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POLAND'S EXTRAORDINARY NINTH PARTY CONGRESS

Part 1

THE DELEGATES: WHO THEY ARE AND HOW THEY WERE CHOSEN⁺

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Summary: One of the principal reasons for uncertainty about the course and outcome of the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PUWP is that for the first time delegates were chosen democratically and, as such, constitute an unknown factor. This paper examines the election procedure and the wrangles caused by the issues of "passive election right" and workers' representation. It discusses the statistical analysis of delegates and presents some of the more prominent as well as the more typical individuals elected. Finally an attempt is made to assess the relative strengths of hard-line and moderate influences among the delegates.

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All the delegates to the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) have now been chosen and the results of the last of the voivodship report and election conferences, which was held in the capital, Warsaw, are now available. In fact, one ought to say "election and program" conferences, since they were intended as an opportunity for the rank and file to participate in the elaboration of a new program platform, although personalities seem to have dominated the issues and the so-called "account-squaring trend" has highlighted the faults of the past to the detriment of plans for the future. Leaving this aspect aside, it is understandable that the process of selecting delegates to this particular congress has created a rare and genuine election fever both within Poland and outside its boundaries. In the past congress delegates were carefully selected by the party authorities and the election procedure was reduced to little more than a rubber-stamping formality by the rank and file. This year,

(+) This paper was written before the opening of the PUWP's Ninth Congress. It is the first in a series of background reports on the congress.

for the first time in the history of the PUWP, the order has to some extent been reversed and in most cases the rank and file have imposed their own representatives on the party hierarchy.

Procedural Issues

This revolution was made possible by the introduction of new regulations governing the election procedure by a leadership forced to make far-reaching concessions in order to salvage party unity, preserve intact its "leading role," and keep the country under control. The idea of an extraordinary congress was first mooted in September at the sixth plenum when Kania became party first secretary, though it was not until the seventh plenum on December 1 that a resolution to this effect was adopted and a document updating the old election instructions, entitled "Provisional Rules for Election of Officers and Delegates," was drawn up. (1) There was some ambiguity as to whether these rules were binding or simply valid as guidelines. They met with widespread criticism because they left too much scope for potential manipulation. (2) Several local party organizations began to organize their own elections without waiting for the CC to issue definite official instructions. One of the first to do so, on February 20, was the plant organization at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, where Solidarity was born in August of last year. Its 3,000 members had previously conducted meetings in 40 basic cells according to rules drawn up by the plant organization. By the end of March some 12% of party organizations had held their own conferences. Somewhat belatedly the ninth plenum on March 29-30 officially sanctioned this pre-congress campaign that had already begun unofficially, recognized the elections as valid, and amended the "Provisional Rules" in line with de facto practice. (3) It was not until the 10th plenum one month later, however, that the date for the congress was finally set and specific instructions on quotas were announced.

In spite of this the head of the Soviet CC's International Information Department, Leonid Zamyatin, said that local party conferences had been infiltrated by Solidarity members. Taking his lead the dogmatic Katowice Forum group issued a statement questioning the validity of mandates won at these early conferences, claiming that the proceedings deviated from the statutory principle of democratic centralism and that people with ideological deviations had been adopted as congress delegates. The danger is that the

- (1) For details, see J. B. de Weydenthal, "Polish CC Plenum Sets the Stage for Party Congress," RAD Background Report/131 (Poland), Radio Free Europe Research, 11 May 1981.
- (2) See, for example, Piotr Moszynski, Polityka, 7 March 1981.
- (3) See the interview with the deputy head of the CC's Organization Department, Ryszard Lukasiewicz, in Trybuna Ludu, 2 April 1981.

congress may be obliged to consider a motion that some of the mandates be invalidated, with unforeseeable consequences, possibly including even the suspension or postponement of the entire proceedings.

The pregress conferences perform a dual role in that they elect both local PUWP committees and officers and delegates to the congress. Party organizations at the larger plants and institutions elect their congress delegates directly; otherwise the elections take place indirectly, with basic party cells electing delegates to conferences at the interim plant, district, or municipal level, which in turn elect delegates to the voivodship conferences. Elections are also conducted in military districts.

Some of the local and voivodship conferences were conducted in two stages: a first meeting was devoted to the presentation of candidates who were submitted to rigorous questioning and obliged to divulge details of their personal circumstances and convictions, defend their past records, and justify their views on current issues and future policies. A second meeting was held some time later and concentrated on actual voting. To win a mandate delegates had to receive at least 50% plus 1 vote; accordingly, it sometimes took up to 4 rounds of voting before the required number of delegates was chosen. As far as the voting itself is concerned it seems that even secret balloting can be manipulated. At the voivodship conference in Bydgoszcz, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski caught delegates passing secret lists with names to be crossed off. (4) Describing the voting at one of the middle-level conferences in Cracow, a participant reported bitterly that people systematically crossed off the names of those with high ranks in the belief that since they did not know most of the delegates anyway it was safer to "eliminate the exceptional." (5)

High-ranking members of the national leadership attended the voivodship conferences as guests; in the past they brought with them lists of "approved nominees" drawn up by the CC's Organization Department which they "produced from their portfolios." This time, however, their role was restricted to canvassing for the central delegates and ensuring that the proceedings did not get too far out of hand.

It was this issue of central delegates that provoked the greatest furor. The rank and file were determined that only those candidates who were nominated by basic party organizations and endorsed at all the subsequent stages should go forward to the congress. The ruling hierarchy, on the other hand, claimed the so-called "passive election right" whereby those not chosen to represent basic cells at the higher level and therefore not possessing full voting rights are nonetheless eligible to stand as candidates at the higher level, provided that they did not officially stand at the lower level. The

(4) Mirosław Twarog, "Look to the Future," Fakty, 4 July 1981.

(5) Jerzy Surdykowski, "The Best," Kultura, 24 May 1981.

new "Provisional Rules" are ambiguous on this point in that they retain the principle of "passive election right," albeit with the following provisos: that such individuals may stand "where the circumstances justify it," and "if the conference expresses its agreement in open voting." Finally, the 11th plenum on June 9 ruled, somewhat contradictorily, that the PUWP statutes give each member the right to vote and to be elected for office and that exclusion of any member on the ground that he had not been chosen by a basic cell was in violation of this provision.

The irony of this dilemma is that, on the one hand, the PUWP statutes currently in force make no provision for ex officio participation in the congress for members of the outgoing leadership, a standard convention since one of the tasks of a congress is to hear its report and evaluate its activity. On the other hand, as long as the party's elections were fixed, the members of the ruling elite were always, in practice, assured of mandates, which carried full voting rights, and the issue of their eligibility for office was purely academic. The new draft statutes reportedly include a whole section on election procedures, but, as yet, it is not known how specific they are on this particular issue.

The anomaly created by the first fair elections forced Kania to resort to extraordinary -- but not yet illegal -- methods in order to give all the previous leaders at least an opportunity to be re-elected and, at the same time, ensure formal continuity of power, a matter of particular concern to the Kremlin. Moreover, it is essential that the congress take place in a climate of stability and normality if it is to succeed in consolidating the party around a concrete program for regaining control of the country and bringing it out of the crisis.

It is also of interest to note that the PUWP statutes make provision for party members who are not elected as delegates to participate in the congress with a consultative voice only, at the invitation of the CC. There is nothing, however, expressly prohibiting the election of leaders from outside the congress forum apart from established convention. In this situation it must be borne in mind that the congress, as the highest authority, is entitled to make decisions in any matters not mentioned in the statutes, such as the cooptation of delegates.

The Delegates (Szczecin, Olsztyn, and Gdansk)

The test case, which was to set something of a precedent, came at the very beginning of the voivodship conferences in Szczecin. Kazimierz Barcikowski, considered the number two leader in the current leadership, won a mandate but only after a nerve-racking tug of war. Barcikowski is known and respected in the area as the head of the government team that negotiated last August's strike agreement in the city and subsequently supervised its implementation. Nonetheless, the militant Szczecin rank-and-file movement considered that his imposition in the old "portfolio" style must be resisted on

principle. It was only after Chairman of the Polish Journalists' Association (PJA) Stefan Bratkowski had appealed on Barcikowski's behalf, explaining the strategic importance of his presence at the congress as a guarantor of reform, that enough delegates were convinced to ensure a majority for him. According to Polityka, (6) the peasants' voice proved decisive. It is indicative of the strength of feelings on this point that when the former CC propaganda secretary and Politburo member Jerzy Lukaszewicz, who was removed by Gierek last August before the latter himself was toppled, came to answer questions at his official home cell near Szczecin, the workers concluded with disillusionment that neither was he able to understand the issues that they were concerned with, nor were they competent to judge the truth and validity of his self-defense. They remarked that such "portfolio" members brought more trouble than benefit and vowed never to accept them again. (7)

Apart from Barcikowski, the Szczecin delegation includes Kazimierz Cypryński, a local apparatchik who has had a meteoric career since the strikes: promoted to first voivodship secretary in November and to CC Secretary in February. He is firmly committed to increasing internal party democracy and the control of grassroots membership over the elected agencies. He is a proponent of cooperation with Solidarity and rethinking of the way the party exercises its "leading role" with regard to the rest of society, away from the previous authoritarian methods. (8) Cypryński's successor as voivodship first secretary, Stanisław Miskiewicz from the Warski Shipyard, headquarters of the Szczecin interfactory strike committee last August, has also won a mandate for the congress. Miskiewicz, promoted to full membership of the CC at the sixth plenum in October, caused a major stir at that session when he criticized Kania's speech for failing to state clearly just who was responsible for the crisis, and demanded that all members of the central and local party authorities and government agencies be investigated and removed if found guilty of corruption or mismanagement. It is telling that not one representative of the Szczecin Technical University, the base of the voivodship's strong "horizontal" movement, (9) is among the delegates.

Delegates in Olsztyn, whose conference was held simultaneously, stood firm by their resolve and none of the six centrally submitted candidates was adopted. The former first secretary, Zbigniew Bialecki, a hard-liner who has expressed his agreement with some of the Katowice Forum resolutions, delivered a report to which most of those present could not but take exception. He himself had been "parachuted" into Olsztyn from Suwałki in December, and was accused

(6) 6 June 1981.

(7) Głos Szczeciński, 9 June 1981.

(8) Trybuna Ludu, 9 January 1981.

(9) For a discussion of this movement, see J. B. de Weydenthal, "Ferment Continues in the Polish Party," RAD BR/65 (Poland), RFER, 6 March 1981.

by the conference of being personally responsible for hindering the process of renewal in the voivodship, in particular by failing to establish a working relationship with Solidarity, not ensuring the investigation of discredited officials, and attempting to intimidate opponents and force open voting at local conferences. Only one member of the former executive, Wladyslaw Mokrzyszczak, won the delegates' confidence, and was elected first secretary and a delegate to the congress. Bialecki had "loyally" warned those central delegates concerned, one of whom was his "personal friend," head of the official branch unions Albin Szyszka, who was subsequently elected in Leszno, that they had no chance. Among the delegates to the congress is Professor Tadeusz Krzymowski of the Technological and Agricultural Academy, who had brought all the charges against Bialecki into the open.

The Gdansk Voivodship conference also refused to accept any "portfolio" candidates, though it did elect its home-grown deputy Politburo member Tadeusz Fiszbach. The popular Fiszbach, who was also re-elected first voivodship secretary, has been a committed advocate and implementer of reforms ever since the strike on the coast began. The party grassroots membership of the organization at the Lenin Shipyard, where Solidarity came into being, gave him an overwhelming vote of confidence by adopting him unanimously as its own delegate. Since his election Fiszbach has confirmed his policy line by expressing support for Solidarity, criticizing the leadership for not living up to its promised reforms, and dismissing charges that reforms bred anarchy as "vulgar and incorrect." The first secretary of that plant committee, Jan Labacki, a CC member since last year's congress, was also elected. At the recent plenum he spoke of the need to find a specifically Polish form of communism, comparing it to an elder brother's garment which must be adjusted to fit the younger one. Another delegate is Zbigniew Kowalski, a lecturer at the Gdansk Technical University, chairman of the voivodship pre-congress commission, who has promoted rank-and-file demands for more say in how the party is run. The composition of the Gdansk Voivodship delegation has been criticized by hard-liners for having too few workers (only 17%) and too many academics.

The Reformist Strongholds: Cracow, Torun, Poznan

In Cracow First Secretary Stanislaw Kania was elected almost unanimously in the first round of voting by the voivodship conference and received a standing ovation. His home base is actually in Plock but it was evidently to his advantage not to risk being submitted to interrogation and uncertainty there when he could be sure of acceptance in Cracow. In addition to Kania an impressive contingent of reformers won mandates in Cracow. Party members are well informed by their unorthodox daily paper Gazeta Krakowska, and the election results reflect their political sophistication in selecting not only those candidates who are judged capable of representing specific local interests but also those who can be trusted to play a more important role in the national arena. It is

telling that the paper's chief editor, Maciej Szumowski, was also given a mandate. Three other central candidates were chosen, apparently spontaneously, by basic party organizations.

The former chief editor of Polityka, now a deputy prime minister and chief trouble-shooter in labor conflicts, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and the CC's former information chief, Jozef Klasa, were both adopted by cells at the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta in spite of the steelworkers' usually militant antiapparatus stand. Both were known locally; Klasa, who had been first secretary of the voivodship until his removal by Gierek six years ago, was vindicated with eighty-seven votes out of the ninety-three votes cast. His dismissal a few days earlier as CC information chief following the Kremlin's admonition to tighten up on the press seems only to have enhanced his popularity, since in that post he had always avoided irritating propaganda jargon and his credo was "that all views should be presented in the party press, provided one has all the ammunition necessary for arguments to defend the party line." (10) Deputy Politburo member and CC Secretary Roman Ney was elected at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy of which he was rector. Ney had offered to resign at the ninth plenum as he felt unable under the prevailing circumstances to implement the reformatory measures he was committed to. (11) Nonetheless, he has refrained from open personal attacks on his hard-line opponents within the leadership, true to Kania's policy of collective responsibility. He has said that had the congress been held earlier Poland would not be struggling with a crisis of authority.

Krystyn Dabrowa, First Secretary of the Cracow Voivodship, was also chosen. An experienced apparatchik, former head of the CC Organization Department, and a journalist by profession, Dabrowa has allowed a climate of free expression to develop. Jan Broniek is one of the only two members of the Cracow municipal authorities to win election. He was one of the first to campaign for direct elections to the party's central authorities. Other delegates include Mayor of Cracow Jozef Gajewicz, who defied ministry officials in ordering the closure of the polluting Skawina aluminum smelter at the end of last year; Jerzy Jaskiernia, the outspoken Jagiellonian University lecturer who ousted a colorless apparatchik, Andrzej Koltek, as chairman of the official Socialist Polish Youth Union in April of this year; as well as three other Jagiellonian University lecturers, among them Jan Jerschina, deputy chairman of the liberal party debating club, Kuznica, founded in 1975; and Ryszard Taraszkiewicz, a member of the Central Congress Commission who was sharply critical of the draft congress documents, deploring their failure to address burning problems such as peasants' and students' demands, and to define precisely the nature of the current political struggle within Poland. He rejected the "facile" condemnation of "antisocialist forces" as obscuring the issue. Finally, it is worth mentioning Zbigniew Jablonski, the Cracow Voivodship police

(10) Zycie Warszawy, 4 March 1981.

(11) Nowiny, 25 May 1981.

chief, who made a widely publicized speech at a local district conference on April 28 in which he defended the rights of policemen to exercise their profession. Jablonski focused particularly on the real growth of criminality at the present time rather than on the security aspects of police activities in the past. He claimed that no one knew better than the police the real extent of Poland's economic and political crisis, and that far from being callous mercenaries, Poland's policemen were the victims of the growing gap between the people and the authorities. He stressed that the police force as a whole was not trying to shirk responsibility for the faults of the past but that it was entitled to participate in the party's renewal.

Another reformist stronghold was Torun, where the "horizontal" movement aimed at organizing a grassroots reform front as an independent pressure group within the party first began. One of its main proponents, the former first secretary at the Towimor Plant, Zbigniew Iwanow, was accused by the PUWP voivodship authorities of deviating from democratic centralism and promoting factionalism. He was stripped of his party membership, a decision later upheld by the PUWP Central Control Commission (PCCC). Iwanow's basic organization refused, however, to recognize this ruling and confirmed both his choice as its first secretary and his mandate to the municipal conference. A major row erupted over this issue at the municipal conference. A group of delegates ostentatiously walked out of the conference in protest at the decision to honor Iwanow's mandate, among them Voivodship First Secretary Zygmunt Najdowski. Only the personal intervention of Kania, who in a letter to delegates condemned both extremes, resolved the issue. Iwanow withdrew from the election and expressed his total disillusionment with the party. "As far as the party's 'reformability' is concerned, I have largely lost hope," he said. "I no longer care about saving the party. I care only that people can live in this country with dignity and as human beings." (12) The party organization at Torun University, which had supported the "horizontal" movement, adopted a resolution condemning Najdowski "on account of his decisions and methods of work as incompetent to lead the voivodship organization." Najdowski, his popularity at a very low ebb, lost even further support at the 11th plenum by demanding that Kania resign and that the party abandon its present policy of preferring peaceful means of solving the crisis. The actual voivodship conference proceeded more peacefully. Najdowski, all the members of his executive team, and other supporters such as Czeslaw Chadynicki who had spoken insultingly about Bydgoszcz Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski, were completely rejected. The leader of the offensive against Iwanow at the municipal conference, Urszula Jarmolowicz, also failed to win a mandate. On the other hand, there is only one delegate from Iwanow's plant on the list. The new voivodship first secretary, Edmund Heza, a lecturer at the university and a man associated with the "horizontal" movement, will also go to the congress.

(12) Gazeta Pomorska, 2 June 1981.

The other major center of reform is Poznan. Its voivodship conference was held after the crucial eleventh plenum, which signaled a toughening in party discipline in response to the Kremlin's minatory letter. Nonetheless, the conference ruled that only those with mandates for the conference were eligible to stand as candidates for election. It would not heed reason nor threats from the Politburo member in attendance, Tadeusz Grabski, and in despair Grabski was forced to appeal for help to Kania, the very man whose removal he had demanded barely one week earlier. The conference nonetheless upheld its decision and only agreed to enter the four names recommended by the Politburo on its list as an exception after Kania had personally spoken to the conference chairman and renewed his entreaties to allow the representatives of the former authorities to go forward to the congress. Only two of these were eventually elected: Deputy Air Force Commander Edward Lukasik and General Stanislaw Zaczekowski, head of Poland's police force. The party's new conservative media chief who replaced Klasa, Wieslaw Tokarski, and a Warsaw sociologist, Jerzy Wiatr, were defeated. Wiatr's attitude has tended since August toward reform. As a member of the Central Congress Commission he criticized the draft policy document as failing to make an honest analysis of the roots of the crisis in Poland by limiting itself to the last 10 years of Gierek's rule. His defeat probably reflects his relative insignificance in the process of renewal and the members' conviction that he is simply another piece of party deadwood.

Former First Secretary Jerzy Kusiak, an official appointed after the strikes but associated with Gierek, who had promoted him to be Minister of Local Economy, was not re-elected after the basic party organization at the giant Cegielski rolling stock plant (whose workers were killed in food riots in 1956), had refused to endorse him. The first secretary of that plant committee, Edward Skrzypczak, was elected to replace him and won a mandate for the congress. Skrzypczak is known as an advocate of dialogue with the Catholic Church and with Solidarity, and is chairman of a special team set up at the initiative of the Cegielski plant and the Mickiewicz University party organizations by the voivodship congress commission to analyze the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship over the last 10 years and present appropriate recommendations. The bulk of the Poznan delegates are workers and local apparatchiks, with only one delegate from the university.

The Bydgoszcz conference also agreed under pressure to include central delegates among its list of candidates. Two of the four were elected: Minister without Portfolio for liaison with unions Stanislaw Ciosek, who has thus far neither distinguished nor discredited himself, and deputy commander in charge of political affairs in the Pomeranian Military District Henryk Kondas. It is significant that here, as in Poznan, members of the armed forces -- albeit unknown -- appear to inspire greater confidence than party activists. The two rejected were Eugeniusz Stawinski, described as a veteran of the workers' movement, and Henryk Pozoga, Deputy Minister of the Interior. All the candidates were submitted to examination and Pozoga reportedly failed to give an adequate explanation when asked about the reasons for the recent dismissal of the voivodship police chief,

Maciej Zegarowski. At the municipal party conference in Bydgoszcz Zegarowski had read out an open letter from the local police protesting at being used by the party's central authorities for their own not always honest political ends. (13)

In Wroclaw only one central delegate was elected: the head of the government's Radio and Television Committee, Zdzislaw Balicki, who has since been replaced, possibly as another step toward the curtailment of media freedom. Tadeusz Porebski, former rector of the local Technical University and first secretary since the autumn, at first declined to stand again, complaining that he could not work with the previous executive body whose members were none too enthusiastic about implementing reforms. His line was vindicated and he himself was re-elected, while a motion to have his predecessor, Ludwik Drozd, expelled from the party was put forward. Another delegate from the area is Tomasz Afeltowicz, a lecturer at Wroclaw University and Chairman of the Polish Economic Association, long respected for his realistic assessments of the economic situation. Another lecturer who will be at the congress, Marian Orzechowski, has called for an end to nomenklatura and a sensible and just personnel policy. One of the workers who received a mandate, Marek Pabian, warned that the authorities were trying to go back on their promises, reverting to their old style of undemocratic practices.

There is little information available on the delegates chosen by the Radom Voivodship conference. The new first secretary, Bogdan Prus, has supported the vindication of workers repressed after protests in June 1976. The first secretary at that time, Janusz Prokopiak, and most of his associates were forced to resign in March after strikes crippled the town. One of the women chosen to represent the voivodship at the conference is leather worker Zofia Grzyb who, as a member of the CC, has demanded internal party democratization. The Lodz voivodship conference has also elected one of its current CC members, the outspoken textile worker Jadwiga Nowakowska, who delivered a tough speech at the ninth plenum criticizing the leadership for dragging its feet, which was costing the entire party loss of confidence and credibility. Nowakowska, speaking in the name of the 50 largest factories in Lodz, demanded that party officials in Bielsko-Biala, Lodz, and Bydgoszcz who were responsible for the development of social conflicts be removed forthwith. Another delegate, the first party secretary of the Fonica plant in Lodz, Krzysztof Pawlak, is also known for his outspokenness, quick decisions, and action. He was one of the first to seize the chance provided by the August agreements and initiated democratic reforms in the internal life of his own party organization without waiting for instructions from above. After his plant conference he took the bold step of inviting representatives of the Soviet Embassy to a meeting with party activists at his plant and allowed many delicate questions and pointed comments to be put to the guests without losing control over the meeting.

(13) Twarog, op. cit.

Central Delegates

Most of the conferences held after the eleventh plenum elected one or two central delegates, almost as if it were some kind of necessary ransom for democracy. Chairman of the State Council and Politburo member Henryk Jablonski reversed his earlier decision not to seek re-election, probably in order to support Kania's unity platform, and won a mandate at Tarnow. Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control and Politburo member Mieczyslaw Moczar won easily at Kielce, his power base ever since he was commander of the communist underground units in the area in 1942-1945. The deputy prime minister and Politburo member responsible for negotiating the Gdansk Agreement, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, was elected at Elblag. A deputy member of the Politburo, Wladyslaw Kruk, who has been First Secretary of the Lublin Voivodship since 1977, was not endorsed by his official basic party organization in Lublin but was later put up as a candidate at the voivodship conference and won a mandate. Member of the CC Secretariat and head of the CC's Social Organizations, Sport, and Tourism Department, Stanislaw Gabrielski was elected in Lomza; newly appointed head of the Organization Department Andrzej Barzyk was elected in Koszalin; and his deputy, Ryszard Lukasiewicz, in Skierniewice. The Politburo's two "token workers," Gerard Gabrys from Katowice and Zygmunt Wronski from the Ursus Tractor Plant near Warsaw, were disowned by their home organizations as party bureaucrats. Wronski declined to stand while Gabrys, whose name had at one point been linked with the Katowice Forum, failed to be elected. Jozef Masny, former First Secretary of the Opole Voivodship and a deputy member of the Politburo, did not stand either, while Jerzy Waszczuk, a deputy Politburo member and CC secretary, a typical apparatchik promoted to high office by former First Secretary Edward Gierek, was rejected by delegates at Chelm. CC Secretary in charge of organizational and general matters Zdzislaw Kurowski, another apparatchik who has not formally identified himself with the hardliners but who is hardly a proponent of reforms either, was elected in Ciechanow. The following government ministers were also elected in addition to those already mentioned: Deputy Prime Minister Andrzej Jedynak (Krosno); Foreign Affairs Minister Jozef Czyrek (Rzeszow); Agriculture Minister Jerzy Wojtecki (Kalisz); Education Minister Boleslaw Faron (Tarnow) Iron, Steel and Machine Industry Minister Zbigniew Szalajda; as well as five Deputy Ministers of Defense: Generals Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, Tadeusz Tuczapski and Eugeniusz Molczyk, Zbigniew Nowak and Jozef Baryla. Other central delegates include the chief editor of the party's theoretical monthly Nowe Drogi and chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Stanislaw Wronski; chief editor of the party daily Trybuna Ludu Wieslaw Bek, a staunch and orthodox party propagandist reportedly associated with the hard-line leader Stefan Olszowski; Chairman of the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives Jan Kaminski; head of the official Polish Scouts Union Andrzej Ornat, a moderate implementing limited reforms but a loyal apparatchik; the former Minister of Domestic Trade and Services Adam Kowalik, intriguingly described as a "state activist"; and chief editor of the party's peasant paper, Chlopska Droga, and a member of the Council of State, Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek.

The most prominent hard-liners kept a low profile in the early stages of the election, waiting to see how matters developed and what their chances were. Such tactics led to the premature announcement by PAP that Grabski was standing for election in Kalisz, but it later transpired that he was only representing the central authorities there as a guest. Grabski was finally elected at Konin, a small, sparsely populated backwater with no higher education establishments and no major towns. No voting figures were given.

Another member of the Politburo, Andrzej Zabinski, a protégé of Gierek's who owes his current position in the party hierarchy to the fact that he switched allegiance at an opportune moment, was re-elected as First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship. This was achieved only after a major controversy, which ended only after both Kania and Jaruzelski had rushed to the city. Kania spoke twice, stressing his personal wish that Zabinski take part in the congress. Even then Zabinski won only 60% of the votes. He has given support, at least tacitly, to the Katowice Forum by tolerating its activities on his territory. On the other hand, the 31 congress delegates elected directly by their plant committees have denounced the group, and the former first secretary of the municipal committee, Jozef Kotlorz, who is associated with it, has failed to be re-elected. None of the forum's principal participants is among the list of delegates. At the other end of the spectrum, it is not known whether any activists of the "horizontal" movement have won mandates; one of its sympathizers, the first party secretary at the Silesian University and CC Trade and Finance Department chief Professor Stanislaw Gebala is not on the list of delegates. Apart from Zabinski, only one other of the numerous "portfolio" candidates -- a general -- was elected. Those defeated were: General Norbert Michta, Deputy Chairman of the Main Political Board of the Army and the new Rector of the CC's Higher School of Social Sciences, where he has established a new hard-line discussion club; Kazimierz Kakol, former head of the Religious Affairs Office, a CC member who has called for strong measures to curb what he sees as a relaxation of social discipline; Adam Krzysztoporski, the security forces chief, whose evasive comments as guest of the Gdansk Voivodship conference concerning the maintenance of law and order and the potential threat from "antisocialist forces" gave no clear idea of his views and could not inspire confidence; Michal Wojtczak head of the CC Cultural Department; former Minister of Mining Mieczyslaw Glanowski; Tadeusz Bejm, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control; Zbigniew Madej, the new Chairman of the Planning Commission; and Franciszek Szlachcic, head of the Standardization and Quality Office, a former Minister of the Interior relieved of his post by Gierek. In fact, a large proportion of the Katowice delegates are unknown workers, in contrast to the list of voivodship delegates to last year's congress, which was made up of known Gierek supporters. One of the workers is Kazimierz Lejman, first party secretary in the Sosnowiec Mine, Gierek's former official party cell. Lejman, who is nearing retirement, has declared his intention to speak at the congress to warn delegates against the dangers of insufficient control of the party authorities by the mass membership. (14)

(14) Trybuna Ludu, 19 June 1981.

The Delegates from Warsaw

The last conference to be held was that in Warsaw. Here the hard-liners won their greatest victories. The capital is the second largest constituency after Katowice. Olszowski was elected with a very slim majority of 246 out of a total 440 votes. He has recently adopted a more conciliatory tone toward Kania and his policy: at Jelenia Gora, for example, on June 16 he stated, "The plenum made majority decisions that constitute a confirmation of our trust in the Politburo in its present composition and in our first secretary, Comrade Stanislaw Kania."

Another hard-liner, Stanislaw Kociolek, was re-elected as First Party Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship, albeit with an equally slim majority and again only thanks to the repeated insistence of Kania himself, who defended Kociolek against accusations that as first secretary in Gdansk in 1970 he shared responsibility for the bloody repression of shipworkers' protests in December of that year. Kociolek, for his part, did not hesitate to launch a new attack on Solidarity even as the Warsaw conference was in progress, accusing the Mazowsze branch of waging a campaign against law enforcement agencies and stirring up anti-Soviet agitation.

The Warsaw list also includes Minister of the Interior Mirosław Milewski, who has since then painted a gloomy picture for Sejm deputies (on July 3) of mounting crime, hooliganism, and incidents designed to paralyze law enforcement forces. Another of the candidates selected is Albin Siwak, a Warsaw construction foreman coopted to deputy membership of the CC in September 1980 as the obligatory worker. At several sessions of that body he has hit out at Solidarity, KOR, and other alleged "enemies of socialism." In an interview published by Zycie Warszawy to coincide with the first day of the Warsaw Voivodship conference, Siwak was presented as a no-nonsense, straight-talking, down to earth, "real Communist" completely dedicated to his work and improving the lot of his workmates, with little interest in the subtleties of politics. His statements, however, often reflect the phraseology of an arch-conservative, and he is a known enemy of Solidarity. He has, for example, accused Solidarity of wanting to share profits without working for them and tried to discredit the labor movement by revealing confidential information about the criminal records of certain Solidarity members. Only recently Siwak appeared on a Czechoslovak television program strongly condemning the independent trade union.

The Warsaw list does not include very many famous names associated with the reformist trend. Among those elected it is worth mentioning Professor Jan Malanowski, a Warsaw University sociologist who is coauthor of an independent draft version of the party's new statutes and a committed advocate of internal party democracy. Also elected was Waldemar Swirgon, the brilliant young lecturer in Law and Administration who was the main force behind the renaissance

of the Rural Youth Union in the wake of the strikes and is its current chairman. Two journalists were elected, the chief editor of the weekly Kultura, Dominik Horodyski, and first secretary of the plant committee at the principal state publishing house, Jerzy Majka. Neither of them has ever stepped out of line though they are not associated with the dogmatic front. Wieslaw Gemza, a newcomer to the national circuit who has made a meteoric rise (he was promoted to first secretary of the Warsaw Steelworks' party organization in December and now to first secretary of one of the intermediate level Warsaw district committees) was quoted at the plant conference as saying that the whole party was to blame for the country's crisis and that the whole system must be changed. One of his fellow steelworkers vehemently criticized the chief editor of the weekly Literatura and principal party hack Jerzy Putrament for speaking of workers, the grassroots of the party, with scorn. (15) As a CC member Putrament has, indeed, made many disparaging remarks about both the party rank and file and Solidarity. He was denied a mandate to the congress.

The greatest blow to reformers was the outspoken Chairman of the Polish Journalists' Association, Stefan Bratkowski, who has been suspect to party dogmatists ever since November 1978 when, as the main force behind the "Experience and the Future" (DiP) discussion group, he produced a remarkably accurate analysis of the crisis which eventually erupted in August 1980. Though Bratkowski always voiced his criticism from an unequivocally intra-party position and did not, in fact, belong to the democratic opposition movement, his consistently executed conviction that the task of the press is to check that power is used correctly rather than to share in power has won him many nonparty allies, particularly among intellectuals and Solidarity activists. His defeat could possibly be connected with the fact that on March 23 he published an "Open Letter to Party Comrades," an impassioned indictment of the hard-liners, which earned him an official reprimand from the party's Central Control Commission for bringing internal party differences into the public forum.

Two other smaller voivodships seem to have been dominated by hard-liners. In Ostroleka Henryk Szablak was re-elected as voivodship first secretary in circumstances that could suggest some form of coercion. (16) In his latest statement at the 11th plenum, Szablak launched a vicious attack against Rakowski. In Kalisz Bogdan Gawronski, head of the CC Cultural Department under Gierek, and a dogmatic speaker at recent CC meetings, was also re-elected first secretary and won a mandate for the congress.

Most of the remaining voivodship conferences appear to have been much more preoccupied with the election of their local authorities, the tendency being to purge all those connected with the old style of exercising the party's "leading role" and replace them either

(15) Zycie Warszawy, 3 April 1981,

(16) Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 22 June 1981.

with a few trusted officials from the lower echelons or with complete newcomers who have not yet discredited themselves. In Bialystok, for example, 89 of the 100 voivodship committee members are first time officeholders. In Suwalki and in Piotrkow Trybunalski none of the incumbent members was re-elected. In Koszalin and Zamosc the entire committees were swept aside. Elsewhere first secretaries were changed; only those of the post-August nominees who have been able to prove their mettle were re-elected. Most of the congress delegates, accordingly, are also new, although in several of the voivodships deposed first secretaries subsequently won mandates to the congress. It is not clear whether this was the result of pressure from the central authorities or whether it bears out the theory that the congress simply seems more remote than the local power struggle to the less important party organizations in the provinces. For example, the outgoing Piotrkow first secretary, Stanislaw Skladowski, whose report contained an attack on Kania and Jaruzelski, nonetheless won a mandate, as did the former party chiefs in Krosno and Tarnobrzeg. On the other hand, in Wloclawek the former first secretary, Edward Szymanski, elected to the congress has long campaigned against bribery and corruption among those in positions of authority and called for increased local autonomy as an antidote to bureaucratic confusion. He also acted as peace-maker at the ninth plenum in March, suggesting that offers of resignation be withdrawn and the Politburo be left as it was.

New Apparatchiks and Missing Faces

To complete the picture one must stress that the vast majority of the delegates are either nonentities or unknown factors. Typical of the new breed of lower level party apparatchiks (plant organization secretaries) is Michal Pruski, recently elected first secretary of the Olimpia Factory Committee in Lodz. Interviewed by Polityka, (17) Pruski comes across as a dispassionate professional, unwilling to step too far out of line and risk rocking the boat but not devoid of scruples and preferring to retain his personal integrity -- if possible. His party career began in 1974 when the shift of which he was in charge staged a lightning strike. He stood with the workers but did not actually join the strike, a fact obviously appreciated by the authorities who expelled all the strikers from the party with the exception of Pruski who was, instead, promoted to secretary of the plant committee shortly afterward. This ambiguous stance is still evident today in Pruski's admission that he did not join the strike in August of last year, and felt completely lost in September waiting for the party to give some definite directive, lacking the self-confidence to follow his own convictions. He remained a member of the branch union and steered clear of the "horizontal" structures, the boldness of which he found "shocking." He himself refused to lay claim to any particular virtues or talents other than a natural ability to get on well with people, and interpreted his election to the congress as a sign that people were electing those who were most like themselves, with whom they could identify. That this example is not

(17) Hanna Krall, "One of Them," 20 June 1981.

an isolated case is obvious in other similar party organizations. The new first secretary at the giant Ursus Tractor Plant near Warsaw, Marian Wall, has admitted that after one or two protests against mismanagement and abuse of authority he learned to keep silent and avoid trouble. "I did not believe that my riding for a fall could help the situation in any way." He also described how bewildered he was at the start, a first time official with an inexperienced executive committee. His subsequent comments appear more positive and more informed, particularly in respect to internal party democratization, but there is no guarantee that he will not in turn be influenced by the heated arguments of the conservatives. Indeed, his latest comments in a Trybuna Ludu interview after the voivodship conference deplore the poor representation of the working class among the congress delegates and reveal similar preoccupations. (18)

It is also interesting to see which other members of Poland's party establishment, apart from those already mentioned as having been defeated, are missing from the lists of congress delegates. Notable among them are representatives of the party's officially sponsored organizations: Chairman of the Socialist Union of Polish Students Tadeusz Sawic, Chairman of the League of Women Eugenia Kempara, Chairman of the Main Board of ZBoWiD, the veterans' association, and prewar communist writer and activist Wlodzimierz Sokorski. Fewer party propagandists won mandates; to cite only a few examples of those dropped: chief opponent of KOR and the democratic opposition, Trybuna Ludu commentator Ignacy Krasicki; another Trybuna Ludu commentator, chief proponent of the Warsaw Pact, and frequent visitor to the West Ryszard Wojna; the prolific and slightly eccentric chief editor of the Cracow weekly Zycie Literackie, Wladyslaw Machejek, the head of Poland's press agency for foreign correspondents, Mirosław Wojciechowski; head of the PAP news agency Janusz Roszkowski, who proved himself a moderate at the 11th CC plenum; the new government Radio and Television Committee chief Wladyslaw Loranc; and the government press spokesman, Jozef Barecki. Many prominent representatives of the academic world were not elected, although their names have appeared among congress delegates in previous years: Wojciech Lamentowicz, a political scientist, recently dismissed as lecturer at the CC Higher School of Social Sciences, founder of the liberal Karl Marx debating club in the autumn of last year, and one of the organizers of the "horizontal movement"; Henryk Samsonowicz, the liberal Rector of Warsaw University; Wladyslaw Markiewicz, head of the Social Sciences Department of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN); Alojzy Melich, a respected economist, chairman of the Katowice branch of PAN, a deputy member of the CC and a former member of the Katowice Voivodship PUWP Committee from which he resigned at his own request in December of last year; Jozef Pajestka, former Chairman of the Polish Economics Association; and Stanislaw Albinowski, an economist who has attempted to untangle some of the truth in Poland's statistical jungle, committed to both economic and political reforms. The Public Prosecutor Lucjan Czubinski, the new Justice Minister Sylwester Zawadzki, moderate Culture Minister Jozef Tejchma, and the new government plenipotentiary for economic reform, Wladyslawa Baka, are all missing.

Statistical Analysis

In the past the CC's Organization Department always drew up a sort of register called the "cipher" which set out how many representatives there should be from each profession, organization, social background, age group, and sex, and distributed them among the voivodships. The democratic elections have made such a cipher completely unworkable by changing the principal criterion to one of personal credibility, and by introducing the element of unpredictable subjective evaluation. The CC has nonetheless prepared, as always, its own classification of delegates. This time, however, there are indications that the exercise proved more difficult without the cipher on which to base the classification. It is unclear whether the CC has applied the same criteria to the classification of delegates as in the past. These were somewhat misleading anyway: for example, no distinction was made between a foreman and an ordinary worker, while both a store manager's assistant and a teacher would be counted among white-collar workers. (19) Professor Malanowski claims that the discrepancy between the percentage of workers in the entire party and the actual number of workers chosen to attend the forthcoming congress is not, in fact, as large as would appear because the apparent rise in worker membership over the last few years is actually attributable to a change in the method of statistical analysis. (20) It is possible that secretaries of PUWP plant committees were previously counted in with the workers rather than with the party officials they indubitably are. Another possibility is that more skilled workers have now been included in the technicians' and science graduates' class.

Nonetheless, there does seem to be a certain drop in the number of workers elected to the congress: according to the official statistics, from some 45% at the eighth congress in February of last year to just over 22% (438 out of the total 1,964 elect this figure includes 91 foremen). The "technical intelligentsia" group claims an overwhelming 276 delegates or some 14%, compared with under 3% last year. This figure appears somewhat inflated, as an independent count shows, possibly by the inclusion of skilled workers and section or departmental chiefs.

There is only 1 craftsman and 195 farmers, 180 of whom are described in the lists published by Trybuna Ludu as "private." Unofficial counts also show a significant rise in the number of medical, academic, and educational personnel: a total of 227 or some 12%, compared with only 4.2% last year. There are only 20 journalists this year, a surprisingly low figure considering their contribution to the process of "renewal" in Poland. There are 125 army officers, some of whom were elected in the voivodships and the remainder - - 83 of them are

(19) Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 June 1981

(20) Zycie Warszawy, 15 June 1981.

still unidentified - - at the military district conferences. There are 25 police chiefs and 5 ordinary officials; and 12 officials of local prosecutors' offices and courts of law.

There are only 13 activists of the mass youth organizations sponsored by the party and not a single student. Last year their representatives held 68 of the 1,808 mandates. There are only two trade union activists from the branch unions, though 56% of all the delegates belong to them, compared with only 20.6% belonging to Solidarity. There are only 108 women and 38 delegates below the age of 29. The plurality of the delegates are, however, in the 30-40 age group, the new generation that is taking over the reins of power.

There are 36 members of the local government authorities, including 6 voivods, 2 deputies, and 2 town mayors. The central government is represented by the prime minister, three deputy prime ministers, and only five ministers. There are 10 other ministry officials including 5 Deputy Defense Ministers.

The party apparatus of various levels accounts in itself for some 20% of the total delegates. Some 43 of the 49 voivodship first secretaries also won mandates. Although they are not ex officio delegates, in the past they were all automatically included in the "cipher." There is a very substantial body of first secretaries of plant (and university organization) committees, 202 in all; and another 140 first secretaries of local municipal, district, and communal committees. There are six delegates described simply as "activists," five of them from Katowice Voivodship. There are 14 former voivodship first secretaries and executive officials. The greatest shakeup, of course, is to be seen at the central level. Four of the Politburo and CC Secretariat members will not be attending the congress. Of the 143 full members of the CC only 46 have won mandates; and only 28 of the 108 deputies. Among these are reportedly five of the fifteen heads of CC departments, though an independent count has only identified three heads and one deputy.

The Workers Issue

As has already been mentioned, the hard-liners have questioned the validity of some of the elections. The second major criticism leveled against them is that too few workers have been chosen to represent what is nominally the party of the working classes. The trend became visible right at the beginning of the campaign during the basic party organization conferences, and the issue has provoked a public debate which has focused largely on the question of whether workers are being rejected or whether they are unwilling to stand for election.

Workers themselves have by and large denied the former hypothesis and agreed with the latter, putting forward two major reasons. The first is that after repeated assurances that the leadership was really going to listen to the workers and so many

broken promises, they have lost confidence in the party and fear that it will all prove a sham once again. They feel "strangers in the party's ranks," as Trybuna Ludu itself has remarked. (21) Those workers who felt the urge for union activity have found a much better vehicle: Solidarity, where people voice their true opinions, where they are listened to, and where their activity brings results, respect, and satisfaction. They no longer want "to serve as an alibi" in the party, i.e., fictitiously sharing power, but see themselves as called to keep their own leadership on its toes, assessing and controlling the way it exercises authority in the name of the working class. (22)

The second reason, which partly stems from the first, is that workers fear they are neither smart, nor loquacious enough to win in a political struggle with experienced politicians and apparatchiks, that their naivety will allow them to be taken in or -- worse still -- manipulated. Following Solidarity's example they have placed their trust in educated people felt able not only to discern truth from lies but also to speak coherently and convincingly on matters that concern the workers, for they work together, though in different capacities, and know each other well. At the same time it must be pointed out that technical and white-collar personnel have themselves long been the victims of the faulty national development policy, a discriminated and frustrated group. Many graduates were unable to find employment in their chosen profession and have had to find jobs in production; many have watched helplessly as the inept protégés of people in authority bungle their chances of developing and modernizing Polish industry and technology.

Sociologists, for their part, have developed these arguments further. Zbigniew Sufin, of the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, has concluded on the basis of an opinion poll taken at a large modern plant in southeast Poland that workers are not unduly concerned at their low representation in the elections. (23) First, they are irked by the artificial classification of people as if they were simply numbers, and realize, albeit subconsciously, that such classification perpetuates social divisions. Secondly, they know that they will now be answerable for the way they execute their mandates to those who elected them, individuals with whom they have to live and work, and they are uncertain whether the future will permit them to meet the high requirements set by their peers. Finally, they fear ridicule for agreeing to fight what promises to be a losing battle with one's own side. Professor Jan Malanowski has pointed out that if these barriers preventing workers from standing for election are to be removed, certain reforms in the way the party works will be necessary. Principal among them are full information about political and public life,

(21) 26 June 1981.

(22) Zycie Warszawy, 22 and 23 June 1981; Radio Warsaw, 1 July 1981, 1710 hours.

(23) Zycie Warszawy, 3 June 1981.

and restructuring of relations between the party's leadership and the grassroots. (24)

The conservatives have tried to propagate the opposite view. Marian Anasz disputes Sufin's conclusions, claiming that the findings of his research show, on the contrary, that workers wish to be elected, and that they blame external factors, such as local apparatchiks' fears that workers will be too forthright and too honest and might prove embarrassing or uncomfortable, or that white-collar workers discriminate against them for their lack of education. (25) Siwak has also spoken on this subject on numerous occasions, claiming that no intellectual, however, democratically elected, can over truly represent the point of view of a worker, despite his view that the party needs intellectuals in its leadership.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges is one of uncertainty. Overall there has been a noticeable shift away from city dwellers to representatives of small towns and villages. There are many more intellectuals than ever before. There is a new group of technologists and middle level professionals. There are fewer workers but this is not as serious as some would make out. There are more generals than ever before and they can be expected, at least in theory, to support their prime minister. The stalwarts of the central party apparat have been reduced to a small minority. There are several notable reformers and moderates, certainly more numerous than the most prominent hard-liners, but the more vociferous and radical proponents of both orientations have been eliminated, an apparent success for Kania's tactics: forging party unity by eliminating extremes and disarming potential challengers by applying in practice the principle of collective leadership, making each member of the Politburo and CC Secretariat jointly responsible for the present policy, and not permitting his political isolation. Kania's strategy is to consolidate the party, strengthen it, and keep the country under its control. It is impossible, at this stage, to predict how this plan will fare at the congress. The unity and continuity of leadership is only an apparent one, while the mass of delegates to the congress -- some 80% -- are newcomers and unknown quantities. Many of them will be filled with good intentions, conscious of their mission to represent the views and sentiments of those who elected them, and will bear in mind that they will be obliged to report back on how they performed at the congress and justify their decisions. But many of them were also chosen simply because they had not discredited themselves rather than for any positive achievements. The "horizontal" movement has

(24) Ibid., 15 June 1981.

(25) Trybuna Ludu, 16 June 1981.

failed to put up a consolidated front at the congress, although the seeds of its theories have been widely scattered. For the first time at least seven voivodships have set up Congress Commissions parallel to the Central Congress Commission to prepare their own program and policy documents, and work out their common stand on the centrally drafted proposals. These commissions have maintained contact with each other. (26) Moreover, many voivodships have also organized briefing and discussion meetings for all their delegates. It will be interesting to see whether individual voivodships will present a unified voting block. It is likely in the case of Gdansk, possibly also in Szczecin, Poznan, and Torun. It must be remembered that each voivodship's contingent differs in size, depending on the individual party memberships, and that in voting it is the individual votes that count and not the voivodship. By far the two largest contingents -- Katowice with 233 mandates and Warsaw with 125 -- are dominated by hardliners. Although the balance seems to be on the moderates' side, time alone will show whether the mass will be cowed and intimidated by their own sense of responsibility and by external pressures, whether they will adopt a wait-and-see attitude and opt for those who prove to have the advantage, or whether they will stick to their demands for reforms. The precongress campaign was only the first hurdle in the struggle for power in Poland and the real race is yet to be run. Perhaps the most likely outcome is that suggested by one British correspondent: (27)

It would be a freak in the communist world: a state in which there was lively democracy at the grassroots, and at the top a colossal conglomeration of authority which might well have solid public consent but which would be remarkably difficult to challenge.

(more)

(26) Richard Davy, The Times, 20 June 1981.

(27) Neal Ascherson, The Observer, 21 June 1981.

DELEGATES TO THE EXTRAORDINARY NINTH POLISH PARTY
CONGRESS

Category	Number
Delegates elected	1,964
Delegates accepted	1,962
Delegates attending	1,955
<u>Newcomers</u>	91%
Elected from regional (voivodship) conferences	1,599
Elected from large factories	365
Blue-collar workers	438
White-collar workers (including 136 directors)	1,309
Agricultural workers (including 180 private farmers)	195
Military	125
<u>Activists (elected positions)</u>	
Secretaries of basic party organizations	568
Activists in basic party organizations	1,036
Members of party bodies on the voivodship level	918
<u>Party functionaries (appointed officials)</u>	394
From basic organizations	299
from voivodship and central levels	95
<u>Age structure</u>	
Under 29 years old	38
30-39 years old	598
40-49 years old	284
50 and over	544
<u>Women</u>	108
<u>Length of party membership</u>	
10-19 years	1,649
20 years and more	745
Less than 5 years	88
<u>Union membership</u>	
Branch union members	1,099
Solidarity members	405
Autonomous union members	18
Agricultural Circles	93
Rural Solidarity	9
<u>Source: Trybuna Ludu, 15 July 1981.</u>	

(28)

The figures given within each section of this table do not necessarily add up to the total attendance at the congress since some delegates obviously fall into more than one of the categories listed.

- end -