

- 1963 (December) Co-opted to presidium of Central Board of Agricultural Circles.
- 1964 (June) Elected deputy CC member.
- 1965 (May) Elected deputy to Sejm.
- 1965 (December) Appointed deputy head of CC Organization Department and editor-in-chief of Zycie Partii; remained member of CC Committee on Agricultural Affairs, but relinquished youth union and agricultural circle posts.
- 1968 (November) Elected full CC member and First Secretary of Poznan Voivodship Party Committee; relinquished editorship of Zycie Partii and CC Organization Department post.
- 1970 (December) Elected CC Secretary; left Poznan committee post.
- 1971 (December) Re-elected CC Secretary and elected candidate member of Politburo.

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Sources:

1. AFP, Reuter, and UPI from Warsaw, 8 February 1971.
2. Handelsblatt (Hamburg), 23 December 1970.
3. Sztandar Mlodych, 14 July 1953 and 22 October 1965.
4. Trybuna Ludu, 13 February 1957, 31 July 1960, 7 December 1963, 21 June 1964, 8 and 30 December 1965, 21 December 1970, 12 December 1971, and 31 December 1971-1 January 1972.
5. Zycie Partii, May 1968.

RYSZARD FRELEK

Present Positions:

Party: Member of the Central Committee Secretariat;  
Chairman, Central Committee Foreign Department.

Other: Sejm Deputy; Member of the Presidium of the  
PUWP Parliamentary Club.

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Ryszard Frelek was born on 30 May 1929 in the village of Parysow, Garwolin District, Warsaw Voivodship, to a teacher's family. He studied at the Academy of Political Science in Warsaw and at the Main School of Agricultural Economy, also in Warsaw (no precise dates are available). His official biography lists him as holding a doctorate in history, but gives no details of his historical studies. The military daily Zolnierz Wolnosci (28 October 1970) mentioned that on 21 October 1970 he received the degree of doctor of humanities from the Feliks Dzierzynski Military Political Academy.

While still in high school Frelek worked as an activist in the Polish Boy and Girl Scout Union and the Rural Youth Union (Wici), and during his undergraduate days he was active in the Polish Youth Union (ZMP) and its university branch. He joined the communist party in March 1953. During this time he began working for the Polish Press Agency (PAP), and was its Indian correspondent from 1957 to 1959.

Upon his return to Poland he was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of PAP's foreign section, where he remained until 1962, when he joined the staff of the PUWP CC, where he reportedly acted as Zenon Kliszko's secretary (a detail omitted from his official biographies). After this assignment, which seems to have lasted from 1962 until 1968, he returned to PAP, again as deputy editor-in-chief (1968-1969).

He became a member of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) in 1968, and was named its acting director in April 1969, and its director in January 1971; he held this post until November of that year.

His party career began in April 1971, when he was appointed head of the PUWP CC Foreign Department. At the sixth congress in December 1971 he was elected a full member of the Central Committee and a member of the CC Secretariat.

For almost ten years he was a lecturer in the journalism section of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Warsaw University, but it is not known whether he kept that position after his election to the CC Secretariat.

Frelek, one of the youngest high-level party officials, enjoys a good academic reputation. He is the author of many articles, most of which deal with international politics. Moreover, in connection with his assignments with PAP, the Institute, and the party he has traveled widely both inside and outside the Soviet bloc. He has been a member of Polish delegations to the UN General Assembly (1969 and 1970) and a participant in numerous conferences in Western Europe dealing with European security problems. He accompanied the Polish delegations to the 24th CPSU Congress in Moscow (April 1971) and the 14th CPCS Congress in Prague (May 1971). In September 1971 he was a member of the PUWP delegation to the ninth congress of the Indian CP, from which he returned via Beirut, where he met the leaders of the Lebanese party.

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#### Political Career

1953 (March)	Joined PUWP.
1962	After several years with PAP, joined PUWP CC staff as secretary to Zenon Kliszko.

1968 (June) Became member of Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM).  
1968 (December) Left CC position, returned to PAP as deputy editor-in-chief.  
1969 (April) Became acting director of PISM.  
1971 (January) Became director of PISM, apparently left PAP.  
1971 (April) Appointed head of CC Foreign Department.  
1971 (November) Relinquished PISM post.  
1971 (December) Elected CC member and member of CC Secretariat.  
1972 (March) Elected Sejm deputy.

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#### Sources

1. Nowe Ksiazki, 31 March 1971.
2. Trybuna Ludu, 12 December 1971.

ZDZISLAW GRUDZIEN

Present Positions:

Party: Candidate Member of the Politburo; First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee

Other: Sejm Deputy; Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on National Defense

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Zdzislaw Grudzien was born on 6 October 1924 in Escaudain (northern France). His father was a Silesian miner who emigrated to France and then returned to Silesia (where Zdzislaw was brought up). The family later returned to France, where young Grudzien worked as a miner and took an active part in the leftist workers' movement and, in 1942, joined the French CP. During the war he was active in the French resistance movement and was one of the organizers of Grunwald, an association of young Poles in northern France.

In 1946 Grudzien returned to Poland and joined the Polish Workers' Party and later the Polish Youth Union (ZMP); he became a member of the latter organization's presidium in June 1953, and chairman of its voivodship committee in Katowice in February 1955. Official biographies of Grudzien tend to gloss over his education, and it is not quite clear how and when he obtained a master's degree in engineering from the Mining Academy in Cracow. This could lend credibility to the belief that the degree was "bestowed" on him for his "political merits."

Grudzien's party career began in 1957, when he was entrusted with a number of "responsible functions," including that of head of the Propaganda Department of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee, and then (since February 1960) its secretary. In June 1964 (at the fourth party congress) he was elected a PUWP CC member. On 28 December 1970 he was elected First Secretary of the Katowice committee, succeeding Edward Gierek (who himself nominated Grudzien for the post). In December 1971, at the sixth party congress, he was elected a candidate Politburo member.

A deputy to the Sejm since June 1965, Grudzien was Deputy Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Trade Committee from 1965 until

March 1971, when he went over to the Heavy, Chemical, and Mining Industries Committee. In June 1969 he was made Deputy Chairman of the Polish-French parliamentary group, and in March 1972 he became the chairman of the group, as well as Chairman of the Sejm National Defense Committee.

Like most members of any consequence in the party establishment, Grudzien has made frequent trips to the bloc countries. He has made only a few to the West, however. So far is known, he went to Italy in 1955 as a member of a youth delegation and again in 1966 as a member of a PUWP delegation to the Italian CP congress, and in May 1968 he led a Sejm delegation to Paris. More recently, in April 1972, he headed a delegation representing the Polish-French parliamentary group which spent a week in Paris laying the groundwork for First Secretary Gierek's forthcoming visit to France.

Grudzien has often been called a typical party apparatchik. Needless to say, his political career is closely associated with that of Gierek, under whose eye he "ripened" and rose in the Katowice hierarchy. He obviously enjoys the latter's trust -- as witnessed by his elevation to the leadership of the region in late 1970. Although he inherited this position, Grudzien has not acquired Gierek's former mantle as the "Polish Tshombe." Despite the fact that he now rules over a very important industrial area, he has remained Gierek's man -- a fact that undoubtedly played a major role in the party leader's decision to recommend Grudzien as his successor.

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#### Political Career

1942	Joined French CP.
1946	Returned to Poland, joined Polish Workers' Party and Polish Youth Union (ZMP).
1953 (June)	Named to ZMP presidium.
1955 (February)	Became Chairman of ZMP Voivodship Committee in Katowice.
1960 (February)	Became secretary of PUWP Voivodship Committee in Katowice.
1964 (June)	Elected full CC member.

- 1965 (June) Elected Sejm deputy, became Chairman of Foreign Trade Committee.
- 1970 (December) Elected First Secretary of Katowice Voivodship Party Committee.
- 1971 (March) Shifted from chairmanship of Sejm Foreign Trade Committee to that of Heavy, Chemical, and Mining Industries Committee.
- 1971 (December) Elected candidate member of Politburo.
- 1972 (March) Elected Chairman of Sejm Committee on National Defense and Chairman of Polish-French parliamentary group.

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Sources:

1. Poznan 1956-Grudzien 1970 (Paris: Kultura Literary Institute, 1971), Vol. 202, pp. 92-128.
2. Trybuna Ludu, 21 June 1964, 23 January 1966, 16 May and 17 November 1968, 3 June and 22 July 1969, 29 December 1970, and 20 March and 12 December 1971.
3. Trybuna Robotnicza, 29 December 1970.



HENRYK JABLONSKI

Present Positions:

Party: Member of the Politburo

Other: Chairman of the State Council; Sejm Deputy

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Henryk Jablonski was born on 27 December 1909 in Waliszewo (Lowicz District, Lodz Voivodship) to a worker's family. He graduated from high school in Lowicz in 1927 and then studied history at the University of Warsaw, from which he received a master's degree in 1931 and a doctorate (summa cum laude) in 1934. Always to the left politically, he joined the Polish Socialist Party in 1931. During the 1930s he worked in the Army Historical Bureau but was "demoted because of accusations of 'antistate' activities." Somewhat later he was employed on the staff of the Military Archives.

Contrary to what is said in his official biographies, Jablonski's participation in the September 1939 campaign can only be termed passive. He served with distinction in 1940 in the Norwegian campaign, however, and later participated in the resistance movement in France.

In October 1945 he returned to Poland and became secretary of the Polish Socialist Party and a member of the Polish National Council, a sort of substitute parliament. (He was elected to all the subsequent Sejms, each time, however, from a different constituency, thus not identifying himself, as so many other politicians did, with any region or locality.) In 1948 he became Deputy Chairman of the Polish Socialist Party.

From 1946 to 1950 Jablonski was a professor at the Higher School of Political Sciences; in 1948 he became an associate professor (docent) at the University of Warsaw, and since 1950 he has been a full professor at that institution. In 1952 he became a corresponding member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and since 1956 he has been a



full member. In addition, he is also a member of Czechoslovak Academy (since 1965), the Rumanian (since 1965), and the Soviet (since 1966).

Jablonski has published several books on modern Polish history. His magisterial and doctoral theses, published in 1937 and 1935 respectively, dealt with 1794, the year of the Kosciuszko Insurrection, and the uprising of 1863-1864. Practically all his other works, even those written before World War II, dealt with the period after World War I. After the war he published Public Opinion, Parliament, and the Press (1947, the result of research done in wartime France); Polish National Autonomy in the Ukraine in 1917-1918 (1948, a revised version of a prewar paper); The Birth of the Polish Socialist Party During the First World War (1958); The Birth of the Second Republic (1962), and a number of smaller papers on history and current affairs.

Jablonski became Deputy Minister of Education in December 1947, and held that post until August 1953, when he joined the secretariat of the Polish Academy of Sciences as deputy secretary of the academy and secretary of the Department of Humanities. From 1955 to 1965 he was the academy's "scientific" (i.e., general) secretary. From 1966 to 1971 he was a deputy chairman of the academy, a more or less honorary function that did not interfere with his ministerial work, which was renewed with his appointment in December 1965 as Minister of Higher Education. He was named Minister of General and Higher Education in November 1966.

Jablonski's party career has not been in any way spectacular. When the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers' Party merged in December 1948 he became a member of the Central Committee of the new Polish United Workers' Party. However, it was not until December 1970, at the seventh plenum, that he became a candidate Politburo member. At the sixth congress in December 1971 he was elected a full member of that body. Several months later, in March 1972, he replaced Jozef Cyrankiewicz as Chairman of the State Council, at the same time relinquishing his position as Minister of General and Higher Education.

Since the war Jablonski has traveled extensively, mainly as the head or a member of various parliamentary, educational, and academic delegations. In the last 20 years he has been to the USSR on at least 10 occasions, visited most of the other Warsaw Pact countries, and has traveled to China (1962) and Yugoslavia (1971). He has also been a frequent traveler to the West, primarily to France and England.

For a quarter of a century Jablonski held high positions in the educational field, more recently in the organization and administration of schools and of scholarship in general. There were many changes in the party line and leadership during these years, and Jablonski carried out his assignments efficiently, though in many cases the measures he was called upon to enforce were retrogressive and opposed by the more liberal elements. In no case, however, was his name associated with the authorship of these measures, and he was never visibly zealous or enthusiastic in putting them into effect.

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#### Political Career

1931	Joined Polish Socialist Party.
1945 (October)	Became secretary of Polish Socialist Party and member of Polish National Council.
1947 (January)	Elected deputy to <u>Sejm</u> .
1947 (December)	Appointed Deputy Minister of Education.
1948	Became Deputy Chairman of Polish Socialist Party.
1948 (December)	After Socialist Party and Workers' Party merged into Polish United Workers' Party, became PUWP CC member.
1953 (August)	Relinquished Ministry of Education post to join Polish Academy of Sciences.

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|-----------------|---|
| 1965 (December) | Appointed Minister of Higher Education.   |
| 1966 (November) | Appointed Minister of General and Higher Education.   |
| 1970 (December) | Elected candidate member of Politburo.  |
| 1971 (December) | Elected full Politburo member.  |
| 1972 (March)    | Elected Chairman of State Council,<br>relinquished post as Minister of General<br>and Higher Education. |

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#### Sources

1. International Who's Who 1971-1972.
2. Kazimierz Piwarski, "Henryk Jablonski," Nauka Polska 3/1957.
3. PAP Biographical Notes.
4. Nowe Drogi No.2, 1949.
5. Trybuna Ludu, 19 January 1957, 6 March 1960, 15 December 1965, 16 August 1967, 22 December 1970, and 12 December 1971.
6. Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN (Warsaw: 1965), Vol. 5.

MIECZYSLAW JAGIELSKI

Present Positions:

Party: Member of the Politburo.

Other: Deputy Prime Minister; Chairman, Planning Commission; Permanent Representative to Comecon; Sejm Deputy.

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Mieczyslaw Jagielski was born in Kolomyja (formerly in southeastern Poland, now in the Soviet Ukraine) on 12 January 1924, to a farming family. The family must later have moved to central Poland, because it is there, in the small town of Ciechanow, that Jagielski finished high school. After the war he studied at the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, from which he received a master's degree in agricultural economics. Between 1950 and 1952 he attended the CC Institute for the Training of Scientific Cadres, and obtained a doctor's degree in agricultural economics in 1962 (when he was already Minister of Agriculture).

Jagielski's political career began in 1945, when he joined the (communist) Fighting Youth Union and became a member of its executive board. In 1946 he joined the Polish Workers' Party (PPR). In the years 1946-1949 he was employed with the Main Board of the Peasant Self-Help Association in Warsaw, and subsequently with the Central Board of State Farms (1949-1950). In 1952, after finishing his studies at the CC Cadre Training Institute, he was assigned to the CC apparat, first as deputy head of the Agricultural Department, then -- in April 1955 -- as head of that department. At that time he regarded as party leader Ochab's "man."

Jagielski did not remain for long in the party apparat, however. After Gomulka became PUWP First Secretary in October 1956 he was moved to the government wing, and in January 1957 became Deputy Minister of Agriculture. In that

capacity he participated in the meetings and conferences of Comecon's Standing Committee on Agriculture in Sofia. Since at least September 1958 he has been Chairman of the Polish group in the Permanent Commission on Economic Co-operation and Technical Science attached to Comecon. (He is known to have made 10 trips to Sofia on the business of that commission between February 1958 and February 1963.)

Jagielski's two specializations, agriculture and Comecon, determined the course of his political career. After he was made Minister of Agriculture in October 1959 he became known as a great supporter of the Agricultural Circles, which he regarded as a means by which the party could bind the peasant to the "socialized economy." Another of his interests was the propagation and development of state farms, and he advocated their being given priority with regard to the purchase of abandoned and neglected farms. Although undoubtedly an expert in agricultural matters, he was not very popular during his 11 years as Minister of Agriculture, especially with individual farmers. His long-term policy of disregarding the latter's economic interests and his refusal to set more profitable prices for agricultural products resulted in the economic crisis in late 1970, which was to bring about the December upheaval.

In July 1970 Jagielski left the Ministry of Agriculture and was appointed a Deputy Prime Minister. After Gierk came to power Jagielski not only retained his important position in the government but also became Poland's permanent representative to Comecon (in February 1971) and Chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers (in October 1971).

Jagielski was elected a CC candidate member in 1954, and he has been a full member of that body since March 1959. He entered the Politburo in June 1964 as a candidate member, kept that post in December 1970, and was promoted to full membership in the Politburo at the sixth party congress in December 1971. He has been Deputy Chairman of the Commission on the Modernization of the Economy and the State since May 1971, and chairman of the CC regional development team since June 1971.



In his capacity as Minister of Agriculture, Jagielski visited not only East European capitals but also such Western countries as the United States (October 1962), Sweden (June 1963), Denmark (July 1964), and Finland (July 1969). He is reported to speak fluent Russian, which he undoubtedly brushed up during his frequent trips to the USSR (13 visits between February 1960 and November 1971).

Jagielski is the author of a number of articles dealing with economic and agricultural problems which have been published in Polish and foreign journals, including occasional publications in Moscow (e.g., "Fraternal Co-operation in Agriculture Between the Peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union," Pravda, 30 November 1960). He also published a book in 1957, The Party's New Policy with Regard to the Countryside.

Although his career has been affected by the various factional struggles within the PUWP, Jagielski does not appear to have taken a direct part in them. He worked closely with Gomulka in carrying out the latter's agricultural policy, but he was not a confidant of the former party leader. His rise in the party and government hierarchy since Gierek's assumption of power thus appears related primarily to the new leadership's recognition of his economic expertise and experience.

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#### Political Career

1945	Joined (communist) Union of Fighting Youth.
1946	Joined Polish Workers' Party.
1952	Became deputy head of PUWP CC Agricultural Department.
1954 (March)	Elected candidate member of CC.
1955 (April)	Named head of CC Agricultural Department.



- 1957 (January) Appointed Deputy Minister of Agriculture, elected Sejm deputy.
- 1958 (September) Named chairman of Polish section of Comecon Permanent Commission on Economic Co-operation and Technical Science.
- 1959 (March) Elected full member of CC.
- 1959 (October) Appointed Minister of Agriculture.
- 1964 (June) Elected candidate member of Politburo.
- 1970 (July) Relieved as Minister of Agriculture, appointed Deputy Prime Minister.
- 1970 (December) Re-elected candidate member of Politburo.
- 1971 (February) Appointed permanent representative to Comecon.
- 1971 (May) Named Deputy Chairman of Commission on Modernization of Economy and State.
- 1971 (June) Named Chairman of CC regional development team.
- 1971 (October) Named chairman of Planning Commission.
- 1971 (December) Elected full member of Politburo.

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#### Sources

1. International Who's Who, 1971-1972.
2. Trybuna Ludu, 1 July 1970 and 12 December 1971.
3. Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN (Warsaw: 1965), Vol. 5.