
Communist Party of Poland

Polish underground communist literature

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In 1963, printed by the Albanians and smuggled into the country, more than 10,000 copies of the pamphlet “*Victory Through Struggle – Passivity and Silence Lead to Defeat*” which attacked the revisionist Gomulka clique, were distributed throughout the country.

In December of 1965, a new pamphlet titled “*Under the Marxist-Leninist Banner, Into a Battle for Socialism!*” was released and distributed illegally among the Polish public, announcing the formation of the illegal KPP, the Kazimierz Mijal led Communist Party of Poland.



Mijal speaking at 6th Congress of the PLA

Before Mijal was removed from the Investment Bank in Warsaw, oppositionist leaflets had been secretly printed there. The illegal conditions of existence in Poland saw the oppositionist communists welcome support from abroad: the Belgian *La Voix du Peuple* (The Voice

of the People), helped in the production and distribution of KPP

pamphlets. Mijal also explained in an interview that “comrades from Austria, Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries came to Poland with my materials.”

Tirana's help was manifested in the printing of the KPP's irregular "Red Banner", which had 35 issues published between 1967 and 1973.

Albanian Diplomatic bags smuggle into Poland party pamphlets and the illegal newspaper *Czerwony Sztandar*, Red Banner, published courtesy of the Albanians and Kazimierz Mijal edited.

Printed on thin paper, *Czerwony Sztandar* was both sent into Poland and with assistance of the German KPD/ML given to Polish citizens who worked in the DDR. At various Magdeburg construction sites, the *Czerwony Sztandar* was found over and over again. Donations were illegally brought into Poland to support the striking colleagues there.



Organized groups of KPP supporters were active in Warsaw, Wrocław, Łódź, Katowice, Pabianice and Żyrardów. The state Polish Press Agency reported¹: “slanderous, antistate materials were distributed all over the country. It has been found out that this wasn’t the first such case and that this time, like before, the texts were printed in Albania.”

KPP activists received access to Albanian resources, including printers and financial support, without which the organization would

¹ February 24 1966

quickly have disintegrated.² Although any pamphlet and leaflets printed in Tirana had to be approved in advance by the Party of Labour of Albania, which closely monitored the ideological line of the KPP. In September 1977 Albanian authorities suspended the production and publication of the "Red Banner".

The scale of Albanian support for the KPP was evident in the number of consignments seized. A study of the KPP by Przemysław Gasztold cites information from the Polish Ministry of the Interior that from 1968 to the first quarter 1970: over 116 thousand parcels were sent from Albania, China and Maoist centres in Western Europe. They contained over a million copies of pamphlets – not only those produced at the Tirana printing house Naima Frashëri – but included Quotations by Mao Zedong printed in Polish.

The majority of intercept material concerned the activities of KPP. In addition to sending propaganda materials to private addresses and diplomatic bags, from 1965 to 1970 the Albania embassy transferred to members KPP over 370 thousand copies of publications carrying the imprimatur of the Mijal organization.

Gasztold observed that “Directing an illegal party from Tirana was difficult because there was no systematic flow of information, and came with a long delay”. In Albania, Mijal was in contact with Poland. He communicated with the underground KPP through couriers and the embassy, through the "*Czerwony Sztandar*" and by broadcasting on Radio Tirana to Poland.

“The voice and views of this man have continued to reach those who listened to Radio Tirana or Radio Peking. It has become evident that some people have listened to these programs when “reports” broadcast on them and published in *Czerwony Sztandar* were repeated in domestic underground publications and leaflets circulated before the 9th PZPR Congress. These "reports" (mainly doctored biographies

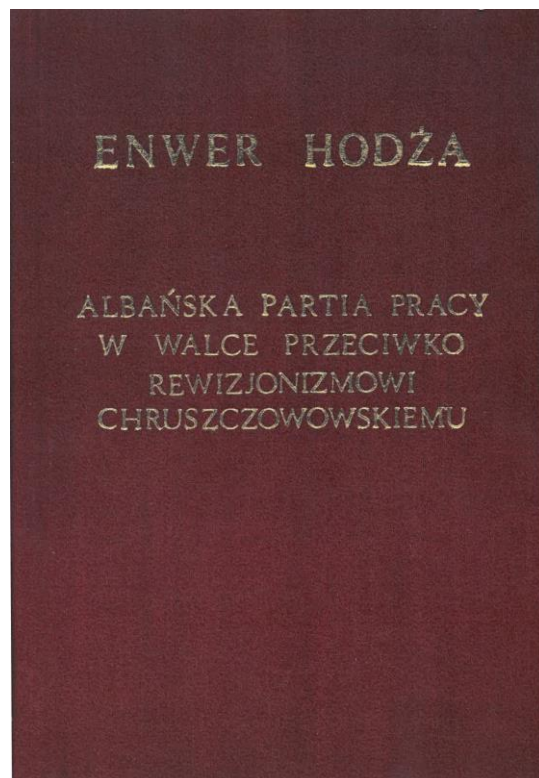
² Przemysław Gasztold, *Maoism on the Vistula? Activities of the Communist Party Of Kazimierz Mijal*, memory and justice 2 (32) 2018

and calumnies) were issued before the elections of top party authorities, and were intended to discredit those whom the authors of the leaflets said were "liberals," "revisionists," "aliens to the working class and the nation, and "backers of the clergy."³

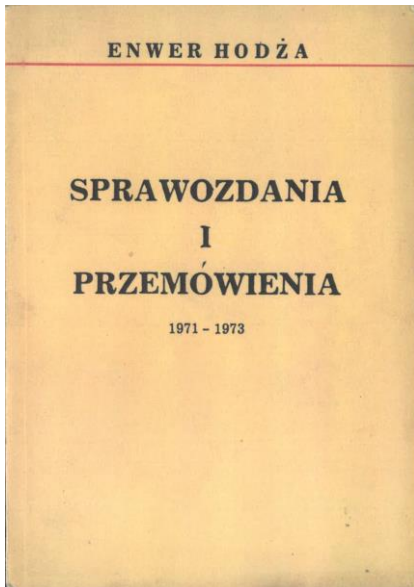
Translation of the Publishing House of the Communist Party of Poland "Victory in the Struggle" were a unique example of underground communist literature that was illegally distributed by members of the banned Communist Party of Poland. Amongst the publications smuggled into Poland were the works of the Albanian leader Enver Hoxha.

Enver Hodža. «ALBAŃSKA PARTIA PRACY W WALCE PRZECIWKO REWIZJONIZMOWI CHRUSZCZOWOWSKIEMU» published 1975

"The Albanian Party of Labour in the struggle against Khrushchev's revisionism" Materials from the 19 volume of the Enver Hoxha Collected Works translated into Polish and available in many other language editions from Albanian state publishing, the «8 NËNTORI» Publishing House in Tirana. . Posted online at <http://www.enverhoxha.ru>



³ Marian Turski: "Kazimierz Mijal—Godfather of Dogmatism. POLITYKA No 49, 1st December 1984



Enver Hodža "SPRAWOZDANIA I PRZEMÓWIENIA. 1971-1973" Published 1974

Printed on tissue paper with a microscopic font, this publication contains the texts of the selected speeches by Enver Hoxha in the first half of the 1970s. Posted online at <http://www.enverhoxha.ru>

State press explanatory quotation from the KPP publication provided a wider exposure of its politics⁴:

“Reading Czerwony Sztandar, one gains the impression that all evil in Poland started from October 1956 or from Stalin’s death or, to be precise, from the conference of party activists in November 1954 which denounced the mistakes and distortions which had occurred in recent past....

“In June 12 years ago, there was rioting in Pozan, and less than 4 months later came the Polish counter revolutionary October. Poznan was the dress rehearsal for the October counterrevolution." (Czerwony Sztandar No.2/1968)

“The origin of the Communist Party of Poland should be traced to the first days of the struggle carried out by communists against contemporary revisionists in the defense of the purity of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism proletarian internationalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland. Polish communists have never endorsed the counterrevolutionary coup d’etat of 1956.

⁴ Quoted in Turski: 1984

So what should be done to avert the most important danger of revisionism? First of all, we should condemn and reject the resolutions of the 20th CPSU Congress and, secondly, condemn and reject the resolutions of the Polish October.”

The KPP publication also carried evidence that gave rise to charges of anti-Semitism employed in Mijal’s political argument; “Gomulka and Zambrowski are the leaders of one and the same gang of Polish and Jewish nationalists....In Warsaw’s Saska Kepa district Polish and Jewish nationalities shook hands like brothers and decided to follow the path of capitalism together. For many years these Siamese twins lived in great agreement and friendship and supported each other. (Czerwony Sztandar No.1/1968)