

THEY CONDEMNED ME TO PASSIVITY AND SILENCE

an interview with Kazimierz Mijal.

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What follows is an interview with Kazimierz Mijal, Chairman of the Polish Communist party, which took place in Beijing in October 1978. The interview was done by comrades of the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and this translation is made from their published text.

Comrade Mijal is General Secretary of the Polish Communist party. He was born on the 15th September 1910 of peasant stock. Before the war he worked in a bank and was active in the bank workers union. During the war he was in "Proletariat", a communist group, and was a founder member of the Polish Labour Party in 1942. He held several leading posts in the party and was also in the National Peoples' Committee (the underground parliament). During the nazi occupation he was part of the opposition to Gomulka's right deviationist tendency in the Polish Labour Party (PLP).

From 1945 comrade Mijal was a member of the Central committee of the PLP and later of the United PLP. After the war he held further leading government posts, including that of Secretary of State for Public Services. In 1954 he carried out a fight against modern revisionism in the ranks of the UPLP. As a result he was kept out of the Central Committee and the government. In 1963 he organised a secret communist group of which he was leader. 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. Many Marxist-Leninists were arrested and Mijal was sacked from his posts. In December 1965 the secret Communist Party of Poland was founded, with Mijal as General Secretary.

As a result of social-fascist repression against the Communist Party of Poland, Mijal was forced to flee the country in 1966. From then until 1978 he lived in exile in Albania. During the last few years, the Norwegian comrades were told, the Albanian leaders prevented Mijal from meeting representatives of other parties who visited Albania. He told the Norwegian

comrades:

“It’s not enough that I wasn’t allowed to meet Norwegian comrades – I wasn’t allowed to meet comrades from other parties either. In particular after the 7th Party Congress (of the Party of Labour of Albania) in 1976, the Albanian leadership denied me any help in maintaining contact with the leadership of the PCP (Communist Party of Poland) in Poland. In that way they weakened the revolutionary activity of the illegal PCP. Objectivity they condemned me to passivity and silence – something I couldn’t accept. In that situation I saw no other way than to fight even harder.

”I lived in Albania for more than 12 years. I have great sympathy with the Albanian peoples’ struggle, which is now being carried out under great difficulties. At the same time I see great damage that the Albanian people are suffering as a result of the foolhardy policies the leadership are following.

Ever since the PCP was founded in 1965, our Party has had differences with the leadership of the PLA over the question of the role the Communist Party of China (CPC) should play in the international communist movement. Up to now these differences were not made public as we hoped they would become steadily less and that eventually we would overcome them altogether. However, instead of getting better, the relationship between us and the PLA has become steadily worse. The relationship suddenly and seriously deteriorated after the Albanian leadership openly attacked the theory of the three worlds at the 7th Congress of the PLA in 1976. I personally didn't take part in that Congress -we only sent a letter with our greetings.

HOW DID YOU CARRY ON THE FIGHT AFTER THE 7th PARTY CONGRESS?

Even after the 7th Party Congress, I didn't give up hope that they would change the mistaken course they were following. I informed the PLA leadership verbally and in writing that I disagreed with their position, especially their criticism of the theory of three worlds. However, I began to first doubt whether they could correct their errors when they began a vociferous campaign -entirely without principle and full of abuse, insults and slander -against the three worlds theory. This happened after a number of Latin American Parties had published a statement. In July 1977 they published in their central organ an editorial entitled "The Theory and Practice of the Revolution", in which both the style and contents were in sharp contradiction with the title, and which showed how the leadership of the PLA stood, stamping their feet in the mire of leftist revisionism. Without any argument or discussion they demanded that readers should blindly believe in what they wrote. However, we know that the less this mumbo-jumbo and high-flying ideological smoke has to do with revolutionary theory and practice, the further out to the left it is. In this situation I wrote a comprehensive article, "Long live Mao Zedong Thought", I had planned to publish it in *Red Banner*, the organ of the Central Committee of the PCP, to commemorate the first anniversary of Mao Zedong's death. The article lay a whole month at the publishers, and it wasn't until the end of September that I was told it couldn't be published, I was told that I couldn't seek help anywhere. In that way they closed down the

organ of the Central Committee of PCP, *Red Banner*, overnight, I didn't give up the struggle, but typed out a number of copies myself and sent one to the Central Committee of the PLA. The other four copies I planned to send to German, Italian, Spanish and Brazilian Parties, but the leadership of the PLA refused my request for assistance in sending these letters.

HOW DID YOU REACT TO THIS REFUSAL?

I sent a letter to the leadership of the PLA to protest at the decision. I sharply criticised their extension of censorship to include the organ of Central Committee of the PCP and correspondence between the Central Committee of the PCP and other parties. A self-contradictory situation arose. In their radio programmes in Polish, Tirana attacked the theory of three worlds while I was prevented from printing articles in the organ of the Central Committee of the PCP supporting that theory. The leadership of the PLA also refused to receive my letter, which they called "Hostile and "provocative". In January 1978 I wrote a new article in defence of the three world theory against the attack of the adventurist leftist line. I sent a copy of the article to the leadership of the PLA but they refused to receive it, informing me that "relations between our parties are broken". In this situation I wrote another article in February 1978 where I took up the problem of a struggle to ensure that left-wing revisionism should be exposed and eventually smashed.

DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PLA ACTED IN THIS WAY YOU STILL STAYED IN TIRANA?

As I've already said, I remained in Tirana despite the fact that the relations between us were no longer normal. In fact, I still had some hope that the leadership of the PLA would change in its incorrect course which was causing so much damage to the international communist movement, but first and foremost was a great tragedy for the Albanian people. However the Albanian leadership moved from incorrect theory to counter-revolutionary practice.' After the PLA leadership had broken *my* postal communication with the leadership of the PCP they showed me in secret that they were carrying out attempts to split the PCP in Warsaw and build a new revisionist leadership in the PCP. In Warsaw, representatives of the PLA leadership contacted a leading member of our Party and informed him that I (Mijal) was an "enemy" of the revolution and of socialism, a "traitor" to Marxism-Leninism, that I had contacts with agents for the Polish revisionists Home Office and other similar "exposures". Eventually he delivered a directive from his own leadership stiling, "you must condemn openly Mijal as an "enemy" and "traitor"." The conversation ended up with the representative of the PLA being thrown out. All the same he did not give up his counterrevolutionary activities in Warsaw. In other conversations with other PCP members held behind my back the Albanians arranged a meeting abroad between myself and PCP representatives. This happened without me having any idea of what lay behind it all. It was only after a long conversation with a comrade from Poland that I found out about the PLA's intrigues and deceitful splitting activities against the pep in Warsaw.

After this meeting abroad I realised that it was impossible for me to stay in Albania. I

applied for political asylum to faithful friends of the working class and Polish people and at the end of May received a favourable reply. I then wrote a letter to the leadership of the PLA in which I exposed the splitting activities of their representatives in Warsaw. At the same time I applied to them for permission to leave Albania as soon as possible. However it wasn't until the end of June that I was given a passport and an emigration visa -a half hour before the plane was due to depart from Tirana. In this way I was illegally and completely groundlessly detained in Tirana almost a whole month, During June the leadership of the PLA directed various forms of terrorism and blackmail against me. They increased the guard on my flat, cut off the telephone and warned me, "You must follow Albanian law; you can go the Chinese Embassy but you may not take with you any PCP documents from your flat. If you do attempt to do this then we warn you that the security service has been informed that it shall not be permitted. This meant that they were threatening me with a trial, sentence and imprisonment. I was forced to leave the archives of the PCP in Tirana. On top of this they asked me quite shamelessly to sign a statement that I had left the archives of the PCP in Albania of my own free will. So, I wrote a statement describing the conditions under which I left the PCP archives in Tirana, and quoted from Lenin's " Communism -an Infantile Disorder" , where he says that if armed bandits attack an unarmed man in the forest at night, and point a pistol at his chest demanding money, then a compromise in that situation is both justified and correct. This statement was of course rejected by the PLA leadership.

I said to the representative of the leadership of the PLA, "You have the power, the police and army while I have only my bare hands I must therefore accept a compromise". It was under these circumstances that I left Albania: was in this way that the leadership of the PLA confiscated the archives of the PCP. These are the kind of political gangster methods the Albanian splittists use. They had neither Albanian nor international law behind them when they behaved like that towards me. They ignore every principle of proletarian internationalism between parties. Such is the practice of "left-wing" revisionism. The attack of the PLA leadership on the theory of the three worlds is for them just a pretext -a kind of fig leaf. In reality they are attacking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They attack the Communist Party of China -the vanguard of the international proletariat - the bastion of world revolution and socialism. The PLA leadership suffers from infallibility in revolutionary theory and practice, and socialist construction. They look upon Tirana as the "Rome" of Marxism-Leninism and as the centre of world revolution and socialism. Enver Hoxha says; "The party is never wrong". The Pope is also infallible -but only in things which don't belong to this world.

Kazimierz Mijal