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50X1

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50X1

General

1. The Communist Party in Poland has been known as the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partja Robotnicza - PZPR) since December 1948, the date of the unification of the former Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party. Its ideology and organization were modeled after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Every member, and the PZPR as a whole, was subordinate, according to Lenin-Stalin principles, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and was pledged to strict obedience to it. Therefore, Poland could not be regarded as an independent country since the Polish Government was entirely in the hands of the PZPR.
2. /See Annex A for the organizational structure of the PZPR/ The highest organizational unit of the Party was the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (Komitet Centralny Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partji Robotniczej - KC-PZPR). Subordinate to the KC-PZPR were the voivodship committees (Komitety Wojewodskie - KW) located within each individual voivodship seat: Warsaw, Kielce, Lublin, Rzeszow, Krakow, Katowice, Opole, Wroclaw, Zielona Gora, Poznan, Szczecin, Koszalin, Gdansk, Olsztyn, Bydgoszcz, Bialystok, and Lodz.
3. The following central institutions were directly subordinate to the KC-PZPR:
  - a. The Party School of the Central Committee of the PZPR (Szkola Partyjna przy KC-PZPR) on Bagatela Street, Warsaw. This was the highest Party school for the highest Party officials; the course was of two years' duration.

SECRET

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UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET

50X1

- 2 -

- b. The Institute for Training of Educational Cadres (Instytut Kształcenia Kadr Naukowych) located at 1 Szopena Street. The institute was connected with Warsaw University and had three departments: the Education Department, the History Department, and the Economics Department.
  - c. The Institute of Party History (Wydział Historii Partii) at 9 Aleje Stalina, Warsaw. This institute was engaged in re-writing the history of Poland in accordance with the present Party line. It was connected with the University of Warsaw.
  - d. The Central Party Training Center (Centralny Ośrodek Szkolenia Partyjnego) at 25 Mokotowska Street, Warsaw. Short-term, evening, training courses were organized at this center; they were particularly designed for instructors assigned to conduct Party Courses. The center had a large library supplied with all Party literature, newspaper clippings, etc., and a reading and study room.
4. The KC-PZPR was located in its own huge building at 6 Nowy Świat Street, Warsaw, and employed about 400 Party professionals. It had the following departments: organizational, educational, higher learning, mass propaganda, cultural, agricultural, communications, press, publications, and administrative.
  5. Warsaw, as the capital of the country, had its own committee called the Warsaw Committee (Komitet Warszawski-KW) which was directly subordinate to the KC-PZPR and equal in status to the voivodship committees. The city of Warsaw was the center of all the highest governmental agencies which, because they ruled Poland, were subjected to special Party supervision. In this way the Communist Party had close insight into the spirit of Warsaw and was able to examine the prevailing attitudes and eventually to dissolve any tensions that might be forming, if it suited Party purposes. Moreover, the KW was especially interested in the industrial development of Warsaw because, according to Communist plan, it was destined to become an industrial city and furthermore, like Moscow, was a display city for all Poles and foreign visitors. Because of this the KW was highly interested in all problems and events, cultural, and otherwise, concerning and taking place in Warsaw.
  6. The relation between the KW and the KC was strong and close and, in some respects, the Warsaw Committee could be regarded as a separate department of the Central Committee. The Warsaw Committee was located at 63 Aleje Jerozolimskie and controlled the whole area of Greater Warsaw which, for this purpose, was divided into 11 districts. Each district was under the control of a district committee (Komitet Dzielnicowy-KD) and employed about 30 Party professionals. There were the following districts in Warsaw:
    - KD Śródmieście, office at 48 Mokotowska Street
    - KD Starówka, office at 77 Aleje Świerczewskiego
    - KD Żoliborz, office at 3/4 Górskiego Street
    - KD Wola, office at 16 Młynarska Street
    - KD Ochota, office at 34 Grojecka Street
    - KD Mokotów, office at 4 Chocimska Street
    - KD Wilanów, office at 24 Powsińska Street/Sadyba
    - KD Grochów, office at 6 Podskarbinska Street
    - KD Praga Centralna, office at 91 Stalowa Street
    - KD Wawer, office at 4 Sportowa Street
    - KD Bródno, office at 27 Białolecka Street

The Śródmieście District Committee to which the employees and Party members of the Ministry of Power were subordinate had the following sections: organization, propaganda, political training, women's affairs, and cadres. The Warsaw Committee had its own Party school

SECRET

SECRET

50X1

- 3 -

called the Warsaw Party School (Warszawska Szkoła Partyjna), located at 92 Krochmalna Street. Courses for district instructors and for certain high Party officials were conducted there.

7. The Warsaw Voivoidship Committee (Komitet Wojewodzki w Warszawie-KWW) was in charge of the voivoidship of Warsaw (except Greater Warsaw). The office was located at 9 Aleja Stalina and had the following departments: organization, propaganda and training, agriculture, cadres, general, and administrative. It had its own automobile service station at 2-A Poniecka Street in addition to a hotel at 4 Sniezna Street.
8. Subordinate to the voivoidship committees were the county committees (Komitety Powiatowe - KP) and the municipal committees (Komitety Miejskie - KM). In the rural areas there were also township committees (Komitety Gminne - KG), each of which controlled several villages.
9. The lowest Party organizational unit was the Basic Party Organization (Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna - POP). POP's were organized within each governmental administrative office or enterprise such as ministries, territorial administrative offices and agencies, factories, plants, firms, and unions. In the city of Warsaw POP's were subordinate to district committees; in the country, to the local PZPR county, municipal, or township committees.
10. The employees of the KC, KW, KP, KM, KD and KG were exclusively engaged in Party work and for this reason they were regarded as Party professionals. The number of Party professionals in Poland can be estimated at approximately 20,000, and can be broken down as follows:

KC - PZPR	about	400
Warsaw Committee	"	100
Warsaw Voivoidship Committee	"	80
District committees in Warsaw ( 11 districts x 15 employees)	"	170
Other voivoidship committees (16 voivoidships x 80 employees)	"	1,300
Municipal committees (300 towns x 20 employees)	"	6,000
County committees (300 counties x 20 employees)	"	6,000
Township committees (3,000 townships x 2 employees)	"	6,000
District committees in larger cities (such as Lodz, Poznan, Krakow, Wroclaw)	"	450
Party schools	"	<u>250</u>
Total	"	20,750

Assuming that the average employee received a salary of 1,300 zloty monthly, the total amount spent on salaries of Party professionals would be about 26,000,000 zloty .

SECRET

SECRET

- 4 -

50X1

11. In addition to the professional employees, there were also, especially in lower Party echelons, temporary employees who were assigned to different Party organizations by the government administrative units or agencies. They were usually assigned for different periods of time in order to assist in Party work, especially at the POP level. The governmental administrative office assigning such employees for Party work paid their wages.
12. The POP was entitled to a secretary if the number of Party members exceeded 300. The secretary dealt exclusively with Party problems. If the number of Party members was lower than 300, employment of a secretary had to be approved by the KD and KW. Non-professional employees assigned the job of secretary by a governmental office or enterprise were occupied by Party problems and work to the exclusion of other matters.

Basic Party Organization within the Ministry of Power (Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna Ministerstwa Energetyki - POP-ME)

13. The POP within the Ministry of Power was organized in March 1952 at the time the Ministry of Power came into being. Its fundamental and primary aim was the political management of all employees of the Ministry as a whole (about 400) through the intermediary of the Party organizational setup and the social organizations. It is true that the POP had no direct influence on the so-called professional work of the Ministry of Power; the Minister himself was responsible to the Prime Minister for its policy and operation. However, the POP had the task of securing, and supervising, the best work performance at the Ministry in addition to continually raising the efficiency of all individual employees within each department and section. In Communist vernacular, the function of the POP was "to continue mobilizing all employees for the most efficient performance of a job".
14. The POP-ME exerted its political management and control over employees of the Ministry only. It had no authority over other POP's which existed in districts and power plants subordinate to the Ministry of Power. Those POP's were subordinate to their respective territorial Party authorities. The POP-ME was subordinate to the Srodmiastecie District Committee. In some cases, however, because of the enormous importance of the Ministry of Power, the KC and KW dealt directly with POP-ME on certain problems.
15. The POP was governed by an executive (Egzekutywa) composed of seven members with a first secretary and his deputy (second secretary) heading the group. The first secretary was responsible for the overall work and attended all conferences of the KW and KD. In some cases, the second secretary acted as deputy at the KD conferences. The second secretary was primarily responsible for organizational matters and for political training. The remaining members of the executive were assigned special individual duties such as:
  - a. Cooperation with the Trade Union of Energetics (employees of electric power industry).
  - b. Cooperation with the departments of the Ministry of Power.
  - c. Cooperation with social organizations such as the United Soldiers' Friends' League, Women's League, Russian-Polish Friendship Society, etc.

SECRET

SECRET

- 5 -

50X1

- d. Cooperation with the National Front (Front Narodowy).
  - e. Cooperation with the section of the Union of Polish Youth (Zwiazek Mlodziezy Polskiej - ZMP) at the Ministry of Power.
  - f. The direction and control of Party groups.
  - g. The direction and control of Party agitation (agitacja partyjna), particularly through the Party agitators.
  - h. The organization and supervision of mass activities.
16. Party members from one or two departments of the Ministry formed so-called party groups (Grupa Partyjna). Each group was under the control of a group leader (Grupowy) who was elected by the members of the group, and who was subordinate to a member of the executive. All Party orders and instructions were carried out through group leaders. The group leader collected Party membership fees, organized group meetings, and was responsible for such Party work by his group as political training, the execution of "voluntary obligations" to fulfill various plans and norms, the execution of various section plans, etc. Two or three group meetings were held each month. In addition there were one or two meetings during the month for group leaders only. There were approximately 12 Party group leaders in the Ministry of Power.
17. Agitators (Agitatorzy) carried on their work among Party and non-Party members who were employees of the Ministry of Power. There were between 15 and 20 agitators in the POP-ME. They were responsible for their activities to the Party Organizers (Organizatorzy Partyjni) of whom there were three within the POP-ME, and who, in turn, were subordinate to a designated member of the executive. Otherwise, as Party members, the agitators were subordinate to their group leaders. All agitators received one or two briefings monthly from the executive in addition to emergency briefings. They also had one or two meetings among themselves to coordinate their work.
18. There were POP-ME meetings at least once a month which were attended by all members of the PZPR. The dates of the meetings as well as the agenda were always determined in advance by the KD. The meetings were held for the purpose of delivering political lectures on current topics and for pertinent discussions at the beginning of the meeting. The lectures were written by a member of the executive on the basis of directives from the KD. The text of each important lecture was checked by the KD. Sometimes there were discussions at the meetings concerning various problems of the Ministry of Power. The second part of the meetings was usually devoted to party organizational matters and to a discussion during which individual Party members were reprimanded for various faults and negligence in the execution of Party instructions. The meetings ended usually with so-called free discussions and suggestions. A KW or KD representative usually attended the regular meetings but when, for example, Party authorities were elected, or some important problem was discussed, a KC representative also attended. In addition to the closed meetings, meetings were held to which non-Party persons were invited. In certain cases, particularly where more complex economic problems were discussed, Party members holding responsible positions in the Ministry (relevant to the subject discussed) were invited to meetings of a so-called enlarged executive. It should be pointed out that general meetings had the right to impose obligations of fulfilling some special task, to criticize the executive, and to demand that certain matters

SECRET

SECRET

50X1

- 6 -

be submitted to higher Party authorities for decision. The KD had the right to repeal a resolution or a decision made by POP-ME at any meeting, if it did not conform to established rules or to general Party guiding principles. Controversial cases concerning very important issues were decided by the KW.

POP-ME Cooperation with the Energetics Trade Union (Zwiazek Zawodowy Energetykow)

19. In accordance with the general task of the Party, the POP-ME was responsible for the political direction of the trade union. It should be emphasized that as a rule the chairman of a trade union, as well as certain members of the trade union's executive, were members of the PZPR. The task of the trade union was "to politically enlighten" the non-Party masses or, in other words, to indoctrinate the masses with Party thought and concept. All employees of the Ministry of Power belonged to the Energetics Trade Union (Zwiazek Zawodowy Energetykow).
20. In view of the function of the trade union, the Party showed particular concern for:
  - a. The elections of the trade union executive; lists of candidates had to be approved by the Party.
  - b. The ceremonies organized by the trade unions ( 1 May, 22 July, 7 October) as well as other mass celebrations and performances.
  - c. The organization and outcome of the so-called vocational, and technical conferences carried out in individual departments and sections of the Ministry.
  - d. The "voluntary obligations" ("zobowiazania") undertaken on various occasions /e.g. voluntary obligation to fulfill certain norms, to perform extra work, etc./ (some of these obligations, such as the clearance of rubble in Warsaw, did not concern the Ministry of Power).
  - e. The professional training.
  - f. The various activities of trade unions, including the activities of their cultural-educational sections, sport sections, and the like.
  - g. Controlling the weekly lectures during which press comments were given (the so-called "prasowki").

The POP Executive also cooperated with the Executive Board of the Central Energetics Trade Union (Zarzad Glowny Zwiazku Zawodowego Energetykow), which represented all employees of the electric power industry in Poland.

POP-ME Cooperation with the ZMP (Union of Polish Youth - Zwiazek Mlodziezy Polskiej)

21. The ZMP had, in principle, a separate organization subordinate to the ZMP district authorities. As a rule, the ZMP unit was headed by a Party member. One member of the POP-ME Executive was responsible for the "political care" of the ZMP. The KD very firmly emphasized the necessity of strong Party influence on the ZMP. The Party believed that the youth organization constituted the "anteroom" of the Party, from which would originate future Party members already "brought up in the new spirit". It should be

SECRET

SECRET

- 7 -

50X1



pointed out here that various positions in the Ministry of Power were increasingly filled by ZMP members, called the "new intelligentsia". The ZMP members, as a rule, represented a far more dangerous element than the regular Party members, for as young people they tended to cooperate more easily with the UB (Security Police). Consequently, greater caution was exercised with regard to ZMP activists than regular Party members, particularly those of advanced age. It was well-known that the majority of ZMP activists represented very poor material with respect to professional skill and experience; yet, they distinguished themselves by brazen arrogance, baseless and vain cocksureness, and other offensive characteristics.

#### POP-ME Cooperation with Social Organizations

22. Branches of the following social organizations were organized at the Ministry of Power and were under control of POP-ME:

- a. League of Women (Liga Kobiet - LK)
- b. Polish-Soviet Friendship Association (Towarzystwo Przyjazni Polsko-Radzieckiej - TPPR)
- c. League of Soldiers' Friends (Liga Przyjaciol Zolnierza - LPZ)
- d. Voluntary Reserve of the People's Militia (Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej - ORMO)

The League of Women was practically a dead organization, although it showed a limited activity in matters of interest to women.

The remaining organizations were characterized by complete inactivity and were organizations in name only. They were created because it was decreed. The PZPR paid slight attention to these organizations--except now and then when it was necessary to write something in periodical reports to the KD.

#### POP-ME Cooperation with the National Front

23. An organized movement extending throughout Poland, called the National Front (Front Narodowy - FN), was set up by the PZPR for the purpose of bringing the Polish people under the control of the regime and exploiting patriotism in the interest of the regime. Warsaw was divided, as far as the National Front was concerned, into sections and each POP was assigned to one street or one block of houses. Party members as well as employees of the Ministry of Power who did not belong to the Party were assigned the mission of boosting Party propaganda efforts through the National Front Point located at 88 Hoza Street. Under the pretext of National Front activity the agitators went to private homes for the purpose of carrying on their work. Meetings were held at the Point once a week at which there were lectures followed by discussion. Afterward the agitators went to their assigned houses in order to excite action on such events as: elections, collection of scrap, price changes on consumer goods, activities of the Catholic clergy, important sports events, "Peace Front" activities, and the like. About 25 agitators usually participated in activities of the National Front Point on Hoza Street.

#### POP-ME Cooperation with Departments and Sections of the Ministry of Power

24. The secretary of the POP-ME cooperated closely with all departments of the Ministry of Power, especially with the Department of Cadres, in regard to employment and the political reliability of personnel.

SECRET

SECRET  
- 8 -

50X1

The Industrial Security Section (Wydział Ochrony Przemysłu) was not controlled by the POP-ME but was subordinate to the POP-UB (Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa), the basic Party organization of the security police in Warsaw. The director of this section, however, attended, ex officio, various POP-ME meetings in order to acquaint himself with current plans and activities. He therefore cooperated with the secretary of the POP-ME and with the Minister of Power on matters calling for "vigilance". In all probability, he submitted reports on this matter directly to the Ministry of Public Security.

#### Cooperation of the POP-ME with the Minister of Power

25. The POP-ME secretary and the Minister held, from time to time, advisory conferences at which they discussed various matters regarding the increase of production, voluntary obligations, allotment of apartments, housing for employees, organization of various ceremonies, matters of political vigilance, etc. The Minister not only attended these meetings, but also the training courses of the POP-ME.

#### Contact with the Warsaw Committee

26. Certain Party members were employed for agitation activities by, and on behalf of, the Warsaw Committee. For this purpose they had to complete a two weeks' course organized by the KW; afterward they attended "orientation lectures" once a week at the KW. Appropriate instruction material was delivered by the KC. The Minister and the higher officials of the Ministry of Power often came into contact with the KW when economic problems concerning the City of Warsaw arose. The KW was also responsible for part of the special training given to the POP and ZMP employees of the Ministry of Power.

#### Contact with the Central Committee of the PZPR

27. There was constant contact between the Ministry of Power (the Minister and the Director of the Central Power Dispatching Department) and the KC authorities. The KC was provided with daily reports and information concerning the consumption and dispatching of electric power throughout Poland, and on breakdowns of electric power supplies and equipment at power plants. This information was provided by administrative channels independently and, in addition, to POP-ME reports. The Department of Cadres of the Ministry of Power kept in close contact with the KC in regard to the so-called "analysis of cadres" especially with respect to those persons who held high executive positions in the Ministry. The KC was also greatly interested in all such important investments as the construction of new power plants. The Minister of Power reported personally to the KC once or twice a week. All appointments to positions of department director or higher had to be approved by the KC of the PZPR and were afterward submitted for final approval to the Council of Ministers. The Secretary of the POP-ME was called upon at least once a week to report to the KC; there he was interviewed on various matters. The KC annulled the slate for POP Executive elections in 1952 on the score of "poor composition" and ordered new elections in accordance with its own directives.

#### Party Publications

28. POP-ME was also responsible for the distribution and sale of Party publications and newspapers such as Trybuna Ludu, Trybuna Wolności, Notatnik Agitatora, Organ Związkowy, Związków Zawodowych, and Przyjazn

SECRET



SECRET

50X1

- 9 -

in addition to political books. The Party was very interested in increasing circulation, and the reading of these publications by all employees, so everyone subscribed to certain Party newspapers (Trybuna Ludu was the most popular) to avoid the risk of disfavor.

### Political Training

29. All Party members and a certain number of non-Party employees who held high positions were subjected to political training. Plans were worked out for all employees of the Ministry of Power to be given political instruction but only a small percentage of "volunteers" had been trained up to 1953. There were four courses of political training:
  - a. Basic Training - first grade
  - b. Basic Training - second grade
  - c. Self-Instruction - first grade
  - d. Self-Instruction - second grade
30. All courses beginning in September and ending in July lasted one year. The executive arranged the assignments for particular courses. Normally a Party member completed his courses in succession. Only those who graduated with special distinction were publicly mentioned; otherwise a student's progress was told him orally by his instructors. Courses in basic training were conducted by lecture, questions, and discussions. In the self-instruction courses, subjects were assigned in advance, and the instructor only coordinated the discussions. He also gave the students "directives" in accordance with instructions he received from the Party Political Training Center. To facilitate the studies of the students, the instructor gave them, at every meeting, a list of books and articles specifying certain pages for reading, or provided special material from the Center. Courses took up approximately three hours a week and were generally given after working hours, though sometimes before. No diplomas were issued. All Party members except the Minister had to attend. Political instruction was regarded as one of the most important aspects of the Party program and absence from class, as well as negligible progress, led to disqualification for Party membership. The courses were conducted by a chief instructor and his assistant who were selected by the POP-ME and approved by the district Party committee. The two instructors had to attend seminars once a week at the Central Party Training Center.
31. There were also short-term, three-week courses organized at the KD or at the Central Party Training Center for instructors. Those assigned to the courses usually attended in the evening after working hours, or in certain cases they were released from work in order to attend full time when full-time courses were offered. Certain selected Party members who were undergoing self-instruction were also sent full time to the voivodship Party schools for courses lasting from three to eight weeks. Most of those selected were from the second phase of self-instruction though some were from the first. Prominent and very active Party members were sent for training to the KC central schools for two years.

### Political Vigilance

32. The leaders of the regime realized that the situation in Poland was growing worse and that the people were complaining more and more. Consequently, the Party was held responsible for continually observing and controlling popular morale, and for the eventual favorable dissolving of tensions. The common man was under constant pressure and attack by the Party, the ZMP, trade unions,

SECRET

SECRET

- 10 -

50X1

League of Women, League of Soldiers' Friends, ORMO, Polish-Soviet Friendship Association, the UB, the National Front, Department of Cadres, etc. Therefore, during Party meetings, there was continuous pressure and "whip-cracking" to enforce vigilance because:

- a. The activities of all the organizations were unsatisfactory.
- b. The execution of Party orders was neglected.
- c. The attitude toward employees who were not Party members was weak and indulgent.
- d. The morale and attitude of members was declining.

Despite continuous repetitions of Communist slogans, those attending the meetings only listened patiently, applauded promptly, and did nothing except when forced to. Every one subscribed to a newspaper but very few read them. The attitude of the employees of the Ministry of Power was especially noticeable during the weekly lectures and comments on the press. No one spoke eagerly or entered discussions but instead each one looked impatiently at his watch.

#### The Technique of Carrying Out Orders

33. There was strict discipline enforced in the Party, and the system of relaying and carrying out Party orders was under central control. In all cases where matters of "state importance" (Sprawy Donioslosci Panstwowej) were involved, the Party was called upon to assist in the actual execution of a given order. In addition, the Party also had to carry out another function, the so-called "enlightening" of the non-Party masses. On such occasions considerable attention was devoted to stirring up "vigilance" among the people. Such governmental actions as the change of currency, the arrest of certain persons, and the change of market prices on commodities were usually prepared and controlled by the Central Committee of the PZPR. The KC, through the intermediary of the KW, KD, and KP, set in motion so-called "mass meetings" (Masowki) in all party echelons and organizations controlled by it. At these meetings previously briefed Party agitators, as well as agitators from trade unions and other organizations, spoke during the discussions. The purpose of such meetings was also of a prophylactic nature; and it was explained that the measures must be carried out "in order to harden the non-Party people, to render them resistant, and to arm Party members with proper arguments". Those meetings were usually preceded by consultations of the POP Executive with the Party activists. In addition, the trade union was usually given a special "orientation" along the so-called "union line". It should be pointed out that action was very swift and that the efficiency was really high. The essential feature of any Party activity was the close connection with higher echelons of the Party; this technique was used to avoid "perversion of the Party line". As the Party line and approach to certain problems frequently changed it was easy to bungle if not in touch with higher echelons and all members tried to avoid such bungling.

#### Special Tasks

34. Sometimes individual Party members or groups were given special orders or tasks on behalf of the Party. The character and the way of accomplishing such tasks will be illustrated by two examples in connection with the following events: (a) the Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1952 and (b) the law changing the prices of goods in January 1953.

SECRET

SECRET

- 11 -

50X1

The Peace Congress

35. The Peace Congress was organized in detail by the PZPR. Numerous employees, particularly Party members, were delegated to assist while the Congress, which lasted two weeks, was in session. In addition to normal earnings, the employees picked were paid specially for this job. In most cases, the employees were assigned to foreign visitors and delegates as orderlies or servants. They were not permitted to reveal their true employment. For example, the director of the Department of Cadres of the Central Power Administration worked for two weeks as the servant of a certain English delegate. He even polished his shoes. This move was apparently aimed at preventing the foreigners from having any contact with Poles and thus learning the true conditions of life in Poland.
36. I heard that individual foreign delegates were so impressed and deeply moved by the kindness and intelligence of their "servants", and by their knowledge of foreign languages, that they could hardly express their delight. Certain of the delegates, particularly the women, when asked whether or not they had encountered any unpleasantness, were so overcome that they had tears in their eyes.
37. Official dinners of the Conference were so sumptuous that some of the foreign delegates admitted that they had never eaten so well. The waiters (special) attending the foreign delegates were many times enraged when they saw meals that bore no comparison with even the most luxurious food available to Poles in the past, not to mention the present. Apparently the expenses of the entire performance were fantastic, but on such occasions expense was evidently of no importance to the Communists.
38. The security measures were also of a special nature. Special telephone lines were arranged beforehand; listening devices were probably installed. Separate amplifiers were affixed. All lines were examined and checked. The names of persons responsible for these arrangements were taken down. As a further precaution only specially selected and strictly checked persons were admitted to the Congress. All security measures were conducted and supervised by the MBP (the Ministry of Public Security).
39. The crowds assembled at the railroad stations for the welcoming and the farewell ceremonies were composed of specially selected Party and ZMP members who "spontaneously" cheered. The shop windows in Warsaw were "abundantly" supplied and arranged, and a greater quantity of goods was thrown on the market for that occasion. In brief, everything proceeded like the theater; in reality it was a gruesome drama. Under such circumstances, the majority of the foreign delegates, unaware of true conditions, must have formed a favorable opinion of what they saw and heard.

The Law Changing the Price of Goods in January 1953

40. On 2 January 1953 almost all Party members of the Ministry of Power received orders to appear at a meeting at 1600 hours to be held in a big hall on Krucza Street. Approximately 400 persons assembled there. At the beginning of the meeting the chairman informed all present that they would have to assist the Party in an important government action in connection with the new law changing commodity prices in Poland. He explained that the law was aimed at curbing unlicensed trade and the black market, and with doing away with food rationing. He indicated also that this action was designed for the "welfare of the working masses". Afterward the chairman announced that no one present would be allowed to leave the hall before 1800 hours. At that time a simultaneous inventory of all stocks and cash held by all government shops, stores, and warehouses

SECRET

SECRET  
- 12 -

50X1 [redacted]

was to begin; this inventory was to be supervised by the CP members. He pointed out further that no one present would be allowed to look out of the windows, so that no word could be given to anyone on the outside.

41. After lengthy discussions, general instructions were given concerning the assignment of various shops and warehouses. Everything was prepared in advance and so meticulously that in one hour each person knew his assigned duty. All present were divided into groups; each group consisted of three persons, a chairman and two members. It was indicated that, in case of difficulty, the assistance of Party organs or the militia should be called on; the latter was already mobilized for this purpose. The group [redacted] was made responsible for supervising the inventory of six stores, two of which had cafeterias. They were located close to each other, and so, assigning the supervision of two buildings to each person, it was possible to begin simultaneously. The managers of the shops were visibly disconcerted but they gave way at the sight of our written authorization and cooperated, though not without cursing.

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50X1

[redacted] man of our group to the district committee (Srodmiescie) where he reported the completion of our task. He also submitted a brief report in which he described the reaction and remarks of each shop-keeper. Many employees of the Ministry of Power worked until 0900 hours the next day, especially those who were assigned to large shops and warehouses.

[redacted] Ministry who were not Party members but were assigned by the trade unions took part in this action.

42. The secrecy enveloping this whole affair can be best evidenced by the fact that even the Minister of Power himself (a Party member) did not know what was going on. On the same night, he was irritated and angry because the Party was using several employees whom he needed for urgent conferences. He called at their homes after 2400 hours and sent messengers to find them, but was unable to reach any one of them.

Party Membership Fees

43. Every member of the Party had to pay a membership fee. The amount depended on the gross salary of the individual. Monthly membership fees, according to salary, were as follows:

Wages per Month (in zloty)

Membership Fee (in zloty)

Up to 300  
" 600  
" 800  
" 1,000  
" 1,200  
" 1,400  
" 1,500  
Over 1,500

5  
8  
12  
15  
18  
22  
25

2 Per cent of the salary

My gross salary amounted to approximately 2,700 zlotys monthly and [redacted]

Taking 15 zlotys as an average monthly fee and the approximately 1,200,000 members of the PZPR,<sup>1</sup> monthly collection would amount to approximately 18,000,000 zlotys. It is evident that the sum did not cover all Party expenses and that additional sums were provided by the government.

SECRET

SECRET  
- 13 -

The Party Identification Card (legitymacja Partyjna)

44. The Party Identification Card was issued to a Party member personally through an appropriate Party committee [for example in Warsaw - through the district committee (KD)]/.
- The IC was red; it contained photograph, number, name, and a blank space for Party notes and records of payment of membership fees (stamps).
  - Each member of the Party was responsible for carrying his IC with him at all times. It was not permitted to carry the IC while traveling abroad. In case of trips abroad of approximately 5 weeks or so, the IC was deposited with the KC; in case of brief trips, the IC could be left with the POP secretary.
  - In no case was it permitted to identify oneself with the IC or to use it in any official capacity. One was not allowed, for instance, to show the IC while entering the KC or other Party offices.
  - For reasons of control, or in case of disciplinary action, the IC could be taken away, without explanation, by a secretary of the KD or other appropriate Party organ (but not by the POP secretary).
  - During POP elections or during Party conferences, the IC was shown at the time of casting one's vote; the validity of the IC depended upon having all membership fees paid at least two months in advance. In such cases it was not permitted that the IC cards be handed over; they could only be shown.
  - Negligence or carelessness displayed in carrying the IC constituted sufficient grounds for a Party reprimand.
  - Any loss of an IC had to be immediately reported to the KD. Every such case was subject to minute investigation.
  - Permanent dispossession of an IC was tantamount to deprivation of Party membership. The proper agency handling these matters was the Party control section of the appropriate KW.
  - Stamps verifying payment of membership fees were issued by a member of the POP executive, who was authorized to collect the fees.

General Characteristics of POP at the Ministry of Power

45. General Characteristics of the Basic Party Organization at the Ministry of Power were as follows:
- The constantly declining interest and enthusiasm for political activities on the part of individual members;
  - The carrying out of one's duties only to the extent of not running the risk of falling into disfavor.

This "burning out" of enthusiasm considerably increased, especially in 1952-1953 after it became evident that things were going from bad to worse and that the Party was only concerned with deluding people into believing that things were becoming better. Moreover, even the most hot-headed and ardent Party man saw by now that he had no arguments with which to convince others, since he, himself was aware that the standard of living was increasingly deteriorating.

SECRET

SECRET

50X1

- 14 -

And above all, the Party's idolatry of Russia disturbed and irritated him. Party meetings were marked by slogans, verboseness, and complete emptiness; the subjects debated there were exceedingly dull and boring. No one dared to voice his opinion for fear that he might run counter to officially established Party creed.

46. It should be stressed that every hour taken from an employee caused considerable exasperation, and was regarded by him as an impairment of his budget since all employees were engaged in outside work and their time was completely taken up. There were cases when even certain directors themselves did special "compensatory work" (prace zlecone) during office hours to make extra money.
47. Because of this apathy, it was decided in the summer of 1953, in the belief that the executive might work more devotedly, that the POP executive should be rejuvenated by choosing for some of its members certain persons under 30 years of age. ZMP members, however, only worked eagerly during parties and dances; otherwise, they were inactive and indolent.
48. It is obvious that an artificial creation such as the Communist system could be maintained and kept alive only by fear. This statement finds justification in the number of Communist police organs of various types and character, and in the continuous emphasis on the lack of "vigilance". This, in reality, meant that the regime feared any open expression of true opinion on the part of the people.
49. On the other hand, plain common sense and a feeling of self-defense forced every one into a pretended conformity to the present system in order not to incur disfavor for everyone realized, nolens volens, the bitter reality of being completely dependent upon the state which held in its hands and controlled all the necessities of life, such as one's work and living accommodations, and which had, above all, the power to deprive a person of his individual freedom. Despite the ever-growing hypocrisy among Party and non-Party persons, one could readily observe the general discontent and sense the increasing reluctance toward participation in any sort of political or social activities. More and more frequently, one heard remarks which gave evidence of the growing determination on the part of the people. For example, "let that harm me but I am not going to do it." Or one heard critical comments on the so-called "benefits for the working man". The whole regime would long ago have fallen into pieces were it not for the fact that the Party is all-powerful.
50. The atmosphere of the trade unions was far more critical than that in other Party organs. Every one tried to avoid being elected to any office. Meetings were avoided and conspicuously deserted. (In one case, for example, during an election it was necessary to hold three meetings in order to secure a majority.) Every one knew that the trade unions were merely Party agencies which could do nothing to help the workers. Hence, the unwillingness on the part of the workers to pay dues, which in turn brought forth more pressure from the Party.
51. There were two things one could readily observe in the behavior and attitude of the people: On the one hand a cleverness and knack in adjusting to the situation, and, extreme hypocrisy on the other. Those people who participated in discussions during meetings acted perfunctorily and repeated the same things over and over; the people had become so accustomed to the whole thing they regarded it as normal. The majority of speakers on such occasions were the so-called professional "ironclad" speakers; the moment one rose to speak, all present knew immediately what the speaker would say.

SECRET

SECRET  
- 15 -

50X1

Because all meetings, ceremonies, and mass Party actions, proceeded automatically and in a robot-like manner, most people had learned to adjust to such situations. They had learned to "exclude themselves mentally and keep aloof" or how to "sleep instantly" when the occasion warranted it. Whatever will and determination there had been to remedy the situation had brought slight results. Consequently, as before, things continued in the same round-about way. The young people had the advantage for, sensing their opportunities and secure situations, they "noised boisterously" and did nothing.

#### Party Attitude Toward the US

52. The first, and necessary, guarantee of the citizen's loyalty in the Communist system was his positive attitude towards Russia; this attitude had to be emphasized by him on every possible occasion. Moreover, the Communists lauded those occasions when one expressed his "spontaneous" delight in anything Russian, spoke a few words however senseless in that language, or gave any outward demonstration of favorable sentiment towards Russia. A second factor which determined a person's loyalty was a public expression of his attitude towards the West which, obviously, had to be extremely negative. The most effective method of expressing the sentiments required of one was to praise Russia and, at the same time, to condemn and sneer at the West. Any nonsense or illogicalness in an opinion about the West, and particularly about the US, would pass without censure; under no circumstances would the speaker be reprimanded, if the USSR was, at the same time, appropriately praised and glorified. Derisive and derogatory words and remarks were admissible and even recommended when expressing an opinion about the West. This was established procedure at the various Party meetings and "mass actions".
53. Listed below are examples of some of the issues debated during Party meetings:
  - a. "The US - a country 'corroded' from within by internal contradictions";
  - b. "The role played by trade unions in the US and in Poland";
  - c. "The real causes and implications of the present US foreign policy";
  - d. "Living conditions in the US";
  - e. "The state of production in the US";
  - f. "Technology in the US and in Russia";
  - g. "The planned economic system in Russia and the economic system in the US";
  - h. "The problem of the economic crisis in the Western countries and in the US";
  - i. "Utilization of raw materials in the US and in Russia";
  - j. "The problem of unemployment and wages";
  - k. "Architecture and building in Russia and in the US";
  - l. "Crime in Russia and the US";

SECRET

SECRET  
- 16 -

50X1

- m. "Friendship between Satellite countries and the Western nations";
- n. "The elections in Poland and in the US and the differences";
- o. "The increase of the 'Peace Camp' in Western countries and the US";
- p. "Educational system and education of youth";
- q. "Why we take as an example and follow only Soviet literature".

54. During party meetings, it was expressly emphasized that very soon the entire world would be communized. It is characteristic that the last verse of the International has been recently changed. The words "we shall move the mass of the world from its foundation" have been changed to "we are moving the mass of the world from its foundation". On the other hand, the real and inherent feeling of the Polish people towards the US can be described as follows:

- a. They hold US technical progress in great regard.
- b. They respect the US as a nation.
- c. They realize that their salvation and rescue can come only from the US.
- d. They regret that relief in the form of the Marshall plan failed to reach Poland.
- e. They envy anyone who succeeded in reaching safety in the US through outwitting the Russian security controls.

Annex A:

The Organizational Structure of the Polish United Workers' Party

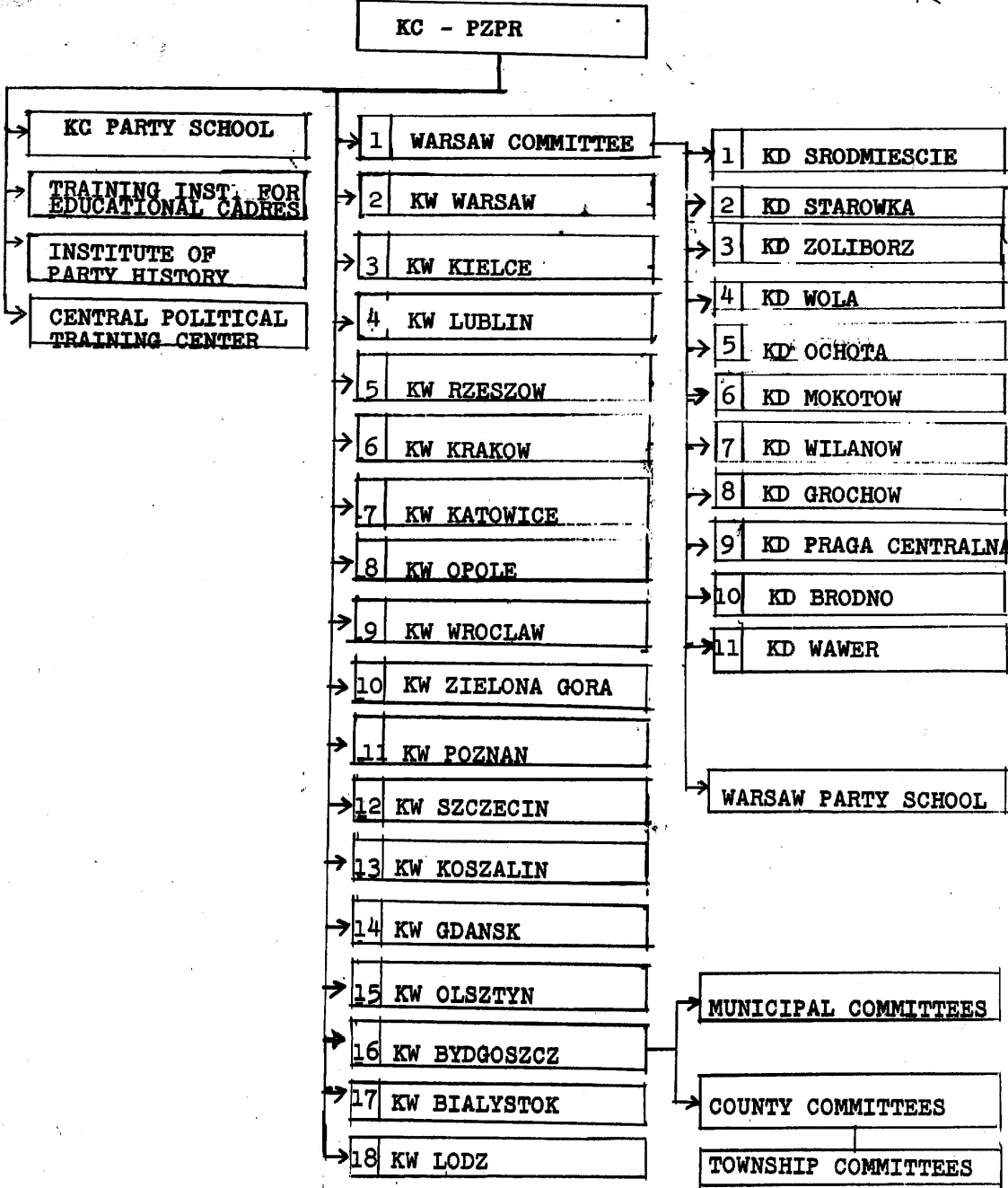
1.   Comment: At the PZPR Congress which took place between 10 and 17 March 1954 in Warsaw the total figure for PZPR Party members and candidates was given by the new secretary of the Party, BIERUT, as 1,297,000.

SECRET



SECRET  
- 17 -

Annex A. The organizational Structure of the Polish United Workers Party in Poland



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