

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## EAST EUROPE

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POLAND/1  
5 January 1971

### S I T U A T I O N   R E P O R T

1. Activities of the New Party Leader
2. The Episcopate's Statement
3. Optimistic Tone of the Press
4. News from Szczecin and Gdansk
5. Increased Income for Lowest Wage Earners
6. Investment Allowances for Farmers
7. Economic Implications of the Polish-West German Treaty

#### 1. Activities of the New Party Leader

December 31 was a busy day for Edward Gierek. The new Party leader -- accompanied by Politburo candidate member and First Secretary of the Warsaw Municipal Party Committee Jozef Kepa; Heavy Industry Minister Wlodzimierz Lejczak; and the latter's deputy Ryszard Trzcionka -- visited the Warszawa Steelworks in the Polish capital. Greeted by the plant's director, Stanislaw Detko, and its Party leader, Kazimierz Los, the group made a tour of the various sections of the steelworks. Radio Warsaw reported that Gierek stopped several times to talk with the workers "sincerely and cordially." Everything will not be easy, Gierek told the workers, but "with your help, we shall overcome the present difficulties." Los stated that, during the critical days of December, the Warszawa workers exercised "the necessary calm, self-restraint and responsibility."

Also on December 31, Gierek received a military delegation headed by Defense Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski. The latter made a report on "the achievements of the armed forces in the field of strengthening the defense capabilities of the People's Poland, and on their deep ideological and patriotic ties with the Party, the people's authority, and with the entire nation." Gierek

5 January 1971

received the delegation in the presence of Politburo members and CC secretaries Mieczyslaw Moczar and Edward Babiuch. Jaruzelski was accompanied by the Army's chief politruk, General Jozef Urbanowicz.

In a New Year's message broadcast and televised (on December 31) at 2000 hours, Gierek told his countrymen that "numerous weighty problems of our life require proper solution." However, he expressed confidence that all the issues will be solved "in conformity with the interests of the nation, in keeping with the raison d'état of our socialist state." The lesson of recent weeks should not be wasted, Gierek said. While listing the conditions for overcoming these problems, the Party leader also set forth a number of obligations when he said:

"The political thought that guides the country must always be brought face to face with reality, and every undertaking -- with the interests of the working people. This is an indispensable condition for the mutual trust which should exist between the people's power and the community."

"We attach special attention to the fact that the policy of the state should be clear and understandable to all, that practice should not contradict words, that decisions and actions should emerge from frank, direct dialogue with the working class, with the whole nation."

The primary task, Gierek said, is an increase, "step by step," in the dynamics of the development of the economy and the increase of the efficiency of its organization. He stressed several times that all tasks should be approached in common, by the country's leadership and its citizens. "We desire," Gierek emphasized, "that, in his work, everyone find a field for his own initiative, that, as his strength and abilities permit, everyone contribute to the multiplying of the common good and common well-being."

The new Party leader addressed his listeners and viewers as "dear countrymen." In the opening sentence of his address, Gierek explained that he was speaking on behalf of the PUWP, of the "allied parties" (United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party) and on behalf of the "highest state authorities."

Whether the dialogue with the nation will continue as promised is a question for the future. New evidence of that dialogue was supplied by a PAP dispatch appearing in Trybuna Ludu on December 30 on the work of the Politburo. According to the short PAP item, the Politburo intends to publish "short information items on that portion of its work which may be of immediate interest to broad circles of the community." At several meetings of the Politburo, the implementation of the decisions of the Seventh Plenum on the improvement of the situation of low-income groups was discussed, while at a meeting on December 29, the Politburo considered the suggestions of the 106 plants pertaining to the distribution of the funds in question (see Polish Situation Report/68, RFER, 28 December 1970, Item 3). PAP added that, at that meeting (December 29), changes in the 1971 economic plan were discussed, and the Politburo was briefed by the Internal Trade Minister about the market situation.

On January 4, Gierek, this time accompanied by Politburo member and Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz, as well as by Politburo member and CC Secretary Stanislaw Kociolek, met representatives of the national and provincial boards of the Polish Economic Society. The Society's chairman, Professor Jozef Pajestka, as well as his deputy, Professor Kazimierz Secomski, briefed the Party leaders on the Society's work and on the agenda of the next national congress of the economists. They also assured the Party leaders that the Society would be seeking economic solutions such as would "assure a dynamic development of the country and a permanent improvement in the standard of living of the nation." Reporting on the meeting Radio Warsaw (January 4), added that the discussion between the Party leaders and the economists was also attended by Stanislaw Majewski, Deputy Premier and chairman of the Planning Commission, as well as by Stanislaw Kuzinski, head of the CC Light Industry and Building Construction Department.

The Polish Economic Society's congress was originally planned for the second half of December. However, probably in view of the forthcoming price changes, which must already have been known to the Society's board at the beginning of December, the congress was postponed to January 7. (This last date was not referred to in connection with Gierek's meeting with Pajestka and Secomski).

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## 2. The Episcopate's Statement

A New Year's statement issued by the Chief Council of the Polish Episcopate was read in churches throughout the country a week after the Christmas sermon of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski (see Reuter, January 2, and Polish SR/68, RFER, 28 December 1970, Item 2).

As if only natural, the statement also included mention of "the events which recently -- just before Christmas -- painfully afflicted our fatherland, especially the seacoast towns," and appealed to the country's rulers: "Do not add further suffering! Everything must be done so that everyone feels safe and respected in the fatherland. We trust that pronouncements by the appropriate public authorities will be put into effect." In addition to holding the new leadership to its word, the message criticized the measures taken by state authorities during the December demonstrations, denouncing official resort to "means of suppression" and stating that "the nation's life cannot develop in an atmosphere of intimidation."

More importantly, the Episcopate's statement included a list of six basic conditions which appear to outline the Church's position on true normalization of relations with Poland's new leadership. These are:

- 1) "The right to freedom of conscience and freedom of religious life together with full normalization of relations between the Church and the state."
- 2) "The right of freely shaping the culture of one's own nation, according to the spirit of the Christian principles of coexistence of people."
- 3) "The right to social justice expressed in fulfilling just demands."
- 4) "The right to truth in social life, to information according with the truth, and to free expression of one's views and demands."
- 5) "The right to material conditions which ensure decent existence of the family, and of each individual citizen."
- 6) "The right to such an attitude toward the citizens that they are not insulted, harmed, and persecuted in anything."

On only one point does this list of demands expressly mention the Roman Catholic Church ("full normalization of relations between the Church and the state"). On several points, the general needs of Christianity and religion as such are mentioned. But, predominantly, this part of the

5 January 1971

statement concerns itself with the protection of the social, economic and human freedoms of Poland's citizens.

There is little doubt that this document will serve as a basis for future Church-state talks. The document is signed by three prelates: both cardinals, Wyszynski and Karol Wojtyla, Archbishop of Cracow, and by Bronislaw Dabrowski, auxiliary bishop of Warsaw and secretary of the Polish Episcopate. As there are known differences in character, temperament and outlook between the two cardinals, and as there has sometimes been speculation on possible differences of opinion between them, these signatures are of extreme importance as evidence of the unity of opinion and the acceptance of these principles by both of the Polish Church's top men.

There are some indications that Church-state talks are already planned. Several foreign correspondents expected them to begin this month (see Bernhard Heimrich in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of January 4 and Dan Morgan in The Washington Post of January 3). These talks would take a vastly different form from what has become the customary procedure in meetings of the Mixed Church-State Commission. Convoking this commission would necessitate very considerable preparation; given the decimation of its membership by virtue of natural deaths on the Church side and political deaths on the regime side, the commission is virtually nonexistent. It is thus possible that the forthcoming talks might be held at a far more elevated level -- between the Primate of Poland (Wyszynski) and the Prime Minister (Jaroszewicz). The possibility of such talks, now reported with a fairly specific date, were predicted in very guarded form by Le Monde's correspondent, Bernard Margueritte, some time ago (see December 25 issue). At the same time, Margueritte observed that Jaroszewicz, well known for his economic activities and Comecon responsibilities, had also been (in the past) chairman of the Party-Government Commission for Religious Questions. In this connection, it is perhaps timely to recall that, still before the fall of Gomulka, Jaroszewicz, with several other official personages, attended the service for the late General Charles de Gaulle in Warsaw's St. John's Cathedral (see Polish SR/60, RFER, 4 December 1970, Item 4).

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### 3. Optimistic Tone of the Press

The general tone of the Polish press has been one of reassurance and optimism. "We again feel solid ground under our feet," Trybuna Ludu (January 2) quoted a Gdansk worker as saying. A few days earlier, on December 31, the paper appraised the situation -- and thus established the line for other media -- as follows:

Common sense and reason have prevailed over exasperation and emotional reaction. It is this that creates, for the future, great social capital which represents a commitment.

The slogan was promptly picked up by a Radio Szczecin editor who, on the same day of December 31, commented:

Common deliberation of the problems which confront us is an indispensable condition for full confidence, good will, for conscious discipline in work and social life. This was confirmed in these last few days when common sense and reason very rapidly prevailed over exasperation and emotional reaction. This is the decisive factor, once more confirming our Polish political maturity, of which we have so often been short in the past (emphasis supplied).

Again, on January 4, the Warsaw Voivodship Party daily Trybuna Mazowiecka concluded: "We have discovered sufficient strength, prudence and skill to find, in time, a way out of the threatening complications."

The proregime Catholic Pax organization's daily Slowo Powszechne (December 23) saw in the Seventh Plenum decisions and in Gierek's appointment as Party leader an opening for the Polish nation of "new chances for a dynamic thrust forward of the country's development and a harmonious combination of economic tasks with social needs." After a reference to Gierek's "words, also addressed to believers," Slowo Powszechne stated:

For 25 years now, we have sought to contribute to a proper solution of problems arising from coexistence and the possibility of creative co-operation between believers and nonbelievers in the spirit of strengthening the unity of the nation on the basis of our jointly created socialist homeland, concerned also with meeting the justified requirements of the Church and the Catholic community. We are confident that, also in this respect -- according to recent authoritative announcements -- the new year of 1971 will bring definite progress.



5 January 1971

Another Catholic paper, the pro-Catholic rather than proregime weekly of the Znak group Tygodnik Powszechny, as quoted by Western agencies on January 4, stated that the December riots in the Baltic coastal towns had more than merely an economic background. "There was no normal institutional way for the justified opposition of factory workers to be manifested and taken into consideration," the paper said. As if echoing the episcopate's statement on certain citizens' rights, Tygodnik Powszechny said:

People do not want to be the subject of manipulations. They want their opinions to be taken into account, as well as social, economic, psychological, and ethical facts.

The economic weekly Zycie Gospodarcze (January 2) stated that the reasons for Poland's present difficulties "go back earlier than 1970." The weekly stated that the past two years had "unveiled economic weaknesses, calling for reconsideration of the structural and development policies, of the style of management, of the way and pace in which methods of management were perfected in all social economic links." As quoted by Radio Warsaw (January 3), Zycie Gospodarcze stated:

The weakness of our entire economy lies in the disproportion between capital and consumer goods investments, to the detriment of the latter.

Polityka (December 30) placed the responsibility for the tragic events of December squarely on the Party. In a clear reference to deposed Party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka, Polityka said:

There is no individual who does not make mistakes. A number of mistakes cannot be avoided, but at least they can be reduced by collective decisions and by broadening the scope of the consultations among the community.

"The impulse of anger," Polityka continued, "was directed against the price regulations, but the motive behind it was against the causes which led to the regulations and which failed to prevent them." The weekly saw the past evil in the "elements of stagnation," which were growing in the economy. "The picture presented by propaganda was far from the truth." Referring to the economic background of the riots, Polityka stated:

The fact that the demonstrations were joined by the dregs of society, hooligans and thieves, was unavoidable, but there was no demonstration against the basis of our political structure and against our international alliance.

5 January 1971

"The hazard of deep misfortune missed us by a hair's breadth," editor-in-chief Janusz Wilhelmi stated in the weekly Kultura (January 3). However, Wilhelmi concluded optimistically:

We got over those days roughed up and tense, but with the feeling that something inevitable had happened, which had to happen.

#### 4. News from Szczecin and Gdansk

Further information became available on the Party conference at the Adolf Warski Shipyards in Szczecin (see Polish SR/69, RFER, 29 December 1970, Item 1). Radio Szczecin (December 29), quoting the local Party paper Glos Szczecinski, reported that Szczecin Voivodship Party First Secretary Antoni Walaszek stated at the meeting that "the Voivodship Committee will not allow any settlement of accounts for participation in the strike, will not allow that anybody should suffer on this account." Walaszek promised that -- spurred by critical remarks of Party organizations and the working people -- the Voivodship Committee will do its best "consistently to review the economic and communal problems of Szczecin, including housing construction, and to bring about an improvement in the living and working conditions of its inhabitants." It may be significant that the passage pertaining to Walaszek's assurances on "no punishment" was missing from a subsequent report on the meeting in Warsaw's Trybuna Ludu (December 29).

At the same time, Radio Szczecin confirmed by implication earlier reports from Western correspondents that the Voivodship Party Committee headquarters building had been burned down. "The temporary seat of the Voivodship Party Committee," the broadcast announced, "is in the building of the Presidium of the District People's Council."

Reporting from Warsaw for The New York Times (January 2), James Feron related information, including possible gossip, reaching Warsaw on the events in Szczecin. According to this source, a strike (in Szczecin) that began on December 17 lasted through the weekend (December 19 and 20) "with the workers exercising a measure of control over the city before returning to work on December 22." Most public facilities continued to function, but the workers sympathized with the strikers. Even Glos Szczecinski appeared with a notice identifying it as a strike paper, Feron reported.



5 January 1971

In Gdansk's Lenin Shipyards, a meeting was arranged on December 29 between the Voivodship Party Committee Executive and the shipyards' "Party, social, and economic aktif," Trybuna Ludu reported on December 30. "In the course of a lively and frank discussion," the paper said, "an analysis was made, not only of the course of events in Gdansk, but also of the background and origin of workers' demonstrations which, as was stated, had a connection with the country's economic situation and in particular with the decision to increase prices of certain food items. The meeting also discussed the activity of voivodship and central authorities during the events, as well as fulfillment of the tasks set by the new Party and government leadership."

The Gdansk Voivodship Party leader Alojzy Karkoszka "presented the activities during, and the stand vis-à-vis, the events of the voivodship's Party organization," Trybuna Ludu reported. Replying to questions, Karkoszka also "discussed a number of concrete problems pertaining to the Party's style of behavior, to cadre policy, and to the changes in the Party and government leadership."

Karkoszka might have had a difficult time while "replying to questions." As reported earlier by Western correspondents, during the hot days of December, he had made some promises which he could hardly keep. Confirmation of such promises was made by Tadeusz Bejm, chairman of the Voivodship People's Council Presidium. Speaking on the occasion of the New Year (Radio Gdansk, January 1, 0835 hours), Bejm referred to the "emotions which took place (sic) between December 14 and 18," and to the voivodship's economic plan for 1971, and stated rather enigmatically:

Unfortunately, not all the demands, as defined in those signals which come to us in discussions, in the dialogue [conducted] immediately with the workers in factories and plants, in discussions with the counselors, will be met. One cannot expect that all the shortages will be promptly done away only because there have been changes in the CC and in the government.

During his speech, Bejm once again stressed that one should not expect that "a situation has been created at this moment which will allow [us] to settle all demands." On this occasion, Bejm revealed the extent of the losses suffered by the three coastal cities "during that period when, behind the shoulders of the working class, street [elements], that [ragged edge] of society, had had its fill of life and carried out the destruction." These losses are valued at 104 million zloty.

5 January 1971

5. Increased Income for Lowest Wage Earners

On December 31 measures were announced to raise the incomes of families in the low income group and certain social benefits by a total of 7,400 million zloty annually. The increases are retroactive to the first of December, under terms of a decision reached at a joint meeting of the government and the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions, PAP reported on December 31. Incomes will be increased by introducing subsidiary payments to some groups of employees, raising family allowances and certain old-age and disability pensions. These subsidiary payments will be made to about 5,200,000 people and the raised family allowances concern about 4,700,000 children.

PAP said that proposals to increase the income of families in the low income group, worked out in preliminary manner by the government and the Central Council of Trade Unions, had been submitted for discussion in 106 establishments of various branches of the national economy (see Polish SR/68, RFER, 28 December 1970, Item 3). "As a result of this discussion, the sums earmarked for the improvement of the material situation of large families with low incomes were enlarged." The wage increases are free of income tax and other charges. According to Radio Warsaw (December 31), the decision calls for the raising of the minimum income to at least 1,000 zloty per month from the present 850 zloty. Workers earning from 1,001 zloty to 1,500 zloty will receive monthly raises of 80 zloty, while those now earning from 1,501 to 2,000 zloty will get 30 to 50 zloty more per month. Increased family allowances will be paid to working families whose net per capita income does not exceed 1,000 zloty per month. The allowances will be raised from 40 to 55 zloty. The family allowance for nonworking wives in families with a monthly per capita income of 1,000 zloty is increased to 70 zloty.

The lowest pensions and disability payments are being increased by 60 zloty per month.

The decision specified that the increases will not affect scholarships, official housing, or allowances for social and educational purposes, which normally are reckoned according to the individual level of income.

In connection with this increase of purchasing power the government recommended to the ministers the drafting of programs providing for "economic use of material and financial means" and particularly for "a more effective use of the means of production." PAP said that what is needed is an additional effort by the personnel of all factories and establishments, all amalgamations and ministries, to produce the necessary commodities in quantities exceeding the targets planned for 1971, which is a "conditio sine qua non for guaranteeing market equilibrium."

5 January 1971

## 6. Investment Allowances for Farmers

In a manner similar to the case of investment in domestic trade (see Polish SR/53, RFER, 16 October 1970, Item 4), the authorities have extended the application of tax relief to farmers who make building investments on their farms. The order in question, recently issued by the Minister of Finance (Trybuna Ludu, 29 December 1970), extended the application of relief over the years 1971-1975. In the western and northern provinces this relief will be of a general character: every farmer who will carry out specific building improvements on his farm will get a tax relief that will amount to 30 to 50 per cent of the sum he has invested. In the remaining provinces, the tax relief will be granted to "certain groups of farms and in certain localities," in which they used to be granted in previous years. The extent of relief in those cases will be between 10 and 50 per cent of the sums invested. The relief will be granted to those farmers "who are preparing to increase production and who have suitable conditions, as well as sufficient production reserves, for that purpose." According to the above-mentioned information in Trybuna Ludu, 330,000 farmers have been granted such relief to date. The farmers in the northern and western provinces represent a considerably high proportion of those above mentioned, because the system of relief was introduced earlier there than in the other provinces of the country.

## 7. Economic Implications of the Polish-West German Treaty

In the first speech by new Party leader Gierek, as well as in a few other pronouncements by either Gierek or Premier Jaroszewicz, Poland's continued interest in economic ties with the FRG has been confirmed. This determination was also, in a roundabout way, approved by Moscow, as reflected in the fact that the Soviet Novosti Agency (APN) published on December 22 an article by Trybuna Ludu's deputy editor-in-chief Jozef Barecki, in which he expressed the hope that the Polish-West German treaty will lead "to the establishment of diplomatic relations and will create a new climate, conducive to the expansion of economic, cultural, scientific and technological co-operation" (see Polish SR/70; RFER, 31 December 1970).

The communiqué, issued in Warsaw on December 8, the day after the signing of the Polish-West German treaty, included the following passage:



5 January 1971

"The two sides, guided by the provisions of the signed treaty, stressed their determination to take further steps to bring about full normalization and all-round development of their relations. This particularly concerns the economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields." At a press conference that same day, when asked in which fields the Polish government wishes to broaden its co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany, the then Prime Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz answered that: "With due regard to all other spheres, we consider the economic domain the most important and basic for the development of broad co-operation; and the element which can really contribute to the widening of economic relations is, to our mind, above all, the expansion of industrial co-operation."

The following day, Radio Warsaw quoted from Chancellor Willy Brandt's interview with the Stuttgarter Nachrichten in which he said that a mixed Polish-FRG economic commission will hold its first session in January and assured his interviewer that, even before the ratification of the Warsaw treaty, the governments of both countries will do their best to expand their economic relations.

Of importance in this connection is the fact that, among the people from various walks of life who accompanied Chancellor Brandt to Warsaw, was also Berthold Beitz, the chairman of the Krupp works and the Krupp Foundation, who -- as far back as 1963 -- tried to promote plans of industrial co-operation with Poland on a large scale. Beitz's plans were unsuccessful, the political climate at that time being far from favorable for his far-reaching efforts (see Polish SR, RFER, 15 June 1967). During his most recent visit in Poland, Beitz was said to have had talks with the then Machine Industry Minister Janusz Hryniewicz and to have met with the first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Witold Trampczynski, with whom he was said to have discussed economic problems.

On the highest level, during his talks both before and after the signing of the treaty in Warsaw, Chancellor Brandt was reported to have discussed with Cyrankiewicz the question of economic relations between the two countries.

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