal drama had an impact on the attitude in the ongoing investigation. Many documents will underline Jurczyk’s poor mental state, that never accepted the suicidal version of his son’s and daughter-in-law’s death, linking their death to his trade union activities.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, the discussion on the shape of the opposition activists’ process continued. The position of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party (KC PZPR) expressed on 10 August,⁵⁷ after analyses carried out by a specially appointed team,⁵⁸ expressed its approval for a narrower process and separation of the process of “Solidarity” activists and the leadership of the KOR. The first one was to start the trial of the KOR activists, while the Solidarity leadership was to be indicted at the end of 1982. As General Kiszczak stated: “The trial of KSS-KOR leading members would be like a litmus test. It will be a much safer process – many people have a negative opinion about this organisation.”⁵⁹ During one of the meetings the idea of discontinuance of the proceedings or even amnesty, expressed by the President of the Supreme Court Professor Bogdan Dzięcioł, also came up, and turned out to actually be prophetic.⁶⁰

In accordance with these guidelines, on September 2, 1982, charges under Article 123 in conjunction with Article 128 of the Penal Code were brought against Jacek Kuroń, and the following day against Adam Michnik, Jan Lityński and Henryk Wujec, as well as Mirosław Chojecki and Jan Józef Lipski.⁶¹ The period from September 1977 to July 1982 was indicated as the time frame for criminal activity, which ultimately determined the formula for a wider process, which must have been an interference of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

⁵⁵ Ibidem, 138.

⁵⁶ Ibidem.

⁵⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/8, pp. 111–114, Note of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party (KC PZPR) concerning the possibility of prosecuting some members of the management of NSZZ “Solidarność” and “KSS – KOR” of 10 August 1982.

⁵⁸ The team consisted of representatives of the Supreme Court, the General Prosecutor’s Office and the Supreme Military Prosecution Office.

⁵⁹ Friszke, *Sprawa*, 194.

⁶⁰ IPN BU 0874/4, pp. 55–57, Note from the meeting of the team consisting of representatives of the Central Committee, Supreme Court, General Prosecutor’s Office and the Supreme Military Prosecutor’s Office of 19 August 1982.

⁶¹ Jan Józef Lipski and Mirosław Chojecki were abroad at the time.

of the PZPR.⁶² The note of 3 September 1982 on the course of the investigation into Solidarity activists formulated by the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office made extensive reference to the impact that the KOR environment had on the Solidarity movement.⁶³ From September to November 1982, 6 Solidarity activists were mentioned and were to be charged, but Marian Jurczyk was not included in this group.⁶⁴

The situation changed on 6 December 1982 when the team set up to assess the materials on the conspiracy of some Solidarity activists decided to "charge him and take him into provisional detention".⁶⁵ Difficulties were noted in presenting the charges to Jurczyk, pointing to "the fragmentary nature of the source material collected so far and the questionable nature of the assessment of the facts and their legal interpretation". Hence the order to send the file on the operational case of Marian Jurczyk's trial to Warsaw on 7th of December,⁶⁶ which arrived in the capital on 13th of December,⁶⁷ and was a clear signal of the acceleration of procedural activities.⁶⁸ On 15th of December the Office of the Ministry of the Interior Matters was officially obliged to initiate a personal investigation against Marian Jurczyk.⁶⁹ The investigators were ordered to prove the same

⁶² Friszke, *Sprawa*, 200.

⁶³ IPN BU 01101/1/8, pp. 122–128, Note of the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office concerning the course of the investigation into conspiracy activity of some activists of NSZZ "Solidarność" of 3 September 1982.

⁶⁴ As of 18 November 1982 – charges were planned to be brought against Karol Modzelewski, Jan Rulewski, Grzegorz Palka, Andrzej Gwiazda, Andrzej Rozpłochowski and Seweryn Jaworski, IPN BU 01101/1/9, pp. 12–14, Note prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior of 18 November 1982.

⁶⁵ The Director of the Ministry of Interior's Investigation Office, Colonel Hipolit Starszak, informed about it in a letter addressed to the First Deputy of the Ministry of Interior, Gen. Bogusław Stachura, IPN BU 01101/1/9, pp. 66–67.

⁶⁶ IPN BU 01101/1/9, p. 76, Letter to the Head of Department V KW MO in Szczecin dated 7 December 1982.

⁶⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/9, p. 76, Subsequent volumes Crypt. "Haunted" were sent on January 4, 1983, IPN BU 01101/1/10, p. 173, Letter of the Head of Department V of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Szczecin, Major S. Sokołowski of January 4, 1983.

⁶⁸ On December 9th, the transport of Jurczyk from Strzebielinek to the Investigation Arrest of the Capital City Council Headquarters in Warsaw, IPN BU 01101/1/9, item 78, was designated, the cipher to the City Council in Gdańsk.

⁶⁹ IPN BU 01101/1/9, pp. 100–101, Letter of the Director of Department V of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Colonel J. Sasin, to the Deputy Director of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Szczecin, Colonel M Pietrzak, dated 15 December 1982.

incriminating circumstances that Captain Fonfar postulated on August 2, 1982,⁷⁰ which led to a further analysis of Marian Jurczyk's activities, which took place on the 17th of December.⁷¹ It was thus concluded that in a letter to the Marshal of the Sejm Jurczyk denied the words that the mass media accused him of using during the famous meeting in Trzebiatów. Another accusation was linked to his stay in France at the Congress of Metallurgy at the invitation of foreign trade unions in February 1981r. Also his words from the meeting in Poznań during the anniversary of Gdańsk Agreements: "M. Rakowski was spitting not only on «Solidarity», but also on the whole society."

Thus, on 22 December 1982, Marian Jurczyk and the other six Solidarity activists were accused of committing an offence under Article 123 of the Penal Code,⁷² as if in the period from the second half of 1980 to 12 December 1981, they had sought to overthrow the socialist system of the People's Republic of Poland and weaken its defensive power. During interrogation, the then suspect and arrested person⁷³ stated that he did not plead guilty, just like the other "six" from "Solidarity"⁷⁴ and will not refer to the accusations on the date of the statement – he would do so later.⁷⁵ Years later Marian Jurczyk expressed his outrage at the date of the hearing, stating that it took place "The day before Christmas Eve '82! They could not even respect the festive atmosphere!"⁷⁶

In January 1983, the scope of activities to be committed by Marian Jurczyk in order to fulfil the elements of the crime under Article 123 of the Penal Code was narrowed down. In concrete terms, Jurczyk was accused of calling for the liquidation of the leading role of the PZPR in the state and the leading role in society, removing party committees from workplaces and calling for actions against the

⁷⁰ See footnote 40.

⁷¹ IPN BU 01101/1/9, pp. 105–106, List of some members of NSZZ "Solidarność" passing in the evidence in Volumes I – V in case V Pn.śl.II-3/82 of 17 December 1982.

⁷² IPN BU 01101/1/9, pp. 208–210, Decision of the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office Colonel R. Szczęsny on presenting charges to Marian Jurczyk of 22 December 1982.

⁷³ IPN BU 01101/1/9, file cards 214–215, Decision on the provisional arrest of Marian Jurczyk of 22 December 1982; IPN BU 01101/1/9, file cards 216–217. Order to admit Marian Jurczyk of 22 December 1982. The suspect was in the Warszawa-Mokotów Detention Centre.

⁷⁴ IPN BU 01101/1/10, p. 71, Annex to situation information No 629 of 22 December 1982.

⁷⁵ IPN BU 01101/1/9, pp. 211–213, Interview report of the suspect Marian Jurczyk of 22 December 1982.

⁷⁶ At that time, in a letter to the Voivode of Szczecin, Archbishop Kazimierz Majdański called for Marian Jurczyk's release IPN BU 514/4/22, pp. 164–165, Letter of Archbishop K. Majdański to the Voivode of Szczecin of December 23, 1983.

allied unity, especially with the USSR.⁷⁷ As part of the collection of evidence on Marian Jurczyk's activities, further materials from his public meetings with the crews of the work establishments were included in the investigation.⁷⁸ It was also decided to take up proceedings, suspended with the commencement of martial law, related to Marian Jurczyk's statements in Trzebiatów on October 25, 1981, which the investigators qualified as fulfilling the elements of the crime under Art. 270 § 1 of the Penal Code, i.e. public humiliation of the chief bodies of the Polish People's Republic.⁷⁹

During this period in January 1983, Marian Jurczyk's health deteriorated. This was due to a number of factors, ranging from his mental state, to the poor conditions of the detainees' stay. Marian Jurczyk recalled: "[...] they put me in a nasty cell, called a finishing room. There was too much moisture, because one of the walls was adjacent to the prisoners' bathroom, which was always damp. Just outside the windows there was a large prison kitchen building, with seventeen noisy fans on the ceiling. [...]. Even at night, these nasty things were not switched off! As a result, I fainted for several times."⁸⁰ Hence the request for specialist examinations in which the accused complained about heart pains, leg pains and numbness in his hands.⁸¹ In the course of time these problems continued.

An important part of the evidence was to be obtained from the questioning of suspects. The interrogations were supposed to make Jurczyk respond to his political program, described as "unequivocally anti-state, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet".⁸² The investigators were interested in such phenomena as "personal arrangements and games in the Region and the Presidium of the KKP" or Stanisław Wądołowski's influence on decisions made by the accused. Among other things,

⁷⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/11, pp. 24–25, Note concerning offences against the People's Republic of Poland (PRL) alleged against, inter alia, Marian Jurczyk, of 12 January 1983.

⁷⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/11, p. 46, Letter of the Head of Department V of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Szczecin, Major S. Sokołowski to the Head of Department I of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Investigation Bureau of 17 January 1983.

⁷⁹ IPN BU 514/4/24, pp. 6–8, Minutes of the meeting of the Military Garrison Court in Szczecin of 25 January 1983.

⁸⁰ Zieliński, *Marian*, 132.

⁸¹ IPN BU 01101/1/11, p. 137, Marian Jurczyk's request for specialist medical examination addressed to the Prosecutor of the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office, Colonel R. Szczęsny.

⁸² IPN BU 01101/1/11, pp. 246–249, Issues to be included in the hearing of Marian Jurczyk.

in this case, they turned to Szczecin in January 1983 to send evidence that would confirm Wądołowski's influence on Jurczyk's actions.⁸³

No less important was the testimony of witnesses. They tried to extract incriminating content that would be useful in a future indictment. Teresa Grabczyńska stated that Jurczyk demanded access to radio and television for "Solidarity" and assured that "the union is strong and will never lose any fight against PZPR and the government."⁸⁴ Witness Maciej Czekala pointed to the statement about cheating Poland in foreign trade, especially on the part of the Soviet Union, as well as to the demands of blocking Polish ports and controlling them for food exports.⁸⁵ The witness Jacek Grażewicz pointed to the inspirational role of Andrzej Milczanowski and Piotr Lampasiak in "M. Jurczyk's anti-state and anti-socialist speeches."⁸⁶ Lampasiak stated that Jurczyk cared about his own popularity and attached great importance to public speeches.⁸⁷ Another witness, Marian Juszcuk, pointed to Wądołowski's dominant role in shaping anti-democratic relations in the MKR – the Inter-enterprise Workers' Commission.⁸⁸ He also stated that it was on the initiative of Wądołowski and Jurczyk that the Mixed Committee was dissolved – the body that was to supervise the implementation of the August agreements. Aleksander Krystosiak⁸⁹ and Andrzej Zieliński⁹⁰ also mentioned Wądołowski's negative influence on Jurczyk in his testimony.⁹¹ Marian Kublik gave his testimony, pointing to Jurczyk's radical methods of action, and reported on his meeting with the Polmozbyt crew in September 1981, during

⁸³ IPN BU 01101/1/12, p. 12, Letter to the Deputy of KW MO in Szczecin, Colonel S. Jedynak of 31 January 1983.

⁸⁴ IPN BU 01101/1/18, pp. 115–137, Minutes of the hearing of witness T. Grabczyńska of 10 February 1982.

⁸⁵ IPN BU 01101/1/18, pp. 164–173, Minutes of the hearing of witness M. Czekala of 19 February 1982.

⁸⁶ IPN BU 01101/1/18, pp. 174–181, Minutes of the hearing of witness J. Grażewicz of 19 February 1982.

⁸⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/22, pp. 27–44; IPN BU 514/4/12 pp. 239–256, Minutes of the hearing of witness P. Lampasiak of 21 April 1982.

⁸⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/22, pp. 106–113; IPN BU 514/4/12 pp. 324–331, Minutes of the hearing of witness Marian Juszcuk of 3 May 1983.

⁸⁹ IPN BU 01101/1/22, pp. 114–120; IPN BU 514/4/12 pp. 333–340, Minutes of the hearing of witness A. Krystosiak of 5 May 1982.

⁹⁰ IPN BU 01101/1/22, pp. 121–126; IPN BU 514/4/15, Minutes of the hearing of witness A. Zieliński of 6 May 1982:

⁹¹ IPN BU 01101/1/25, p. 33, Summary of witness testimony in case V Pn.śl.II-3/82 of 24 February 1983.

which he stated that “[...] we must pull Poland out of Moscow’s mouth” and presented contents hostile to socialism and the party.⁹²

Interrogation of the suspect did not change his procedural situation as he repeated his previous views. Jurczyk mentioned that the interrogations were exhaustive⁹³ and confirmed the political line he presented, e.g. on the issue of Polish-Soviet relations, which he subjected to deep criticism due to the unfair, in his opinion, economic exploitation of Poland by the USSR.⁹⁴ In another case, particularly loud, i.e. the speech from Trzebiatow, Jurczyk did not express any remorse for the content he had delivered there.⁹⁵ He also spoke out against the uncompetitive party system, noting that the proper functioning of the state requires competition from political parties.⁹⁶ Marian Jurczyk’s attitude was fundamentally different from that of the other defendants, who generally refused to answer the

⁹² The subject of Marian Jurczyk’s activity was also taken up in his testimony: Wojciech Trzmiel – IPN BU 514/4/25, pp. 284–291, Interrogation of a witness of 7 February 1983. Bronisław Ziemanin – IPN BU 01101/1/22, pp. 154–156, Hearing of a witness of 27 May 1982, Edmund Kitłowski – IPN BU 01101/1/22, pp. 146–153; IPN BU 514/4/15, pp. 38–45, Hearing of a witness of 19 May 1982, Andrzej Cieniewski – IPN BU 01101/1/19, pp. 45–51; IPN BU 514/4/20 pp. 333–339, Hearing of a witness of 26 February 1982, Tadeusz Leśniczuk – IPN BU 01101/1/19, pp. 86–91; IPN BU 514/4/10 pp. 13–18, Hearing of a witness of 2 March 1982; Stanisław Bereszyński – IPN BU 01101/1/19, files 38–44, Hearing of a witness of 25 February 1982; Jerzy Bartczak – IPN BU 01101/1/18, files 203–212, Hearing of a witness of 22 February 1982; Stanisław Kocjan – IPN BU 514/4/25, pp. 83–94, Hearing of a witness of 28 January 1983, Ryszard Bogacz IPN BU 514/4/28, pp. 139–142, Hearing of a witness of 7 March 1983, Stanisław Wądołowski IPN BU 514/4/31, pp. 116–125, Hearing of a witness of 6 April 1983.

⁹³ Zieliński, *Marian*, 132.

⁹⁴ IPN BU 514/4/22, p. 180, Minutes of interrogation of the suspect Marian Jurczyk of 5 January 1983.

⁹⁵ IPN BU 514/4/22, p. 321, Minutes of interrogation of suspect Marian Jurczyk of 10 January 1983.

⁹⁶ Interrogation protocols of suspect Marian Jurczyk: IPN BU 514/4/20, pp. 84–86, Interrogation of 22 December 1982; *Ibidem*, pp. 293–298, Interrogation of 27 December 1982; *Ibidem*, pp. 327–332, Interrogation of 28 December 1982; *Ibidem*, pp. 351–355; Interrogation of 29 December 1982; IPN BU 514/4/22, pp. 170–173, Hearing of 4 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 178–183, Hearing of 5 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 224–231, Hearing of 6 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 281–286, Hearing of 7 January 1983; IPN BU 514/4/23, pp. 8–13, Hearing of 12 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 24–29, Hearing of 13 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 71–76, Hearing of 14 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 108–112, Hearing of 17 January 1983. *Ibidem*, pp. 184–189, Hearing of 19 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 305–310, Hearing of 21 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 322–327, Hearing of 24 January 1983; IPN BU 514/4/25 pp. 32–37, Hearing of 26 January 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 227–230, Hearing of 2 February 1983; *Ibidem*, pp. 240–243, Hearing of 3 February 1983; IPN BU 514/4/27, pp. 35–38, Hearing of 16 February 1983; *Ibidem*, cat. 48–55, Hearing of 18 February 1983; *Ibidem*, cat. 199–204, Hearing of 23 February 1983; *Ibidem*, cat. 293–299, Hearing of 28 February 1983; IPN BU 514/4/28 pp. 370–373, Hearing of 11 March 1983.

questions asked or responded in general terms.⁹⁷ Jurczyk did not deny his views. At this point, we should also mention the defenders who were supposed to defend Marian Jurczyk, and they were: Roman Łuczywek, Andrzej Grabiński and Tomasz Filipkowski.⁹⁸

In the second half of 1983, the authorities began to see the difficulties in the way process was designed. One of the options considered was to get the defendants to emigrate. This concept was taken up by General Kiszczak in his regular talks with Archbishop Bronisław Dąbrowski and Fr Alojzy Orszulik in October 1983, despite the sceptical position of Cardinal Józef Glemp.⁹⁹ In spite of this, since October 1983, activities were carried out in order to encourage the inmates to emigrate,¹⁰⁰ trying to cooperate with the Church.¹⁰¹

In November 1983, it was decided to change the charges against the accused “Solidarity” activists, who from then on were to be accused of the crime referred to in Article 128 § 1 of the Penal Code in conjunction with Article 123 of the Penal Code, i.e. in their preparatory activities to overthrow the socialist system of the People’s Republic of Poland with violence and to weaken its defensive power in agreement with other “Solidarity” activists and other illegal organisations.¹⁰² Jurczyk confirmed that he does not admit to the charges against him with changed legal classification.¹⁰³ The change of accusations showed a significant easing of the course of investigators.¹⁰⁴ This is evidenced by a document from

⁹⁷ Friszke, *Sprawa*, 322–323.

⁹⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/15, pp. 11, List of defenders admitted by the WOW court to civil proceedings A. Stars and others.

⁹⁹ In a conversation with General Jaruzelski, Cardinal Józef Glemp was supposed to say: “After all, the West won’t take them because it needs them here, not at home.” Rakowski, *Diaries*, 579.

¹⁰⁰ In relation to some of these actions were taken much earlier, e.g. Jacek Kuroń tried to get him to leave as early as in the second half of 1982 due to the situation after the death of his wife Ewa Dobrowolska.

¹⁰¹ More about these conversations in: Friszke, *Sprawa*; Alojzy Orszulik, *Czas przełomu. Notatki ks. Alojzego Orszulika z rozmów z władzami PRL w latach 1981–1983* (Warszawa, Ząbki: Apostolicum, 2006); Peter Raina, *Rozmowy z władzami PRL. Arcybiskup Dąbrowski w służbie Kościoła i narodu* (Warszawa: Książka Polska, 1995); Jan Skórzyński, „Odrzucona propozycja. Rozmowy o uwolnieniu przywódców Solidarności 1983–1984”, *Wolność i Solidarność* 4 (2012): 104–112.

¹⁰² IPN BU 01101/1/16, pp. 14–16, Decision of the Supreme Military Prosecutor’s Office, Colonel R. Szczyński on the change of presented charges of 7 November 1983.

¹⁰³ IPN BU 01101/1/16, pp. 17–18, Minutes of interrogation of the suspect Marian Jurczyk of 7 November 1983.

¹⁰⁴ The potential punishment for defendants after the change of charges was much lower than the initial option – one to ten years’ imprisonment against 5 years’ imprisonment to death. Friszke,

the Investigation Office of the Ministry of the Interior of February 1984. This is evidenced by a document from the Office of the Ministry of the Interior's Investigation of February 1984, which sets out scenarios for the development of the situation "[...] guided by the needs of both prevention in the broad sense of the term, as well as by the right of the state [...]"¹⁰⁵ In the first version, there was an inclination to court decisions on a case which would be supported by the reasons for excluding defendants from public life for the period indicated in the court decision. The second concept assumed the application of amnesty.¹⁰⁶ In this concept, it was intended to cooperate with representatives of the Episcopate, who were to obtain a promise from defendants to refrain from political activity.¹⁰⁷ The third concept was to start court trials, which would then be interrupted in order to declare amnesty against the defendants on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland, i.e. 22 July 1984.

Meanwhile, Marian Jurczyk's health was deteriorating, hence his wife Genowefa sent a letter to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in which she described the growing ailments, drawing attention to her husband's cardiac problems, as well as the ineffectiveness of the treatment to date.¹⁰⁸ On March 27, 1984, Jurczyk himself signalled his problems in an interview with an investigating officer, asking for a transfer to another cell.¹⁰⁹ Health problems were supposed to encourage Jurczyk to emigrate because, as noted in the note of 28 March, he was in the group of defendants who did not reject the possibility of going abroad, and the health situation was to be used surgically.¹¹⁰ For this purpose, consideration was given

Sprawa, 421.

¹⁰⁵ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 28–35, Political and legal concepts of ending criminal proceedings against members of the management of the anti-state union "KSS – KOR" and extremist activists of the former NSZZ "Solidarność" of 9 February 1984.

¹⁰⁶ Such a possibility was also mentioned by Jerzy Urban during a press conference as early as November 4, 1983, after Jerzy Holzer, Krzysztof Leski, *Solidarność w piemiu* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1990), 76.

¹⁰⁷ In relation to the Solidarity activists, such talks were to be conducted by: Gieremek, Mazowiecki, Chrzanowski, Olszewski, Wielowiejski, Orszulik. The spelling of the names behind the described document.

¹⁰⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/16, pp. 108–111, Letter from Genowefa Jurczyk to the Minister of Interior dated 20 March 1984.

¹⁰⁹ IPN BU 01101/1/16, p. 119, Business note of Captain J. Paśnik of 27 March 1984.

¹¹⁰ IPN BU 01101/1/16, p. 127, Letter to the Director of Department III of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Gen. H. Dankowski, 28 March 1984.

to inducing the family to suggest that the accused should leave.¹¹¹ Finally, on 12 April 1984, Jurczyk was taken to the Institute of Cardiology in Anina, where he was to undergo specialist research and face the idea of emigration.¹¹² The accused's state of health turned out to be so serious that his stay, initially planned for 3–4 days, was significantly prolonged.¹¹³

The actions taken by the authorities, especially General Kiszczak, and representatives of certain opposition groups were aimed at convincing the accused to agree to emigrate. The proposal of those in power also assumed that the defendants would sign declarations of abandonment of political activities¹¹⁴. This blurred formulation assumed freedom of interpretation – it could have served as a possible way of re-immolating the defendants after any act of political activity. Prof. Andrzej Stelmachowski and Tadeusz Mazowiecki¹¹⁵ talked about this subject with Marian Jurczyk, who was then in Anina. The accused noted that "Professor Stelmachowski behaved without accusation."¹¹⁶ The proposal to emigrate was presented by the future Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic and it assumed that Jurczyk would leave Poland for a few years and sign a commitment to cease trade union activity, because, as Mazowiecki was supposed to say: "[...] all this has been discussed with many wise people, some important institutions, with various circles, and they all agree that my [Marian Jurczyk's] person is the main obstacle to the conclusion of the Solidarity agreement with the communists".¹¹⁷ Marian Jurczyk categorically rejected this proposal. Interestingly, in a document of the Ministry of the Interior reporting on the course of meetings with the defendants, it was indicated that they are willing to accept the proposal to cease political activity.¹¹⁸ Another document from April 1984 states that Jurczyk, as well as Jan Rulewski and Grzegorz Pałka were willing to leave after

¹¹¹ IPN BU 01101/1/16, pp. 134–135, Note prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior in March 1984.

¹¹² IPN BU 01101/1/16, p. 138, Note of the Deputy Head of Section IV of the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior of 13 April 1984.

¹¹³ IPN BU 01101/1/16, p. 140, Note of Barbara Chojnacka, PhD, assistant to the Internal Ward of the Warsaw Mokotow Arrest Hospital, 19 April 1984.

¹¹⁴ IPN BU 01101/1/70, p. 101, Draft declaration on voluntary cessation of political activities.

¹¹⁵ IPN BU 01101/1/70, p. 111, Note prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior in April 1984.

¹¹⁶ Zieliński, *Marian*, 133.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 134.

¹¹⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 110–112, Note prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior in April 1984.

fulfilling certain conditions, i.e. the consent of the families and Lech Wałęsa and leaving with their families.¹¹⁹ A few days after the meeting with Stelmachowski and Mazowiecki, Archbishop Kazimierz Majdański¹²⁰ talked to the arrester. It was supposed to alleviate the situation because “Jurczyk is still experiencing the tragic death of his son and daughter-in-law, which causes him a state of mental depression.”¹²¹ The accused himself, recalling the meeting of May 1, 1984, stated that he reported the meeting with Mazowiecki and Stelmachowski to the Archbishop and then, “The Archbishop embraced me in a cordial gesture and said – Mr Marian, thank you! I will pray for you!”¹²² Jurczyk’s poor psychological condition was also confirmed by the Director of the Cabinet of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Emilio Olivares, who was on a humanitarian mission in Poland and who offered the accused a job abroad in UN agencies,¹²³ a proposal that Marian Jurczyk strongly rejected¹²⁴. After the meeting Olivares said that his interlocutor was “[...] a man completely inactive intellectually and not very active physically – ‘a living corpse’.”¹²⁵ which was due to the death of his son and daughter-in-law.

In view of the deadlock, it was considered to lift the pre-trial detention for health reasons¹²⁶. At the same time, the four accused KSS KOR activists were

Years later, Tadeusz Mazowiecki admitted that he was manipulated into talks with the defendants – for: Andrzej Brzeziecki, *Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Biography of our Prime Minister*, (Kraków: Znak Horyzont, 2015), 344–345.

¹¹⁹ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 93–96, Note prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of the Interior and Department III of the Ministry of the Interior on taking actions aimed at bringing the temporary arrested members of the management of the former “KSS – KOR” and extreme activists of the former NSZZ “Solidarność” to travel abroad.

¹²⁰ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 132–136, Note on the further course of talks conducted by the emissaries of the Polish Episcopate with arrested activists of the former “KSS – KOR” and extremist activists of the former “Solidarity” Trade Union, prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior on 30 April 1984.

¹²¹ Ibidem, p. 141.

¹²² Zieliński, *Marian*, 134.

¹²³ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 140–145, Note on the further course of talks conducted by the emissaries of the Polish Episcopate with arrested activists of the former “KSS – KOR” and extremist activists of the former “Solidarity” Trade Union, prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior on 30 April 1984.

¹²⁴ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 235–240, Stenogram of Marian Jurczyk’s conversation with Emilio Olivares of 1 May 1984.

¹²⁵ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 148–152, Note by S. Olszowski from the meeting with Emilio Olivares of 2 May 1984.

¹²⁶ IPN BU 01101/1/70, pp. 153–155, Note on the results of talks conducted by civil emissaries of the Polish Episcopate with arrested activists of the former “KSS – KOR” and extremist activists of the former “Solidarity” Trade Union, prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of

forced to start a trial.¹²⁷ Shortly afterwards, amnesty was expected on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic.¹²⁸ The documents do not mention the initiation of a trial against seven Solidarity activists. The intention was to allow them to continue to familiarise themselves with the investigation files, but 'this activity should not be accelerated'. At the same time, the investigators expected that the acquaintance of the seventh activist with the files of the investigation would last until the expected amnesty.¹²⁹ In the meantime, an attempt was made on the part of the Church to engage in dialogue with the authorities, where it was suggested that the decision to start a trial against the "four" KOR activists would lead to different treatment of the "seven", but this attempt failed due to the undesirable, from the point of view of the authorities, reaction of the Church in Poland to the then taking place elections to national councils.¹³⁰

The trial of four KOR activists was ordered on 12 June 1984 for the period from 13 July to 25 October.¹³¹ The first trial was marked by formal disputes, mainly involving Adam Michnik, after which, after reading the indictment, a break was ordered until 18 July.

The shape of the expected amnesty assumed that it should cover not only the accused activists of KOR and "Solidarity", but also other persons serving prison sentences for political reasons, and therefore, from the second half of May 1984, a discussion on formal issues related to the amnesty law began. However, this did not mean a change of attitude towards the accused. Disintegration measures, the creation of divisions and different treatment were proposed – in relation

Interior of 7 May 1984; IPN BU 01101/1/16, pp. 173–178, Note on the results of talks conducted by civil emissaries of the Polish Episcopate with arrested activists of the former "KSS – KOR" and extremist activists of the former "Solidarity" Trade Union, prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior of 13 May 1984.

¹²⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/16, pp. 179–185, Note on the results of talks conducted by civil emissaries of the Polish Episcopate with arrested activists of the former "KSS – KOR" and extremist activists of the former "Solidarity" Trade Union, prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior in May 1984.

¹²⁸ The possibility of amnesty was mentioned by Jerzy Woźniak, who at that time was a defender of the accused Jacek Kuroń, see: Friszke, *Sprawa*, 588.

¹²⁹ IPN BU 01101/1/16, pp. 188–191, Note on the concept of the end of cases against the arrested activists of the former "KSS – KOR" and the extremist management of the former NZSS "Solidarity", prepared in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior in May 1984.

¹³⁰ Friszke, *Sprawa*, 550.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, 575.

to Marian Jurczyk, it was again proposed that the arrest be revoked on health grounds.¹³² The first draft of the amnesty bill was drafted by the Ministry of Interior on June 30, 1984.¹³³ On July 2, 1984 it was stated that the amnesty would cover persons suspected, accused and convicted of an offence under Article 128 in connection with Article 123 of the Penal Code, preparatory activities to overthrow the regime of the People's Republic of Poland with violence,¹³⁴ which would solve the problem of the accused activists of the NRP and "Solidarity". The amnesty was initiated by the National Council of PRON on 16 July 1984, which was in line with the concept established by the Investigation Bureau as early as on 5 June 1984.¹³⁵ 2 days later, on 18 July, the second hearing in the ongoing trial of four KOR activists took place, however, a break was immediately ordered, until the Sejm referred to the appeal issued by the National Council of PRON, which took place on 21 July, when the Sejm adopted the amnesty law.

The implementation of the adopted act took place on the basis of an exemption plan prepared by the Ministry of the Interior's Investigation Office on 24 July 1984.¹³⁶ Marian Jurczyk's exemption was scheduled for 25 July, when he was to be transported directly to his place of residence from the hospital in Anin, where he was still kept. However, due to his state of health, it was decided that Marian Jurczyk would stay in the Hospital in Anin for 10 more days, after which he would be transported to a rehabilitation centre for the next 5 weeks. The decision of release was to be handed over to Jurczyk on July 27th, which it was argued to improve his mental well-being.¹³⁷ The stay in Anin was a relaxation of rigour,

¹³² IPN BU 01101/1/71, pp. 133–137, Concept of ending the cases against arrested activists of former "KSS-KOR" and extremist management of former "Solidarity" Trade Union, developed in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior of 22 May 1984.

¹³³ IPN BU 01101/1/72, pp. 61–115, Note on the principles of amnesty in connection with the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland. Attached to this document are variants of draft amnesty laws.

¹³⁴ IPN BU 01101/1/72, pp. 117–120, Note concerning persons subject to criminal proceedings in cases of crimes committed for political reasons, prepared by the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Interior of 2 July 1984.

¹³⁵ IPN BU 01101/1/71, pp. 146–152, Concept of ending cases against arrested activists of former "KSS-KOR" and extremist management of former "Solidarity" NSZZ, developed in the Investigation Office of the Ministry of Interior of 5 June 1984.

¹³⁶ IPN BU 01101/1/17, p. 11, Plan of anticipated dates of release from the Warsaw-Mokotów Detention Centre of the former NSZZ "Solidarity" of 24 July 1984.

¹³⁷ IPN BU 01101/1/17, p. 27, Business note of Captain A. Janas of 25 July 1984.

because the accused had freedom of contact and received uncontrolled correspondence¹³⁸.

From a legal point of view, the trial was closed on 25 July by the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office, which issued a decision to discontinue the investigation on the basis of the Amnesty Act and to revoke the provisional arrest,¹³⁹ stating that "[...] a criminal act [...] as committed for political reasons is subject to discontinuance".

The episode of the process occurred after 12 years and the political reality changed. Since May 1996, the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office began to analyse the legitimacy of the legal basis for discontinuing the investigation adopted in 1984.¹⁴⁰ The intention was to examine the evidence in order to change the basis for discontinuance of the investigation into discontinuance due to the lack of statutory attributes of a prohibited act. The result of the analysis was a decision to amend the final decisions to discontinue the investigation of 17 June 1996,¹⁴¹ stating that the investigation was unjustifiably discontinued on the basis of the amnesty law because the defendants' acts "did not contain the statutory elements of the offence" and had to be discontinued because of the absence of statutory elements of the offences in their proceedings.

Marian Jurczyk's participation in the so-called Eleventh Process had far negative consequences for him. Judging every sphere of human life, from the family, through work and health, to the social position, Marian Jurczyk suffered losses in each of these areas after his release. The death of his son and daughter-in-law caused health problems that resulted in his retirement in 1986, inability to find a job and a gradual loss of his position in "Solidarity" for the benefit of the management of the structures that gained Lech Wałęsa's support. The events

¹³⁸ IPN BU 01101/1/16, p. 216, Business note of the Head of Department XIII Dep. II of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Colonel A. Pudło of 10 July 1984. Eventually Jurczyk returned to Szczecin only on 28 August. In: Robert Kościelny, Artur Kubaj, „NSZZ «Solidarność» Region Pomorze Zachodnie”, in: *Solidarność 1980–1989, vol. 3 Polska Północna*, ed. Łukasz Kamiński, Grzegorz Waligóra (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2010), 320.

¹³⁹ IPN BU 01101/1/17, pp. 22–23, Order of the Prosecutor of the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office concerning discontinuation of the investigation pursuant to the Amnesty and Repeal of the Precautionary Measure of 25 July 1984.

¹⁴⁰ IPN BU 1207/485, pp. 8–9, Staff Note of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office, Colonel L. Weremczuk from the 7th May 1996.

¹⁴¹ IPN BU 1207/485, pp. 20–28, Decision on amending the final decisions on discontinuance of the investigation by the Supreme Military Prosecutor of 17 June 1996.

mentioned above are related to the period of participation in the so-called eleventh process. These experiences had an impact on the later radicalisation of Jurczyk's views, his aversion and criticism of the idea of an agreement between the opposition and the ruling camp in the late 1980s. There is no doubt that Marian Jurczyk as a later senator, trade union activist and president of Szczecin was shaped painfully by the period of the "trial eleven". This was mainly due to constant criticism of the idea of a "round table", of agreements with the communist authorities, which resulted to a certain extent from the experience gained from dealing with the communist justice system. This period also caused a rift between Marian Jurczyk's milieu and the oppositionists around Lech Walesa, who supported and participated in such an agreement. A separate issue is the personal drama of the death of Marian Jurczyk's son and daughter-in-law, which took place during his internment. Marian Jurczyk never came to terms with their deaths, denying the results of investigations indicating their suicidal characters. Considering the period of the so-called eleventh trial in Marian Jurczyk's life as one of the key moments in his life, it should be noted that this was a tragic period in the political, trade union, and above all personal sphere.

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ABSTRACT

The presented article discusses Marian Jurczyk's participation in the so-called "process of eleven" from 1981 to 1984. It presents the protagonist's drama on the level of personal, family, socio-political and professional life, which was the result of Marian Jurczyk's participation in events related to the so-called "process of eleven". A sequence of events leading to Marian Jurczyk's inclusion in the circle of people covered by the indictment is shown. The focus was particularly on the description of investigative activities related to the indictment of the later President of Szczecin, and then the analysis of evidence that was to lead to the conviction of the accused, i.e. the questioning of witnesses, the explanation of the accused and the content from the period of legal activity of "Solidarity", which, according to the investigators, was to be reconciled with the then system. The article also shows the activities of the power camp aimed at ending the politically troublesome, in the context of the international situation, trial of the opposition activists, expressed in attempts to get the accused to emigrate and the planned variants of amnesty.

MARIAN JURCZYK W TZW. „PROCESIE JEDENASTU” (1982–1984)

ABSTRAKT

W prezentowanym artykule omówiony został udział Mariana Jurczyka w tzw. „procesie jedenastu” w latach 1981–1984. Przedstawiono dramat bohatera na płaszczyźnie życia osobistego, rodzinnego, społeczno-politycznego oraz zawodowego, który był efektem uczestnictwa Mariana Jurczyka w wydarzeniach związanych z tzw. „procesem jedenastu”. Ukazano ciąg wydarzeń prowadzący do włączenia Mariana Jurczyka w krąg osób objętych aktem oskarżenia. Skoncentrowano się zwłaszcza na opisie działań śledczych związanych z postawieniem w stan oskarżenia późniejszego prezydenta Szczecina, a następnie poddano analizie materiał dowodowy, który miał prowadzić do skazania oskarżonego, a więc przesłuchania świadków, wyjaśnienia oskarżonego oraz treści z okresu legalnej działalności „Solidarności” które, zdaniem śledczych, miały godzić w ówczesny ustrój. W omawianym artykule ukazano również działania obozu władzy zmierzające do zakończenia, kłopotliwego pod względem politycznym, w kontekście sytuacji międzynarodowej, procesu działaczy opozycyjnych, wyrażające się w próbach skłonienia oskarżonych do emigracji oraz projektowanych wariantach amnestii.