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RFE RESEARCH AND EVALUATION DEPARTMENT

Background Report
(Polish Unit-AFD)

THE ANNUAL PARTY REGIONAL MEETINGS IN POLAND IN 1962:
AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Between 24 February and 15 April 1962 the so-called reporting-electoral meetings were held in all 19 voivodship committees of the PUWP. These were preceded by similar meetings of city and district committees, and these in turn by similar meetings of committees of still lower rank. The whole proceedings are a routine affair, prescribed by Party regulations. They are simply equivalent to the annual general meetings held by any organization in any country, though in the case of the PUWP they are held every second year. Their purpose is to review the activities of the committee and to elect officers for the new term.

As a rule these meetings are attended by the representatives of higher Party authorities; in the case of voivodship committees by those of at least CC level. It should be noted, however, that when the situation requires it, such high representatives also participate in the ordinary voivodship committee plena (such was the practice during the last three years at least) and even in meetings of lower committees (e.g. this year's reporting-electoral meeting of Baluty ward of Lodz was attended by Edward Ochab, while at the meeting of the Bedzin district committee, Aleksander Zawadzki was present.)

While the presence of top Party leaders at voivodship committee meetings is a routine procedure, the names of persons attending them can often be revealing as to the prevailing power configuration within the Party leadership. This year's delegations, however, differ so greatly from those of 1960, that the whole problem deserves more careful analysis.

The difference can best be shown by the following statistics of Party persons and their appearances in 1960 and 1962 respectively:

	1960	1962
Meetings	19	19
Persons	19	43
Appearances	23	56

The size of delegations has changed as follows:

Size of delegation	1960	1962
1 person	15	2
2 persons	4	5
3 persons	-	6
4 persons	-	6

Considerable change has also been recorded with respect to the standing of the representatives of the Party leadership. While in 1960 at seven meetings only members of Politburo appeared, this year they participated in all the meetings but one.

The full list of representatives to those meetings in 1960 and 1962 compares as follows:

Voivodship	1960		1962	
	Date of meeting	Representatives	Date of meeting	Representatives
Katowice	19- Septemb.	Edward Gierek, Jan Mitrega	24-26 February	Wladyslaw Gomulka, Mieczyslaw Marzec, Jan Mitrega
Opole	30 Septemb.	Zenon Nowak	16-17 March	Roman Nowak, Edward Ochab, Ostap Dluski, Kazimierz Witaszewski
Zielona Gora	5 October	Mieczyslaw Jagielski	16-17 March	Zenon Nowak
Kielce	30 Septemb.	Eugeniusz Szyr, Hilary Chelchowski	22-23 March	Roman Zambrowski
Cracow	29 Septemb.	Roman Zambrowski	24-25 March	Wladyslaw Gomulka Antoni Radlinski Tadeusz Galinski

Voivodship	1960		1962	
	Date of meeting	Representatives	Date of meeting	Representatives
Poznan	29 Septemb.	Stefan Jedrychow-ski,	29-31 March	Marian Spychalski, Julian Tokarski, Wincenty Krasko, Jan Izydoreczyk
Bydgoszcz	7 Octob.	Witold Jarosinski, Boleslaw Ruminski	30-31 March	Stefan Jedrychowski, Marian Rybicki, Boleslaw Ruminski
Lodz-Voi-vodship	4 Octob.	Mieczyslaw Marzec	30-31 March	Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, Stefan Wierblowski, Eugeniusz Stawinski, Zenon Nowak
Rzeszow	27 Septemb.	Ryszard Strzelecki	30-31 March	Zenon Kliszko, Piotr Jaroszewicz
Warsaw-City	22 Septemb.	Witold Jarosinski	3-5 April	Wladyslaw Gomulka, Mieczyslaw Marzec
Warsaw-Voi-vod-s-ship	26 Septemb.	Edward Ochab	6-8 April	Wladyslaw Gomulka, Ryszard Strzelecki, Stanislaw Stachacz
Szczecin	5 Octob.	Roman Zambrowski	6-7 April	Aleksander Zawadzki, Józef Machno, Zygmunt Keh
Bialystok	30 Septemb.	Józef Olszewski,	7-8 April	Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, Juliusz Tokarski
Lodz-City	22 Septemb.	Roman Zambrowski	12-14 April	Wladyslaw Gomulka, Jozef Olszewski, Eugeniusz Stawinski
Lublin	29 Septemb.	Ignacy Loga-Sowin-ski, Jan Klecha	12-14 April	Marian Spychalski, Witold Jarosinski, Grzegorz Korczynski, Jan Klecha
Wroclaw	4 Octob.	Edmund Pszczolkowski	12-13 April	Adam Rapacki, Artur Starewicz, Jozef Kulesza, Piotr Gajewski

Voivodship	1960		1962	
	Date of meeting	Representatives	Date of meeting	Representatives
Koszalin	27 Septemb.	Zenon Nowak	13-14 April	Edward Ochab, Adam Dolinski
Olsztyn	30 Septemb.	Edward Ochab	13-14 April	Josef Cyrankiewicz, Konstanty Dabrowski, Edmund Pszczolkowski, Zbigniew Januszko
Gdansk	29 Septemb.	Stefan Jedrychow- ski	13-15 April	Zenon Kliszko, Antoni Alster, Jozef Machno, Andrzej Werblan

A glance at the above list reveals one new fact -- that all the delegations (with one exception) were headed by members of Politburo, and that (again with one exception) all the members of Politburo headed at least one delegation. In detail it looks as follows: a) Wladyslaw Gomulka attended five meetings, b) Zenon Kliszko, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, Marian Spychalski and Edward Ochab attended two meetings each, c) Josef Cyrankiewicz, Stefan Jedrychowski, Adam Rapacki, Roman Zambrowski and Aleksander Zawadzki attended one meeting each, d) Edward Gierek did not participate in any meetings. The number of meetings attended by Gomulka is surprising. Of the four Politburo members who attended two meetings, three are close personal aides of Gomulka, the fourth is the "elder statesman", Ochab. Surprisingly, Cyrankiewicz was not favored with that distinction in a society in which such protocol gestures count for so much. We are inclined to explain the absence of Gierek by his being first secretary of a voivodship committee as well. This supposition is supported by the observation that Wladyslaw Matwin, also a voivodship secretary, was the only member of the CC Secretariat absent from these delegations and that none of those CC members who are voivodship secretaries participated in these delegations. This appears to be an operating principle, but a new one, since in 1960 Gierek represented the Party leadership in his own voivodship of Katowice.

Politburo members attended the conferences in 18 voivodships. In the 19th (Zielona Gora) the Party leadership was represented by Zenon Nowak, a CC member and a Deputy Prime Minister. This may be a significant fact, since Nowak took precedence over the two CC Secretaries (Strzelecki and Jarosinski) who were only ordinary members of delegations.

Of the 33 persons appearing as "junior" representatives two were members of the Secretariat, 23 members of the CC, one alternate member of the CC, two representatives of the Party apparatus, and five from outside the Party hierarchy, (three ministers, one deputy minister, one deputy chairman of the Planning Commission). On the whole, of the 77 members of the CC, excepting nine secretaries of voivodships, 33 members did not take part in these meetings. Among those absent were all the intellectuals, journalists and professors, including even Oskar Lange, Tadeusz Daniszewski, Henryk Jablonski and Adam Schaff. The Minister of Culture Tadeusz Galinski (incidentally only an alternate CC member) was the next best thing to an intellectual. Other absentees are fading greats such as Jerzy Albrecht or Jerzy Morawski, and a few other mediocre personalities. The non-participation of Tadeusz Gede, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Jerzy Sztachelski, Eugeniusz Szyr and Wladyslaw Wicha is, however, striking. Their absence does not seem to have been caused by approaching disgrace or by the lack of personality.

This apparent chaos of names and positions, which after all must have some coherent explanation at the moment unknown to us, shows, however, great regularity as far as those who participated are concerned. In the majority of cases, persons were sent to a particular voivodship who were in some way connected with it. Thus, e.g. Konstanty Dabrowski, CC member and the Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of State Control, went to Olsztyn this year. He was Olsztyn's delegate at the Party's Third Congress (1959), a Sejm deputy from Olsztyn and in former years he attended several plena of the Olsztyn Voivodship Committee. Artur Starewicz, member of the CC, Chief of the Press and Propaganda Bureau in the CC, went to Wroclaw. Again, he was delegate from Wroclaw to the Third Party Congress (1959), was a Sejm deputy from Jelenia Gora (voivodship of Wroclaw) and attended several plena of Wroclaw Voivodship Committee in former years. Antoni Radlinski, Minister of Chemical Industry, was Cracow's delegate to the Third Party Congress and was recently also delegate to the Cracow meeting. The cases of Edmund Pszczolkowski, Roman Nowak, Grzegorz Korczynski, Jan Klecha, Zbigniew Januszko, Ostap Dluski and Antoni Alster, to mention only more interesting names, are similar.

This, however, is not a fast rule. There are some persons whose connection with a given territory cannot be established. Of the 33 delegates (leaders of delegations excepted) only nine are not connected with the territory to which they went this year. These are: 1) Zenon Nowak who was present in Zielona Gora and Lodz; 2) Tadeusz Galinski, alternate member of the CC and the Minister of

Culture, who accompanied Gomulka to Cracow; 3) Zygmunt Keh, Deputy Minister of Heavy Industry, present in Szczecin, 4) Jozef Machno, CC member and Deputy Minister of Shipping who, besides attending the meeting in Gdansk where he was formerly First Voivodship Secretary, attended also the meeting in Szczecin; 5) Mieczyslaw Marzec, CC member, Chief of the Organization Department of the CC, delegate to the meetings in Katowice and Warsaw City (delegation to both was headed by Gomulka); 6) Olszewski Jozef, CC member and Chief of the Economic Department of the CC, representative at the Lodz City meeting (where again Gomulka was heading the delegation); 7) Julian Tokarski, CC member, Deputy Prime Minister and deputy to the Sejm from Bialystok, attended the meeting in Bialystok, and in Poznan as well; 8) Andrzej Werblan, CC member, Chief of the Department of Learning and Education of the CC, was present in Gdansk, though he is rather connected with Kielce, and 9) Kazimierz Witaszewski, CC member and Chief of the Administration Department of the CC, was present in Opole.

The Politburo members, ostensibly present to represent the highest Party authorities, served also as a check on possible over-liberal applications of "internal democracy". It seems that they also perform important functions immediately following the general meetings. The meetings themselves serve only to elect the members of the new voivodship general committee (in several cases more than 80). Immediately after these elections, in most cases still on the day of election, the first plenary session of the newly elected committee is held to elect secretaries and other officers. It has been reported that these first plena in some cases were presided over by the leaders of the delegations. That was true of Katowice, where "the meeting of the Plenum was opened by Wladyslaw Gomulka on behalf of the Politburo. He suggested Edward Gierek for the "First Secretary" (cf. "Trybuna Ludu" 27 February 1962). In Cracow as well Gomulka was present at the first plenum (cf. "Trybuna Ludu" 26 March 1962). In Lodz City, Gomulka did not participate in the first plenum, but "in the debate a member of the CC PUWP, Chief of the Economic Department, Comrade Jozef Olszewski, participated", (cf. "Trybuna Ludu" 14 April 1962). The last such information we have from Gdansk was that the first plenum was attended by Zenon Kliszko (cf. "Trybuna Ludu" 16 April 1962). It looks most plausible that all the first plena were attended by the same leaders who had been present at the reporting-electoral meetings. It is a matter for speculation whether all the Party leaders suggested candidates for the first secretaryship as Gomulka did in Katowice, and whether, as in Katowice, they were elected unanimously.

Other members of the leadership, as mentioned above, were

mostly persons connected with the given territory, but some of them could also play the role of experts on certain subjects which might crop up at the meeting. Some delegates not connected with the territory seem also to have participated primarily in the capacity of experts. Thus the presence of Machno, Deputy Minister of Shipping, in Gdansk and Koszalin, cities with important shipyards, is self-explanatory. It is more difficult to explain the presence of Andrzej Werblan in Gdansk or the presence of Kazimierz Witaszewski in Opole. The latter case is interesting insofar as it shows us the internal working of the reporting-electoral meeting in this voivodship. It is the only one about which there is a report at hand. Apparently, the work was conducted not only in plenary sessions, but also in commissions. In the First Secretary's report to the meeting "serious attention was given to the critical appreciation of the role of Party organization in all fields of economic and social activities, stressing mistakes and shortcomings. Particular stress was laid on the necessity of increasing initiative and participation of the Party organization in the development of technical progress, on streamlining the administration of resources and increasing the authority of workers' self-governments. Also in the Party work in the countryside, along with considerable achievements in agricultural production, Party authorities and national councils paid too little attention to the development and strengthening of agricultural circles, collective farms, PGR's etc." (cf. "Trybuna Ludu" 17 March 1962). Along with this criticism went the participation of the delegation in various commissions. Witaszewski participated in the work of the commission dealing with the problems of national councils, (cf. "Trybuna Ludu" 18 March 1962).

This year two internal problems loomed large at all meetings. These were the need to increase agricultural production and the problem of technical progress.

The need to increase agricultural production was motivated by the necessity of eliminating, or at least considerably decreasing, agricultural imports, especially from capitalist countries. The following was suggested: training various sorts of agricultural technologists and technicians, increasing agricultural circles and efforts toward increasing the socialization of agriculture.

The problem of technical progress was stressed in connection with the forthcoming 10th Plenum of the CC which was entirely devoted to this problem. Its need was mostly connected with the problem of improving both the methods and quality of industrial production in order to boost Polish exports, enabling them to compete

with Western production.

These two problems led to the third main subject of the speeches and deliberations: the position of Polish exports, now endangered by the Common Market.

Gomulka was most outspoken on local possibilities of exports returning to that subject at almost all the meetings he attended (an exception was at the meeting of the Warsaw Voivodship Committee). Another, and about the best, exposition of Poland's international economic position was the speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Adam Rapacki, in Wroclaw. It is perhaps also significant that Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz delivered a purely routine speech on Olsztyn's local problems and that it was reported rather cursorily within the text of report from the meeting, while, e.g., summaries of speeches by Spychalski in Lublin, Rapacki in Wroclaw or Ochab in Koszalin were published separately under bold headings.

One important difference between 1960 and 1962 voivodship conferences seems to be more than indicative: while in 1960 there was a serious reshuffle of voivodship first secretaries, not one lost his position in 1962. Thus it would appear that on the crucial voivodship level of the CP apparatus "stability" obtains. The central leadership is apparently satisfied that its provincial apparatus is capable of solving current problems and future tasks.

There is, however, another side of the coin. The marked increase of central leaders attending provincial Party meetings suggests that the "front-line troops" of the Party needed encouragement and a "shot in the arm" for morale, in connection with their far from satisfying "contacts with the masses". Last but not least, the Central CP leadership no doubt wanted to impress on these "plan implementors" the importance of coping with current economic tasks; which, with concern over the Common Market and discontent with Comecon, not to mention the internal problems, are assuming ever more serious dimensions.

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