

GOMULKA RELATES HIS AIM IN PRAVDA

Warns Soviet That Poland Must Travel a 'Separate Road to Socialism'

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Nov. 5 — Wladyslaw Gomulka told the Russians today that Poles were especially sensitive about their independence and sovereignty.

The Polish Communist party leader warned that communism would succeed in Poland only if it respected the Poles' patriotic feelings and if Poland was treated as a full equal in the Communist family of nations led by the Soviet Union.

The refusal to grant each Communist nation its own right to experiment, M. Gomulka declared, is "a nihilistic dogmatism against which one must fight."

These declarations were the main points of a full-page article by M. Gomulka in Pravda, organ of the Soviet Communist party. It appeared here only a few hours before the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers (Communist) party arrived in Moscow for celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Virtually all leaders of Communist countries, including Mao Tse-tung of Communist China, are gathering in Moscow for the celebration. Only Marshal Tito will be absent. He is said to be ill.

Advocates 'Separate Roads'

Various Communist parties have been given space in Pravda in recent weeks to pay tribute to the 1917 Revolution in Russia and to explain how it had inspired Communist movements in other parts of the world. M. Gomulka's was by far the longest of these articles and wasted almost no space on ceremonial commentary. It was a strongly worded restatement of his doctrine of "separate roads to socialism."

This doctrine, as the Polish leader has often defined it, holds that conditions in all countries are different. It opposes imposition of Soviet or any other single system of communism and asserts each nation's right to attain socialism and then communism at its own pace and in a distinct way.

In his Pravda article today, M. Gomulka demanded recognition not only for special conditions that exist in Poland today but also for the Poles' historical development and their particular background, national features and character.

He identified only one of these Polish traits: "the special sensitivity of the Polish people on questions of the independence and sovereignty of their country." This feeling has come, M. Gomulka explained, from living for centuries in bondage and under a foreign yoke.

Struggle for Independence

In winning power for the Communists, the Polish leader wrote, the United Workers party through the years had to combine with skill its program for socialism with the Poles' struggle for national independence. The extension and development of Communist ideas, therefore, "must be organically connected with the respect for patriotic feelings, with the feelings of a people's own sovereignty and with observance of the principle of equality in relations between Socialist countries and Communist parties," he said.

Writing as if in a debate, perhaps with some of his hosts here, M. Gomulka declared that his party's "strengthening of contacts with the masses is not a step back but a great step forward."

The "underestimation or rejection" of his theses, M. Gomulka insisted, will hinder and even distort Socialist development in Poland and will result only in the "dissatisfaction of the working masses."

M. Gomulka returned to power in October, 1956, on a wave of indignation at Communists he described today as "dog-

matic sectarians." Starting in 1948, when M. Gomulka was jailed, this faction, according to the Polish leader, began to throw away democratic methods and to overburden Poland with bureaucracy, neglected the laws of economics and created special hardships in the villages through forcible collectivization of farms.

By way of balancing his article, M. Gomulka credited the Bolshevik Revolution with providing all Communists with the basic principles and goals for social development. He recognized the Soviet Communist party's Twentieth Congress of February, 1956, as the main inspiration for his middle-of-the-road brand of communism. It was at that congress that Nikita S. Khrushchev, chief of

the Soviet Communist party, delivered a long exposé of Stalin's mistakes and excesses.

Any departure from basic Communist principle, as proved by the experience of the Soviet Union amounts to "nationalist revisionism" and must be opposed, M. Gomulka said. But communism is "never and nowhere" applied in abstract form.

On the contrary, he maintained, the concrete collaboration of forces in any country and general world conditions must determine every country's own road to socialism.

He said the Polish Communists were successfully promoting self-management in different projects of agricultural cooperation without forcibly imposing "sectarian" methods.