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1. Visits to the USSR, GDR, Rumania

A. USSR. Party First Secretary Edward Gierek and Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz paid a one-day "friendly visit" to Moscow on January 5. Both PAP and TASS explained that the visit was at the invitation of the Soviet Party CC and of the Soviet government. The Polish guests were received with due honors (met at Wnukowo Airport by Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin) and with what Zycie Warszawy's correspondent in Moscow defined as "great cordiality." He also summed up the visit by saying that "both sides demonstrated mutual confidence and certainty that we are united, that we can always rely on each other."

According to an official communiqué released after the visit by TASS, the two sides expressed satisfaction at "a successful development of all-round relations between the fraternal Parties and peoples" of the Soviet Union and Poland, as well as a "mutual striving to broaden political, economic, scientific and technological co-operation and co-operation in questions of defense, both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance." The communiqué also referred to such common subjects as the unity of the world Communist movement [based] "on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," the struggle against imperialism, European security and, within this context, "the tremendous positive significance of the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and the GFR, as well as between Poland and the GFR." Needless to say, this statement was followed by assurances of the "solidarity of the Soviet Union and Poland with the fraternal GDR, which plays an important role in the struggle for the strengthening

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of European security." An exchange of views on the "present international situation" was made, and in this connection, the importance of joint actions by the "socialist" states was stressed. It seems that the most important, and probably the only revealing, passage of the communiqué was that which stated that the Poles briefed their hosts on "the present directions of economic and social construction" in Poland, about the steps taken in the economic and social fields, "approved by the PUWP CC and the Council of Ministers after the Seventh Plenum of the CC on behalf of the interests of the working class, of all the working people, and of the further development of socialism." On their part, the Soviet leaders briefed the Polish guests about the "course of Communist construction in the Soviet Union, on the perspectives for the development of the national economy, and on preparations for the 24th Congress of the CPSU."

Reporting from Moscow, Radio Warsaw correspondent Wladyslaw Snarski stressed that, in the talks between the leaders of the two Parties and governments, economic experts and experts from the Planning Commission also took part. "The exchange of views had a businesslike character and included the main problems concerning bilateral relations, in particular the problem of economic co-operation," Snarski said. In this connection, he quoted "observers" to the effect that the announced amendments to the Polish economic plan for 1971 "will not fail to have a bearing on the continuous changes in the co-ordination of the Polish-Soviet plans for economic co-operation." Another Polish source, Trybuna Mazowiecka (January 7), stated that "the December events were certainly one of the many subjects of discussion, all the more so as they had broad repercussions in all countries of the socialist community, of which Poland is such an important link."

A similar view was voiced by Radio Zagreb commentator Milika Sundic on January 6. "The trip of the Polish leaders was unavoidable," Sundic said, "because all that happened in the Baltic towns concerns, to a certain degree, almost all the countries of the socialist camp, above all the Soviet Union as its leading force."

Regarding the economic aspects of the visit, Reuter reported from Moscow (January 5) that the presence at the airport of a number of economic experts was already an indication that "economic subjects might play an important part" in the Polish-Soviet talks. These experts were listed by Reuter as follows: Konstantin Katushev, the Party CC Secretary for relations with ruling CPs; two deputy premiers, Nikolai Baibakov, head of the State Planning Commission; and Mikhail Lesechko, responsible for Comecon. Commenting on the Polish visit, Tanjug (from Moscow, January 5) stated that, "in the opinion of observers," the economic talks could

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be of a dual nature. "First of all, there is the question of extra Soviet economic assistance to Poland, especially in supplying the market with meat, and second, new frameworks for five-year Soviet-Polish co-operation, in the light of the changes foreshadowed by Poland," Tanjug stated. Ernst Ulrich Fromm, reporting from Moscow for Die Welt (January 7), interpreted that passage of the communiqué pertaining to the Soviet "perspectives for the development of the national economy," as meaning that increased supplies to Poland, in particular of grain, would have to be included into the Soviet five-year plan (1971-1975). Referring to the same passage of the communiqué, Anthony Astrachan, reporting from Moscow for The Washington Post (January 6), stated that "the Poles wanted more than the Soviets thought they could afford to give, and that further negotiations will take place." According to a New York Times (January 6) report from Moscow, "the purpose of the visit was evidently aimed at demonstrating that the changes in Poland's leadership had the blessing of the Soviet Union and did not signify any differences in Soviet-Polish relations, which under Mr. Gomulka had been quite close." The NYT added that, according to "Communist sources," Premier Kosygin "probably offered to take a look at the possibility of an increase in food shipments to Poland, particularly in light of a good Soviet grain harvest last year. But the Russians have their own problems in meat supply and may do little except offer some financial help."

B. GDR. While Gierek and Jaroszewicz spent only one day in Moscow (on the evening of January 5, they were already back in Warsaw), Foreign Minister Stefan Jedrychowski, with wife Izabela and at least four high ministerial officials, arrived in East Berlin on January 6 for a three-day "official visit of friendship." According to Radio Warsaw (January 6), Jedrychowski was invited by his East German counterpart, Otto Winzer. The broadcast referred to the officials who accompanied Jedrychowski as departmental directors and listed their names as follows: Wladyslaw Napieraj (in charge of relations with the USSR and Eastern Europe); Jozef Czyrek (in charge of studies and program planning); Jan Druto (cultural and scientific co-operation); and Romuald Poleszczuk (press and information). Thus far, Jedrychowski has had talks with Winzer, and was received (on January 7), by both Premier Willi Stoph and Party leader Walter Ulbricht. Also present at this last meeting were: SED Politburo member Hermann Axen; State Secretary Otto Gotsche; Foreign Minister Winzer; Minister Gerhard Kegel; Deputy Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; East German Ambassador to Poland Rudolf Rossmeisl; and Polish Ambassador in East Berlin Tadeusz Gede.

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According to PAP (January 7), the talks between Jedrychowski and Stoph concerned "in particular, matters connected with scientific-technical co-operation and trade exchange." The talks between Jedrychowski and Winzer were "largely devoted to international problems, predominantly to matters of European security and an all-European conference on security and co-operation." It was also pointed out, PAP continued, that "decisions made at the Berlin conference enabled socialist states to map out immediate tasks for their joint efforts toward European security." In this connection, stress was laid on the importance of an early convening of a European conference. PAP said:

The same aim is served by the treaty on the basis of normalization of relations concluded between Poland and the FRG, which contains the recognition by the Federal Republic of Germany of the final character of Poland's western frontier on the Oder and Neisse. The GDR side emphasized with particular appreciation and gratitude the active support extended to date in the international arena by People's Poland to the German Democratic Republic in its efforts for universal international recognition. The Polish side reaffirmed that, also in future, it will grant the GDR full support, designed to ensure it a due place in Europe and in the world, and will resolutely counteract any attempts (at) discrimination of the GDR in international relations. The two sides stated with satisfaction that the friendship and fraternal co-operation of the two states and nations, linked in a close alliance with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, had been constantly deepening and strengthening.

Judging by both Jedrychowski's retinue and by the above statements of PAP, the visit has a political rather than an economic character. There seems to be little doubt that Jedrychowski briefed his East German comrades on the "December events," as well as on their background and possible aftermath, although, thus far, no reference has been made to this topic.

C. Rumania. A visit to Rumania of Politburo member and CC Secretary Stefan Olszowski might also have been of similar character. According to Agerpres (January 7), Olszowski is "now on a short visit in Rumania." During a meeting with Nicolae Ceausescu on January 7, Olszowski discussed "inter-Party relations," Agerpres said. According to this source, "the problems tackled during the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship, were related to the current concerns of the two Parties, the steady strengthening of the friendship between the RCP and the PUWP, and to many-sided co-operation" between the two countries. The meeting, which took place at Predeal, in the Meridional Alps, was attended by two high Rumanian Party officials, Gheorghe Pana and Manea

Manescu, as well as by CC Foreign Relations Department head Vasile Vlad. Present also was Polish Ambassador in Bucharest Jaromir Ochedusko.

It is rather intriguing to note that -- at least up to noon January 8, -- Radio Warsaw was not heard to broadcast any news about the Olszowski visit to Rumania.

2. Party Conferences

Both before he went to Moscow and after he returned, Gierek chaired two important conferences. A conference took place at the Party CC devoted to the "present political and economic situation" of the country. It was attended by CC secretaries, voivodship first secretaries, as well as by CC department heads. Premier Jaroszewicz also took part in the conference, Radio Warsaw (January 5), reported. Politburo member and CC Secretary Edward Babiuch briefed those attending the conference on the "current problems of Party work resulting from the Seventh Plenum of the CC." After Babiuch's report, a "broad discussion" took place during which stress was laid on the "strengthening of the Party's links with the working class," Radio Warsaw said. The discussion was wound up by Gierek. This conference initiated a series of voivodship conferences preparatory to the forthcoming Eighth Plenum of the Party.

On January 6, Gierek briefed the Politburo on his visit to Moscow. According to a PAP communiqué on the Politburo meeting, this high Party body "stated with satisfaction" that the results of the talks will serve "further to strengthen the internationalist ties between the two Parties as well as the brotherly political, economic and scientific-technical co-operation between Poland and the Soviet Union." The Politburo also examined a Council of Ministers' draft regulation pertaining to the stabilization of retail prices of basic food articles and the market supply of industrial articles. "Some problems connected with further normalization of relations" between Poland and the FRG, "resulting from the treaty signed in Warsaw on 7 December 1970," were also discussed by the Politburo, PAP said.

Almost all of the conferences arranged by voivodship Party committees "with the Party aktif" in preparation for the forthcoming CC plenum have already taken place. As a rule, higher Party leaders and/or CC department heads attended these conferences. On January 5, one such conference took place

in Szczecin, with Politburo member and CC Secretary Jan Szydlak, as well as CC Administrative Department deputy head Wieslaw Ociepka, attending. Voivodship Party First Secretary Antoni Walaszek briefed those attending the meeting that the main subject of the CC conference the day before was a "provisional appraisal of the events in the coastal region and in the country, as well as the conclusions resulting from these events," Radio Warsaw (January 6) reported. Walaszek also announced that the Politburo had started preparing for the Eighth Party Plenum, which will make a "detailed analysis of the December events." The results of the past five-year period in the national economy will also be analyzed at the plenum. Radio Warsaw also reported that Szydlak presented an "appraisal of the December crisis, its causes and the ways of overcoming it."

On January 6, another Party meeting took place in Olsztyn and was chaired by the local Party leader Tadeusz Bialkowski. On the same day, other such conferences took place in Bialystok (Arkadiusz Laszewicz), and Poznan. (No details on this last meeting were supplied.) On January 7, there were Party conferences in the following provincial cities: Kielce (local Party leader Tadeusz Rudolf; Politburo member and CC Secretary Mieczyslaw Moczar, as well as CC Cultural Department head Wincenty Krasko); Cracow (probably chaired by Czeslaw Domagala; attended by CC Organization Department head Zdzislaw Zandarowski); Opole (local Party leader Marian Miskiewicz; CC Secretary Artur Starewicz); Rzeszow (local Party leader and Politburo member Wladyslaw Kruczek; Politburo member and CC Secretary Jozef Tejchma); Warsaw Voivodship (local Party leader Henryk Szafranski; Politburo member and CC Secretary Edward Babiuch); Lodz Municipal (probably local Party leader Jozef Spychalski; Politburo member Ignacy Loga-Sowinski); Wroclaw (local Party leader Wladyslaw Pilatkowski; CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski); Lublin (local Party leader Wladyslaw Kozdra; CC Administrative Department head Stanislaw Kania); Koszalin (local Party leader Stanislaw Kujda; CC Agricultural Department head Eugeniusz Mazurkiewicz); Zielona Gora (probably local Party leader Mieczyslaw Hebda; CC Agitation and Propaganda Department head Tadeusz Wrebiak).

In addition to these Party conferences, there were also other meetings. Thus, Radio Warsaw (January 7), reported on a meeting Loga-Sowinski had with the Trade Union aktif of the City of Lodz and of the Voivodship. Another meeting worth mentioning was a session of the Conference of the Workers' Self-Government at the Warszawa Steelworks on January 7. Such conferences -- in view of the almost total oblivion into which workers' self-government had slowly sunk -- were hardly referred to in the media. This time, Radio Warsaw quoted the conference's chairman, Kazimierz Los, as stating that "today's session has a solemn character." During the session, the achievements of the Warszawa Steelworks in 1970 were analyzed and it was stated with satisfaction that the plant had overfulfilled its plan by 11.5 per cent. Also on January 7,

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Szydla met the aktif of the Rural Youth Union, including members of the voivodship boards of that organization. The CC Secretary briefed the RYU activists on "current problems of political and economic life of the country after the Seventh Plenum."

Local Party secretaries Karkoszka and Walaszek of Gdansk and Szczecin, respectively, also had additional meetings on January 6 with the Party aktif of the Gdansk and Szczecin Shipyards. As reported by PAP and Radio Warsaw (January 7), the reasons for workers' demonstrations should be sought, not so much in the price changes, as in the general situation and in the "shortcomings in Party work, and in particular, of its previous leadership." It is difficult to say whether the shipyard workers are still dissatisfied. Radio Warsaw added, significantly, that, during the meetings, "demands and suggestions" were made for an improvement of the "living conditions of the workers."

An important conference which should not be overlooked was the one of Voivodship Party economic secretaries which took place in Warsaw on January 4 and was chaired by Politburo member and CC Secretary Stanislaw Kociolek. The conference was attended by "representatives of the government leadership" (i.e., at least deputy premiers) and the heads of many economic departments (i.e., ministers). "Provisional suggestions for simplifying and making more flexible the system of material incentives" were discussed. In this respect, a draft report was presented by Deputy Premier Jozef Kulesza. As reported by UPI (January 5), the new economic bosses "gave themselves three weeks to work out a new bonus scheme for workers as a first step out of the economic stagnation which bred the riots on the Baltic coast before Christmas." As a matter of fact, the meeting decided to draft an improved scheme by the middle of the month and to take a binding decision by the end of the month, PAP reported. At the meeting, Planning Commission Chairman Stanislaw Majewski presented a progress report on changing the economic plan for 1971. Domestic Trade Minister Edward Sznajder briefed those attending the conference on the market situation.

Earlier, on January 2, a conference of heads of the Party Voivodship Education and Science Department took place. It was chaired by CC Science and Education Department head Andrzej Werblan, and attended by Politburo member and CC Secretary Tejchma. Werblan's deputy, Zenon Wroblewski, represented a report on current tasks in ideological and educational work with youth.

3. Cardinal Wyszynski's Epiphany Sermon

In an Epiphany (January 6) sermon similar in tone to the courageous and strongly worded episcopate statement of January 1 (see Polish SR/1, RFER, 5 January 1971, Item 2), Cardinal Wyszynski has called upon Poland's new leaders to respect the human rights of workers. According to UPI and Reuter reports from Warsaw, the Cardinal asserted that the regime will only be able to "stabilize its power for the common benefit" if it does not "resort to means of violence" and is "willing to serve" the population. Exorbitant demands were now being placed on the workers, stated Wyszynski, in order "to make up for the strike days, or to meet the so-called voluntary working obligations, sometimes over and above the norm...." In contrast to the Christmas Eve sermon, in which he had taken a conciliatory stance that included accepting coresponsibility for the December tragedy and requesting the population to "show understanding [and] forgive," Wyszynski now stated that "it is difficult to pass judgment, because it is not known who is to blame."

While welcoming the recent economic measures taken by the leadership to improve the situation of low-income families, the Cardinal continued to exert pressure on the regime, noting that the care displayed for such families in the recent "decrees of our state authorities" was "perhaps still insufficient...." He added: "We hope this is just the beginning and, as economic conditions permit, the state authorities will meet the needs of the families."

Coming after the episcopate statement, this latest appeal would seem to indicate that the Church does not intend to seek a normalization of relations with the regime at the price of lowering its voice as a powerful spokesman for human rights in Poland. For its part, the regime has not publicly elaborated on its concept of a Church-state normalization since the initial expression of interest in such a development (contained in Premier Jaroszewicz's speech to the Sejm on December 23). Whether the outspoken position taken by the Church will be considered provocative by the new leadership and will consequently jeopardize the expected Church-state negotiations remains to be seen.

4. Slight Changes in the Vatican Yearbook

The first copy of the Annuario Pontificio was presented to the Pope on January 2 by Archbishop Giovanni Benelli, Deputy Secretary of State. It will take some time before the copies are available to the public, but Vatican

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sources at the same time indicated that "the new Annuario will contain some changes in the passage dealing with Church administration of dioceses in the former German territories [which are] now part of Poland," but "were unable to say what these changes were" (Reuter, January 2).

On January 4 the Vice-President of the Pontifical Commission for Social Relationships, Archbishop Agostino Ferrari-Toniolo, "during an impromptu talk with newsmen... discussed the 1971 yearbook." It would appear from this talk that there are two changes affecting Poland:

1. The note appended to the entry for Wroclaw, inserted in 1957 and explaining the legal and administrative status of the Church organization in the Western Territories, has been dropped.

2. The new Annuario "lists only those Church administrators, such as those having the power of resident bishops, who were named directly by the Holy See." Thus, capitular vicars "were not included in the geographical listing, because they were named by diocesan chapters instead of by the Holy See." This newly adopted principle will remove from the sees in question all the names (and addresses) of the German clergy, leaving only the bishops of Polish nationality.

Archbishop Ferrari-Toniolo brought with him a copy of the new Annuario and "some journalists were able to glance rapidly through it" (RFE Special/Vatican City, January 4). He also told reporters "that the omission of the footnote... did not imply any rejection of the general principle which it contained." He added, however, that "omission of the footnote could be viewed as an indication of a new Vatican attitude" (Reuter, January 4).

The changes caused great interest, both in Poland and in the FRG. In the latter country, the Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Corrado Bafile, said "that the position of the Holy See on the Oder-Neisse dioceses is unchanged" (DPA, January 4). Greater detail was provided by Willi Weiskirch, the official spokesman of the CDU. He said, in "his official party's press service, that the Vatican would install Polish bishops in the Oder-Neisse dioceses as soon as the Warsaw treaty was ratified by the West German parliament.... Since the West German government's peace treaty reservation was of no importance to it, it could not justify the Vatican's rejection of Polish wishes.... At the same time, when maps in the Federal Republic were being made to correspond to the border fixed in the West German-Polish treaty, the Vatican could not be criticized for changing its position" (DPA, January 5).

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The reaction of the Polish press was rapid and formidable. Zycie Warszawy's Rome correspondent, Zdzislaw Morawski, in the paper's January 5 issue, said that "these changes, as well as the unequivocal pronouncements of Archbishop Ferrari-Toniolo, are undoubtedly a gesture of good will on the part of the Vatican, which wishes to emphasize that it is prepared to make decisions normalizing the Church administration in the Western and Northern Territories when necessary conditions arise." "While appreciating this modest gesture by the Vatican," Morawski said, "one also has to remember that it takes place more than 25 years after the return of Poland to these territories, together with the (Polish) Church."

Radio Warsaw on January 6, in its "Panorama" broadcast, was equally appreciative of "that initial step leading to the normalization of the legal status of the Polish Church on the territories east of Oder and Neisse." This broadcast also repeated almost verbatim the Zycie Warszawy remark about this "modest gesture" by the Vatican, coming 25 years after Poland's authority was established in these territories.

Contrary to these sober remarks, stating that the changes are "modest" but do open a new phase in the Vatican's attitude to Poland's Western territories, the Pax daily, Slowo Powszechne (January 6) as quoted by PAP in English, commented on the new Annuario in harsh terms. It admitted that "what we have to deal with here is a certain step forward, indeed. However, the changes which were made this year cannot obscure the fact that these changes lag far behind the expectations of the Polish Catholic community." Along with other comments noted so far, Slowo Powszechne also mentioned that "the Church in Poland has been waiting for more than 25 years now for the legal-canonical normalization of its administration on the Western and Northern Territories."

On January 8, PAP reported a Polish Workers' News Agency commentary as welcoming the changes and adding: "We believe that this will be followed by official normalization of the status of the dioceses there, that is, a legal recognition by the Vatican of the Polish Western frontier." The commentary also noted that "the Polish-Vatican dialogue, also regarded from the point of view of general European security interests, could be positively developed to the advantage of both sides." In this connection, the commentary stated, "an important link in the process of normalization between Warsaw and the Holy See" was the Polish government's readiness to "bring to full normality" relations between itself and the Church.

5. New Appointments

At least two changes involving secondary, but nonetheless important, Party positions have been made recently. Jerzy Zasada, thus far Organizational Secretary at the Poznan Voivodship Party Committee, was elected Poznan Voivodship's Party First Secretary on December 31. He thus replaces Kazimierz Barcikowski, who had been appointed CC Secretary on December 20. Zasada, born in 1927 at Chelmno, began his political career in the youth organizations. As early as 1946, he was a member of a Communist-led Polish youth organization, six years later becoming deputy chairman of the organization's voivodship board in Poznan. He has been on the staff of the Voivodship Party Committee in Poznan since at least early 1959, first as a member of the Executive Board, then as Organizational Department head. In June, 1964, he was elected deputy member of the CC.

Another Party appointment was that of Zdzislaw Zandarowski. The news of his advance was broadcast by Radio Warsaw on January 7 by way of a simple reference to him as the CC Organizational Department head who attended a Cracow Party conference (see Item 2). Elected CC member in November, 1968, Zandarowski had been known as a Warsaw Party activist since at least January, 1956. He had held several important positions in the Warsaw Party Committee before he was selected by the Party, in February, 1969, to become deputy head of the CC Organizational Department and editor-in-chief of the Party ideological monthly, Zycie Partii. Zandarowski replaces Edward Babiuch, who rose to membership in both the Politburo and the CC Secretariat on December 20.

There was also a vice-ministerial appointment. Jerzy Gawrysiak, born to a teacher's family in Rybno in 1928, was appointed Deputy Minister of Internal Trade. In this connection, PAP supplied the following short biography. Gawrysiak graduated in economics from Leningrad University in 1955. Between the years 1955 and 1958, he worked at the Poznan Polytechnic. Next, he began to work in the apparatus of the Polish United Workers' Party, first in an Urban District Committee and since 1960 in the Voivodship Committee in Poznan. In 1963, he was elected deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council in Poznan. In 1964, he returned to his previously held post of economic secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Poznan. He is a member of the PUWP.

Correction:

The issue of Polityka, quoted in the last Situation Report (Item 3, page 7), was dated January 2 (not December 30).

Note: English translation of the above article of Polityka has appeared in Polish Press Survey No. 2262, RFER, 8 January 1971.