

# **New Polish government: Anti-neoliberal but Anti-left profile first**

Ewa Groszewska

The Western world sees the danger for democracy in the proceedings of government towards Constitutional Court. The last government (made mainly by Platform of Citizens: (Platforma Obywatelska (PO)) chose its judges which were not accepted by the new one created entirely by one party: Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)) after the election in October 2015. Moreover, new government chose its own judges which are not accepted by recent Court. This dispute looks like the fight between coteries even PiS broke the rules. But there were not situations when Judges of this Court decided or said anything in social cases which were treated in unconstitutional way as expulsions, breaking the workers rights. Neoliberal opposition “defending constitution and democracy” on the streets (Committee of defending Democracy: Komitet Obrony Demokracji (KOD)) is completely far away from ordinary people problems. The real danger exists according new government but in the sphere which is totally invisible for neoliberal “opposition”

10 years ago in 2006 PiS made the government in coalition with Samoobrona and Liga Polskich Rodzin (LPR). Leaders of PiS (twin brothers Kaczyński) succeeded

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creating the image of opposition to neoliberal environment and parties in Poland (PO and SLD- Social Democratic Party based on members of ex “communist” party -PZPR- Polish United Workers Party). The main slogan which resulted in winning the election then sounded: *Polish Solidarity*. This phrase referred to the ethos of Solidarity (Solidarność) movement in 1980 and built alleged opposition to the Darwinist social relation after 1989. PiS gained the electorate of “popular people”, all not satisfied of economic transformation in Poland. It used the religious and national identity of poor workers and peasants building this way the strategy of intensify the false consciousness. It was propagated the idea of coteries and bad people from liberal ( or neo-liberal) parties who are guilty of collapse of rule of law and scams which caused the poverty in Poland. PiS propagating *Polish Solidarity* touched the subject of public health service , of social security etc but dominating thread was based on hunting for “cheaters and thieves”. In the context of the lack of alternatives to neo-liberalism (SLD realized policy for rich and for business and USA imperialism, anti-capitalist left was very weak and divided) PiS could count on the support of working class even good organized in trade unions miners.

In 2010 PiS lost the election because people were discouraged tracing PiS enemies among political elites. One of the Kaczynski brothers won the presidential election. The catastrophe of presidential flight to Katyn at the anniversary of crime on Polish officers committed by Stalin gave PiS new development potential. The conspiracy theory about killing Lech Kaczyński by Putin was the sublimation of social fears of poor people. This theory suggested later that prime minister from PO -Donald Tusk- was responsible for bad preparation of the flight what made him responsible for this disaster. This accusation was publicized in the context of attacks on liberal elites.

Creating the conspiracy theory and the myth of dead president is done thanks of support of radio-station “Radio Maryja” founded by the rich priest Tadeusz Rydzyk. This radio- station with explicit anti-communist and anti-Semitic character is a platform for religious and old socially excluded people but it finds younger listeners in Eastern Europe as well. The phenomenon of this radio is related with empowerment of poor people who find understanding and possibility of discussion on the wave. All issues raised by journalists such as globalization, poverty, international conflicts are analyzed in similar way to left, anti-capitalist perspective but conclusion is always one: all those who are guilty of injustice are Jews (not Zionists) and communists. Using low cultural competences, national complexes this religious radio-station perpetuates convictions that anti-Poles elites are responsible for injustice, not capital as a social class.

PiS with the Catholic church managed to create the believes so typical for nationalistic right in Europe that so called national egoism is the only one adequate reaction for the social fear and capitalist globalization. This social atmosphere is conducive to interest in far right organizations more and more popular in Poland.

But it must be underlined that so spectacular victory of PiS in last elections

was possible thanks to so-called “moving voters” who chose PiS not because of ideological reasons but against last government based on PO- neo-liberals which sinking in propaganda of success completely marginalized voice of more and more angry and frustrated low middle- class, educated precarious youth and unemployed. In the absence of left alternatives among official mainstream parties and lack of social movements people rejected neo-liberal concept to conservative-nationalistic one. Neo- liberals did not do anything and did not pay attention to the fact that the half of employees earn the minimum salary (about 300 euro net income), that about 30 % of young workers are employed on the contracts which do not belong to labor code: without insurance the right to vacation etc. Lots of young people live under the pressure of credits for flats or just consumption. In European social research on poverty the Eastern region of Poland take the highest positions. Polish neoliberal government being deaf and blind to these facts created the vision of Poland which is not involved in international crises. PiS used the social anger in national electoral campaign showing the poverty in Poland proposing the new social solution of profits for each second child in the family (Program 500 Plus). PiS proposes also taxations hypermarkets and banks. Program 500 Plus has been implemented already and we can criticize its conservative character excluding a big number of single mothers but it is the first one social transfer from national budget since 1989. The opponents of this solution are based on neoliberal parties and environments constituting the current opposition KOD. The arguments raised by the members of KOD are related with contempt for the poor. Propagating the opinions that the majority of beneficiaries of Program 500 Plus spends money for alcohol causes that the organizations of anti-capitalist left must be distanced to demonstrations of KOD. Moreover, one of the leader of KOD -Ryszard Petru- is the collaborator of Leszek Balcerowicz – the author of Polish “Shock Therapy”.

Since the first days when PiS created government Polish radical left found itself in ambivalent situation. It has to defend the so called social proposals of PiS as Program 500 Plus and financing the health service from national budget being aware at the same time that this party has the nationalistic and a bit chauvinistic character. The fear of the last features started to prevail.

The Support of extreme right organizations is not official but visible. What is the origin of these environments in Poland? The anti-fascist associations try to make the investigation concerning the financing and way of the recruitment to extreme right organizations. They are certainly based on football fans with the business infrastructure and ideological training. But what must be emphasized is the right atmosphere in Poland which is the result of official neoliberal discourse in media, schools, universities. Narration based on market ideology produced Darwinian vision of social relations. These are the neoliberals who are responsible for this inhuman climate. There is hidden the aspect of being born as “worse” human being in the neoliberal concept in which “the best” wins everything. The profile of school program specially the lessons of civil society and entrepreneurship created the

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philosophy of admiration for “strong” and contempt for economically “weak”. But this philosophy is also based on the need of search for someone worse than him/herself. The best candidate for this is someone different culturally or “racially”. And it was found during so called refugee crises.

This neoliberal education has been supported by nationalistic and religious interpretation of history led by IPN (Institute of National Memory) which is an ideologically anti-communist institution. This kind of education has been accepted by each government since 1989: neoliberals, social-democrats etc. The main theses in humanistic education is Brzeziński theory about totalitarianism and alleged convergence between communism and fascism. Students are taught this way that all heritage of left and Marxist or progressive theory and practice is related with Stalin’s crimes. Schools order worship only right-nationalistic heroes and condemn all left organization from the past before and after the World War II. There are no information about colonialism and exploitation in teaching programs. Additionally the media show Arab or Muslim world in the context of terrorism without any explanation who is who. It is dominating the idea of Eurocentrism or even Western-centrism which orders to despise all people living out of Europe and to treat not European countries like holiday resorts for “white” people.

This education through schools and media caused disgusting racism towards Muslims in the moment when prime minister of last government (before PiS) announced that Poland must accept about 2000 refugees. It started the racist hysteria in social media with very shocking declarations in the country so experienced by fascism. The average hater from social media was not typical PiS voter but then during the election campaign the chairman of PiS - Jarosław Kaczyński. started using anti-refugee rhetoric. Criticizing the neoliberal government of PO he declared not accepting refugees in Poland at all using horribly racist arguments as diseases spread by immigrants and alleged Swedish problems with Muslims who order sharia law.

This education created also very right young voters elected PiS or another right and chauvinistic parties -one of them entered some MPs- openly fascists.

The political situation in Poland started being very difficult for the left. So called KOD - neoliberal opposition does not use nor social slogans and requires neither anything against anti-communist ideology and practice. The winning of PiS encouraged extreme right organization to demonstrate their opinions and organize racist demonstrations. Full of hatred slogans during many manifestations in Polish cities including burning the Jew puppet in Wrocław (during anti-Muslim manifestation) did not cause any reaction of authorities. Moreover, the Minister Ziobro pardoned far right militants accused of attacking police. At the same time two weeks ago police made strange action during the manifestation in solidarity with left militant who is prisoned after blocking the expulsion of sick old woman. After the manifestation policemen dressed civilian provoked some militants and arrested 4 of those who leaded the event. They were liberated but the whole action

looked as specially prepared.

At the end of March the members of legally acting party -Communist Party of Poland (KPP)- were sentenced for several months of arrest. The judgement says that members of KPP are guilty of “propagating totalitarian theory of Marxism”.

On May 16<sup>th</sup> the secret police raided the party “Zmiana” (Change) headquarters. The officers pulled out the equipment and arrested the leader of the party Mateusz Piskorski. He has been ordered 3 months sanctions of arrest on suspicion of spying. What is spectacular the accusation was changing from being spy of Russia to being spy of China or Iraq (!). The party is known of pro- Russian and pro-Putin sympathy. The thread behind gives this case new aspect. When PiS was in coalition (in 2006) with party Samoobrona- Mateusz Piskorski was the spokesperson then of Samoobrona. The leader of this party -Andrzej Lepper- committed suicide in strange and unexplained circumstances. Piskorski and his new party (Zmiana) have just been publishing the book about this issue. There are theories that Lepper’s “suicide” was related with the revenge of PiS.

The first law established by new government was “decommunization” which means that local governments must change all names of streets related with communism (most of them were already change in the past to names of neoliberals like Ronald Reagan) and it forbids propagating dates and events linked with the communist period.

The prime minister Beata Szydło and prominent MPs of PiS want to introduce a law that totally bans abortion. This idea was confronted with huge manifestations gathering liberals and leftists.

Preparing the NATO summit in Warsaw in July this year the government wants to establish the so-called “anti-terrorist law” giving the right to invigilate all citizens who organize “dangerous events” and the right to arrest foreigners who are not Polish citizens if they “arouse suspicion”.

It is difficult to decide if government actions are motivated by ideological craziness or are done on request of capital, NATO etc. It is obvious that extreme right movement is stronger and stronger and that anti-communist conservatives from government and neoliberal opposition do not want to allow for any development of anti-capitalist left. Anti-neoliberal profile of PiS will be ruined soon. Acceptance and consent of government towards TTIP exposes the hypocrisy of its *Polish Solidarity*.