

THE PROGRAM OF THE "COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND"

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-- In its Polish language broadcasts begun early last fall, Radio Tirana has been broadcasting to Poland the anti-Gomulka platform of the "Polish Communist Party." To date, four excerpts of the document have been broadcast during December 1966 and January 1967.

The "Communist Party of Poland" ("KPP"), which proclaimed its existence at the end of 1965, is an avowedly conspiratorial Communist group opposing the Gomulka leadership. The "KPP" is apparently headed by Kazimierz Mijal -- a long-time Stalinist opponent of Gomulka [1] -- who fled Poland, allegedly to Albania, in the spring of 1966. In announcing its formation, the "KPP" clandestinely circulated a programmatic statement [2] in Poland (which is, in terms of domestic affairs, largely a repetition of Mijal's 1964 pamphlet). Its major themes were repeated, in outline form, in a "message of greetings" to the Fifth. Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party.[3]

In its description of contemporary Polish conditions, the "KPP" programmatic statement has much in common with the Modzelewski-Kuron "Open Letter" to the Party of early 1965. [4] It declares that the economy is stagnating, that unemployment is growing, and that the standard of living is declining, to the point where the worker "cannot support himself by honest work." The working class -- it is said -- no longer occupies the leading position in the state. "It is no longer a state of workers and peasants, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a state of the dictatorship of bourgeois and bureaucratic elements which dominate the proletariat." Within the PUWP, "intra-Party democracy has been liquidated and democratic centralism has been replaced by bureaucratic centralism." The trade unions have ceased to defend the "interests of the workers."

But if the "KPP" agrees with Modzelewski and Kuron on some symptoms, its diagnosis is quite different. Poland is, in its view, not a bureaucratic class society, but a country where, after the seizure of power by the "Gomulka-ist revisionists" in 1956, "the renunciation of socialist conquests... becomes more evident day by day." The proposed cure is thus, internally, not "workers' democracy," but a return to Stalinism,, The "KPP" glorifies the Stalinist era in Poland and eulogizes Stalin personally. It calls for a return to a fully centralized, command economy, including "socialist work competition," and an immediate resumption of the collectivization of agriculture. It attacks the satellite United Peasant and Democratic Parties as representing "nothing else but a return to the multi-party system...." It calls for a reassertion of the leading role of the Communist Party -- which has allegedly degenerated into "a bourgeois-type organization" -- as the militant vanguard of the working class. It demands a revival of "Marxist-Leninist ideology" and a return to ideological criteria in cadre selection. Above all, it calls for a revival of class struggle and strengthening the "dictatorship of the proletariat." For, "... if one does not build socialism, one moves toward capitalism, if one does not wage a class struggle, and if one does away with the dictatorship of the proletariat, one moves toward giving up power to the bourgeoisie."

The "KPP" programmatic statement, which thus unabashedly calls for a return to Stalinism, also contains several transparently demagogic appeals to certain elements of Polish society. It devotes four pages to an attack on "the Zionist-Trotskyite group of Jewish nationalists, which, behind the mask of equality, desires the establishment of the rule of the Jewish national minority over the thirty-million-strong Polish nation." It calls for a normalization of Church-state relations, in sharp contrast to the demand for the suppression of religion contained in Mijal's 1964 pamphlet. It demands that the trade unions struggle to defend workers interests, but condemns the workers' councils of 1956 as "organs of the bourgeoisie" and claims: "It is the workers and their Party who must be the true bosses of our industrial plants..." (Emphasis added.) Finally, it calls for a reconciliation with the major part of the Polish emigration.[5]

(The "KPP" has also distributed within Poland other pamphlets among university students, sympathizing with their difficulties in finding suitable work in their fields and attacking the Gromulka regime for not solving the problem. It has also circulated a map of Poland stretching from the Oder-Neisse line to a point east of Kiev, bearing the caption: "We guarantee you such a Poland.")

In its analysis of the international situation, the "KPP" statement adopts the position of the Chinese Communists. It declares that peace must be forced on imperialism, a strategy said to require "a decisive reprisal for every least attempt of aggression on its part." The "KPP" calls for -unity in the international Communist movement, but affirms that "there can be no unity between the revolutionaries and those who betray the working class" and that "...in order to unite properly, one must first separate" Khrushchev is accused of having been prepared to "sell out to West Germany," not only the DDR, but also Poland's Western Territories -- a charge implicitly repeated against Brezhnev as well in the "KPP" message to the Albanian Party Congress.

(A.R.Johnson)

(1) See Jan Nowak, "The Stalinist Underground in Poland," East Europe, March, 1965, pp.2-7. For excerpts from Mijal's 1964 pamphlet, see *ibid.*, pp.7-15.

(2) "Pod sztandarem marksizmu-leninizmu do walki o socjalizm!", translated, with significant omissions, in La Voix du Peuple (Brussels, organ of the Belgian /pro-Chinese/ Communist Party), 25 March 1966.

3) The message was read by Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian /pro-Chinese/ Communist Party. (Radio Tirana, 3 November 1966, printed in La Voix Du Peuple, 1.8 November 1966).

4) See RFE Background Report, "Kuron and Modzelewski's "Open Letter to the Party," 16 November 1966

5) Pp.42-49 of the Polish pamphlet, omitted in the La Voix du Peuple translation.