

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## TARGET AREA

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#### Gomulka's Birthday

First Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka celebrated his sixtieth birthday February 6. A letter praising his actions was addressed to him by the Central Committee on this occasion. It was signed by all Politburo and CC Secretariat members. Moreover, the daily press devoted many special editorials to the birthday. The Rzeszow province Party organ Nowiny Rzeszowskie, for example, devoted considerable space to the comments on Gomulka made by his former neighbors from Krosno where he was born, went to school between 1913 and 1918 and was active "in the workers' movement" in 1919 and 1920.

By far the most important contribution to Gomulka's political image was given in Polityka (February 6) by its editor-in-chief Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. According to a PAP summary of the article, Rakowski denied that Gomulka has ever been a "national Communist." Such suggestion was "an absurd idea of Western

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journalists," Rakowski stated. As a matter of fact, Gomulka's "distinctive feature is an extreme sensitiveness to national problems inseparable from internationalism." The Polityka editor further claimed that Gomulka is "one of those Communist leaders whose words and actions are highly esteemed by the world public opinion and its vanguard -- the international army of Communists." (Please note Rakowski's contribution to modern Marxist thought. International Communist cadres, on the world scale, is in the vanguard of world public opinion, just like, on a national scale, the CP is a vanguard of the working class!) Rakowski's assurance on this point was not the only one. "Systematic defense of the interests of the Polish nation and adherence to the principles of internationalism, these are the traits of the activity of Wladyslaw Gomulka," Radio Warsaw stated in its "Calender" feature on February 6. And again, these assurances are far from being new. As early as 16 February 1957, the then Politburo member Jerzy Morawski stated that the idea itself of "national Communism" had been invented by the State Department, and personally by "Mr. Foster Dulles". As a matter of fact, there was no such thing as "national Communism," Morawski concluded.

These protests about "national Communism" are in part designed to quell possible apprehensions of the new Soviet rulers with respect to whom Gomulka has not yet committed himself as to Poland's participation in the March 1 conference of the Communist Parties in Moscow. In this respect, there has also been more assurances as to Gomulka's policy on the problems of the Sino-Soviet rift. Thus Radio Warsaw stated on February 6 that Gomulka is a "spokesman of the policy of alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with all socialist countries." This feature was probably best summed up by Angela Nacken in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (February 6) when she stated that he preserves a wait-and-see attitude in the conflict between Moscow and Peking while stressing his adherence to the alliance with Russia.

A second motivating factor in the attempt to present Gomulka as both fish (nationalist) and fowl (internationalist) is to quell the reported criticism of Gomulka's post-1956 policy by hard-line, dogmatic elements in the Polish United Workers Party. In any case the image of Gomulka presented to the public on his sixtieth birthday is that of a leader of a united ruling Party who is able to reconcile the contradictory obligations of "proletarian internationalism" and "national interests" of Poland.

#### More on Changes in Interior Ministry

Biographies of the three appointees in the Ministry of the Interior (cf. SR February 4) have been published in Trybuna Ludu (February 4). According to this source, Vice-Minister Tadeusz Dryzek was born on 1 January 1919 in a small locality of the Lodz province as son of a worker. He started his polytechnical studies in Warsaw in 1938, but these were interrupted by the war. Dryzek worked as a draughtsman and electrician in a textile factory near Lodz till 1945 when he started his polytechnical studies again, this time in Lodz. After obtaining his diploma, Dryzek worked in executive positions in the electrical industry, first in Lodz then in Warsaw. From 1955 he worked, also "in leading positions," in the Ministry of Power which later was merged with the Ministry of Mining. In 1960 he was appointed secretary of the Committee for Technical Affairs.

A second appointee, Stanislaw Filipiak, was born on 10 December 1924 in a village in the Kielce province as son of a "middle peasant." In 1942 he became a member of the PPR (Polish Workers' Party, predecessor of the present PUWP) and a year later of the Communist organized partisan units. In this connection, Angela Nacken noted in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (February 5) that Filipiak was under command of the present Minister of the Interior, Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar. After the war, Trybuna Ludu continued, Filipiak worked "in responsible positions" in the public security apparatus, for which work he was decorated with high state



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distinctions, topped by the Order of the Banner of Labor 2nd class.

The new director general of the Ministry is Ryszard Matejewski. He was born on 8 November 1923 at Wloclawek (Central Poland) as a son of an artisan. Till September 1939 he was studying at a technical high school ("gimnazjum mechaniczne") but was subsequently deported by the occupying Germans to work in agriculture. In 1943 he returned to Wloclawek. Two years later he "began work in the public security apparatus." He completed his university studies in 1960, "while working in the Ministry of the Interior." Needless to say, all the three appointees are members of the PUWP.

Much more interesting than their biographies is the question of whether these men are replacements or additional appointments. Although official sources maintain silence on this point, there seems to be little doubt that the three new appointees are replacements for Mieczyslaw Moczar, Franciszek Szlachcic and Wacław Komar. With the exception of Moczar whose appointment as Minister of the Interior was officially announced (cf. SR December 16), the two possible vacancies left by Szlachcic and Komar have never been made public. Reportedly, Szlachcic suffered serious injuries in a car accident last fall from which he has not yet recovered. There is some doubt that he can ever regain his health to the extent that <sup>he</sup> could perform full time work. This would suggest that one of the new vice-ministers may as well be a de facto replacement of as a formal addition to Szlachcic. Much more complex is the problem of Gen. Wasław Komar, director general of the Ministry. Last official reference to him in this capacity dates back to November 1963. After that date he may have simply faded away politically. Komar could not be tolerated too long in the "partisan" fortress, as the Ministry of the Interior could be dubbed.

Of Jewish origin and a participant of the Spanish civil war, he played a decisive role in the preparation of the October 1956 upheaval as commandant of internal security troops. He was reported to be strongly opposed to the expanding power and influence of the partisan group.

#### Criticism of Comecon Performance

Criticism of Comecon's performance was voiced by Deputy Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz on at least three occasions: when he was leaving Warsaw for Prague on January 27, in Prague on January 30, and after the conclusion of the session of the two top Comecon bodies in Prague on February 2. Jaroszewicz was heading the Polish delegation to the 19th session of the Council and to the 16th session of the Executive Committee of Comecon, which took place in Prague between January 28 and February 2. (The other two important members of the Polish delegation were Foreign Trade Minister Witold Trampczynski and Transport Minister Piotr Lewinski.)

Jaroszewicz predicted (Radio Warsaw, January 27) that the Council's session would be mainly devoted to a "critical analysis" of Comecon's performance, stressing, first of all, the "shortcomings of our work." The problem is one of drawing "proper conclusions" from past performance so that the Council's work "moved forward at a more brisk pace" and that "we know where we stand," he elaborated. Three days later, these "conclusions" were subjected to criticism by the Polish delegate. According to Trybuna Ludu (January 31), Jaroszewicz said that the Council's report on the state of economic cooperation up to now was correct, but he complained that the future perspectives were "inadequate." He felt that much more could be done in the field of cooperation and specialization, and he singled out as examples machine, electrotechnical and chemical industries. Comecon, Jaroszewicz said had defined specialization in production of 51 items (technological lines) for the chemical industry, but a chemical plant also

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needed "pumps", compressors, pipelines, fittings, transport, electronic and automatic equipment." In the last interview on the session (February 2), as printed in Trybuna Ludu the next day, Jaroszewicz outlined major tasks of the Council in the immediate future. First of all, in mid-1965 agreements on goods exchanges between Comecon countries in the new Five Year Plan must be prepared and concluded. The Council must then proceed with "bilateral and multilateral coordination work" on the problems which still "remain open," and with "economic prognoses" for a "longer period," particularly in the field of mutual supplies of raw materials. As a next major task of Comecon, Jaroszewicz listed "specialization of production" based on the "highest technical achievements" and on "economic cost accounting," which -- in practical terms -- meant also avoidance of "duplication of production." As the final, but no less important task, Jaroszewicz mentioned better technical and scientific cooperation, which for Comecon countries is the only way of becoming part of "world's technical spearhead." Referring to the work of the session of the Executive Committee, Jaroszewicz explained that Poland was particularly interested in a discussion on the freight car pool "in the context of exact execution of regulations and obligations" assumed by participating countries. This last point deserves particular attention, for there had been reports about serious disagreements between Poland and Czechoslovakia on transport difficulties, allegedly caused by Czechoslovakia keeping Polish freight cars too long. It is probably against this background that Jaroszewicz's statement may be interpreted, the more so as before leaving for Prague he also stressed that Poland would be particularly interested in railway transport which is an "important field of Polish cooperation with the countries of CEMA."



Adverse Balance of Trade with East Germany

Poland suffers from "chronic deficit" in her trade with East Germany, the West German Handelsblatt reported January 27. On an average no more than 50 per cent of East German exports to Poland is covered by Polish supplies. This deficit is normally halved by Polish charges for East German-Soviet transport across Poland, but the remaining quarter annually contributes to Poland's growing debt to the DDR. On top of the normal trade deficit there is the 400 billion zloty credit granted by East Germany for the construction of the lignite power combine at Turow. This bears upon the political situation which is more "positive" for East Germany now than it was a few years ago, Handelsblatt concluded. The paper was commenting on a Polish-East German protocol on goods exchange and payments in 1965 signed in Warsaw on January 25. According to this protocol, such exchanges should grow by 10.6 per cent in relation to 1964. Trybuna Ludu (January 26) used the occasion for a review of Polish-East German trade relations for the last four years (1961-1964), but did not refer to the deficit. The paper stressed that the protocol provides also for industrial co-production. Thus, for instance, the Polish light industry will undertake certain production processes in preparation of cotton and carpet yarn for East German textile industry, while the East German heavy industry will make heavy pipes from Polish plates for Poland.