



Above, Polish farmers and peasants are squeezed hard by the capitalist regime. Below, long lines at a Warsaw meat market.



POLAND'S COMMUNISTS WILL DEFEAT REVISIONIST RULE

An interview with Kazimierz Mijal,
Chairman of the Communist Party of Poland

How is class struggle waged in the Eastern European countries under revisionist rule? What are the tasks of Marxist-Leninists under these difficult conditions? These are questions of crucial importance to the international working class movement, especially as the peoples of these countries increase their resistance to modern revisionism and the brutal occupation of Soviet social-imperialism.

Today the whole world knows of the heroic class battles that have been waged over the past decade by the working class of Poland. Their efforts have been an inspiration to Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers everywhere.

What is not so well known, however, is that these struggles in many cases have been led by Marxist-Leninists, organized ten years ago in the Communist Party of Poland. This party today, headed by Comrade Kazimierz Mijal, stands in the front ranks of those who will be the gravediggers of the new bourgeoisie which has restored capitalism under the guise of socialism in many countries.

The Communist Party of Poland has not only waged class struggle in its own country. It has also held up the banner of proletarian internationalism. It has stood firmly with socialist China and Albania against modern revisionism, headed by Soviet social-imperialism. It recently hailed the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the Communist Party of China and denounced the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" there for trying "to stage a treacherous coup within the party and the state" and thus restore

capitalism. Hua Kuo-Feng's appointment, the Polish party said, "proves that in People's China, the helm of the dictatorship of the proletariat is in the hands of an outstanding and long-tested Marxist-Leninist. It proves that the East is red and will be red."

The following interview with Comrade Mijal first appeared several months ago in the German weekly newspaper, Roter Morgen (Red Morning), the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist). The translation from German to English was done by Class Struggle.

For ten years, the Communist Party of Poland has been leading the struggle against the social-fascist dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie and against Russian social-imperialism. Can you tell us what difficulties appear in the struggle in your country and how the pressure and the persecution by the social-fascist regime are expressed?

It is easier for the proletariat to combat the bourgeoisie if it directly exercises power rather than if this is done in the manner of the Gierek clique which appears in the mask of the "friends of the people." The main difficulties arise from the ideological, social and political bondage in which the Polish proletariat currently must live. This bondage serves the development of capitalism and the rule of the revisionist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as well as the occupation of the country by Soviet social-imperialism.

In Poland the class of the revisionist bourgeoisie is in power. It has the pretenses of a great power under the slogan of "second Poland, which counts." Simultaneously this class overflows with an actually shameful servility toward Soviet social-imperialism.

The reactionary segment of the political emigrants from the time of the Second World War also plays a significant role in the acceleration of the process of development of capitalism and the strengthening of the bourgeois forces in Poland. These emigrants work towards the tying of the economy and the culture of Poland to the imperialist West by maintaining their pre-war relations to the country, especially to the reactionary section of the bourgeois intelligentsia and the residues of the expropriated big capitalists and landlords.

A tested prop of Polish reaction is the reactionary section of the clergy. It exploits the centuries-old experience of the organization of the Catholic Church and the political backwardness of a segment of society and thus expands and consolidates its influence with the help of the ruling clique. Simultaneously, in times of political crisis such as during the revolutionary stand of the strikers in December 1970, the clergy

sides with the bourgeois order and calls on the exploited workers to maintain peace and reconcile themselves with their exploiters and oppressors.

The atmosphere of treason to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism hovers over all life in Poland.

Lastly, the necessity of the illegal activity of the CP of Poland itself presents a certain difficulty in the organization of the revolutionary struggle against the reactionary, political-ideological oppression and against the enemies of the working class.

Concerning the second part of the question: the pressure and the persecution by the revisionist's regime in Poland covers a broad spectrum—from so-called "talks" with people who are suspect of hostility towards the bourgeois Gierek clique, up to arrests, convictions and fake "suicides." The social-fascist regime in Poland is active against any form of political opposition but especially against revolutionary people. It proceeds according to the reactionary method of combining the carrot and the stick. When it becomes necessary to protect the bourgeois dictatorship, it does not hesitate for a moment to shoot into the working masses. If the means of corruption through promotion and patronage and through other material advantages and privileges ceases to be effective, or if degradation, the loss of the workplace and other forms of economic pressure do not show any results, then the Polish police will concern itself with such a "stubborn one" and engages the social-fascist "mill" of blackmail, provocation and prison. Pure banditry is employed by the organs of the interior ministry when interrogating suspects about their membership in the CP of Poland. The social-fascist methods aim for the physical annihilation of the human being. These renegades to communism above all aim to break the revolutionary to degrade him and to humiliate him. After this they attempt, as long as possible and necessary, to retain him within the ranks of the revisionist United Polish Workers Party, especially if they are old and tried revolutionaries who are well known in the working class and society. For those who, under the terror of the Gierek clique, go into the marsh of reconciliation and opportunism, they are then misused by the renegades to communism in their struggle against the CP of Poland for the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What characterizes the current situation of the Polish working class?

The working class experienced its loss of power through the counter-revolutionary overthrow of 1956. Currently the proletariat is not the ruling class. In Poland the power is in the hands of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is fighting for the victory of the socialist revolution and the resurrection of its dictatorship. It increasingly becomes clear to the most revolutionary and politically conscious kernel, the vanguard of the Polish working class, that the indigentous

revisionist bourgeoisie and its ally, Soviet social-imperialism, is its main enemy.

Beyond this there exists a great differentiation within the Polish working class. Because of the rapid growth of the proletariat after the war, next to this revolutionary kernel there exists a numerically significant, classwise insufficiently steered and, most of all, young proletariat of peasant origin. Additionally there is the labor aristocracy, the upper stratum of the better salaried workers, who, fattened by the renegades to communism, identify their interests with those of the petty-bourgeoisie. This structure of the working class is an important reason for the influence and the pressure of bourgeois ideology from without as well as the reactionary propaganda of the church.

How is the political bondage and the economic penetration by Soviet social-imperialism manifested and what consequences does this have for the working class and the masses of the working people?

Soviet social-imperialism is occupying Poland. With this it limits the sovereignty of Poland and thus destroys the basic right of the Polish people to an independent life. The current government of revisionist quislings in Poland neither decides on the defense of the country nor the foreign policy of Poland. Moscow decides both of these. The economic dependency of Poland is the result of the subordination of its economic development to the interests and requirements of Soviet social-imperialism. On this basis the Polish export trade, the policy of the exploitation of foreign credits, the investment activities, the fixing of retail prices and of the value of the transfer-ruble are developed in the framework of COMECON. Ultimately this policy is manifested in an appropriately unfavorable Polish national income. The Soviet Union exploits the differing levels of development of science and technology in production and draws all the advantages of capitalist maximum profit from the Polish economy. Beyond this, Polish exports must, above all, satisfy the requirements of the USSR. The same occurs in reference to the supply of the interior market. All this leads to additional difficulties of payment, decreases the influx of foreign bills and above this diminishes the national income which is to be distributed. The proletariat and the working masses are the first ones to be affected by the negative consequences.

What role do U.S. imperialism and West German imperialism play?

U.S. and West German imperialism treat Poland as the largest Soviet social-imperialist satellite with a sufficiently strong base of natural resources, a significant and manifold market and with old cultural connections and emigrational ties to the bourgeois intelligentsia and the peasant strata. Next to the progressive and revolutionary traditions there also exists a significant social basis for bourgeois and outright

reactionary sympathies in Poland. Independently of these ideological and political conditions, both imperialisms treat Poland as a market which will, today and in the future, create advantages with its cheap raw materials, semi-finished products and labor. Poland plays the role of the supplier in the cooperation of the FRG and the USA. The West, on the other hand, supplies the technology and in return receives maximum profits from the Polish people. The revival of the economic relations between Poland and the West occurred—contrary to the self-praise of the Gierek clique—because of the initiative of both imperialisms and in the context of the current international economic crisis in the struggle for new, even if very small, markets for the dumping of products and the supply of raw materials.

To a certain degree, the so-called "Dynamic development on credit" was forced on the Gierek clique. In the face of the difficulties after the strike revolts of December 1970 and the complete lack of reserves, however, this was received by Warsaw with relief. "A drowning man even will clutch a straw." The exportation of American and German finance capital to Poland by means of loans and credits is tied to specific imports by Poland. Imports are conducted according to inflationary prices and, in fact, according to specifically determined kinds of machines and equipment as well as commodities, most of which are subject to deterioration. First of all Poland, thus, has no choice in this matter and secondly is bound to the supply of Polish raw materials such as coal, copper or sulphur. Consequently we are dealing with credits which do not entail any risk and which are of a high profitableness and which help the West fight unemployment.

By activating and consolidating the economic relations and the scientific-technological cooperation, as well as through cultural exchange, both imperialisms strengthen their bonds to the pro-Western elements. This is valid first of all for the reactionary strata of the bourgeois intelligentsia. In this case the flooding of Poland with bourgeois and decadent Western culture again plays an important role.

In the rivalry of the two hegemonistic superpowers for influence in Europe and the domination of the world, all this is not without significance for international imperialism.

In the face of these difficult conditions, which forms of struggle does the working class employ in its fight against exploitation and social-fascist oppression?

The struggle of the working class against the exploitation and oppression by the counter-revolutionary regime of the Gierek clique possesses an ideological, political and economic character. Various forms of economic struggle, however, are most widely spread. Broad masses of the workers participate in this struggle.

This struggle concerns wages, work norms, job security and the stagnation caused by lacking supply in the technical-material realm.

These struggles also go beyond the border of the individual plants. This is the consequence of the growing cutbacks in the supply of the market with commodities of daily consumption. How the workers make their slogans and demands known depends on the local conditions. In order to avoid discovery of the illegal organizations this is done through trade union delegates or always through other workers. In greater conflicts the workers form delegations which make their demands known to the management. During the December events (1970) the workers established strike committees and also town committees as, for example, in Stettin. In elections to the trade union organizations and other worker organizations the dissatisfaction with the standards of living is politically expressed in questions and criticisms. In secret ballots the revisionist delegates are crossed out and new representatives elected. The conflicts of the workers with the bourgeoisie as well as short strikes are not limited to small and medium-sized enterprises. Explosive conflicts also erupt in the largest plants and create the danger for the Gierek clique of the situation intensifying or of the strike movement spreading to other factories.

The workers—especially in the large plants—are aware of their strength, which has its origin in their concentration, unity and solidarity. Only because of this, will the Gierek clique deal with the demands of the workers. It makes compromises and attempts to split the unity of the workers of large and small enterprises, of the workers of different branches, in order to prevent a sharpening of the conflict and an open collision with the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has learned certain lessons from the December events. With this it has achieved certain results which, however, will not be of long endurance.

What is the attitude of the CP of Poland in this struggle?

It is our most important task to expose the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by the Gierek clique and the hegemonic policy of Soviet social-imperialism in a principled manner. We expose the subordination of the Polish renegades to social-imperialism and their acquiescence in undermining the defense of the independence and sovereignty of Poland. We expose the renunciation of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat by the Polish revisionist agents of the bourgeoisie, their turn onto the road of bourgeois reformism, of class collaboration, their reconciliation with the native and international bourgeoisie and reaction, as well as the counter-revolutionary character of the strengthening of relations with the monopoly capitalists of America, France and Britain. Simultaneously, we emphasize that it is necessary to transform the spontaneous struggles of the workers into an increasingly better organized struggle. In this we exploit all the legal and illegal opportunities that are available to us. Our goal is the unity and solidarity of the working class in its actions.

The CP of Poland calls on the workers to fight against all attacks of the bourgeois Gierek clique regardless of whether it attacks the standard of living or limits the democratic rights of the working class and of the working masses in city and country, in the plants, institutions and the institutions of higher learning. Even the smallest matter which touches on the economic gains, safety of work, or the political rights, and which means the intensification of exploitation and oppression, we regard as a serious problem.

This struggle then must be conducted in such a manner as will heighten ideological and political consciousness. This is necessary in order to strengthen the feeling of unity, of solidarity and the strength of the organized action of the proletariat against its enemies. Thus the struggle—be it defense or attack—can adopt a revolutionary character even in the smallest concerns of the working people. Thus the personnel of the revolutionary departments and factories can be mobilized and the interest, sympathy and the readiness to support of the workers of other plants can be roused.

We know that our struggle is difficult and long lasting. However, we also know that the ultimate victory in both of our countries and in the whole world belongs to the working class. We do not forget the duties which arise from proletarian internationalism. We tie our struggle to the struggle of the whole international world movement of Marxism-Leninism.