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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Central Commission of Party Control at the Central Committee
of the PZPR

INFORMATION BULLETIN
No. 1

- I. Editorial Note
- II. Fight for the Implementation of the Tasks of the III and IV Plenum of the Central Committee, and the Work of the Party Control Commission.
- III. Struggle against the Stifling of Criticism and against Cliquishness.
- IV. Some Conclusions from the Work of the Voivodship Party Control Commissions at Lublin and Gdansk.
- V. Numerical Data Concerning Party Members and Candidates Who Have Been Expelled and Struck Off in 1959.
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Central Commission of Party Control at the Central Committee
of the PZPR

INFORMATION BULLETIN

No.1

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February 1960

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Contents:

- I. Editorial Note
- II. Fight for the implementation of the tasks of the III and IV Plenum of the Central Committee, and the work of the Party Control Commission.
- III. Struggle against the stifling of criticism and against cliquishness.
- IV. Some conclusions from the work of the Voievodship Party Control Commissions at LUBLIN and GDANSK.
- V. Numerical data concerning Party members and candidates who have been expelled and struck off in 1959.
- VI. Resolutions of the Central and Voievodship Party Control Commissions.
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- VIII. Complaints and grievances.
- IX. From the work of the Municipal Party Control Commission at GLIWICE.

Edited by the Editorial Board of the
Central Party Control Commission.

I. EDITORIAL NOTE

The important tasks in the struggle for the purity of the Party ranks, and for the continual raising of the ideological and ethical level of the Party members, which are facing the Party Control Commissions (KKP), call for a further increase of their work and for improvement in its methods. This aim should also be served by the contents of the Bulletin of the Central Party Control Commission, the publication of which is now being revived.

The Bulletin will bring periodic summaries of the results of the work of the Central Party Control Committee (CKKP) and its Presidium, and of the work of the local KKP's, and will contain factual and numerical

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information illustrating their activities in the individual fields, coupled with attempts at its analysis.

The Bulletin will also discuss the most important problems arising in the course of the work of the KKP's, and also their ideological-educational and prophylactic work, closely connected with the whole of the Party activities, and the tasks laid down by the Central Committee of the PZPR.

We also desire to include in the Bulletin the decisions of the CKKP and the Voievodship KKP's, together with their justification, concerning matters which are of a wider and more essential importance, matters which are more typical and urgent in a given situation. We shall also include explanations of the more difficult questions connected with the enquiry procedure and with the making of decisions, which will appear in the course of practical work.

The Bulletin should not only be a means for disseminating information, but also a forum for the interchange of experiences of the KKP's throughout the country. An exchange of this sort should greatly assist the improvement in methods of work and the attainment of better results.

With the help of the Bulletin, we desire also to pass on information to members of the Central Party Levels, Sections of the Central Committee, and Voievodship and Powiat Committee Secretaries, on the work of the CKKP and the Voievodship KKP's.

We request the readers of our Bulletin to send us their comments on the first issue, which we regard as a trial one. We particularly request the Chairman of the Voievodship and other KKP's to send us information and other material, and to discuss their problems in the pages of the Bulletin.

All material and comments should be sent to the CKKP, for passing to the Editorial Staff of the Bulletin.

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II. FIGHT FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TASKS OF THE III AND IV PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND THE WORK OF THE PARTY CONTROL COMMISSIONS

The fight for bringing order into the national economy, in accordance with the resolutions of the III Plenum of the Central Committee, imposes an extremely responsible task also on the KKP's, from the CKKP, down to the Powiat and Municipal KKP's. Their fight for the correct attitude of Party members, in all the sectors entrusted to them, against the infringements of the principles of Party ethics, against transgressions, economic offences and the tolerant attitude adopted towards them, against the infringements of State discipline and the toleration of such infringements, forms an elementary condition for the successful fight against all symptoms of this nature in the State machinery, in the national councils, in trade, in industrial undertakings, and among the broad non-Party masses.

These problems were the subject of a number of conferences by the Chairmen of the Voievodship KKP's, which took place in 1959, in the CKKP, with participation of representatives of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK), and of a conference of the Central Team for Fighting Transgressions, held in conjunction with the CKKP, and attended by Chairmen of the Voievodship KKP's, and representatives of NIK, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Justice, and of the State Trade Inspection (PIH), which took place on the 16th December, 1959.

It appears both from the report by the Chairman of NIK, and Chairman of the Central Team for Fighting Transgressions, Comrade K. DABROWSKI, and from the discussion of this report, that the teams for fighting transgressions in the field, and the Party teams, have relaxed their efforts, as compared with the period of verifications. The Party organisations and local levels, which have expended much effort in the implementation of the resolutions of the III Plenum, have, however, insufficiently mobilised their own resources, and the resources of the State and economic organs, for the struggle against economic offences. The growth of these offences has been retarded, as compared with 1958, but there has not yet been any reduction

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in their numbers. Furthermore, they are discovered mainly thanks to external control, with a very insufficient activity on the part of the internal control organs and of Party and Trade Union organisations, and of the Workers' Autonomous Councils in factories and institutions.

The discovery and eradication of crime is not being accompanied by a consistent combating of all those people who tolerated it, or who failed to expose it, even though it was their duty to do so. Frequently the posts of Directors, Chief Accountants, and other positions involving financial responsibility, are filled by persons who had previously been punished for economic offences, which in turn leads at times to the commission of new offences. It was pointed out at the Conference that the local Party levels and their various links, responsible for the observance of the principles concerning nominations (appointments), have not been sufficiently thorough in their screening of cadres put forward for appointment to responsible economic positions. There have also been cases of supporting the candidatures of persons who had been punished for economic offences, or of hindering the prosecution of persons responsible for such offences. At DEBICA (Voievodship of RZESZOW), as appears from the report of the Voievodship KKP, out of a total of 52 Party members occupying leading positions in the Powiat, 11 had been prosecuted, or had been arrested for economic transgressions.

The Chairman of the Voievodship KKP, Comrade MAZELON, has given instances of the appointment to leading positions, by certain Municipal and Powiat Committees in the Voievodship of KATOWICE, of persons who had been expelled from the Party by the Voievodship KKP.

A number of Voievodship KKPs have shown much activity in their struggle for the purity of economic cadres. Thus, for instance, the Voievodship KKP at POZNAN obtained and examined a list of 265 persons employed in economic administration who had been convicted (or are still under prosecution), and it gave instructions to the appropriate branches to

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take the necessary disciplinary action against such persons, informing the Voievodship KKP, within a specified time, of the action taken.

The KKP's throughout the country, and the CKKP as well, have increased their struggle against the infringement of the principles of Party ethics, and in particular against economic offences and the tolerant attitude towards such offences. Thus, in 1959, parallel with the control carried out by the Supreme Chamber of Control in the Voievodship of KATOWICE, the Voievodship KKP examined 26 cases concerning economic offences, as a result of which 15 persons were expelled from the Party and 11 others were subjected to various Party penalties. Among those expelled were 7 directors of undertakings, and 8 persons occupying other leading economic positions. In the Voievodship of RZESZOW, out of 210 Party members expelled during the period from September 1958 to October 1959, 127 were expelled for economic transgressions. In the Voievodship of WARSAW, conferences of the economic aktiv were organised and held in all the powiats and corporate towns, attended by over 1500 Party members and non-Party activists. As a result of the increased activity of Party organisations and levels, 113 members holding various positions in the socialist economy were expelled from the Party, and 14 were subjected to Party penalties for exceeding their official powers and for their tolerant attitude towards transgressions.

Nevertheless, a considerable number of the Basic Party Organisations (POP), some Powiat and Municipal Committees, and also some Powiat and Municipal KKP's, show insufficient energy in their fight against transgressions often regarding them with a tolerant eye. Thus, in the powiat of PRZEWORSK (Voievodship of RZESZOW), during the three Quarters of last year, not a single member of the Party was expelled, in spite of the fact that, during the same period, 17 members of the Party were arrested by the Citizens' Militia for thefts and other transgressions.

The commission of economic offences is possible in those places where the Party and other social organisations do not struggle against them,

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where Party members and activists regard them with tolerance, and, what is worse, when they themselves participate in them, stifling criticism and the attempts to expose the offences.

In the "CENTROGAL" undertaking at BYDGOSZCZ, as a result of the criminal activities of the Director, W. SWIATKOWSKI, (a Party member since 1946), the State suffered losses reaching 2 million zloty, among other things through the purchase of various articles of poor quality, from private producers, and at excessive prices. The Secretary of the Basic Party Organisation, J. RAITER, (also a Party member since 1946), did not take any action against the transgressions, since he himself participated in them by supplying, in 1958, to the "CENTROGAL", under his mother's name, goods to the value of 146,000 zl. The Party organisation was neglected, and persons who combated the transgressions (such as the woman accountant) were treated harshly. The Disciplinary Team of the Voievodship KKP at BYDGOSZCZ expelled SWIATKOWSKI and RAITER from the Party.

The problem of insufficient activeness of the Basic Party Organisations, particularly in the smaller factories, in the co-operative movement, and in trade, their often passive attitude towards transgressions, caused mainly by the fear of being persecuted for any criticism, and often by reason of their own participation in the transgressions, is a question of great urgency, as was stressed at the Conference on 16th December 1959, and illustrated by the example of several Voievodships (POZNAN, SZCZECIN, and others).

The important part which should, and can, be played by the Basic Party Organisations in their fight against transgressions and for the observance of economic discipline, is illustrated by the example of the Basic Party Organisation in the Cotton Industry Works at PABIANICE. Here, the Basic Party Organisation, having investigated the administrative work of the Management, and having had it studied by the Works Committee of the PZPR, transferred the case to a Party meeting (attended by 700 people), and there

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exposed a number of transgressions (such as keeping on the production establishment a number of members of the factory sports club). As a result of this, one of the Directors was given a Party reprimand, other workers were subjected to Party penalties, while the head of the Cadre section was removed from his post.

Maximum attention should be paid to the activation of the Basic Party Organisations in the sphere of fighting against economic transgressions and for the implementation of the resolutions of the III Plenum.

The sensitization of the Basic Organisations and the rank-and-file of Party members to transgressions, and the increase in their activeness in combating them, depends to a large extent on the activity of the local Party levels, and on the attitude of the workers in the Party apparatus. Hence springs the great importance of the constant struggle for securing the model attitude of the workers in this apparatus, and of the ruthless fight against all symptoms of demoralisation, particularly drunkenness among Party members, which blunt their sensitivity towards transgressions, and often pave the way to participation in economic offences.

The fight against economic transgressions, for bringing order into our economy, for the implementation of the resolutions of the III Plenum, will be effective if it is carried on on a wide front by the Basic Party Organisations, the Party levels, the KKPs, and also by the workers' autonomous organisations, the trade unions, economic administration, and all other control organs.

It is essential to activate further in this field the Voievodship and Powiat and municipal KKPs, to eradicate the symptoms of a liberal attitude, still appearing here and there, towards the perpetrators of economic transgressions, and the tolerant attitude towards them, and particularly in view of the infringements of economic and financial discipline.

An important part in this field should be played by the Voievodship teams for fighting transgressions, and the Voievodship Party teams. The

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first of these have relaxed their efforts, while the second generally give evidence of only very slight activity, while in a number of cases they are totally passive and do not even meet. At the Conference on 16th December there were some who urged that the Party teams should be abolished, on the grounds of their allegedly unspecified duties, and their functions taken over by the Voievodship KKPs.

However, as was shown by the experience of certain Voievodships (e.g. that of KIELCE), suitably picked Party teams may play an important part, carrying out a systematic Party analysis of economic crime and its specific sources in the given area, initiating the taking of essential measures by the Party levels, and preparing the appropriate materials and suggestions. At the same time, the Party teams can, and should, regularly prompt the Voievodship teams to combat transgressions, aiding them in delineating the correct course of action, and introducing the spirit of Party firmness and persistence in fighting economic crimes.

The fight against economic transgressions, in the defence of socialist property, and for bringing order into the economy, forms a burning task facing the whole Party, and particularly the Party Control Commissions.

III. STRUGGLE AGAINST THE STIFLING OF CRITICISM AND AGAINST CLIQUISHNESS

In 1959, misuse of authority, stifling of criticism, cliquishness, and nepotism, led to the summary expulsion by the Basic Party Organisations, Party levels, and Party Control Commissions, of 881 persons, including 825 Party members, and 56 Candidates.

The greatest number of expulsions for the above offences took place in the following Voievodships: WROCLAW - 196; OPOLE - 121; KATOWICE - 118. The smallest number was in the Voievodship of: KOSZALIN - 1; WARSAW - 3; RZESZOW - 5; LODZ-city - 6.

The difference arose not because there have been more offences of this nature in the first group of Voievodships, but rather because the Party levels and Party Control Commissions there had paid more attention to

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combating this evil. In KATOWICE, the question of combating the stifling of criticism was discussed at a meeting of the Executive of the Voievodship Committee.

The above figures do not, however, give a correct picture of the struggle of the control commissions against this evil, since the stifling of criticism is usually accompanied by economic transgressions and illegal schemes of various sorts. For this reason, in many decisions made by the Control Commissions, the stifling of criticisms forms one of the offences of Party members.

The practical experience of the Control Commissions has indicated that the stifling of criticism is quite widespread. A rich arsenal of various methods is found in order to cow and silence the honest and true workers. This is sometimes done with such consummate skill that one has to study the case very carefully before reaching the conclusion that a worker had been punished precisely for having once dared to utter words of criticism. For instance, Comrade JAROSZ, an employee of the Local Industry Works at DABROWA, furnished the Supreme Chamber of Control with evidence of transgressions in the Works, for which he was discharged from employment on the excuse of lack of suitable qualifications. It needed much effort on the part of the KKP to secure the cancellation of this unjust decision.

One may say that this is a classic example of the methods employed by the management in settling scores with those who had dared to criticise the incorrect actions of the leadership. The only variation is in the excuses for dismissing an inconvenient worker, or for transferring him to other, less remunerative, work. This is usually done not immediately after the man has made the critical remark, but a few weeks, or even months, later when the incident has already somewhat faded in the memory.

There are also such methods of combating criticism as were employed in the case of PATALAG Franciszek, the former Second Secretary of the Basic Party Organisation in the A-16 Works at BRZYZINKA, Voievodship of KATOWICE.

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All those who reported the transgressions of a clique existing in the Factory were denounced by PATALAG at public meetings as spies, thereby discouraging others from similar action. The Voievodship KKP expelled PATALAG from the Party.

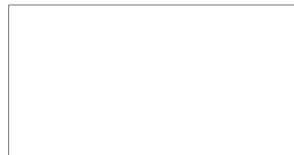
There also exist, though not as frequently, such forms of combating criticism as were employed by Comrade ROZNIAK, the Commandant of the Citizens' Militia at PLONSK. He became involved with speculators, which was frequently criticised by various Comrades in the Militia Command. Comrade ROZNIAK firmly suppressed all the critical voices raised against him, and even went to such lengths as to cause a completely unjustifiable house search in the home of one of the criticising Comrades, Aleksander OBOJSKI, and demanded that the Prosecutor should issue a warrant for his arrest. It must be stated that the Executive of the Powiat Committee of the PZPR at PLONSK, together with the Voievodship KKP, treated this case with liberality, since Comrade ROZNIAK was only punished with a Party reprimand and an application was made to the Voievodship Militia Command to get him transferred to a less responsible official post. There was also the notorious case of the Chairman of the Powiat National Council at LUBLINIEC, Comrade ZUPOK, who gave orders for the arrest of a peasant, only because the latter had dared to criticise his person at a Co-operative meeting. The Voievodship KKP punished Comrade ZUPOK with a reprimand and a caution, and submitted an application to have him removed from the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the Powiat National Council.

Similar facts arise under conditions of indiscipline, lack of sense of Party responsibility, and lack of reaction to instances of combating criticism on the part of Party organisations and levels.

A fairly widespread form of combating criticism is to denounce the critic as a wrecker. This form is all the more convenient for various schemers in that it can be successfully suggested to a large proportion of factory workers, or to the Party organisation. It is comparatively easy to

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do particularly in places where the leadership of the Party organisation forms a clique with the schemers in the factory. In such a case, steps are taken to prevent the investigation of the charges made by the criticiser, or such a commission is chosen which will investigate these charges only superficially, will find nothing, and thus transform the criticism into wrecking, and the criticiser into a wrecker.

It does happen that the Commission investigates a charge and finds it justified, but even then the suppressors of criticism find a way out. Thus, the Party Works Committee in the "WLEK" Cement Works at OGRODZIENIEC was obliged to appoint a three-man Commission to investigate the charges made by Comrade PAS at the electoral meeting of the Basic Party Organisation. Comrade PAS stated that various Heads of Sections encourage the workers to drunkenness, causing a high rate of absenteeism in the factory, and that help was given in the building of a church, at the factory's expense. He pointed out the phenomenon of the absence of discussion at Party meetings, and stated that the management of the factory, the Works Council, and the Workers Council, have all been combating any critical remarks, while the Works Committee was aware of the unhealthy atmosphere in the factory, but did not react to it. The Commission fully confirmed the charges made by Comrade PAS, but the matter ended simply with the results of the work of the Commission being discussed at a meeting of the Executive of the Works Committee, which passed a resolution to expel Comrade PAS from the Party as a wrecker. The Powiat Committee at ZAWIERCIE, without studying the case in detail, confirmed this unjust resolution. The matter was taken up by the Voievodship KKP at KATOWICE, Comrade PAS's rights as a member of the Party were restored, and the guilty Comrade KOSOWSKI was punished with a Party reprimand, while Comrades LUKASIK and WOLEK got an admonition. This fact also indicates that sometimes even Party levels do not sufficiently study the cases of the so-called wreckers, and permit the forcing through of resolutions against the critics, passed by various schemers and cliques.

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The WARSAW Voievodship KKP, in its report, states that "insufficient attention is paid to the matter of justified criticism in Party levels and Basic Party Organisations. In Powiat and Municipal Committees, quite a lot is said about the facts of suppression of criticism, but there is a lack of deeper study of the causes of this state of affairs. The basic cause for this state of affairs is in fact this, that the Party levels and organisations do not defend the criticiser, and that Party members in responsible positions are insufficiently controlled by Party organisations and levels. All this favours the adoption of a passive attitude by Party members, and deepens the fear of criticising the leadership. Such a situation, in certain Party organisations, prepares a fertile ground for the creation of various neighbourly cliques which, assured of their immunity, are able in a skilful manner to finish off honest Party members and non-Party men."

The truth of this statement is confirmed by the fact that it is a rare thing to find that action had been taken against neighbourly cliques or against suppressors of criticism direct by the Basic Party Organisation concerned.

In the majority of cases, these matters are reported by single individuals or through anonymous communications, or we discover them from the post-control reports of the Supreme Chamber of Control or some other outside Commission, often at a time when the matter is already in the hands of the Prosecutor.

One is obliged to admit that unfortunately not everyone, and not every time, reacts to these reports in the correct way. For instance, the workers of the Distillery at SIERAKOW (powiat LUBLINIEC) reported to the Citizens' Militia that the Director of the Distillery, Citizen Jan FALUKA (non-Party), uses the barley and potatoes belonging to the Distillery for the feeding of his own pigs, and that he employs Distillery workers, in working hours, on jobs on his own allotment. The Militia ^{50X1-HUM} functionaries at

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SIERAKOW not only did not react to these reports, but, on the contrary, told the Director who had made the reports. The result was that the Director of the Distillery dismissed some of these workers under various excuses, and made the life of the remainder so unpleasant that they themselves asked to be released from employment. This state of affairs lasted for two years. Action was taken on the case only when it came up at a joint conference of the Powiat KKP and the Powiat Team for Combating Transgressions. The Executive of the Powiat Committee also took an interest in the case, but no disciplinary action was taken either by the Powiat Committee or by the Prosecutor's Office, and FALUKA still remains at his post.

However, the KKP's are not always sufficiently sensitized to the reports reaching them, or at least they do not always investigate each fact broadly and thoroughly. Thus, the Voievodship KKP in KRAKOW kept receiving reports that things were not going well in the KRAKOW Powiat Committee, that there were transgressions, and that the instructors were forging official journey warrants. There were also reports that the 1st Secretary of the Powiat Committee, DULEMBA, had during the (German) occupation fairly close contacts with the fascist Police. In spite of this, and without further thought, the Voievodship KKP confirmed the resolution of the Plenum of the Powiat Committee in KRAKOW on the expulsion from the Plenum and the Party of a member of the Powiat Committee Executive, Comrade PODELECKI, on the grounds of alleged wrecking. This consisted of his sending reports on transgressions in the Powiat Committee, and of the fact that on one occasion, in private conversation, he took the liberty to repeat what was at that time openly said about the past of the Powiat Committee Secretary. The Voievodship KKP based its decision only on the fact that the Revision Commission of the Powiat Committee had failed to discover any transgressions in the activities of the Powiat Committee. It was only after a second appeal by the injured man, who produced a number of new facts and details, that the KKP carefully examined the whole case and revised its previous decision,

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restoring the Comrade's Party Membership, and sending the case of DULEMBA, for review, to the CKKP. The Disciplinary Team of the CKKP expelled DULEMBA from the Party.

The KKP's often discover facts of suppression of criticism when examining the appeals of Party members suspected of wrecking.

However, not every such case is brought to its proper conclusion by the KKP's. Not infrequently, the Disciplinary Team cancels the decision of the lower level and the matter ends there. At best, the KKP restricts itself to talks with the Works Committee which had failed to notice the flagrant cases of suppression of criticism. One does not meet, however, or one does so but rarely, cases when the Disciplinary Team takes action against the suppressors of criticism, who turned an honest Party member into a wrecker and caused his expulsion from the Party. It is also rare for the method of dealing with a case to be discussed at a meeting of the Basic Party Organisation. The members of the Party organisation concerned find out the details of action taken against other members of their organisation either by some unofficial means, or not at all. Individual cases connected with the suppression of criticism are inadequately reported in the Party press. It is clear that such behaviour by the KKP's is of little help to the Party levels in their struggle against the suppression of criticism and for the education of Party members.

IV. SOME CONCLUSIONS FROM THE WORK OF THE VOIEVODSHIP PARTY CONTROL COMMISSIONS AT LUBLIN AND GDANSK

At the end of 1959 representatives of the CKKP studied in the field the work of the Voievodship KKP's in the Voievodships of LUBLIN and GDANSK. The results of these studies were discussed at the beginning of last February in the Presidium of the CKKP, with the participation of the Chairmen of the Voievodship KKP's concerned, and their Deputies. Both the discussion and the conclusions reached from it are instructive, and should help to raise the level and efficiency of the work of the LUBLIN and GDANSK

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Voievodship KKP's. We can indicate here only the most important ones, which may be of significance also for the work of the remaining KKP's.

In general, it should be stated that the Voievodship KKP's both in LUBLIN and GDANSK increased their work in 1959. This is evidenced by the wide range of cases which they handled, and the help which they gave to Party levels and organisations in their struggle against the infringements of programme and statutory principles, and by the activity not only of the Voievodship KKP's, but also of a considerable proportion of Powiat and Municipal KKP's in both the Voievodships.

The Voievodship KKP in LUBLIN helped the Voievodship organisation in its struggle against economic transgressions. Out of 312 persons, expelled from the Voievodship organisation during 10 months of the last year, 186 were the perpetrators of economic offences. The Voievodship KKP had a number of conferences and briefing meetings with members of KKP's and with teams for combating transgressions. A valuable step was the carrying out, with the participation of the Voievodship KKP, of a conference of Chief Accountants, dedicated to the cause of increasing their sense of responsibility and of sensitising them to the necessity of conducting a struggle against economic offences and economic inefficiency. But although the losses suffered by the State in the Voievodship of LUBLIN as a result of these offences had fallen last year by 7 million zl., as compared with 1958, they still amounted in 1959 to over 24 million zl., which shows how still very inadequate is the struggle against these offences. Nevertheless, the LUBLIN Voievodship KKP, which has taken steps against a number of specific offences, should make more widely known its experiences from the struggle in this sector, and conduct a deeper analysis of the causes which facilitate, in the Voievodship, the perpetration of economic offences and hinder the struggle against them, in order to pass on its suggestions to Party levels and organisations, and to help them more effectively in their struggle for bringing order into the economy, and for the implementation of

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the resolutions of the III Plenum of the Central Committee.

This applies to an even greater degree to the Voievodship KKP at GDANSK. It too, and with it the Powiat and Municipal KKPs, have helped to expose several transgressions (e.g. in the Ship Equipment Works, in the GDANSK Electric Machine Factory, etc.), and examined a number of cases, taking disciplinary measures against guilty Party members. The GDANSK Voievodship KKP should, however, conduct this struggle in a more regular fashion, particularly in view of the great material wealth which is handled by the national economy in this Voievodship.

The report of the GDANSK Voievodship KKP does not discuss or analyse this problem against the wider background of the extent of economic offences in the Voievodship as a whole, and the part played by the Party organisation in combating them. Until recently, indeed, the role and tasks of the teams for fighting transgressions were underrated by the whole Voievodship organisation.

A deeper analysis is also called for, in view of the great extent of this phenomenon, of the fact, quoted in the report of the GDANSK Voievodship KKP, of dispensing Party penalties on 72 Militia and Security workers, and official penalties on 209 Militia workers, for various transgressions and offences in the Voievodship.

The LUBLIN Voievodship KKP has shown great activity in its struggle against signs of ideological and class alienation. Nevertheless, the fact that out of 150 persons expelled from the Party for this reason during 1959, the majority were workers and peasants, calls for a deeper study of the matter.

An even greater degree of study by the Voievodship KKP is called for by the fact that, in spite of the large number of expulsions on the occasion of exchanging the Party membership cards (particularly in GDANSK: 2,566 persons, mainly workers and peasants), the overwhelming majority of them did not protest against being struck off, did not fight to remain

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within the ranks of the Party.

The Voievodship and other KKP's should take a greater interest in the morale in Party organisations, particularly in the Basic Party Organisations, in the changes taking place within them, and in the attitude of Party members, counteract in time all undesirable phenomena, and give effective assistance to Voievodship and Powiat Committees in raising the ideological and ethical level of the Party organisations. For this purpose, representatives of the Voievodship and other KKP's should have more frequent conversations with Party members and regularly visit the Party organisations, particularly the neglected ones. It is such a systematic ideological and educational work, based on the study of cases and on disciplinary decisions, in close contact with the current tasks of the Party, and aimed in particular at increasing the activeness of the Basic Party Organisations, which should form the principal task of the Party Control Commissions.

The Voievodship KKP's in GDANSK and LUBLIN do not always have adequate knowledge of the work of the Municipal and Powiat KKP's, the extent of which is continually growing, and they still give them assistance to an inadequate extent. It is a fact that some of these Commissions are actively working, while others give signs of only slight activity. For this reason they should be placed under the permanent care of the most experienced members and workers of the Voievodship KKP. There should also be more frequent Plena of the Municipal and Powiat KKP's, in order to delineate the correct course of action, to assess its results, and to activate all KKP members.

The discussion has shown that the activities of the Voievodship KKP's and KKP's are only effective and are able to produce an educational effect when they adhere firmly to essential principles, implement the Party line regardless of difficulties, do not permit any procrastination in dealing with cases, and are firm and consistent in achieving their completion. Such difficulties, caused by cliques, once again give warning

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of the necessity to increase the struggle with cliquishness and the stifling of criticism.

An essential condition for a healthy atmosphere in the Party organisations is the maintenance of a model attitude by workers of the Party apparatus, and regular assistance by the Voievodship and other KKP's to Voievodship, Municipal, and Powiat Committees in their struggle against any infringements of socialist ethics by workers of the Party apparatus. Both the GDANSK and LUBLIN Voievodship KKP's have shown vigilance and vigour in this sphere (the case of the Powiat Committee at KRASNIK).

Their work, and the work of the remaining KKP's in this sphere, will be all the more effective if it is energetically supported by the Voievodship and Powiat Party levels, in accordance with the directive that the infringement of the programme or statutory principles by workers of the Party apparatus should be punished more and not less severely than similar offences committed by other, rank-and-file, Party members, since the workers of the Party apparatus should serve as an example for Party members and the non-Party masses.

It was also stressed during the discussion in the Presidium of the CKKP that the Voievodship and other KKP's should take a more active part in Party life as a whole, and that, during the deliberations of Executive Committees, at plenary sessions of the Voievodship, Municipal, and Powiat Committees, and at Voievodship, Municipal, and Powiat Party conferences, they should regularly bring up new, specific, problems connected with the situation in the Party organisations, and with the struggle for the correct attitude of Party members.

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V. NUMERICAL DATA CONCERNING PARTY MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES WHO HAVE BEEN EXPELLED AND STRUCK OFF IN 1959.

In 1959, 10,443 Party members and candidates were expelled, and 70,137 Party members and candidates were struck off. The total number of members and candidates struck off or expelled was 80,580, which is 7.9 per cent of the total membership of the Party (as on 31st December 1959).

Party members and candidates expelled or struck off, grouped according to employment (in percentages)

Profession	State as on 31.12.59.	Members and candidates expelled in 1959	%	Members and candidates struck off in 1959	%
Workers	407,869	4,528	1.1	42,799	10.5
Peasants	117,460	985	0.8	10,614	9.0
Salariat	438,576	4,561	1.0	12,358	2.8

(Percentages in relation to the total Party membership in the various social groups, as on 31st December, 1959).

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These expelled or struck off from the Party, according to profession

Profession	Expelled members and candidates	%	Struck off members and candidates	%
1. WORKERS	4,528	43.4	42,799	61.0
in this:				
(a) workers directly employed in production	2,020		20,047	
(b) employed outside production	2,015		18,685	
(c) agricultural workers	493		4,067	
2. PEASANTS	985	9.4	10,614	15.1
in this:				
(a) peasants farming individually	959		10,235	
(b) members of production co-operatives	26		379	
3. SALARIAT	4,361	41.8	12,358	17.6
in this:				
(a) office workers	3,048		8,960	
(b) established staff of Party apparatus, TUs, ZMS, ZMW	62		81	
(c) Security, Militia, Prison staff	120		749	
(d) National Council employees	197		199	
(e) Directors of the economic and administrative apparatus	294		316	
(f) creative <u>intelligentsia</u> (engineers, technicians, doctors, etc)	340		2,053	
4. OTHERS (handicraftsmen, housewives, old age and other pensioners)	156	1.5	3,735	5.3
5. POLISH ARMY	413	3.9	631	1.0
TOTAL	10,443	100.0	70,137	100.0

(Percentages in relation to the total number of persons expelled or struck off from the Party in 1959).

(NB: ZMS = Socialist Youth Association; ZMW = Peasant Youth Association)

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Expelled and struck off, according to age:

Age	Expelled members & candidates	%	Struck off members & candidates	%
up to 25 years	837	7.0	8,686	12.4
from 25 to 40	6,615	63.3	31,991	45.6
from 41 to 50	1,867	18.9	13,250	18.9
over 50	1,124	10.8	16,210	23.1
Total	10,443	100.0	70,137	100.0

Expelled and struck off, according to membership period:

Membership period	Expelled members & candidates	%	Struck off members & candidates	%
German occupation until liberation	5		7	
From liberation to I PZPR Congress	4,124	39.5	31,254	44.6
From I to II PZPR Congress	1,491	14.3	7,657	10.9
From II to III PZPR Congress	4,823	46.2	31,219	44.5
Total	10,443	100.0	70,137	100.0

(Percentages in relation to the total number of persons expelled or struck off from the Party in 1959).

Reasons for expulsion or striking off from the Party:

Reasons for expulsion	Members & candidates	%
Ideological and class alienation, participation in hostile organisations and bourgeois machinery of oppression, hostile activity	798	7.6
Infringement of Party and State discipline, infringements of the law	3,216	30.8
Infringement of the principles of Party ethics, drunkenness, immoral conduct, financial transgressions	5,548	53.2
Misuse of authority, stifling of criticism, cliquishness, favouritism	881	8.4
Total	10,443	100.0

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Reasons for striking off	Members & candidates	%
Accidental reasons	4,367	6.2
Passivity	38,370	54.7
Struck off at own request, handed in Party cards, refused Party postings	24,708	35.3
Other reasons (loss of Party card, death, permanent departure abroad, etc).	2,692	3.8
Total	70,137	100.0

By whom expelled or struck off from the Party:

	Expelled		Struck off	
	Members & candidates	%	Members & candidates	%
By the POPs	8,346	79.9	59,375	84.7
By Party levels	2,097	20.1	10,762	15.3
Total	10,443	100.0	70,137	100.0

(Percentages in relation to the total number expelled or struck off from the Party in 1959).

VI. RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL AND VOIEVODSHIP PARTY CONTROL COMMISSIONS

The problems touched on in our Bulletin in articles concerning the struggles waged by the Commissions against transgressions, cliquishness, stifling of criticism, lack of Party vigilance, or the corruption of Party activists, have been the subject of very many resolutions, a number of which we quote below.

On the 10th November 1959, the Board of the CKKP expelled from the Party Antoni DULEMBA, a former Sejm Deputy in the Polish People's Republic, on the grounds that, while a Member of the Party, and as a worker of the Party apparatus, being the 1st Secretary of the Powiat PZPR Committee in KRAKOW, he ruthlessly suppressed all attempts at the criticism of his attitude.....

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attitude. He did not even shrink from such methods as using his influence for securing the expulsion from the Party of those who had been criticising him, and obtaining legal writs for alleged slander. Putting his private interest above that of the Party, he permitted a general slackening of discipline to take place among workers of the Powiat Committee, leading to their demoralisation.

On the 23.1.1960, the CKKP expelled from the Party Ludwik WINIARSKI, on the grounds of neglecting his basic duty of Party and civic vigilance, in connection with the flight abroad of Pawel MONAT, former Chief of the Military Attachés' Section in the Ministry of National Defence. WINIARSKI, who maintained friendly and family relations with MONAT, during the last few days of the latter's preparations for his flight, paid a call on the MONAT family and collected from them various personal belongings, which they were getting rid of. Although a Party member of long standing, a former worker of the Party apparatus, and, lately, a responsible worker in the Diplomatic Service, he failed to take any steps to warn the appropriate Party and official authorities of MONAT's intentions.

On the 20.1.1960, the Voievodship KKP in KRAKOW expelled from the Party Krystyna TREPA, a former employee of the Party apparatus, on the grounds of her having conducted anti-Party and harmful activities after the VIII Plenum of the Central Committee and the III Congress of the PZPR. In her speeches and conversations, she sowed distrust towards the Party line, charging the Party Leadership with deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles, and with conducting an economic policy at variance with the interests of the working class. She invented and disseminated the idea that the present Party line is contrary to the interests of the working masses and that, in its essence, it suits those persons who are hostile towards Socialism.

On the 13.1.1960, the Voievodship KKP at BYDGOSZCZ considered the case of Comrades occupying important posts in the Presidium of the Municipal

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National Council at GRUDZIADZ.

On the basis of post-control reports of the NIK, it was found that the leadership of the Presidium of the Municipal National Council at GRUDZIADZ had for a considerable time been conducting a reckless financial policy, and had been taking advantage of their official position for personal material gain. Circumventing the financial regulations, the Presidium allocated the sum of 82,900 zl. as premiums on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, and the Chairman and the Secretary alone received about ten per cent of this sum. They also organised excursions for their families, charging them to the funds intended for tourism, and spent in this way, in 1959, the sum of 44,500 zl. The same funds were used for paying for the cost of receptions organised for the delegation from the city of LEGNICA, with which GRUDZIADZ keeps in touch. The story of these receptions became public knowledge, and aroused indignation among the inhabitants of GRUDZIADZ. At one such reception, given in honour of a 6-person ^{Soviets?} delegation from LEGNICA, 16 litres of vodka were consumed during a sumptuous lunch. It was also established that responsible workers of the Presidium of the Municipal National Council, and Party members, conducted a widespread trade in building plots.

Those guilty of infringements of the financial discipline and of breaking the People's Law, were punished by the Voievodship KKP at BYDGOSZCZ, as follows:

1. Wlodzimierz DABROWSKI, Chairman of the Presidium of the Municipal National Council, was expelled from the Party;
2. Tadeusz MINDAK, Secretary of the Presidium of the National Council, was expelled from the Party;
3. Leon MADZIELEWSKI, Head of the Municipal Parks Department, was expelled from the Party;
4. Hugon GOSTOMCZYK, Head of the Administration and Budget Department, was expelled from the Party;
5. Stanislaw STARKOWKI, Head of the Municipal Hotels, was given a reprimand and a caution;

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6. Witold MURAWSKI, Head of the Financial Department, was given a Party reprimand;
7. Mieczyslaw ZABROCKI, Commandant of the Municipal Regular Fire Brigade, was given a Party reprimand.

VII. PLENARY SESSIONS AND CONFERENCES OF THE CENTRAL PARTY CONTROL COMMISSION

Last year, the CKKP, on the basis of the resolutions of the III PZPR Congress and the Plenum of the Central Committee, held the following Conferences:

1. On the 26.3.59, a Plenum of the CKKP, on the subject of appointing a Presidium of the CKKP and laying down the direction of work after the III Congress.
2. On the 14.5.59, a conference of Chairmen of the Voievodship KKP's, with the participation of members of the CKKP, the subject being "The Tasks of the KKP in the Fight against Transgressions and Corruption".
3. On the 9.6.59, a Plenum of the CKKP, on the subject of discussing the draft regulations for the work of the CKKP, discussing the expulsions and strikings off during the 1st Quarter of 1959, and giving an account of the work of the Presidium of the CKKP.
4. On the 3.9.59, a conference with the Chairmen of the Voievodship KKP's, with the participation of members of the CKKP, to discuss the tasks resulting from the exchanging of Party Cards.
5. On the 16.12.59, a conference of the Central Team for Fighting Transgressions, and of the CKKP, in order to analyse the results of the work of the Party Teams for Fighting Transgressions at the Voievodship Committees. The conference was attended by members of the CKKP, chairmen of Teams, chairmen of the Voievodship KKP's, representatives of the NIK, Ministry of Justice, the Prosecutor-General's Office, and of the State Trade Inspectorate (PIH).

Conferences corresponding to those in the CKKP were also organised by the Voievodship KKP's, and took into account the directives issued by the CKKP. These conferences were run by members of the CKKP and other workers.

Information and reports given to the Executive meetings of the Voievodship Committees

On the basis of the controls carried out, the Voievodship KKP's submitted to the meetings of the Executives of the Voievodship Committees materials concerning the work of the Commissions and various problems facing the Party organisations.

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Such information was submitted by the following KKP's:

1. The Voievodship KKP at KATOWICE: On the progress of the struggle against the stifling of criticism; On the work of the KKP in 1959.
2. The Voievodship KKP at KRAKOW: On the ideological and moral attitude of Party members in the Presidia of the National Councils.
3. The Voievodship KKP at KIELCE: On the work of the KKP and the awarding of Party penalties by Powiat party levels and organisations.
4. The Voievodship KKP at RZESZOW: On the work of the KKP in 1959.
5. The Voievodship KKP at KOSZALIN: On the work of the KKP and the results of the struggle against transgressions and corruption.
6. The Voievodship KKP at WROCLAW: On the work of the KKP in 1959.
7. The Voievodship KKP in WARSAW-Voievodship: On the problems encountered in the struggle against the stifling of criticism.

No information was supplied on their work in 1959 by the Voievodship KKP's at BYDGOSZCZ, OPOLE, SZCZECIN, BIALYSTOK, and others.

Conferences of the Presidium of the CKKP

During 1959 there were 20 Conferences of the Presidium, 13 of which dealt with cases of appeal to the III Congress of the PZPR, and the following matters were discussed:

1. On 9.5.59: Discussion on the Regulations of the CKKP, and the division of work among CKKP members; Study of the expulsions and strikings off during the 1st Quarter of 1959; Preparations for the conference with the Chairmen of the Voievodship KKP's on the subject of the struggle against transgressions and corruption.
2. On 23.5.59: Adoption of the draft regulations and agreement on the date of the Plenum of the CKKP; preparations for the issue of the CKKP Bulletin, and other matters.
3. On 27.6.59: Report on the conference held in the Voievodship KKP's.
4. On 28.8.59: The question of extinguishing of Party penalties in connection with the exchange of old Party Cards.

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5. On 31.10.59: Study of the Report Questionnaire for the 3rd Quarter of 1959; Report on the situation in the field against the background of the resolutions of the III Plenum of the Central Committee (fight against transgressions, financial discipline).

6. On 21.11.59: Discussion of the draft of the Reporting Questionnaire and the introduction of a uniform reporting system.

7. On 15.12.59: Discussion of the draft bulletin of the CKKP for 1959.

In addition, at each Presidium, a number of appeal cases were considered, in connection with the renewed applications of the interested parties, in accordance with the draft regulations of the CKKP.

VIII. COMPLAINTS AND GRIEVANCES

In 1959 the CKKP received 1,041 letters written direct by Party members and non-party persons.

The following table illustrates the nature of the letters sent to us:

No.	Subject matter	Quantity
1.	On employment	220
2.	Various requests	195
3.	Accusations against Party members	<u>168</u>
4.	Anonymous letters	120
5.	Requests for intervention, grievances	176
6.	On housing	53
7.	On pensions	53
8.	Complaints	56
Total		1,041

In the majority of cases, these letters were forwarded to the Voievodship KKP's, to Presidia of the Voievodship National Councils, and to other State institutions, for giving explanations or assistance to their writers.

The writers of the anonymous letters reported to us facts of serious transgressions, favouritism, cliquishness, suppression of criticism, and the

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misuse of the Party and State machinery. Undoubtedly, some of them spoke the truth, but there were others which, in a tendentious, malicious, and often openly hostile manner attempted to undermine confidence in honest Party members or Party activists.

It is therefore essential that the Voievodship KKP's should check very carefully all complaints and anonymous communications, from the point of view of their truthfulness. Objectiveness and fairness in the assessment of the incoming complaints and grievances will undoubtedly influence the growth of confidence in the KKP's or the Party levels.

IX. FROM THE WORK OF THE MUNICIPAL PARTY CONTROL COMMISSION AT GLIWICE

The Municipal KKP at GLIWICE has been operating since November 1957. Its activities extend over the city and the Powiat. The area of operation of the Commission is a difficult one, on account of its extent and the interweaving of problems peculiar to strongly industrialised districts, on the one hand, and agricultural, on the other, with the addition of others peculiar to the Western Territories. GLIWICE is an important centre of the chemical industry, and the seat of a number of planning bureaux, research institutes and combines. The city is one of the biggest centres of skilled technicians. In the Powiat, the position is equally complicated. On the one hand there are a number of urban areas, such as PYSKOWICE, TOSZEK, or LABEDY, some large agglomerations of the working class, such as the LABEDY Metallurgical Works, the Mechanical Works, Non-Ferrous Metals Rolling-Mill, and the Sand-pit, and, on the other, agriculture, developed to a fairly high level, with 43 State Farms forming about 40 per cent of the total number of State Farms in the whole Voievodship, 6 producer co-operatives, and several Agricultural Circles.

Such a situation in the area of activity of the Municipal KKP, the mingling of various groups, traditions, views, and often of personal ambitions, results in the KKP having to encounter a wide variety of problems and conflicting interests, such as (German) revisionism, 50X1-HUM

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provincial antagonisms, infiltration of West German propaganda, clericalism, charges of collaboration with the Nazis, etc. The complicated and very varied financial and organisational structure of many businesses causes further difficulties in discovering economic offences. Much difficulty is also caused by the inter-connection of many people, bound together by mutual shady interests. Considerable difficulty in the work of the Municipal KKP is also caused by the excessive tolerance of the administrative authorities towards persons who had been dismissed from the Party and from their posts.

The fifteen-person team of the Municipal KKP, operating under such conditions, was obliged to possess a detailed knowledge of the area, to maintain at all times the correct, Marxist and class, point of view, so as to be able to assess the cases investigated in as fair a way as possible. The members of the Commission, in spite of frequently being burdened by their own professional work, have yet found time to carry out the tasks entrusted to them.

Of great importance for the correct performance of the duties of the Municipal KKP was the regular help afforded to it by the Voievodship KKP at KATOWICE. The existing work of the Municipal KKP has fallen into two distinct stages: the first, where the majority of cases concerned ideological and political deviations, and the second, embracing the year 1959, in which the dominant cases concerned economic offences, speculation, wastefulness, and infringements of financial discipline.

At the present time, the work of the Municipal KKP has become more regular and efficient, holding out the promise of the achievement of improved results. The activity of the Municipal KKP, thanks to its close co-operation with the Party levels in that area, results in greater possibilities of unmasking and neutralising various elements who conceal their own personal aims behind a screen of often fictitious Party activity.

An example of this may be found in the case of the former Party member, NOWOSIELSKI, who through his denunciations and slandering of Party Comrades and of municipal and Voievodship authorities, created an atmosphere
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of suspicion and fear in his Basic Party Organisation, causing bitterness even among non-Party people, who knew him to be a drunkard and trouble-maker.

A separate problem is the question of the co-operation with the Commission for Fighting Transgressions and Corruption. The GLIWICE team of this Commission, throughout the period of its activity, achieved favourable results in its efforts to cleanse the branches of national administration from corrupt and criminal elements. In the initial period of its activity, the Commission for Fighting Transgressions centred its attention on the activation of Basic Party Organisations in their struggle against wastefulness and economic offences. The results were very satisfactory. It is sufficient to recall such cases as the discovery, in the "GLIWICE" and "SOSNICA" mines, of conscious wastefulness and destruction of equipment. Considerable assistance was given to the second mine by the Party aktiv from the "GLIWICE" mine, thus introducing order into many affairs in that establishment. The Commission for Fighting Transgressions also helped to activate the Party organisation and the Management in the Rolling Stock Repair Works, indicating the unhealthy economic condition of these Works. This led to the eradication of a number of transgressions which were taking place especially in the timber storage yard, and to the dismissal from work of a number of dishonest workers.

The passing for further investigation by the Prosecutor or by the Militia of a number of cases connected with economic offences, in such establishments as the Wire Factory, Electrical Machinery Repair Works, the General Consumer Co-operative, Municipal Meat Market, the Communal Economy Section in the Presidium of the Municipal National Council, and many others, has led to the liquidation of various economic pests and has made it possible to bring order into the economy of these establishments.

An important achievement of the Commission for Fighting Transgressions has been the organisation of a meeting between the Managements of key establishments and representatives of the Citizens' Militia, who pointed out the inadequateness of the measures for the protection of public property and

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the indifference shown in the struggle against economic offences. This conference helped not only to reveal a number of offences already committed, but revealed also the conditions for making such offences impossible in future.

The activities of the Municipal KKP and their result made it possible to increase the authority not only of the KKP, but also of the whole Party organisation, and to strengthen its ties with the whole of the community in GLIWICE. A proof of this can be found in the further inflow of reports by the public on facts of transgressions and other criminal phenomena, submitted by letter, or even by personal calls to the Municipal KKP.

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