

## CHINESE ENDORSEMENT OF PRO-PEKING CP

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### **DOC 005 | Summary**

After almost three years of silence, the Chinese Communists have recently endorsed the Polish opposition group calling itself the Communist Party of Poland. This paper assesses the significance of this event and calls it a new stage in the consolidation of the Sino-Soviet split.

Almost three years after its establishment, the pro-Chinese Communist Party of Poland has now been "discovered" by the Chinese Communists. The Party, which first drew public attention to itself through the publication of its official manifesto in the pages of the pro-Chinese Belgian paper *Voix du Peuple* in March 1966 and has since been given ample opportunity to express its views through the broadcasting facilities of the Albanian regime, has up to now been completely ignored by the Chinese Communists. [1] The ice is now broken, and the illegal CPP is finally accepted as a full-fledged member of the Marxist-Leninist fold.

The reluctance of the Chinese Communists to acknowledge the existence of the Communist Party of Poland has been one of the curious phenomena that periodically occur in the Sino-Soviet conflict. In all its earlier activities, the CPP showed itself to be firmly on the Chinese side in the ideological struggle. It has expressed its views with clarity as well as conviction; its dialectics have been consistently in line with Peking. The only reason for China's lasting silence over the existence of the new party, therefore, could have been the feeling that the time was not yet ripe for the recognition of such Marxist-Leninist parties within the ruling regimes.

1968, however, appears to be something of a turning point in this respect. In May, China claimed the existence of organized opposition within the Soviet Union (the so-called "Stalin Group") [2] and in August it recognized the CPP as "the Marxist-Leninist political party of Poland." The recognition came in the form of reprinting excerpts of what the Chinese news agency alleged to be an article entitled "The Communist Party of Poland Is the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Working Class." [3] In a short preface, Hsinhua gave the following outline of the piece:

The article exposes the Gomulka clique's betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and its restoration of capitalism in Poland. The article points out that inasmuch as the Polish United Workers Party has become a social democratic party, the working class cannot do without its own revolutionary political party, and therefore the creation of the CPP is a historical inevitability. The article explains

that the Communist Party of Poland will be built into a revolutionary party which is loyal to the proletariat; and it will struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the revisionists and for the reestablishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In addition to all this, the article once more reiterated the stand of the CPP leadership on Communist China. The CPP accepts Mao as one of the great theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism, on an equal footing with the four classics: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. "Today," the authors of the article claim, "Mao Tse-tung is the most outstanding theorist of the socialist revolution, and the successor to the writers of the Marxist-Leninist classics.

He is as well the leader of the vanguard of the world revolution -- the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chinese people who stand in the forefront of the world revolution and are fighting against US imperialism and modern revisionism."

Although it might be a coincidence that the first mention by Hsinhua of the CPP appeared the day following the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, from the Chinese point of view the two events are interconnected. In his first reaction to the invasion, Chou En-lai expressed his conviction that "the Czechoslovak people ...will surely rise and carry on the revolutionary struggle against the Soviet leading clique and the revisionist leading clique at home." [4] In a commentary on the Moscow communique of 27 August, *People's Daily* asserted that "at present the Czechoslovak people are stepping up their revolutionary struggle against modern revisionism in order to ... overthrow the revolutionary rule of the Czechoslovak revisionist renegade clique." [5]

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The Chinese Communists, who strongly endorse Lenin's tenet: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," obviously believe that the victory of the revolutionary movement, as described above, necessitates the simultaneous existence of revolutionary theory and of a revolutionary party that supplies that theory. Thus it is necessary that the peoples of Czechoslovakia, as well as of the other "modern revisionist" countries, be guided by revolutionary parties such as the one that has allegedly emerged in Poland.

In spite of all their revolutionary enthusiasm, it is unlikely that the Chinese really expect any such opposition to emerge on a large scale either in East Europe or in the Soviet Union.

Besides, it is admitted that these forces are still in the stage of organization, without sizeable following within or outside of the ruling parties. Yet, by publicly endorsing the pro-Chinese forces that probably do exist in small numbers in those countries, the Chinese gave them both moral support and an aura of respectability, at least from the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

It would not be surprising to find that after having endorsed two such groups, the Chinese would in the near future also claim the existence of active Marxist-Leninist organizations in other East European ruling parties. While all this remains primarily of theoretical significance, it represents a new stage in the conflict and, as such, a new contribution to the confusion that prevails in the international communist movement.

j.c.k.

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- (1) See RFE Research Paper "Peking Continues to Ignore Opposition Polish CP," 20 April 1967.
- (2) "Stalin Group in the Soviet Union Acclaims China's Cultural Revolution," Peking Review, No. 20, 17 May 1968.
- (3) NCNA, 21 August 1968.
- (4) Chou's remarks at the Rumanian Embassy reception as reported by NCNA, 23 August, 1968.
- (5) "Deal Made At Bayonet Point," by Commentator. People's Daily, 30 August 1968.