

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

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#### New Year's Speeches and Celebrations

32,100,000 Poles were expected to greet the New Year, Central Statistical Office Chairman Wincenty Kawalec stated in an interview for Radio Warsaw on December 29. Of this number, 16,500,000 are women, i.e. 900 thousand more than men. Poland is one of the youngest nations in the world, Kawalec explained, close to 40 per cent of the population being younger than 19. The number of persons over 60 is 3,800,000.

Pre-New Year meetings started as early as December 29. The most important of these was the meeting at the Party CC of Politburo and CC Secretariat members, first secretaries of the voivodship Party committees, CC department heads, editors-in-chief of "central Party papers," and chairmen of "some social organizations." First Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka "conveyed to those present the best of New Year's wishes," Radio Warsaw reported.

The next day, on December 30, Gomulka spoke, as did Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz, at a pre-New Year meeting, at the Office of the Council of Ministers, of "vice-premiers, ministers, heads of central offices and establishments, chairmen of the Warsaw City and Warsaw Voivodship People's Councils, and directors of the Office of the Council of Ministers." The only Party dignitary mentioned on this occasion by Radio Warsaw by name was, in addition to Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz, Politburo deputy member and CC Secretary Boleslaw Jaszczuk.

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Gomulka's third pronouncement came at the New Year's ball at the Party CC premises, where he delivered a toast. He said that 1967 was "all in all a successful year" during which Poland "achieved a considerable increase of production in industry and agriculture." Gomulka complained about "US imperialism," which is responsible for "the holocaust of war" raging in Vietnam and which "is preparing to spread its flames throughout Indochina." He also referred to "the annexationist plans of Israel" and to "Bonn's policy... designed to overthrow the territorial status quo" in Europe.

At the end of his toast, Gomulka wished his comrades "good preparation for the Fifth Congress" of the Party, apparently the first official indication that the congress would take place in 1968. According to Party statutes, it is due by June 1968, but it is probable that it will be postponed to December to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Polish CP on 16 December 1918.

Another Politburo member, State Council Chairman Edward Ochab, delivered a New Year's speech on the evening of December 31, speaking on behalf of the Council of State and the All-Polish Committee of the Front of National Unity. Like Gomulka, Ochab also stressed "good results during the first two years of the current Five-Year Plan," and particularly "the results achieved in industry and agriculture," which -- he stated -- "deserve special emphasis." Ochab pledged that Poland would "oppose the plottings of the forces of imperialism and militarism" and would "help the victims of the aggression in Vietnam and in the countries of the Arab East."

Politburo member and Defense Minister, Marshal Marian Spychalski, issued on December 31 a New Year's message to the troops, in which he said that "the increased defense tasks" had been well fulfilled in 1967 and that a corresponding report is being sent to the "leadership of the PUWP, the leading force of our working class and our nation, building socialism." On behalf of Polish soldiers, Spychalski sent greetings to the soldiers of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, "and of all the member countries of the Warsaw Pact," and to soldiers of the "countries building socialism and of anti-imperialist countries." Particularly "warm greetings" were sent by Spychalski to the soldiers of "the heroic Vietnamese nation adamantly fighting against the genocidal aggression of American imperialism."

If the extent of coverage by Radio Warsaw of such public pronouncements as those listed above contains any indication of the importance of a given leader, one has to stress that this year Edward Gierek, Politburo member and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee was included in the top leadership. Unlike previous years, Radio Warsaw rather extensively covered at least two pre-New Year meetings (on December 30) which took place in Zabrze. One was a "traditional meeting of the Party Voivodship Committee Executive" with the "leading Party aktif of Silesia and Dabrowa Basin," another was a "traditional" meeting of representatives of Silesian plants and factories, of the "broad Party and economic aktif," with the voivodship's local government authorities and with the voivodship Party Executive.



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At both meetings, Gierek delivered his usual "extensive speeches" in which he summed up the achievements of the Katowice voivodship in 1967 and outlined tasks for 1968. He said that in 1967 all the industrial branches (cf. the Katowice voivodship) were expected "in principle" to fulfill and even overfulfill the plan and that the two billion zloty of production above the plan had been achieved without surpassing the prescribed limits of employment. Gierek stressed that in 1968 an increase in production must be achieved through an increase of labor efficiency with a simultaneous improvement of the quality of goods.

While at least three top leaders (Gomulka, Ochab and Gierek) were optimistic about the economic results of 1967, dissent on this particular subject was voiced by CC deputy member Wlodzimierz Sokorski, Chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television. Speaking in his regular broadcast on "Radio Problems" on January 1, Sokorski said that -- in spite of substantial production achievements -- 1967 brought to light "several difficulties of an economic nature resulting from the divergencies between an increase of wage and employment and the existing production basis, particularly in agricultural production." One of the effects of these "divergencies" was "the difficulties on the meat market" which brought about "new price shifts" and made imperative a bigger effort of the whole nation "to close the span of the scissors and restore the market balance." For this reason, Sokorski said, 1968 "will be not only a difficult year but also one of great responsibility."

Of lesser personalities referred to by Radio Warsaw on the occasion of the New Year, at least two are worth noting: Czeslaw Wycech, Sejm speaker and chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, and CC Secretary Artur Starewicz.

Wycech was mentioned in connection with the New Year's greetings he sent to all the members of the UPP in connection with a conference of the chairmen of the voivodship committees of the UPP in Warsaw on December 30.

Starewicz (along with the head of the CC Press Bureau Stefan Olszowski) was referred to as taking part in a New Year's meeting in Warsaw on December 29 of editors-in-chief of papers and press agencies as well as "the leading aktif of publishing and printing houses."

A hint of the increased importance (and popularity?) of Mieczyslaw Moczar, Minister of the Interior and chairman of the veterans' association ZBoWiD, was given by Warsaw Television on January 1. He was, for the first time, a subject of the traditional New Year's cabaret puppet show.

Draft Bill on Absenteeism

A draft bill concerning changes in existing legislation on unjustified absenteeism has been submitted by the government to the Sejm, Radio Warsaw reported on January 2. These changes and supplements aim at a more rigorous fight against "abuses of medical certificates" (on inability to work) and against "unjustified absenteeism not connected with medical certificates," Radio Warsaw explained. The bill also provides for "broader control" of the absentee by inclusion among the bodies entitled to perform such control of "social organizations" existing outside the plant at which the absentee works.

In addition to "broadening the extent of the application of fines" for transgressions against work discipline, the bill also calls for "strengthening of control of medical decisions by health service authorities and for inclusion in that control of social insurance bodies."

After earlier complaints about poor labor discipline (cf. SR November 20) and Gomulka's complaint about physicians who give certificates of illness to various "lazybones" (cf. SR November 30), the draft bill comes as no surprise. Indications of its preparation were supplied by the press earlier. For instance, Glos Pracy implied on December 19 that workers deliberately fell ill before or after Sunday. In Warsaw alone, the paper reported, statistics shows that 41.5 per cent of two-day illness certificates had been issued for periods either ending or beginning on Sunday. The same paper reported on December 20 a continuous increase of absences because of illness. Thus in 1964 the national economy lost 3.71 per cent of working time on account of illness, while in 1966 the respective figure increased to 4.03 per cent and in the first half-year of 1967 it reached 4.33 per cent.

Varying Estimates of Poland's Foreign Trade

A rather optimistic picture of the estimated results of Poland's foreign trade in 1967 was presented by Foreign Trade Minister Witold Trampczynski in his interview for Radio Warsaw on December 28, 1967, according to Trampczynski, brought a high rate of increase of Polish exports (about 13-14 per cent over the results of 1966), exceeding considerably the rate of increase of Polish imports. Another encouraging fact, Trampczynski said, was a considerable increase in Polish coal exports. Among difficulties, the minister mentioned two external factors, namely, the closure of the Suez Canal and the devaluation of the pound sterling.

Trampczynski's favorable appraisal of the situation comes as a surprise in the light of previous articles and broadcasts which left no doubt that the situation of Polish foreign trade in 1967 was far from satisfactory. In fact, his use of 1966 as a base year is misleading; it was a truly catastrophic year for Poland's foreign trade with imports increasing by as much as 6.6 per cent while exports increased by only 2 per cent and when the foreign trade deficit reached 888 million exchange zloty (as against 450 million in 1965). Trampczynski also blamed outside factors



while omitting such otherwise frequently mentioned facts as the insufficient quality of Polish export goods and the inadequacy of Polish foreign trade machinery.

#### Additional Polish-West German Trade Protocol

An additional protocol to the long-term trade agreement regulating Polish-West German trade was signed in Bonn, Trybuna Ludu reported on December 17. According to RFE Specials from Bonn (December 18 and 21), under the new protocol (signed on December 15) trade between the two countries is to be expanded next year. The protocol set no target figures, because a substantial portion of the exchanges are no longer subject to fixed quotas, which is expected to bring about a continuous rise in Polish-West German trade. Quoting West German sources, the Specials said that Poland is second after the USSR among "socialist" countries in selling goods to Bonn. On the other hand, while in 1966 Poland achieved a substantial surplus in trade with Bonn, in 1967 the trend was reversed. Polish efforts to remedy this situation during the latest trade negotiations, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (December 20) reported, were only partly successful. The paper also noted that no decision was taken during the latest negotiations on the subject of cooperation, adding that while Poland is greatly interested in cooperation with British, Belgian, and French firms, interest in cooperation with West German firms remains negligible.

#### New Chairman of the City of Warsaw People's Council.

At its December 28 session, the Warsaw City People's Council announced the retirement of its Chairman, Jerzy Zarzycki, and elected Deputy Minister of Communal Economy, Jerzy Majewski, as the new Chairman. Zdzislaw Zandarowski, Secretary of the Warsaw City Party Committee, "acting on behalf of the Social Interparty Commission, proposed acceptance of the resignation of Jerzy Zarzycki... thanked him... for many years of work at the post... and proposed the candidature... of Jerzy Majewski," Trybuna Ludu reported December 30. (For other recent personnel changes, including the transfer of former Warsaw City First Party secretary Kociolek, see SR December 22 and 28.)

It is rare that there is a simultaneous change of the top men of both the Party and the local administration in a given area. In this case, it is fairly certain that both Zarzycki and Kociolek have been removed because they are enemies of the Partisan faction. The circumstances of demotion were different. Kociolek "has been elected" to the same position in Gdansk (far less important politically) which he filled in Warsaw; having already been named to his new post, he chaired the Plenary Session of the Warsaw Party Committee which discussed the situation of building construction in the capital and which then accepted his own personally submitted resignation. Furthermore both Zenon Kliszko (at the Warsaw Party meeting) and Ryszard Strzelecki (at the Gdansk Party meeting) stressed Kociolek's merit, Strzelecki specially mentioning his correct ideological stand. In the case of Zarzycki, his was a straightforward demotion, without even a mention of the usual "assignment

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to another responsible position."

It is possible that the unsatisfactory situation of building construction in Warsaw could have been used against Kociolek and Zarzycki by their opponents in the Party; the building situation in Warsaw was the subject of a sharp press discussion, being sharply criticized by part of the press (Express Wieczorny, October 2 and 11, Slowo Powszechne, November 6), while other papers tried to explain the difficulties (I. Golik, in Trybuna Ludu, November 1 and 11). Construction was also the subject of the last Party Plenum of the Warsaw Committee at which Kociolek resigned. On that occasion, Kliszko delivered a speech (SR December 28) which contained such cliches as "the proper attitude to the problems of cadres means also consistent execution of responsibilities for assigned work. The attitude of certain Party authorities as well as administrative offices towards persons slack in prosecuting their duties is still insufficiently consistent." Nevertheless, this criticism could be interpreted as applying to Kociolek and other Warsaw City leaders.

Jerzy Majewski, Zarzycki's successor, a man in his early forties, in all probability had no connection with Warsaw before his earlier appointment in the Ministry of Communal Economy. He was Director of the Department of Housing Administration in 1957, Director General of the Ministry from 1960, and Deputy Minister since 1963. Most of his articles and interviews in the press have dealt with building cooperatives and renovation and redecoration of dwellings. He was also active in 1965 explaining the increase of apartment rents, while he once gave an interview on the subject of Warsaw's communication problems (Trybuna Ludu 4 February 1967), on the whole he thus appears to be primarily an expert on housing.

#### New Chairman of the Lodz Voivodship Peoples' Council

On December 28 Czeslaw Sadowski was elected Chairman of the Lodz Voivodship Peoples' Council (Radio Warsaw, December 29) to fill the vacancy created by the death on November 1 of Franciszek Grochalski.

Sadowski is a United Peasant Party politician; he served in the Berling Army during World War II and then in the KBW until 1950. He was for several years Chairman of the UPP Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn and since 1962 chief of the Organization Department in the UPP Supreme Committee. He was elected deputy to the Sejm in 1961 and 1965.

His predecessor was also a UPP politician and deputy to the last two Sejms.