

The Plenum

Gomulka's report on ideological problems has been accepted by the 13th Plenum (which lasted July 4 through 6) as a "directive for Party work in the ideological field", Radio Warsaw reported July 6. The speech of Gomulka will be a subject of a detailed analysis. At this moment it is enough to say that its content and tone tally with previous announcements, some of which were listed in Sit. Rep. of July 2. Gomulka announced a full return to socialist realism in cultural life, stressed the necessity of a Marxist-Leninist approach in science and education and of closer links between these branches of the "superstructure" with the production efforts (the building of socialism). To supervise the effectiveness of these links a new Party Commission on ideological matters will be set up. The Party Secretary again pronounced himself against "administrative measures" (police terror?), but the intended creation of the Party Ideological Commission seems to clearly point out that he is in favor of "organizational measures" (censorship, economic pressure).

Regarding the second point of the agenda, the Plenum accepted unanimously the resignation of Roman Zambrowski from the Politburo and from the Secretariat. Two new CC secretaries were elected "unanimously". They are: Boleslaw Jaszczuk, the Polish ambassador to the USSR, and Artur Starewicz, the head of the CC Press Bureau.

The New Secretaries

The two new CC secretaries have almost the same type of background. The important difference seems to consist in the fact that Jaszczuk spent the war years in Poland (a "home" Communist) while Starewicz was at that time in the USSR (a "Moscow" Communist).

Boleslaw Jaszczuk was born 1913, completed his secondary studies in Vilna, then went to Warsaw where, just before the war started, he managed to finish his studies at the Warsaw Polytechnical University and to obtain the diploma of engineer-electrician. During his university studies he belonged to the Communist student organization, "Zycie". He was one of the first members of the Polish Workers' (Communist) Party when it was resurrected at the beginning of 1942, and was an organizer of the Communist resistance units (People's Guard and People's Army). Thus he may be connected

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with the "partisan" group within the PUWP. Official sources differ as to his date of arrest by the German occupation authorities. In this respect 1942 and 1943 are referred to, but all sources agree that Jaszczuk was sent first to Oswiecim and then to Mauthausen. Just after the war he was called to Party and regional state administration work, first in Warsaw, then in Katowice. In the early fifties he was appointed Minister of Power, then of the Machine Industry. In 1957 Jaszczuk was made deputy chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers. In October 1958 he headed a delegation of parliamentarians and cooperative workers on an extensive visit to the USA. Since late November 1959 he has been Polish Ambassador to the USSR, and his last official recorded function there was to greet Piotr Jaroszewicz who arrived in Moscow July 2 for the Comecon session (cf. Sit. Rep. of July 5). Jaszczuk was appointed candidate member of the CC in December 1948 and continued in that capacity till March 1954 when he was made a full member. RFE files reveal that he is considered as a "rather sober and moderate Communist whose personal weakness is to dress well (a Polish Eden)."

Artur Starewicz, whose father was a clerk, was born in 1917 in Warsaw and -- like Jaszczuk -- belonged to the students' Communist organization, "Zycie". However, he completed his university studies during the war in the USSR (chemical engineer). In 1943 he entered the Polish Patriots' Union set up in Moscow. In 1946-1947 he worked at the Warsaw Party Committee, later as Voivodship First Party Secretary in Lower Silesia. From 1948 till 1953 he was head of CC Propaganda Department, then was sent to work in the Trade Union organization and also as deputy editor-in-chief of "Trybuna Ludu". Since December 1956 he has been head of CC Press Bureau. His Party career is as follows: candidate CC member from March 1954 and full CC member from March 1959. Starewicz belonged to the "Pulawska" (Zambrowski) group in 1956 and later. His pronouncements on film, press, etc. reveal a faithful Communist who would not stand "liberal" nonsense and who would stick to the Party line, although personally he is considered approachable and a man one can talk to. He was instrumental in past efforts to remove Mieczyslaw Rakowski from <sup>the</sup> editorship of "Polityka", and it is known that he hates Rakowski. The "partisan" group was reported to have made several efforts to have Starewicz demoted. However, it was also reported that recently Starewicz had managed to make a deal with the "partisans".

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Party Congress Announced

The Fourth Party Congress will convene in Warsaw "in the first half year of 1964", the Plenum decided "unanimously". A commission composed of 63 persons was set up to prepare the Congress. If there is no further postponement, the Congress will be delayed by at least one year.

Cardinal Wyszynski Answers Gomulka

In his "ideological" report Gomulka singled out the Polish Episcopate for an attack on the subject of peace. According to the established propaganda line, he stated that the Episcopate's position on peace was not identical with the one taken by the late Pope John in the encyclical "Pacem in terris". The passage selected by Gomulka for attack was contained in the Episcopal letter dated 18 April 1963, and it read as follows: "Those who brought upon the earth tremendous suffering and unhappiness and sank the world in an abyss of wars, in the first place fought against the Gospel of Christ and against His Church, because they knew that the firmest adversary of their crime was the Christian religion. It was they who brought a blood bath upon the world in the 20th century. It is to be feared that they are preparing a new, more terrible war, and atomic war."

To which Gomulka replied: "Instead of making a distinction between real champions and opponents of peace, the bishops are making a distinction according to religious belief, and are shielding those who, with the words 'Gott mit uns' on their lips, were throwing the world into the abyss of war." Gomulka also tried to convince the bishops that wars are not born of the "original sin" of man but of imperialism.

A few hours after his return to Warsaw, Cardinal Wyszynski advised Gomulka to mind his own business. "Our Polish bishops have to deal with the Lord's business -- that is the task assigned to them. Other people have to concentrate on their own jobs and preoccupations", the Cardinal was quoted by Reuter as saying in a sermon last Sunday night.

The 4th July Reception in Warsaw

Only four persons were named by Radio Warsaw as attending the traditional 4th July reception at the American Embassy in Warsaw given by Ambassador John Cabot this year. Of these four "personalities" the most important was Foreign Trade Minister Witold Trampczynski. The other three were: Deputy Sejm Speaker Jan Karol Wende, State Council Secretary Julian Horodecki, and Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jerzy Michalowski. The broadcast added that representatives of the world of education and culture were present, but no names were given.

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The poor attendance this year could be explained by Polish displeasure with the results of the recent trip of President Kennedy to West Germany, a displeasure which found its reflection in <sup>the</sup> Cyrankiewicz speech of July 3 (cf. Sit. Rep. July 5), had it not been for the trend which becomes clearly visible when such attendance is compared year by year.

While <sup>the</sup> official communiqués published by "Trybuna Ludu" do not necessarily reflect the actual attendance, the number and the importance of the names of the persons attending the reception published by the Party mouthpiece are indicative enough to draw certain conclusions, not only on the trend itself but also on what the Party wants the Polish citizens and outside readers to know about the nature of Polish-American relations. Experience has shown that Communist ritual is often a most reliable source of information on what is going on. For this reason ritual as reflected in "Trybuna Ludu" is the basis of this short study note on Polish-American relations within the last seven years.

At the peaks of Polish overtures to America, in July 1957, the following persons attended the reception: Chairman of the Council of Ministers Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Deputy State Council Chairmen Oskar Lange and Boleslaw Podedworny, Deputy Prime Minister Zenon Nowak, Deputy Sejm Speaker Jerzy Jodlowski, members of State Council (names not given), Ministers: of Culture and Arts Karol Kuryluk, of Justice Marian Rybicki, of Foreign Trade Witold Trampczynski, of Foreign Affairs (acting) Jozef Winiewicz, deputy ministers, etc. etc. (names not given). Altogether nine names were given, and most of them carried weight. Two were particularly important; Cyrankiewicz who was attending the reception year by year from 1957 till 1961, then dropped from the list; and Trampczynski who -- with one exception of 1960 -- has been attending every reception since 1957, including the last of this year. Also the attendance of the representative of Foreign Affairs Ministry is important and indicative. From 1957 to 1962 the Ministry was represented either by acting Ministers (Jozef Winiewicz, twice, and Marian Naszkowski, once) or by the Minister himself (Adam Rapacki, 1959, 1960 and 1962). Only this year did the Ministry send its director general.

Detailed statistics reveal that 1963 is the first year in the last seven when no person of prime minister or deputy prime minister rank attended the reception, and -- so far as Party position is concerned -- also the first when neither a Politburo nor a CC member appeared. In the

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latter respect at least two Party dignitaries of that level used to come to the Embassy every year. A sample of these statistical data is given below:

<u>State positions</u>	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Premier, Deputy							
Premier, State	2	5	1	2	4	2	1
Council level							
<u>Party positions</u>							
Politburo and							
CC level	4	3	2	3	4	2	-

The Polish trend is the more telling as another Soviet bloc country (Bulgaria) dared rebroadcast and televise the US Ambassador's Independence Day message.