

Gomulka Charts Polish Course to Socialism

LONDON, Oct. 21.—Following are excerpts as translated from the text of an address yesterday by Wladyslaw Gomulka, Poland's Communist leader, to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers (Communist) party, broadcast by the Warsaw radio:

When I was speaking seven years ago, I thought that I was speaking for the last time to the Central Committee of the party.

It is not most important to adopt a resolution, but to see it carried into effect.

The leaders of the national economy did not manage to do their job properly. The whole nation has to pay for the erroneous economic policy.

It is not permissible to favor within our national economy one of its branches at the expense of others, because the loss of proper portions does great harm to the national economy as a whole.

The number of residential houses in the country in 1950 was 2,690,000, with about 7,500,000 rooms. Assuming that on the average the house has a life of 50 years, it would be necessary to build 150,000 rooms yearly, or in the six-year plan period, 900,000 rooms. Actually, only 370,000 were built. The repairs of the buildings have not been carried out because of lack of building materials.

Our practice has shown that we did not fulfil the planned tasks in the privileged sector in the fixed terms, nor did we create conditions for closing the economic gaps.

The key to the solution lies in the hands of the working class. The future depends entirely on the attitude of the working class and that attitude depends on the party policy.

CAUSES OF POZNAN

The working class taught the Government a painful lesson. The Poznan workers manifesting in the streets called with a loud voice:

Enough of this, one cannot live like this, we must return from the wrong way.

They did not do it lightheartedly. It is evident that the cup was more than full.

The Poznan workers did not protest against socialism when they went out in the streets. They protested against the evil which grew widely in our life, against deforming the basic principles of socialism.

It was a great mistake to picture the Poznan tragedy as a work of agents and provocateurs. The causes of the Poznan tragedy lie in us, the party, the Government.

The six-year plan, advertised as a stage in advancement of the living standards, disappointed the hopes of working classes.

There would be no Poznan riots if the leadership of the party would not conceal the truth. There would be no bloodshed if the leadership of the party would candidly reveal the truth.

LIVING CONDITIONS CITED

It is not enough to change the people in the government to improve the situation. It is necessary to make changes in the system of government. All bad parts in our model of socialism must be exchanged for better ones. This takes time and courage.

The impatience of the working class comes from the poor living conditions.

Many factories do not operate normally owing to lack of materials. Their production capacity is not used to the full.

Even if we change the whole membership of the party, nothing will change on our market.

TELL WORKERS THE TRUTH

In this statement we must tell the workers the truth: The situation does not allow us to make any considerable increases of pay. The string has been stretched to the

breaking point.

The only way to raise the living standard is to produce more, cheaper and better.

The insufficient amount of building material could be overcome by resorting to private enterprise.

Credit for investments should be available for agricultural cooperatives which prosper. The poorly managed and uneconomic cooperatives should receive no credits and be dissolved.

Instead of dispensing our means by setting up more and more cooperatives, we must concentrate credits on those already existing.

CREATIVE THOUGHT URGED

The cooperative movement is good and just but has been distorted by incompetent men. What is needed to build the cooperative movement is a creative thought for which, however, no party holds a monopoly.

The imbecility of the agricultural policy in the past period brought ruin to many an individual farmer.

The deliveries of agricultural products to the state are a remnant of the wartime. The quotas should be revised in favor of the farmers, especially in the western and northern provinces of Poland.

The perspective of abolishing deliveries should excuse nobody from fulfilling their obligations toward the state. The deliveries are a form of tax, and taxes have to be paid everywhere, not only in our country.

RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE

There is more than one road to socialism. There is the Soviet way. There is the Yugoslav way. And there are other ways.

In the Soviet Union the place of discussion within the party has been taken by the cult of personality.

Every country has the right to

be sovereign and independent. I would say it begins to be so.

The cult of personality cannot be limited to the person of Stalin. In other countries an individual, hierarchic ladder of cult has been instituted with secretaries of the Central Committee of the parties occupying the second place from the top. In every country the top man on the ladder of the cult knew everything, controlled everything, decided about everything, irrespective of his knowledge and abilities. If a decent, modest man would be chosen to such a position, he would feel ill at ease and one could say he was ashamed of occupying it.

In the system of the cult of personality, even the party could work only at the cost of becoming totally subjugated to the main personality cult.

If somebody tried to go outside the bounds he was excommunicated by his comrades. If it was a whole party, it was made anathema by other Communist parties.

In such conditions, could the relations between the Communist parties of the countries of people's democracies and the Communist party of the Soviet Union be based on the principle of equality? It is clear they could not.

I am not concerned with presenting my own statement of account of wrongs. These things were too big to be reduced to a small and personal charge. But there are basic matters which for party reasons must be cleared up.

The party must be pure, and if there are people who consciously brought shame to its name, they cannot have a place in its ranks.

I put to the party that its leaders should set up a commission with the task of examining whether, in the case of people who are now rehabilitated and who were in the past arrested on instructions

or with the approval of the political bureau or part of the bureau, an international provocation was involved, an international accusation against men, of deeds they never committed, a practice which is punishable under provisions of our criminal law. The results of the commission's work should finally close internal party matters connected with the activities of the Polish Berias.

All that we regard today as distortion in our life cannot but deeply shake up the entire party, the entire working class and the entire people. Various trends are sweeping our country. But sweeping it in a most powerful wave is the slogan calling for democratization of our life and demands for liquidation of what we call the cult of personality.

The leaders of the party did not always manage to put themselves, together with the whole party, at the head of this sound movement and to direct it.

A ferment has set in this is extremely damaging to the cause of democratization. We watch the activities of the elements which have nothing in common with the aspirations of the working class and the people.

The road of democratization is the only road leading toward the construction of the best model of socialism in our conditions. We shall not step aside from this road and we shall defend ourselves with all our means so as not to allow ourselves to be pushed away from this road.

But we shall allow nobody to exploit the process of democratization against socialism.

The party and all people who saw evil existing in the past and who sincerely wish to remove all the vestiges of the past must present a resolute opposition to the

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whisper campaign and voices aiming at weakening our friendship with the Soviet Union.

If in the past not everything between our party and the Central Committee, as well as between Poland and the Soviet Union, was as we would have liked it, these are things of the past.

But if for this or other reason there are outstanding matters, they should be settled calmly and amicably. This is the attitude that should govern the relations between the parties and countries of the Socialist camp. If there are some who believe that anti-Soviet feelings could be kindled in Poland, they are deeply mistaken. We shall not allow the interests of the Polish state and the cause of building socialism in Poland to be damaged.

The Polish-Soviet relations based on principles of equality and independence will give rise in the people of Poland of such deep feelings of friendship toward the Soviet Union that no attempts at sowing distrust of the Soviet Union will find fertile soil among the Polish people.

In order that the party would be equal to its tasks and head the process of democratization, it must first of all be compact and monolithic. There should be a clear delineation of the roles of the party apparatus and the state apparatus.

The party does not govern, it only leads.

The personal composition of the government must be reduced to the actual needs of the country by an appropriate reorganization

of its work.

All the tasks standing before us require calm, prudence and time. Even with the application of the best ideas for putting the organization of our industry on a new footing, the best forms for democratizing our life, nothing can be done overnight.

We cannot overlook the fact that in a short time a disorientation has set in in state organs which have been called upon to exercise the government of the state.

WILL COMBAT LAWLESSNESS

Neither are we unaware of hooligan extravagances which often do not meet with a proper reaction on the part of the Citizens' Militia.

We must tell ourselves, as well as all those whom it concerns, openly and frankly: The people's authority shall punish any display of lawlessness, it will and must combat all disturbances of public order and the citizens' peace. This action will meet with sympathy and support among the public.

The introduction of confusion must not be tolerated and severe punishment must be applied for breaking the laws.

We are facing the elections of a new Sejm (Parliament), which will have to take in our political and state life a place assigned to it by our Constitution.

In our program, the role of the Sejm, which we wish to raise to the level of the supreme organ of the state government, will be of utmost importance.

The foremost task of the Sejm is to exercise the supreme legisla-

tive and controlling powers. The Sejm must be provided with the indispensable conditions in which it could fulfill these tasks.

These are mainly political conditions which would further the process of democratization; they are legal conditions, too, guaranteeing to the Sejm the integrity of its powers.

The Sejm must control the functioning of the government and state organs. To this purpose certain amendments in the Constitution are indispensable.

TRUTH GIVES STRENGTH

The truth told to the nation shall become the source of strength. It will make us strong. It will restore the people's confidence in the People's Government and our party. That confidence is indispensable for the realization of our aims.

Let us accept the principle of criticism in all its forms. But in accepting this we have the right to demand that any criticism should be creative and just, that it should contribute to the overcoming of the present difficulties and not contribute to their aggravation.

From our youth, particularly the youth of higher schools, we have a full right to demand that they should couple their enthusiasm and ardor with the wisdom of the state.

Our party should tell our youth clearly: March in the vanguard of this vital process of democratization, but do not lose sight of your and the whole people's, Poland's leadership, of the working class and of the Polish United Workers party.