

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

*THIS DID NOT
GO THRU FSB*

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

25X1

21 July 1986

**Poland: Politburo and Secretariat Changes of the 10th PZPR Congress
Summary**

By virtue of personnel changes at the 10th Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) Congress on 3 July 1986, First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski strengthened his influence and further consolidated his power base. He increased the military presence on the Politburo, tightened control of trade unions, and--by virtue of his commanding performance--made it more likely that uncooperative local leaders will be purged at provincial party elections later this year. These changes will have little, if any, impact on policy because Jaruzelski already had strong support in the Politburo.

[Redacted]

25X1

This memorandum presents a review of the leadership changes that occurred during the 10th PZPR Congress. [Redacted]

25X1

This memorandum was prepared by [Redacted] USSR-EE Division, Office of Leadership Analysis. Information available as of 21 July 1986 was used in its preparation. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Eastern Europe Branch, USSR-EE Division, LDA, [Redacted]

25X1

25X1

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

25X1

25X1

SECRET

25X1

SECRET

25X1

Prior to the 10th PZPR Congress last month, Wojciech Jaruzelski had done little during his nearly five years as party First Secretary to put his personal stamp on the ruling Politburo. Though he had revamped the Secretariat, he had named only two new full members and four new candidate members to a Politburo that contained 13 holdovers from the previous regime. Having no serious political rivals in that group, Jaruzelski may have felt that the status quo presented no obstacle to his ability to carry out his policies. [REDACTED]

25X1

At the Congress, Jaruzelski made substantial changes in the Politburo--not to gain support for his policies but to show that he was in full control and thereby to solidify his power base within the party apparatus. The new Politburo is slightly larger than its predecessor¹ but the most significant difference is the presence of three of Jaruzelski's trusted military colleagues--Defense Minister Florian Siwicki, Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, and party secretary for internal security Jozef Baryla among the full members. All three have had long professional associations with Jaruzelski. Altogether, including Jaruzelski, four of the 15 full members of the Politburo come from the military. Coming at a time when the military is already prominently represented in key government positions, these moves indicate that Jaruzelski has decided to ignore charges from some PZPR officials that the military is too deeply involved in party affairs and instead to enhance its role in party politics. [REDACTED]

25X1

Jaruzelski also used the Congress to consolidate his control in the provinces. To begin with, he reversed the usual pattern of holding provincial elections before the national congress. In our judgment, he did so because controlling the party organizations in the provinces has been a problem. His domination of the Congress--along with the election to candidate Politburo membership of the two most important provincial party leaders, Janusz Kubasiewicz from Warsaw and Bogumil Ferensztajn from Katowice--has served both to warn and to coopt the local party leadership, and it will probably influence the outcome of the provincial elections. [REDACTED]

25X1

The inclusion of Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the government-sanctioned national trade union, as a full Politburo member, in our judgment, shatters any illusions of trade union independence. On the other hand, we believe the election of three blue-collar workers--Zygmunt Muranski and Zofia Stepien as full Politburo members and Gabriela Rembisz as a candidate member--indicates only that Jaruzelski intends to continue the practice of placing token workers and women on the Politburo. [REDACTED]

25X1

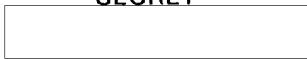
¹ The number of full Politburo members has been increased from 13 to 15, of whom nine are new; and the number of candidate (nonvoting) members has been reduced from six to five, of whom four are new. The membership of the Secretariat has been increased from nine to ten, but only three of them are new. [REDACTED]

25X1

SECRET

25X1

SECRET



25X1

The New Party Hierarchy

Full Politburo Members

Jozef Baryla. Age 61. A career military officer, he is a strong Jaruzelski loyalist. He has been the party secretary in charge of internal security since December 1985. Baryla was a vice minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces during 1980-85. He served as a member of the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON) during the martial law period.

25X1

Jan Glowczyk. Age 59. A professional economist, he has been the party secretary responsible for press and propaganda matters since 1982. He was probably given that portfolio as a result of his experience as editor in chief of the important economic weekly Zycie Gospodarcze. Glowczyk had been a candidate Politburo member since 1981.

25X1

Czeslaw Kiszczak. Age 60. A career military officer, he is Jaruzelski's right-hand man. He has served as Minister of Internal Affairs since 1981. Kiszczak had worked in military counterintelligence for many years

He had been a candidate Politburo member since 1982. He was a member of the WRON during the martial law period.

25X6
25X6
25X1

Alfred Miodowicz. Age 57. Chairman of the government-sanctioned national trade union organization since late 1984, he had not previously held any national-level or top provincial party post. He headed the steelworkers union during 1983-84.

25X1

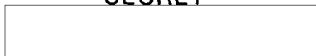
Wlodzimierz Mokrzyzszak. Age 47. Considered a moderate,² at the congress he was also elected chairman of the party's powerful Central Control and Auditing Commission. He had been a candidate Politburo member and the party secretary in charge of organizational matters since 1981.

25X1

² In the Polish political context, a moderate is defined as one who sees the need to tolerate unique Polish political and economic conditions such as a large private agricultural sector and a strong, independent Roman Catholic Church. A moderate emphasizes the need for greater democracy in political life by encouraging greater worker participation in political and economic decision making. A hardliner is one who believes that Polish Communists should rigidly adhere to the Soviet model and favors a tough posture toward the regime's opponents such as activist priests and Solidarity. A hardliner calls for a party monopoly on all political and economic decision making.

25X1

SECRET



25X1

SECRET

[Redacted]

25X1

Zygmunt Muranski. Age 34. A coal mine foreman, he held no national-level nor top provincial party posts before the congress. He probably replaces Albin Siwak, a construction foreman, as one of the token "workers" on the Politburo. Siwak was also the only outspoken hardliner. [Redacted]

25X1

Marian Odon Orzechowski. Age 54. A Soviet-trained ideologue and reputed hardliner,

[Redacted]

25X6

[Redacted] Orzechowski has been Foreign Minister since November 1985. He had been a candidate Politburo member since 1983 and party secretary in charge of ideology during 1981-83. [Redacted]

25X6

25X1

Florian Siwicki. Age 61. A military officer for over 40 years, he is Jaruzelski's closest friend, confidant, and adviser. He is a devoted Communist who favors a close alliance with the Soviet Union. Siwicki has been Minister of National Defense since 1983. He had previously served as a vice minister of national defense and Chief of Staff of the Polish Armed Forces for about a decade. He had been a candidate Politburo member since 1981. He was a member of the WRON during the martial law period. Siwicki is a graduate of the Soviet General Staff Academy. [Redacted]

25X1

Zofia Stepien. Age 46. An assistant seamstress at a textile plant, she is one of the two women on the Politburo and the only full member of that body. She was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee at the last party congress in 1981 and became a full member in 1984. She was a member of the commission that drafted the party program for the 10th PZPR Congress. [Redacted]

25X1

Candidate Politburo Members

Bogumil Ferensztajn. Age 52. A professional economist, he is a protege of Premier Zbigniew Messner, [Redacted] Ferensztajn has been first secretary of the Katowice provincial party committee since 1983. He was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee in May 1985. Earlier in his career Ferensztajn was director of an enterprise in Upper Silesia and a party secretary for economics in Katowice. [Redacted]

25X6

25X1

Janusz Kubasiewicz. Age 47. A career party apparatchik, he brings another moderate voice to the Politburo. He accompanied Jaruzelski to Moscow to attend the congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in March 1986. Kubasiewicz has been first secretary of the powerful Warsaw provincial party committee since November 1985. Earlier in his career he was first secretary of the Skierniewice provincial party committee and had headed several national-level party departments. [Redacted]

25X1

SECRET

[Redacted]

25X1

SECRET

[REDACTED]

25X1

Zbigniew Michalek. Age 50. An agriculturalist, he brings technocratic expertise to the Politburo; he has been the party secretary in charge of agriculture since 1981. Michalek is one of only two Secretariat members who have served on that body throughout Jaruzelski's tenure as First Secretary. [REDACTED]

25X1

Gabriela Rembisz. Age 49. A foreman at an automobile tire factory, she had held no national-level or top provincial party posts before the congress. [REDACTED]

25X1

Secretaries

Stanislaw Ciosek. Age 47. A professional economist, he has held various party and government posts over the last 25 years. He handled trade union matters in Jaruzelski's cabinet for almost six years until February 1986, when he was named director of the Central Committee's Social and Vocational Department. [REDACTED]

25X1

Kazimierz Cypryniak. Age 51. A party apparatchik, he served as the party secretary in charge of administration during the last few months of former First Secretary Edward Gierek's regime, but was dropped from both the Central Committee and the Secretariat in 1981. [REDACTED] after Jaruzelski became First Secretary in October 1981, Cypryniak was elected director of the Central Committee's Organization Department, a post he still holds. Cypryniak was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee in May 1985. [REDACTED]

25X6

25X1

Andrzej Wasilewski. Age 57. A professional journalist, he has been director of the State Publishing Institute since 1967. He has had close party ties for over 30 years and has headed PZPR organizations within several writers' unions. Wasilewski was a candidate member of the Central Committee during 1971-80 and a full member during 1980-81. [REDACTED]

25X1

SECRET

[REDACTED]

25X1