
Poland – Views of the Marxist Leninists

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DOC 015 | EDITOR'S NOTE: "*Class Struggle*" is pleased to be able to present the viewpoint of the Communist Party of Poland regarding the situation in their country. The CPP is a proletarian revolutionary party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought that fights for the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland. The views and analysis of our Polish comrades are a great aid in our understanding of the Polish peoples' struggle. The following extensive excerpts from a recent party statement are translated from the French Marxist-Leninist paper, "*L'Humanite Rouge*." Subheads are ours.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND

Important changes have emerged in the situation in Poland.

Our attitude is to support the strike and the newly created unions even if there exist errors and shortcomings, and negative influences can be seen deriving from the democratic opposition and religion.

Contradictions exist within the Unified Workers' Party. The Soviet satellites around Poland also exert pressure: for example the German Democratic Republic put limitations on its relations and on crossing the frontier between the two countries which normally involves 3.5 million GDR citizens and 2 million Poles.

This springs from the GDR's fear of seeing itself penetrated by the independent trade-union current, and also from willingness to execute strategic manoeuvres with a view to encircling Poland.

As for the USSR, it openly expresses its disapproval with regard to Poland.

WORKERS AND THE UNIONS

Meanwhile, clashes between government and unions are tending to grow as the situation grows more acute.

But of course at the moment many forces push in the direction of a compromise, including the religious forces and the USA.

Thus, from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint we consider it an error that the union should stress its 'apolitical' character. Independence in relation to a bourgeois party is correct, but to be apolitical can lead to a split in the ranks of the working class.

That weaknesses arise in such a great mass movement is in no way surprising. It will be possible to draw some lessons from this.

If one considers the three worker's movements of 1956, '70 and '80, each has its own special characteristics but the degree of consciousness and unity of the working class continually grows .

The first two movements were above all economic in character, whereas the third assumes right from the start a political character.

In 1956 and 1970 only the working class took part, while this time intellectuals, students and petty-bourgeoisie have joined in.

In the course of the movement it can clearly be seen that trade union leaders, petty-bourgeois, intellectuals all have their influence, but that they cannot play a major role in the framework of a spontaneous movement.

In Poland the petty-bourgeoisie and religion are fully conscious of the fact that if the Polish proletariat plays a major role, that will cause them irreparable harm.

To say that the working class does not act politically is fundamentally mistaken. Those who claim the working class to be 'apolitical' are representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie and religion, without links with the working class; and this is why such a slogan won't last long.

The workers represent the majority of the population in Poland and should thus, according to democracy, be in power. If the unions don't concern themselves with politics, who will?

To limit the workers to within the factories will not be possible in Poland. If they act in this way, the unions will revolt against their own leaders. At the moment, the workers' movement is developing in the revolutionary socialist direction of All power to the Workers.

THE SOVIET UNION

Now we would like to speak of the problem of the Soviet Union. In our opinion there exists at the moment an incorrect view according to which the USSR is awaiting the moment to attack, such an attack being inevitable.

To begin with, there are already Soviet troops stationed on Polish territory. In 1956, '70 and '80 the USSR had all the opportunities for military intervention but did not carry this out. These are the facts.

If Gomulka and then Gierek tried to intimidate the workers by brandishing the threat of bloody happenings or intervention, this was because they feared a revolution which would mark their collapse. The USA for its part does not wish to be involved in the Polish events either, because they think that these are situated within the Soviet sphere of influence.

If the USSR does undertake a military intervention they won't lift a finger, just like they did not even send a note of protest after the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Anyway, does the USSR really want to intervene? No, because it doesn't want to utilise its own force to control Poland.

This is why at the moment it is using a political solution, and not force. The dismissal of Gomulka and Gierek did not cause any embarrassment to Moscow, because it had its candidate for the post.

After the dismissal of Gomulka and Gierek, the USSR handed out economic aid to Poland in the character of a very good neighbour.

Of course, if an incident occurs in Poland and it throws itself into the arms of the USA, the USSR will intervene without any doubt, but up to now such a situation hasn't arisen.

Naturally the Communist Party of Poland holds that limited measures can in no way be sufficient in Poland. But we think that to undertake revolution will not inevitably bring about aggression. Our party thus continues to conduct revolutionary struggle and we consider that the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will not incite the USSR to think that Poland will quit the Soviet sphere of influence and range itself alongside the USA.

Why is the USSR cautious? If there was military intervention the Polish people would rise up and the Polish army would take the side of the working class.

If the situation deteriorates, the USSR will first use the political and military secret police and only in second place a military intervention as such.

But of course it is not impossible that the nearest neighbours start first. For the Soviet Union, Poland represents an important strategic position in the centre of Europe.

At present the USSR is thus putting all its efforts into keeping Poland in its sphere of influence. This is why we believe that the most realistic thing is to develop the socialist revolution.

Our Party's position of principle is to oppose all blocs, but at the present time it is neither realistic nor correct to demand Poland's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact.

The Polish events have a major significance not only for the Eastern Europe satellite countries, but also for the working class of capitalist countries. Thus, when the working class struggles for a new system it will be like an epidemic.

At the moment the working class the world over expresses its sympathy with regard to the Polish working class. The Polish movements have contributed to raising the consciousness of the class, that's why they are contagious. We are a component part of the international workers' movement.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

What is the way out of this situation in Poland? It is to recognise that the Communist Party of Poland is a legitimate Communist organisation of the left within the Unified Workers' Party.

That means, to unite the majority of the members of the UWP against the revisionist clique and topple it. We have proposed a realistic programme of purification of the UWP.

We unite with the working class and revolutionary sector of the UWP to reject the name of UWP and replace it with that of CPP. We again stress that today within the UWP, workers are in a majority.

Our demand is that, after the party's purification, workers represent two-thirds at all levels, including the Central Committee.

In the CC at present there is not a single worker. Having analysed these problems our Party holds that it is necessary at present for the CPP to become a legal organisation within the UWP. It is necessary to begin a dialogue between the leading clique of the UWP and the CPP to reconstitute the revolutionary party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Within the UWP there is great disarray, including in the leadership. The leading clique has lost its prestige among the popular masses and has cut itself off from the masses.

FOOTNOTE:

1. The pro-Soviet ruling party normally referred to in the West as the Polish Communist Party.

