

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

10 December 1985
FB 85-10068

(b)(3)

Analysis Report

Poland: New Leadership Team Shifts Focus to Economy

PEEL HERE

MICRO (NUMBER)

1 COPY

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: NOV 2001

Foreign Broadcast Information Service

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

12

This analysis report is based exclusively on material carried in foreign broadcast and press media. It is published by FBIS without coordination with other U.S. Government components.

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

Poland: New Leadership Team Shifts Focus to Economy

Polish party chief Wojciech Jaruzelski, in the most comprehensive leadership shakeup since 1981, has displaced several top officials and shifted the regime's focus from political to economic problems. The personnel changes removed the regime's most experienced political leaders, both moderates and conservatives, replacing them with little known technocrats with no political base of their own. Surrounded by less independent and less experienced officials, Jaruzelski may be able to assume an even more dominant role in the regime and to rely even more on his trusted military associates in formulating important political decisions.

The sweeping changes in the Polish leadership seem to be consistent with the regime's contention that political normality has returned and that attention should be shifted to the country's severe economic problems. At the same time, Jaruzelski has given no indication of having a new economic policy or even new approaches to economic problems to go along with the personnel changes.

The shakeup, announced at the 6 and 12 November sessions of the Sejm (the Polish parliament) and at a PZPR Central Committee plenum, convened on 5 and 11 November, altered the leadership of all key government and party organs—the Council of Ministers, the Council of State, the PZPR Politburo, and the Central Committee Secretariat. The most significant changes included:

- Jaruzelski resigned as premier, a post he had held since February 1981, and was replaced by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner, 56.
- Jaruzelski succeeded 75-year-old Henryk Jablonski as the chairman of the Council of State, becoming the first Polish first secretary to have held the top party and state posts concurrently.
- Stefan Olszowski, 54, once the leading conservative candidate for party leader, resigned from the Politburo and lost his post as minister of foreign affairs.

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~



Wojciech Jaruzelski

- Kazimierz Barcikowski, 58, a moderate who had been the second-ranking secretary of the party, gave up his job as Central Committee secretary in charge of the economy and was elected to the honorific post of deputy chairman of the Council of State.
- Mieczyslaw Rakowski, 59, longtime reform advocate and initially the most influential deputy premier under Jaruzelski, was shifted from deputy premier to deputy speaker of the Sejm.
- Marian Wozniak, 49, longtime planning specialist and currently Warsaw first secretary, was elected Central Committee secretary.

The shakeup was ushered in by Jaruzelski's 5 November plenum speech, which proclaimed the end of Poland's sociopolitical crisis in the wake of parliamentary elections in October and emphasized the need to solve economic problems. Commenting on the election results, Jaruzelski characterized the current political situation as an "advanced process of mutual understanding (*porozumienie*) and normalization" and said that "we have crossed yet another threshold." He minimized the threat from political opposition, stating that the "extremists are getting weaker and weaker" and warning the party against blaming its own shortcomings on such opposition. He argued that recent political gains "create favorable conditions" to concentrate on economic solutions, including "efficient organization and thrifty management." Although he did not specify what changes he had in mind, he insisted that "radical steps are needed" in order to "accelerate activity" in science, technology, and the economy.

Changes in the Government

Jaruzelski's stress on the economy was reflected in his choices for the government leadership, with the top Council of Ministers posts given to economic specialists rather than experienced politicians:

- The new premier, Zbigniew Messner, is an economics professor who recently has worked closely with Jaruzelski as his government economic coordinator.



Zbigniew Messner

Messner served as the rector of the Katowice Economics Academy from 1975 to 1981. He became chairman of the Katowice Province People's Council in November 1980, was elected to the Politburo at the July 1981 party congress, and in the first days of martial law was chosen by Jaruzelski to become first secretary of Katowice—the country's biggest province and one of the most troubled. Jaruzelski again turned to Messner in November 1983, when he told the Sejm that to ease his burden as premier (as well as party leader and military chief) he wished to create a new post of deputy premier to coordinate economic leadership. In nominating Messner to be premier at

the 6 November 1985 Sejm session, Jaruzelski said that he had been "de facto first deputy premier" and stressed his qualifications as an economist and as coordinator of the entire economic sphere. Messner himself, in a 15 September *Przegląd Tygodniowy (Weekly Review)* interview, described his role as "economic coordinator" in the Council of Ministers and said he had run the government in Jaruzelski's absence.

- Messner's deputies will be more exclusively economic specialists than the previous deputy premiers. In explaining the duties of his deputy premiers in a 13 November news conference carried on radio and in the party daily *Trybuna Ludu*, Messner specified that trade specialist Wladyslaw Gwiazda would handle foreign trade and CEMA matters; agricultural specialist Jozef Koziol would have responsibility for agriculture and food; holdover Zbigniew Szalajda, an engineer by training and a former minister of metallurgy, would continue to run science and technology and "industry as a whole"; holdover Manfred Gorywoda, an economist, would continue as planning chief; and agricultural academician Zbigniew Gertych would handle the only noneconomic sphere—education and culture. In the previous cabinet, there were eight deputy premiers, but one (Rakowski) dealt with a variety of noneconomic issues, while three of the other posts went to prominent

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

representatives of noncommunist parties and organizations, the United Peasant Party, Democratic Party, and the lay Catholic organization PAX. In the new Council of Ministers only one of the five deputy premiers is a noncommunist, United Peasant Party representative Koziol.

Council of State

The changes in the Council of State are even more comprehensive than at the top level of the Council of Ministers, but they may have little political significance. The council historically has been an honorific body, exercising little power or influence, and there is no evidence as yet that its role will change with Jaruzelski's appointment as chairman. The Sejm approved 12 new council members, retaining only four of those who had served under Jablonski. Even during the crisis years of 1980-81, the Council of State had been largely exempt from the shakeups that affected other Polish Government and party organs. For example, of the 18 council members who were in office in 1980, 12 retained their positions until the current changes. Council of State Chairman Jablonski had held his post since 1972, while three of his four deputy chairmen had been in office since before August 1980.

Established Leaders Depart

The personnel shuffle removed the best established and most controversial political figures around Jaruzelski and elevated relative newcomers with no apparent political base, liabilities, or assets. Barcikowski and Olszowski, as top party and government leaders under former party Secretaries Edward Gierek and Stanislaw Kania, and Rakowski, as outspoken editor of the sociopolitical weekly *Polityka* until 1982, were all veterans of intraparty struggles. The reasons for the departures seem to vary, however, and the overall effect appears to be to sideline two of Jaruzelski's allies (Barcikowski and Rakowski), while removing from the political scene one of Jaruzelski's longterm opponents (Olszowski):

- The most significant change is the sidelining of Central Committee Secretary Barcikowski to an honorary position of deputy chairman of the Council of State. As senior Central Committee secretary under both Kania and Jaruzelski, he had handled the key fields of party organizational work, relations with the church, and general supervision of economic policy. A tough political infighter, he has often feuded with hardliners and has been a key Jaruzelski ally. In recent months, however, following a serious heart attack, he

4
FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

has narrowed his activities mainly to economic policy, and his present shift to a largely honorific post may be dictated mainly by health reasons. According to a 6 October 1985 article in the economic weekly *Zycie Gospodarcze* (*Economic Life*), entitled "The Durable Politician," Barcikowski was reported to have stated recently that because of his heart attack he "would not be active much longer." There is no sign of political differences with Jaruzelski. Barcikowski is still a Politburo member, and, as the only PZPR member among the deputy chairmen of the Council of State, he probably will serve as a stand-in for Jaruzelski in presidential duties.

- Least surprising was Olszowski's removal, particularly since Jaruzelski had previously reduced his power. Shortly after the imposition of martial law, Olszowski was forced to resign as Central Committee secretary for ideology and the media, and in July 1982 he accepted the less politically powerful post of foreign minister.¹ According to the 12 November 1985 *Trybuna Ludu*, Olszowski resigned from the Politburo for "personal reasons and his desire to devote himself to public and academic work." The following day Marian Orzechowski (his successor as ideology secretary, who was himself later removed from the Secretariat by Jaruzelski) replaced Olszowski as minister of foreign affairs.

- Rakowski's departure as deputy premier was less predictable, since he has been one of the most outspoken apologists for the regime since Jaruzelski became premier in February 1981. A former editor of the weekly *Polityka*, Rakowski handled talks with Solidarity—the most sensitive and difficult problem facing Jaruzelski in 1981—and under martial law became perhaps the leading defender of the regime, especially with Westerners and intellectuals. Rakowski's unconventional ideas concerning solutions for the Polish crisis have drawn sharp public criticism from Moscow, and both the Soviets and Polish hardliners have accused him of deviations from Marxist theory and promotion of anti-Soviet views.² His sidelining—to deputy speaker of the Sejm and chairman of the Sejm Socioeconomic Council—appears to balance the removal of Olszowski and may be intended to placate the Soviets, who have favored Olszowski. No one has been named to take over Rakowski's responsibilities on the Council of Ministers.

¹ Olszowski's removal as PZPR secretary in charge of media and ideology is discussed in the *Trends* of 21 July 1982, pages 14-15.

² Soviet attacks on Rakowski are discussed in the *Trends* of 11 May 1983, page: 1-5.

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY



Kazimierz Barcikowski



Stefan Olszowski



Mieczyslaw Rakowski

New Leadership Lineup

The senior political leaders surrounding Jaruzelski after the current reorganization have had relatively narrow, noncontroversial careers as specialists and lack broad political experience. Premier Messner and the three Central Committee secretaries who hold full Politburo membership—Jozef Czyrek, Tadeusz Porebski, and newly elected Marian Wozniak—seem less likely to debate policy with Jaruzelski than established leaders such as Barcikowski and Olszowski, who had been Jaruzelski's equals for many years:

- Czyrek, 57, in effect becomes second secretary of the party now that Barcikowski has departed. Working in the Foreign Ministry since 1952, he was foreign minister from August 1980 to mid-1982. He was added to the Politburo and Secretariat at the July 1981 party congress—a few months before Jaruzelski became general secretary—and took over supervision of the Central Committee's Foreign Affairs Department and General Department (for managing Central Committee business). During 1983 he took over Marian Orzechowski's responsibilities as ideology secretary and became chairman of the Central Committee Ideological Commission.
- Porebski, 54, is a professor (of technical sciences) and longtime school director (rector of the Wroclaw Polytechnic until 1980). He was elected first secretary of Wroclaw in November 1980 and was elected a Politburo member at the July 1981 party congress. In November 1983 Jaruzelski called him to Warsaw to become a Central Committee secretary. Porebski initially concerned himself mainly with schools and the intelligentsia, chairing the

Central Committee's Science-Education Commission, but in mid-1985 his duties were broadened. In May-June 1985 he gave up the chairmanship of the Science-Education Commission and became chairman of the Central Committee's Intra-Party Affairs Commission and apparently took over general supervision of party organizational work from Barcikowski. He may also have supervised the recent Sejm election, since he delivered the report on the election at the November Central Committee plenum.

• Wozniak spent most of his career in local and central economic planning organs. In mid-1981 he was elected first secretary of Siedlce Province, and at the July 1981 party congress he was elected a Central Committee secretary and assigned to supervise economic affairs. In July 1982 he gave up his Secretariat position when he was transferred to be first secretary of Warsaw and promoted to full Politburo membership. With his return to the Secretariat in the current reshuffle, Wozniak presumably once more will be in charge of the party's economic policy.



Jozef Czyrek



Tadeusz Porebski



Marian Wozniak

Role of the Military

While the reshuffle moved many of the top civilian officials in the regime, it bypassed Jaruzelski's military associates, apparently strengthening their positions. Jaruzelski's military appointees in the party and government leadership, particularly his longtime deputy in the military establishment, Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki, and his close associate, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, who runs the police and internal security as minister of interior, remain at their posts as well as continuing as Politburo candidate

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

members. Party cadres continue to be supervised by General Wladyslaw Honkisz, as the director of the Central Committee Cadres Policy Department. Jaruzelski also left behind a trusted military protege in the Council of Ministers leadership, General Michal Janiszewski, Jaruzelski's longtime aide-de-camp in the Ministry of Defense and later on the Council of Ministers (chief of the premier's office). Janiszewski was promoted to the rank of minister and elevated to membership in the government Presidium—a ruling body in the Council of Ministers consisting primarily of deputy premiers. General Czeslaw Piotrowski was renominated as minister of mining and energy. Jaruzelski himself retains powerful national security posts as chairman of the National Defense Committee and commander in chief of the Polish Armed Forces.

8
~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

Leadership Changes in Government and Party Organs

October 1985

November 1985

Council of Ministers

Premier	Wojciech Jaruzelski (PZPR)	Zbigniew Messner (PZFR)
Deputy Premiers	Zbigniew Messner (PZPR) Manfred Gorywoda (PZPR) Zbigniew Szalajda (PZPR) Mieczysław Rakowski (PZPR) Edward Kowalczyk (SD) Roman Malinowski (ZSL) Janusz Obodowski (PZPR) Zenon Komender (nonparty)	Manfred Gorywoda (P/PR) Zbigniew Szalajda (PZFR) Władysław Gwiazda (P/PR) Zbigniew Giertych (PZFR) Jozef Kozioł (ZSL)

Central Committee Secretariat

PZPR First Secretary	Wojciech Jaruzelski	Wojciech Jaruzelski
Senior CC Secretaries	Kazimierz Barcikowski Jozef Czyrek Tadeusz Porebski	Jozef Czyrek Tadeusz Porebski Marian Wozniak
CC Secretaries	Włodzimierz Mokrzyński Jan Glowczyk Waldemar Swirgon Zbigniew Michalek Henryk Bednarski	Włodzimierz Mokrzyński Jan Glowczyk Waldemar Swirgon Zbigniew Michalek Henryk Bednarski

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Leadership Changes in Government and Party Organs (Continued)

October 1985

November 1985

Council of State

	October 1985	November 1985
Chairman	Henryk Jablonski (PZPR)	Wojciech Jaruzeński (PZPR)
Deputy Chairmen	Jerzy Zietek (PZPR) Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak (SD) Bolesław Stuzek (ZSL) Kazimierz Secomski (nonparty) Jerzy Szymanek (ZSL)	Kazimierz Barcikowski (PZPR) Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak (SD) Tadeusz Szelakowski (ZSL) Zenon Komender (nonparty) Zygmunt Surowiec (ZSL)
Secretary		
Members	Kazimierz Barcikowski (PZPR) Henryk Szafranski (PZPR) Stanisław Kania (PZPR) Eugenia Kempara (PZPR) Mieczysław Rog-Swiostek (PZPR) Stanisław Wronski (PZPR) Emil Kolodziej (ZSL) Jozef Orzga-Michalski (ZSL) Michał Grendys (SD) Henryk Stawski (SD) Kazimierz Morawski (nonparty) Alfons Klafkowski (nonparty)	Sylwester Zawadzki (PZPR) Elżbieta Gacek (PZPR) Władysław Junkisz (PZPR) Alfred Miodowicz (PZPR) Jerzy Nawrocki (PZPR) Witold Lipski (ZSL) Władysław Szynanski (ZSL) Piotr Stefanowski (SD) Kazimierz Secomski (nonparty) Adolf Ciborowski (nonparty) Kazimierz Morawski (nonparty)

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

10
FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY