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1. Public Debate Continues

"Poland seems in these days to be one big Hyde Park," Unità correspondent in Warsaw Franco Fabiani quoted a Polish colleague as saying on January 12. "You see how the people are debating, the Party discussing, and the press providing information, how opinions are assessed and points of view confronted," the Pole expounded. Indeed, if conferences and discussions constitute a much-wanted commodity, the Poles cannot complain about its shortage. It looks as if the new leadership intended to heal the ills of the nation by conferences. The phenomenon is not new, but its intensity is rather astounding. The media hail it as a "return to a thorough dialogue between the nation and the Party and government leadership" (Lodz periodical Odglosy, as quoted by Radio Warsaw, January 14). The proregime Catholic daily Slowo Powszechne -- whose recent specialty has been eulogies of Edward Gierek -- suggested on January 11 that these conferences should help develop "a style of government which will insure both that the voices of all concerned are listened to and taken into consideration in advance, and that decisions are then taken which are prompt, clear, and unambiguous and which are guaranteed to be implemented."

The phase of implementation might be approaching, but it certainly has not started at full swing. At any rate, not everywhere. "In the Gdansk Repair Shipyards," as reported

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by Gert Baumgarten from Warsaw for the Vorwaerts (January 14), "instead of work being done, much has been discussed for hours on end these days with officials who had come in a hurry from Warsaw. Poland's Shipping Minister Jerzy Szopa faced the workers in an open oral duel."

Elsewhere along the coast, at Gdynia's Paris Commune Shipyards, "there have already been 21 meetings," Radio Gdansk (January 14) said, before starting to report on the next meeting, at the K-2 division of the plant, with First Secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship Party Committee Alojzy Karkoszka, who is member of the division's Party organization. The meeting "turned into a sincere Party dialogue," the broadcast stated. There is much evidence which allows one to take this statement at its face value. It is there, in the Baltic coastal cities, Baumgarten stressed, that "the discussion is going on with Party officers from Warsaw about the things which, a few weeks ago, under Gomulka and Kliszko, hardly anybody would have been happy to touch."

Paradoxically, Radio Gdansk (January 14), reporting on the situation in Szczecin, stated that the discussions taking place there "are an expression of the dialogue which had just begun." Did this mean that there had been no discussions earlier? There were, the broadcast explained. The point was one of atmosphere. For, Radio Gdansk continued, "today [in Szczecin] is the third consecutive day of normal, if not intensive, work. It is also the next, one of many, day of the discussions conducted in a different atmosphere, different even when compared with that of a week ago."

A week ago, Antoni Walaszek was still first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship Party Committee, and he also presided over the voivodship's Party conference on January 5 (see Polish Situation Report/2, Radio Free Europe Research, 8 January 1971, Item 2). "His removal was reported by reliable sources to have been a prime demand of demonstrators last month," Reuter reported from Warsaw on January 14. The agency (as well as UPI and AFP) quoted Glos Szczecinski of January 13 as saying that a strike at the Adolf Warski Shipyards in Szczecin was planned for Monday, January 11, but was averted thanks to the intervention of Politburo member and CC Secretary Jan Szydlak, who went there and satisfied the workers' "prime demand" by removing Walaszek. Officially, it was reported (e.g., Radio Warsaw, January 11), that Walaszek resigned "in view of the difficulties in directing the work of the Voivodship Committee." Another man who also "resigned" was a voivodship Party secretary, Henryk Huber. (For a short note on their replacements see Item 6.)

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"There is still a certain group of people who do not care about the results of their activities but, on the other hand, the situation proves that peace and social concern prevail in the attitude of the labor force," Szydlak was quoted by Glos Szczecinski as stating during his "intervention" on January 11. He was also quoted as saying:

Revealing the truth about the mistakes of the former leadership will constitute the foundation of a dam against the phenomena which led the country into a deeper crisis than it experienced 14 years ago.

While such a statement by a Politburo member would seem indicative of the new Party leadership's deep and thorough analysis of the extent of the crisis, it remains to be seen why the new leaders were so slow in removing Walaszak. This is particularly difficult to understand in view of the fact that Szczecin was the sorest spot on the map of labor unrest and even violence -- as admitted by Glos Szczecinski, December 30, the strike there was total from December 17 to 22, and even after that day, life was far from normal.

In the meantime, the series of voivodship Party Committee conferences has been completed, with reports on them, phrased in rather general terms, appearing in Trybuna Ludu. According to this source, the conference at Olsztyn, on January 6, was attended by CC Cadre Affairs Bureau head Teodor Palimaka. (As in the earlier case of Zdislaw Zandarowski -- see Polish SR/2, RFER, 8 January 1971, Items 2 and 5 -- it was only the conference announcement which revealed the advance of Polimaka from deputy head to head of the department.)

Also on January 6, a voivodship Party conference took place in Bialystok (CC Press Bureau head Wieslaw Bek attending -- again an advance from deputy to head!) and Poznan, where it was presided over by the new local leader, Jerzy Zasada, and attended by CC Science and Education Department head Andrzej Werblan. Five conferences on January 8 completed the voivodship series: Bydgoszcz (chaired by local leader Jozef Majchrzak, with Szydlak attending); Gdansk (Karkoszka, with Politburo member and CC Secretary Stanislaw Kociolek attending); Lodz (two local Party leaders, Jozef Spychalski of the Municipal Committee and Jerzy Muszynski of the Voivodship Committee, present, with guests from Warsaw: Politburo member and CC Secretary Stefan Olszowski, and CC Administrative Department head Wladyslaw Niesmialek); Warsaw Municipal (local leader, Politburo candidate member Jozef Kepa); and Katowice (Zdzislaw Grudzien).

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This does not exhaust the list of Party conferences. Radio Warsaw reminded its listeners on January 15 that the report-and-election campaign is nearing its end on the district and city ward level (see Polish SR/55, RFER, 30 October 1970, Item 4), but these meetings are still taking place. As a starting point for an assessment of their own activity, these conferences adopt "a critical approach to the style and methods of work in the past," Radio Warsaw explained.

One of the voivodship meetings, at Gdansk, on January 8, produced a very important statement coming from Kociolek:

Indeed, we have to come to the point where our leaders depart in conditions in which we all can appreciate, respect and praise them. We need leaders. As long as People's Poland exists, each settlement of accounts is a tragic settlement, is a settlement in which we -- if one can use this simile -- pull our leaders from the pedestal down to earth. It is a tragic matter of negative, of unusually negative, social, educational and political consequences.

Kociolek preceded this statement by an appeal for "observing the principle of absolute rotation in the leading Party posts, in all top government positions."

An appeal for "rotation of cadres" could also be found in an article by editor-in-chief Kazimierz Kakol in the fortnightly Prawo i Zycie (January 10). "There is no point in waiting for discussions, resolutions, and decisions. It is necessary to start making order with oneself, in one's own bailiwick," Kakol said. He justified his appeal for a thorough purge as follows:

In practice, public life proves that the lack of rotation (automatic and ruthless, after a prescribed term of office is completed) and/or failure to draw conclusions in personnel policy (based on all sorts of realistic criteria -- hence also and to the same extent on achievements in the field of establishing democracy) most decidedly do not help democracy establish roots.

Kakol admitted that "the most easy ones" are those conclusions of a personnel character, but he also argued that one has to start with them, because they are "the first and indispensable premise for the overcoming of intellectual and political laziness."

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Irrespective of the principle of rotation, whether it will be introduced or not before his turn comes, Gierek faces what Eric Bourne (Christian Science Monitor, January 14) called "two imperative challenges." These are:

"1. To effect a genuine restructuring of the economy that will halt a decade of decline and modernize it for a competitive future.

"2. To meet the over-all challenge posed by people and by the human element, which was increasingly ignored, until it touched off last month's crisis. The need, in short, is to close the communications gap between people and Party."

As the countless discussions show, Gierek has in part started to meet the second challenge. It may turn out to be easier than the first one, whose solution does not seem to be in sight.

2. Economists' Congress

On January 7 and 8, the All-Polish Congress of Economists held a discussion in Warsaw attended by 800 delegates representing about 450,000 economists. On January 9, there was a General Assembly of the Polish Economic Society, an organization comprising about 55,000 members. This assembly was attended only by the constitutionally elected delegates of the PES.

The preparations for the Economists' Congress began about a year ago. The basic papers prepared by the six sections, each working on a separate group of problems, were published during the second half of 1970. Everything was adjusted to the original plan, to hold the Congress on 11-13 December 1970. Toward the end of November, however, the decision was made to postpone the Congress to January, 1971. Officially, the postponement was explained as caused by the lack of time for precongressional discussions in the field organizations of the PES. Now it seems, however, that the decision to postpone it was made in order to avoid having the immediate effects of the announcement of raises in food prices (December 12) coincide with the holding of the congress, which was originally intended to become a conference approving the whole range of economic reforms which were being forced through by Gomulka's administration, and not as a show applauding only one of its moves. The bad luck which accompanied the setting of the original date of the congress persisted, and also affected the newly-set date. Thus, the discussions of January 7 to 9 found the economic circles in a state of complete confusion. The vital

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changes in the political leadership, changes with a broad social background, in effect nullified, to a great degree, the program points in the papers prepared for the congress, and the lack of clarity about the direction of future changes made any really extensive discussion on the question of model problems quite impossible. Moreover, the Eighth CC Plenum, (which will make crucial decisions concerning the most vital changes in economic policy) is scheduled to take place at the end of January -- that is, only after the congress. As a result, the congress has not been able to play any great role in forcing through any changes in overall economic policy.

The intention to play down the importance of the congress, to treat it merely as one current event, became particularly evident in the manner in which Trybuna Ludu reported on the discussions. In contrast to the reports on the Technicians' Congress, or other similar conferences, the reports on the Economists' Congress were relegated to unimportant spots in the newspapers. Only the Polish Radio Network -- as if carried away by the momentum of the propaganda campaign preceding the congress -- devoted more air time to it. Judging from what is known about them to date, the discussions fully justified the reluctance of the press to give the congress any great publicity. At this point, it is hard to refrain from making a digression, in order to compare this congress with the preceding congress, which took place in the memorable year of 1956. The political atmosphere of that period (June, 1956), the energy of a society which was yet not burdened by the experience of defeats suffered later, the disorientation of the authorities, who were then obviously on the defensive -- all made the congress of June, 1956, an event whose impact went beyond its special economic field. Although the majority of the demands voiced at that congress were later either rejected or conveniently "forgotten," they acquired, for a time, the character of a programmatic document and made a major impact on the "Polish October." This time, however, history did not repeat itself. The leading economists who spoke at the congress spoke cautiously without any of the originality shown in 1956.

On the opening day of the congress, Trybuna Ludu (January 7) devoted its top article to that event. This article contained some rather significant statements:

They [the economists] are, beyond any doubt, one of those circles of the Polish intelligentsia which, in the natural course of events, will play a great and responsible role in the system of consultations and the common realization of decisions, on which depends the solution of our current difficulties and a successful development of our country (emphasis added).

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After the congress closed, Trybuna Ludu (January 10) published an article by Jan Sikora entitled "Economics versus Politics in a Socialist State." In this article, which, incidentally, did not make a single reference to the congress, the author laid particular stress on the absolute need for the supremacy of politics in the shaping of economic policies:

Under the socialist system, where the state shoulders the task of directing the country's economic development, the problem of economics becomes, in all its aspects, a political problem (emphasis added).

The speech which dominated the first day of the congress was delivered by Deputy Premier Stanislaw Majewski, chairman of the Planning Commission, who appeared as spokesman for the Party and government. His speech (which for good measure could have been delivered in the Sejm or at any other occasion) contained no revelations. He mentioned the need for a modification of the wage system, for the purpose of simplifying its operational technique and relaxing the strict ceiling on wage increases -- a concept which had already been communicated earlier to the public. He also mentioned the problem of defining the ranges of responsibility in economic life. According to Majewski, the present system of confining the power to make decisions to the highest levels of authority should be changed. A considerable part of Majewski's speech was devoted to the social aspects of economic activity. He said that: "At this moment, we find ourselves in the initial stage of formulating changes in economic policy."

The speech delivered by Jozef Pajestka, chairman of the PES, was a cautious one, full of phrases about the need for "social consultations," about social relations, etc. Pajestka argued that the previous economic reform measures under Jaszczuk (in which he himself played at least some role) had contained "certain vital deficiencies." Not forgetting, however, the stigma attached to him as the author of the old term "selective development" Pajestka made a new volte-face in order to reconcile "selective development" with the phrase "harmonious development" which has lately become fashionable. He said:

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.... the slogan of a policy of selective development is correct from the long-range point of view. However, one has to pass to a more selective development by stages, and not by a sudden turn. Each case has to be examined on its own merits in order to avoid causing disproportions or disturbances on the market or in industry, or any adverse social effects.

We economists should feel highly responsible for these matters. On our own, nevertheless, we shall achieve no results in this sphere, unless we join forces with the general social effort organized by the Party and government.

Pajestka therefore showed himself prepared to accept the new Party directives in the sphere of economic reforms. So far, there is no clear information as to the degree of a similar readiness and keenness on the part of other economists. For its part, Radio Warsaw on January 8 summed up the results of the Congress with the statement that the economists, while agreeing with the reform principles presented at the Fifth PUPP Congress, had stated that economic mechanism could not function properly when changes in the economic system were introduced in piecemeal fashion. This point was reiterated by Zycie Warszawy in its January 14 comment on the Congress. The above Radio Warsaw report also stated that the economists had noted that "pursuing the planned character of the economy is necessary and obvious," but that "excessive detail of planning is not justified."

Except for the speeches delivered by Majewski and Pajestka, the press did not give any excerpts from speeches delivered by others. From the information broadcast by Radio Warsaw, one could, however, deduce that Edward Lipinski, the senior Polish economist, particularly stressed, in his speech, the importance of the organizational factor in the process of the liberation of reserves. Toward the end of the second day of its discussions, after the conclusion of the discussions conducted separately by meetings of the six separate sections, the congress passed a resolution. This resolution approved the decision of the Seventh CC Plenum and announced the continuation of the policy of a "more intensive economic development." The debates were brought to a close by Kazimierz Secomski, chairman of the congress.

The General Assembly of the Polish Economic Society, which 240 delegates attended, took place on the following day, that is December 9 (the last General Assembly was held three years ago). During the discussion, a proposal was made to integrate activities of other organizations, such as, for instance, the Scientific Society for Organization and Management, and the Polish Bookkeepers' Association, within the framework of the PES. The General Assembly passed a resolution demanding, in part, the preparation for the central

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authorities of opinions and experts' reports about the country's current economic situation, by a special commission selected for this purpose by the PES. The General Assembly elected its new officials, but did not announce their names, stating only that the new Board would be created within the next two weeks. On January 9, Radio Warsaw announced that the Economic Society would present "concrete proposals" on the changes in the country's economic development "only in three to five months' time." Given the background of the January 4 meeting of representatives of the PES with the new leadership, during which the former promised to search for economic solutions such as would "assure a dynamic development of the country and a permanent improvement in the standard of living of the nation," Radio Warsaw's use of the word "only" might reflect official disappointment that the society's proposals will not be available in the near future.

Another event of a similar nature will take place shortly. On February 11-13, the Sixth Congress of Polish Technicians will be held in Poznan. "Technicians" is a misnomer for fully fledged graduate engineers and technicians, both associated and not associated, in what is known as NOT (Main Technological Organization), the body which officially is the Congress organizer.

3. Further Visits to the GDR, Other Neighbors.

Foreign Minister Jedrychowski concluded his three-day visit to East Berlin on January 8 (see Polish SR/2, REFER, 8 January 1971, Item 1). No indication of the true purpose of the visit emerged from the official communiqué. This document (released on January 8) referred to the two ministers' (Jedrychowski and Otto Winzer) expressing "readiness to carry on all-round and active co-operation in favor of the further development of close economic relations between Poland and the GDR, as well as between all states which are members of the CMEA (Comecon)." In conclusion, the communiqué noted that "the exchange of views was conducted in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, it bore out the complete unanimity of views on all questions discussed."

Even more enigmatic than the communiqué was the announcement by Radio Warsaw on January 9 that -- in addition to Jedrychowski -- another Politburo member (and CC Secretary) Jozed Tejchma, had met with representatives of the SED Central Committee some time between January 4 and 8. He did so within the framework of a series of "friendly visits" by Politburo members to Central Committees of the "brotherly" Parties. Thus, Kociolek went to Czechoslovakia; Olszowski to Hungary and Rumania; and Mieczyslaw Moczar to Bulgaria. During these

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visits, "information was exchanged about current political problems and issues pertaining to mutual co-operation were discussed," Radio Warsaw explained.

The series did not end at that. Radio Belgrade announced on January 14 that a Polish Party delegation, headed by Tejchma and including Stanislaw Kania, CC Administrative Department head, arrived in Belgrade on the same day to "exchange information about, and views on, questions of interest to the two Parties." The talks took place in a "friendly" atmosphere. The two Parties "emphasized" the need for further development of co-operation.

The most important recent visit, however, was again to the GDR. On January 11, Gierek and Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz paid a visit to East Berlin. They were duly greeted at the airport by their East German opposite numbers, Walter Ulbricht and Willi Stoph, as well as by Politburo members Erich Honecker and Hermann Axen. Again, little could be learned from the official communiqué released on the same day. However, possible progress, as compared with the previous communiqué on Jedrychowski's visit, could be read into the passage referring to "profound satisfaction at the successful development of all-round relations" linking the two Parties and the two states. "The Polish side provided information about the current state of the social development of People's Poland," the communiqué stated, while "the GDR leaders informed their visitors about the results of the shaping of the social system of socialism in the GDR." (Lack of similar reference to socialism in Poland is at least significant.) The communiqué also contained the usual positive appraisal of the Soviet and Polish treaties with the FRG, as well as the usual demand for international recognition of the GDR. Again, there was an "atmosphere of cordial friendship" during the meeting which "revealed a full unanimity of views on all the problems discussed," the communiqué concluded.

The visit, as pointed out by Radio Zagreb (January 12), "has surprised many people," if only because it "was not expected right now," in the immediate wake of Jedrychowski's trip. Poland and the GDR have no identical views on a number of problems, Radio Zagreb explained, hence this might have been "another reason for the present (Gierek's) visit."

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4. Visit of Austrian Foreign Minister

Austria's Foreign Minister, Dr. Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, and his wife reached Warsaw on January 13 for a four-day official visit at the invitation of Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Jedrychowski, for political talks and to discuss prospects for closer economic and scientific-technical co-operation between the two countries.

Kirchschlaeger's visit was originally scheduled for last December, but was postponed at Polish government's request, because (as interpreted by a UPI dispatch from Vienna, January 2) it would have conflicted with the Warsaw Pact summit in East Berlin (December 2) attended by Jedrychowski. Thus, Dr. Kirchschlaeger is the first Western minister to visit Poland since last month's Party and government changes.

According to the itinerary announced by the Austrian Foreign Office (RFE Special from Vienna, January 12), on the first day of his visit, Kirchschlaeger was to pay a courtesy and working call on the Polish Foreign Minister, who was to host a dinner party that evening for the Austrian guests. The second day was to include talks with Jedrychowski, Foreign Trade Minister Janusz Burakiewicz, and Premier Jaroszewicz; the third day was to include a call on State Council Chairman Jozef Cyrankiewicz, and Culture and Arts Minister Lucjan Motyka. The last day (Saturday) was reserved for a sight-seeing trip through Cracow from where the Austrian guest was to return in the evening to Vienna.

Polish information media are stressing the importance of the visit in the political field of European détente as well as in Polish-Austrian bilateral relations, particularly in the economic field. PAP (January 11) stressed that Austria is in favor of a European conference on security and co-operation and that, as a neutral country which is not a member of any military alliance, it is predisposed actively to contribute to the policy of détente. In the field of bilateral Polish-Austrian relations, said PAP, emphasis is laid on economic problems. Although mutual trade turnover is on the increase, the structure of Polish exports to Austria is unsatisfactory, the share of raw materials and fuels being too high and that of machinery and equipment too low. One can expect, said PAP, that this subject will be discussed during the visit.

According to an RFE Special from Vienna (January 11), the Austrian Foreign Office considered the visit of its minister "routine," since there were no open or major outstanding Austrian-Polish questions, especially after Poland

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had agreed in October, 1970, to pay 71.5 million dollars as compensation for Austrian property lost in Poland after 1945 (see Polish SR/52, RFER, 13 October 1970, Item 7/F). Further, the Special said that the Austrian side expected that problems of Austrian-Polish trade will have to be discussed and that Kirchschlaeger and Jedrychowski were expected to provide, at least in general terms, all preconditions for later talks by Austrian and Polish trade experts. It was also expected that, in view of East Bloc criticism of Austrian efforts to come to an agreement with the Common Market, Kirchschlaeger's task will be to explain in Warsaw the compatibility of closer ties between Austria and the EEC and the country's neutral status. Finally, said the Special, there was no secret in Vienna that the question of European security would also be discussed, since -- despite a certain reluctance to admit its role as mediator -- there was no doubt that Austria, and especially Kirchschlaeger himself, have, to a certain extent, accepted the role of go-between in efforts to reconcile divergent Western and Eastern standpoints on the issue of preparing a European security conference. Another RFE Special from Vienna (January 13) recalled that the Austrian Foreign Ministry favored a series of smaller meetings which would culminate in a full-scale European conference and that Kirchschlaeger's next visit to a foreign country will take him to Moscow.

In his speech at a dinner party he gave for the Austrian guests on the first day of their stay in Poland (PAP, January 14), Minister Jedrychowski expressed the desire that all hotbeds of conflict and unrest, particularly the Middle East and Far East, be eradicated by political solutions. He further underlined the importance of the Polish-West German treaty and of the recognition by the FRG of the final character of the Oder-Neisse frontier as a factor reducing tension in the very heart of Europe. The minister spoke further of trends aiding the efforts to strengthen European security, trends which have assumed a concrete form of action in favor of an all-European conference on security and co-operation. Here the Polish minister praised neutral Austria's profound understanding of this idea. "This," said the minister, "opens up encouraging prospects for the future co-operation of our countries in this field as well."

Speaking on the co-operation between Poland and Austria, Jedrychowski stated that, although this development is viewed with great satisfaction, "there still exist great possibilities for further broadening this co-operation." "We see these possibilities," said the minister, "particularly in the economic domain." He stressed Poland's interest in broader trade exchanges with Austria and all-round economic co-operation, industrial coproduction and scientific and technical exchange.

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In his reply to Jedrychowski's speech, Kirchsclaeger referred to Poland's successful policy of détente, and in this connection, paid tribute to the late Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki as one of the "great men among European ministers of foreign affairs" (Rapacki died last October, after being dismissed from his post in December, 1968, in the wake of the March, 1968 student revolt). "The more effectively a European state settled problems dividing it from another state by means of bilateral negotiations, the greater its contribution to détente and security in Europe," said Kirchsclaeger. Speaking of Austria's role in the political arena, the Austrian minister said that his country, thanks to its neutrality, may sometimes have the possibility of having a say where the fronts between the two systems of treaties seem to be stalemated at a given moment. "In this connection, I would like, once again to point out Austria's readiness to come out, within her possibilities, in favor of convening an all-European conference on security and co-operation."

Speaking on Polish-Austrian bilateral relations, Kirchsclaeger described them as a telling example of fruitful and friendly co-operation between two states with different social systems, which is reflected in the high level of trade turnover. The long-term trade agreement, the conclusion of which will be negotiated this year, should create a basis for further successful development. He expressed the hope that, apart from trade exchange, industrial co-operation in major economic undertakings will also gain importance. The minister also mentioned cultural ties between Poland and Austria and ended by expressing a wish further to extend the ties that currently exist.

5. Western Territories' Society Dissolved

In a rather unassuming way, Radio Warsaw announced on January 8 that the Society for the Development of the Western Territories (Towarzystwo Rozwoju Ziemi Zachodnich) has been dissolved. The society was founded on 26 May 1957 as "a result of the Polish people's interest in the problems of the Western Territories."

The tasks of the society consisted of creating and organizing social initiative to help develop the Western Territories; to strengthen the social links between various strata of the population there; to further the processes of integration between the Western Territories and the rest of the country. Its tasks consisted of spreading among Poles at home and abroad awareness of the Polishness (Polish character) of the Western Territories, of making Poles aware of the importance of developing the Western Territories and -- last but by no means least --

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of combating "West German revisionism."

During its more than 11 years of existence, the society fulfilled the above-mentioned tasks by carrying out, with the support of the Front of National Unity, extensive activity consisting of meetings and lectures, movie shows, exhibitions, radio and TV programs. The society also engaged in extensive publishing activity, issuing mainly popular books, brochures and pamphlets. The society worked together with ZBoWiD (Veterans' Association), with the Polonia (Society for Co-operation with Poles Abroad), putting the stress on work with youth. Its membership amounted (in 1968) to over 126,000 people.

The secretary-general of the society, Jozef Machno, speaking at the society's latest (and last) general assembly held in Warsaw on January 8, supplied the following reasons for the dissolution of the society:

A manifold, spectacular economic, cultural and social development of the Western and Northern Territories, their full integration (with the rest of the country), their leading role in many fields, all these elements permit us to say, most convincingly, that the tasks which the Party set for our society have been fully achieved and that our organization contributed considerably to that historical achievement of our nation. Fully convinced that the society has achieved the tasks set it, the Presidium asks the general assembly to adopt a resolution dissolving our organization.

There is little doubt that the real reasons for the dissolution of the society were political. While -- on the one hand -- the dissolution of the society may be interpreted as a gesture of good will toward the FRG, it may also be motivated by an intention of finally and definitely doing away with a distinction between those "Western Territories" and the rest of the country, thus psychologically contributing toward a further integration of the whole nation.

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6. New Appointments: the Change in Szczecin

Not unexpectedly, important changes have taken place in the Szczecin Voivodship Party Committee. At its plenary session held on January 11, First Secretary Antoni Walaszek was replaced by Eugeniusz Olubek, and the secretary for propaganda, Henryk Huber, by Wieslaw Rogowski.

Relatively little is known about new First Secretary Olubek, apart from the routine activities which he performed as Deputy Head of the PUWP CC Organization Department, a post which he had occupied since January, 1969. There is only one known case of his visiting the USSR, but that occurred quite recently, at the beginning of December, 1970, when Olubek attended a session of the Party Basic Organization at Polish government offices in Moscow. Reuter, reporting from Warsaw on January, supplied the additional information about Olubek that he is 45 years old and a former weaver from Zyrardow, near Warsaw.

There is little doubt that there is a junctim between Olubek's appointment and the recent and spectacular promotion of his former boss, Edward Babiuch, from the post of Head of the PUWP CC Organization Department to the position of secretary and full member of the PUWP CC Politburo (see Polish SR/65, RFER, 20 December 1970).

The new propaganda secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship Party Committee, Wieslaw Rogowski, has a literary and journalistic past. A writer of some standing, he is the author of two novels dealing with German problems, of a film scenario and radio plays. His direct link with the city of Szczecin started in or about 1965 when he became director of the Szczecin section of the Polish State Radio and Television Network. In September, 1966, he was appointed editor-in-chief of the local Party daily, Glos Szczecinski, a post which he held until his most recent appointment.

On January 9, PAP announced two diplomatic changes. Janusz Lewandowski, 39, former Polish representative in the International Control Commission for Vietnam, was made ambassador to the United Arab Republic; he will also be accredited to Yemen, Libya and Sudan.

Born in Warsaw, to a "working intelligentsia" family, he studied history and obtained the title of master of the history of international relations. In 1955, he entered the Polish diplomatic service. He was a member of the Polish delegation to the UN, in 1959-1962 was first secretary in the Polish Embassy in Cairo, and until 1964 was secretary and chargé d'affaires in Dar es Salaam. He represented Poland on the International Commission for

Vietnam in 1966 and 1967 with the rank of ambassador. His most recent position was that of director of a department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a PUWP member.

Wladyslaw Rolski, at present Polish ambassador to Ethiopia, was appointed to serve concurrently as ambassador to Somalia, the same PAP communiqué announced. For more information on him, see Polish SR/74, RFER, 17 September 1969.

7. Foreign Trade Briefs

Italy. On December 9 in Warsaw, Poland and Italy signed a protocol on exchange of goods in 1971, the second such protocol under the long-term trade agreement for 1970-1974. Reporting on the protocol, Trybuna Ludu (December 10) stressed that, under its terms, Polish-Italian trade will be further liberalized and thus, as of 1 January 1971, one fourth of the products on the list of Polish exports to Italy will be freed from restrictions.

France. On January 7 in Warsaw, Poland and France signed a protocol on exchange of goods and on economic and industrial co-operation in 1971, the second protocol under the current 1970-1974 trade agreement, Radio Warsaw reported on the same day, adding that the protocol stipulated further liberalization of French imports from Poland.

Radio Warsaw's economic commentary stated the following day that Poland holds second place among the "socialist" countries, after the USSR, in trade with France, which is becoming one of Poland's important suppliers of machines and equipment and where Poland also buys certain quantities of grain. The commentary also stressed the importance of Polish purchases from France of licenses and equipment on long-term credit terms, repayable by Polish deliveries of goods produced under license and later, as of 1975, by deliveries of copper.

CSSR. A Polish-CSSR protocol on exchange of goods in 1971 was signed in Prague on December 18, Trybuna Ludu reported on the following day, adding on that occasion that both Poland and Czechoslovakia are third in importance as each other's trade partners. Among the most important items on the list of Polish exports to Czechoslovakia, the paper mentioned various kinds of machines, Polish Fiats and hard coal, with Czechoslovak exports to Poland including, apart from machines, trucks, cars and foundry products.

Hungary. Polish-Hungarian trade turnover in 1971 is to increase by 8 per cent over the previous year, with marked increases in reciprocal deliveries of machines and equipment, according to the protocol signed in Budapest (Radio Warsaw, 12 January 1971).