



AMBASSADE DE SUISSE
EN POLOGNE

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Le parti cherche à affirmer sa primauté
pour faire sortir le pays du marasme

1) Le Comité Central du POUP a tenu hier sa deuxième séance plénière depuis le 9e Congrès et a adopté une résolution dont je vous prie de trouver le texte ci-joint. Comme il était à prévoir, le CC s'est attaché principalement à la situation actuelle caractérisée par de nouvelles tensions sociales et surtout les récentes démonstrations sur la voie publique, oeuvres, selon lui, d'"extrémistes ou de conseillers irresponsables de Solidarité". Cela confirme ce que je vous disais dans mon R.P. no. 14, à savoir que le parti se sent menacé encore davantage par celles-ci que par les grèves. Il en appelle donc aux forces patriotiques de la nation contre les forces hostiles à "l'ordre public socialiste".

La résolution ajoute que le parti, ayant renforcé sa cohésion et confiant dans les principes du marxisme-léninisme confirmés par le 9e Congrès, continuera la ligne du renouveau socialiste selon le programme fixé. Un effort accru devra être entrepris par les autorités du Parti pour développer l'information afin de lutter contre la démagogie et la propagande hostile. Concernant les accords signés à Gdansk, Szczecin et Jastrzebie en août 1980, le CC soutient le gouvernement en vue de leur réalisation et en utilisant la plate-forme des négociations.

Le Comité Central recommande aux autorités du parti et aux organes gouvernementaux un plan d'action en six points destiné à améliorer le ravitaillement, à favoriser autant que possible les récoltes des produits agricoles ou l'extraction du charbon, etc. Mais le CC insiste sur la nécessité de s'opposer à l'aggravation de la situation socio-politique causée par les grèves et les démonstrations de rues. En bref, le POUP désire réaffirmer sa primauté basée sur son unité retrouvée et témoigne de sa volonté de fermeté et de rigueur pour s'opposer aux tendances anarchiques auxquelles le pays est exposé.

2) Le nouveau Vice-Président du Conseil des Ministres chargé de l'économie, Janusz Obodowski (51 ans, dont l'étoile monte), a fait une longue intervention lors de cette séance plénière du CC. Il a d'abord annoncé qu'en juillet la production avait décliné de 17 % par rapport au même mois de l'an passé et que l'extraction de charbon avait également diminué. Aucune amélioration n'est

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prévue dans l'immédiat en ce qui concerne l'élevage, mais "nous devons placer des espoirs dans les récoltes de cette année". C'est pourquoi, selon O., "nos liens avec les autres pays du COMECON, et en particulier avec l'URSS, sont spécialement importants". O. a également montré son orientation en déclarant que la Pologne doit produire davantage, mais que malheureusement Solidarité ne collaborait pas à cette tâche. Le team anti-crise, à la tête duquel O. se trouve, doit, selon lui, lutter en priorité contre le danger de famine et d'appauvrissement. Le marché noir doit être vivement combattu. L'extraction du charbon, qui constitue un des piliers de l'économie polonaise, doit avoir également la priorité comme l'application du slogan "tout pour l'agriculture". La catastrophique situation alimentaire requiert une modification de la politique des prix couplée avec un système de compensation pour les salaires les plus bas. O. rappelle que le gouvernement a soumis au Sejm un plan de réforme économique, dont l'entrée en vigueur est prévue pour le début de l'année prochaine. Mais il importe à cet égard de mobiliser l'opinion publique en faveur des réformes. Le gouvernement soutient également une certaine forme d'autogestion des entreprises. Enfin, O. a fermement déclaré que la situation ne peut pas redevenir normale sans le respect de la loi, de la tranquillité et de l'ordre public. Il rappelle, en attaquant une fois de plus "Solidarité", que le gouvernement lui avait remis un état de l'économie, un programme pour surmonter la crise et les projets de réforme économique, mais qu'il en attendait depuis des mois une réaction qui n'est toujours pas venue. Il a néanmoins déclaré que le gouvernement était prêt à discuter et qu'il était ouvert à des initiatives propres à faire sortir le pays de la crise.

En ce moment le Comité-Directeur de "Solidarité" siège à Gdansk. Il devrait terminer ses travaux en fin de semaine. Je reste d'avis que la difficulté pour lui repose essentiellement sur l'étroite marge de manoeuvre dont il dispose, coïncé qu'il est d'une part entre les activistes et les militants intellectuels désireux d'abattre le système, et d'autre part la nette option de celui-ci tendant au maintien de l'ordre public découlant de la résolution du CC précitée.

L'Ambassadeur de Suisse:



(Campiche)

Annexe: résolution

Resolution of the PZPR Plenum
Zycie Warszawy No. 186, August 12, 1981

The Central Committee appraised the development of the situation in the country after the 9th PZPR Congress.

The Central Committee states that a serious aggravation of the socio-political situation in the country has been recorded. Many elements of this situation indicate that a dangerous development is possible.

New tensions and particularly street demonstrations organized by the extreme parts of Solidarity and directed against the programme of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress pose a danger to socialist renewal and effort made to lead the country out of the crisis. The nature of these actions is determined by some irresponsible experts and activists of Solidarity.

The Central Committee is stating firmly that the party and the people's rule will not permit to eliminate the policy of social agreement and will firmly oppose all anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary threats. The entire Party, its Central Committee, all party organizations and bodies are determined to counteract these dangers to defend the line of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

The Central Committee turns to all patriotic forces of the country to participate in stopping the hostile activity aimed at the socialist state order.

The Central Committee of the PZPR ascertains that the political and organizational activity of party organizations and bodies after the report-electoral campaign and the 9th PZPR Congress has led to ideological and organizational consolidation of the party and an increase in the party's force and the social confidence.

The line of socialist renewal and fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism which were confirmed by the Party's congress will be continued consistently in accordance with the will of the working class and all progressive social forces.

The main task of PZPR members and organizations is to implement the programme of the 9th PZPR Congress in an active and consistent way and to attract to this task the working class, peasants, intelligentsia, women and youth. Close cooperation between the PZPR and the allied parties: the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, social organizations, trade unions and all patriotic forces of the nation is of particular importance.

The Central Committee instructs all party organizations and bodies to prepare definite plans for the implementation of the Congress resolution adjusted to definite conditions and needs, and to popularize these plans among the rank and file, consolidate the unity, strengthen the leading role of the Party in the process of the socialist renewal of our life and to lead the country out of the crisis which endangers the socialist foundations and independent existence of the State.

Party organizations, and particularly Central Committee departments have been obliged to work out and apply the system of information to provide up-dated materials to basic and factory PZPR organizations. The Central Committee instructs the Party's press organs and PZPR members employed by mass media to present the programme of PZPR activity in a principled and correct way in order to win social support for this programme, and to fight against demagogy and hostile propaganda by showing the true face of their authors.

The Central Committee has confirmed its infallible will to implement the decisions of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress, which expressed the Party's broad support for the trade union movement, and the will to cooperate with all trade unions. The striving to establish harmonious cooperation with trade union bodies which observe their statutory principles has been expressed in Party resolutions and is now gaining growing support from society. The Central Committee approves of the Government's activity concerning the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. These agreements include mutual commitments of the authorities and trade union movement. If these agreements, which are of momentous significance for the Polish nation, are to be effected, it must not be the government alone which has the duty to implement them, but Solidarity, too. The Central Committee appeals to Party members who belong to Solidarity to firmly oppose all manifestations of the violations of the union's statutes.

In pursuing the policy of social agreement, on July 31st the Government proposed to hold talks with Solidarity leadership. The breaking of these talks means that Solidarity leaders continue to shirk responsibility for solving the basic socio-economic problems of the country. The Central Committee supports the Government platform on these talks and their continuation. At the same time the Central Committee appeals to the authorities to respond, in a firm manner, to all actions which are incompatible with our legal order, and instructs all Party organizations and members to offer their support to the activity of the people's rule, aimed at the observance of law.

Annex 2

In the present situation the Central Committee recommends the respective Party and state bodies as follows:

1. In the area of measures designed to improve market supplies, particular importance should be attached to essential food articles, articles for children and infants, medicines, detergents, sanitary articles, to the combatting the waste of agricultural produce, especially during purchase operations, transport and processing processes, and to combating speculation with the participation of state and social control bodies and trade unions. The food rationing basis should be made uniform throughout the country.

2. Special measures designed to improve the harvest. Agriculture needs maximum assistance, not only in the field of means of production, but also in the area of society's efforts to collect everything from the fields, to store and process agricultural produce avoiding waste.

3. Workers in the enterprises where work stoppages occur should help farmers during the harvest time.

The Central Committee recommended the Government to work out mechanisms which would stimulate agricultural produce supplies to the market. This applies especially to trade in meat. The supplies of industrial articles for the countryside should be linked more effectively with contracts to supply agricultural produce.

4. Every effort should be made to step-up coal extraction, to economize on coal and fuels, which is a prerequisite for the functioning of the national economy and household economies. These efforts must be linked closely to those designed to improve the living and working conditions of miners.

5. The economic and state administration is recommended to concentrate their efforts on careful preparation and swift implementation of economic reform. The reform should come into effect on January 1st, 1982. Legal acts, and especially the laws on state enterprise and workers self-management, will be a starting point for the reform. The Central Committee supports the preparations for the implementation of the reform, carried out by the Government, it recommends a gradual change of prices, following nation-wide consultation, and the introduction of socially-just compensations.

6. Any socio-political tensions incited by strikes and street manifestations, arbitrary management of the national assets, protest marches of a political nature which pose a great threat to social peace, should be firmly counteracted.

Such actions may cancel the attempts to overcome the crisis, made so far. The state authorities and Party organizations have been obligated to support the working people, the managerial cadres and all those who oppose disorganization of employment in work establishments, anarchy and slack work discipline.

The Central Committee emphasizes that the Polish Sejm, as the supreme body of the state authority, which exercises the sovereign will of the whole nation, has a significant role in consolidating the state and public order and implementing the socialist line of renewal. The actions by some "Solidarity" organizations, designed to undermine the authority of the Sejm and people's councils, are inadmissible. The Central Committee states that the Party will continue to consolidate the position of the Sejm and create conditions for a wide-spectrum of citizens to co-decide about the matters of the state. The Central Committee supports the Polish government in its exercising of constitutional duties, in the interest of the state and all citizens. The Central Committee disapproves of any forms of anti-Soviet actions which run counter to the traditional Polish-Soviet friendship and are detrimental to the vital interests of our nation and state.

In the area of party work, the most important task is to consolidate the strength and the unity of the Party. Any non-statutory actions should be regarded as an infringement on the resolutions of the 9th Congress and the undermining of its political line. Party sanctions should be applied to those responsible for such actions.

The Central Committee obligates the Politburo to prepare all necessary changes in the structure of the Party apparatus and to draw up, and implement, a programme to train Party cadres.

The Central Committee calls on all Party organizations to implement fully and consistently the programme of the 9th Extraordinary Congress, to oppose any attempts at disorganization of life and production processes, to disseminate and actively implement the Party programme.

The Central Committee
of the Polish United Workers' Party

Warsaw, August 11, 1981

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