

Polish Communists Outline New Policies

By **JOSEPH CLARK**

A NEW PHASE of Polish Communist policy was indicated by the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the United Workers Party. At the famous October meeting of the Committee last October, the main fire was directed against the "dogmatists" and other former leaders who were designated as the "Right Wing" by the supporters of Gomulka. At the last meeting Gomulka criticized both the "dogmatists" of the "right" and the "revisionists" of the "left."

Among the actions endorsed by the meeting was the ouster of former security officials from the Party for their part in repressions and political frame-ups which had been supervised by Beria. In addition, Jakob Berman, former political bureau member, was expelled from the Party because of his reported overall responsibility in "security" matters.

OF CONSIDERABLE interest is the line which the Polish Communists put forward on two related questions: a) The Polish path to socialism; b) Poland's relations with other socialist countries. Here are some of Gomulka's views of these matters, which were endorsed by the Polish Communists.

Gomulka said that "the practice of socialist construction has rather demonstrated that there are not and cannot be any universal forms of this construction," although socialism is universal.

The Party first secretary recalled that at the eighth plenum of the Central Committee last October the development of socialism was projected along the following lines:

"The first is through the

workers' councils," Gomulka said, "the second through the expansion of the powers of the people's councils, and the third through the development of different economic forms of the peasants' self government. These three lines constitute certain elements of the Polish road to socialism."

GOMULKA continued:

"The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the transition of other countries to socialist construction have created a historically new situation in which the road to socialism in different countries can take other forms than those of the road to socialism in the Soviet Union.

"Every nation, irrespective of the fact that it participates in the general historical development and that it shapes this development, and is itself shaped by it, has its own specific features of development, its own history, its own historically determined national characteristics.

"The stress of the historical differences and the national characteristics in socialist construction must not mean the denial of the general regularity of the universal principles deduced from the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. If applied in practice, such a denial would lead directly to the annihilation of socialism."

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cils Gomulka apparently modified the concept put forward during the October events. He said the councils were a form of working class democracy within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, covering the field of production and of industrial management.

However, he added that the councils were not organs of political power or units of administrative machinery of the state.

Gomulka also opposed ideas that had been put forward of collective ownership of industrial establishments by the personnel. He also favored workers councils only in industrial plants, not on the higher level of industrial administration.

Then Gomulka discussed expansion of the powers of the people's councils in the provinces, especially at the lower level. "The main line of our policy with regard to the people's councils as the democratic, local organs of state power is the increase of their powers and independence," he said.

He added that it was "necessary to conclude, if possible, by the end of this year the reorganization of small-scale industry, through handing over the establishments of this industry to the local peoples councils."

AGRICULTURE, Gomulka said presents the most difficult problems in socialist construction. He said that "the agricultural circles, the productive teams and cooperative farming reflect the ideas of the economic autonomy of the peasants.

"In its agricultural policy, the Party has adopted the line to-

ward a wide development of different forms of peasant cooperation," he said.

Gomulka declared: "We consider the United Peasants Party a permanent element in our political life, of our road to socialism. At the same time the Party must show growing concern at the penetration into some United Peasant Party links of alien elements, elements even hostile to the peoples power and socialism."

Referring to strikes that have taken place recently Gomulka said:

"It must be clearly stated that our Party is against strikes and can neither organize them nor support them. At the same time we do not wish to employ administrative measures in cases where workers down tools."

A strike is a warning signal in a socialist state, Gomulka added, and he said it indicates either "an ailment in the functioning of the administration or activity by trouble-making elements hostile to the people's power."

Sometimes these two factors appear at the same time. Above all, Gomulka said, a strike shows a lack of contact between the Party and the masses. While opposing strikes, because they hurt the workers in a socialist state, Gomulka declared they would not deny workers the right to strike.

CONCERNING relations with other Communist parties of the world Gomulka said:

"It will be no revelation when I say that in certain matters, sometimes even important matters, there exist certain differences of opinion. Our Party be-

lieves that the existing differences of opinion between Parties of the revolutionary working class movement not only do not weaken proletarian internationalism, but give it more colour testifying to its health, on the condition that all discussions arising from these differences are held between these Parties on the basis of ideological community, on the basis of jointly recognized general principles, which all Parties should observe and apply in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and to build a socialist system.

"In inter-Party relations, we always lay stress on what unites us with other Communist and Workers' Parties, leaving aside, for time to decide, what can divide us."

On relations between socialist states, Gomulka said: "Our Party condemns resolutely everything that is directed against the unity of the camp of the socialist states, that aims at undermining Polish-Soviet friendship and alliance, that undermines the principles of internationalism."

Gomulka outlined his views on the events in Hungary as follows:

"Our Party must guard as the apple of the eye the unity of the camp of socialist states and the unity of the international working class movement headed by Communist and Workers' Parties. We may differ from other Parties in the appraisal of the happenings in Hungary. But this does not change the common view that, to save peace and the security of all socialist countries, the assistance of the Soviet Army in the suppression of counter-revolution was a sad but inevitable necessity."