Defend the Soviet Union!
Smash NATO/NORAD!

Cold Warriors Weep for Solidarność

Ronald Reagan and General Haig are fit to be tied. Last summer Reagan proclaimed that the Polish crisis represented "the beginning of the end" of Communism. And he wasn't speaking as the host of the "General Electric Hour" now; as commander in chief of the most powerful imperialist army in the world, he's prepared to do something about it. In their drive to "roll back" Communism, the Reagan boys are staging provocations around the globe—shooting down Libyan planes over disputed waters, threatening blockades of Cuba and Nicaragua. But Poland was key. With the eruption of the pro-Western anti-

Communist Solidarność, NATO ruling circles saw a historic chance—the best, they said, since World War II—to drive Soviet power back to Russian borders. Liberal commentator Ronald Steel laid out the stakes involved in the Solidarność bid for power:

"Had Solidarity achieved its most sweeping demands, broken the Communist Party's monopoly of power, and taken Poland out of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet control over the rest of East Europe would have been threatened. The other satellites (continued on page 2)
Cold Warriors Weep...

(continued from page 1) might have followed suit...The Iron Curtain could have been cracked.  
—New York Times, 3 January

Ever since the onset of the Cold War, Western imperialism has aspired to reconquer the Soviet sphere of influence (the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states) diplomatically recognized by the 1945 Yalta Agreement. Now NATO politicians are openly talking about repudiating and reversing Yalta. Meanwhile the Reagan administration has used the bugbear of a "Soviet threat to Poland" in order to gain popular support for a trillion-dollar arms build-up and its nuclear first-strike strategy. Aiding (more than) "free trade unions" they mean what existed under the Hitler-lovers Marshal Ry and General Pinochet. Under criticism that he was all talk and no action, Reagan resorted to economic sanctions, first against the Poles (canceling LOT airline's landing rights in the U.S., denying fishing rights off Cape Cod; cutting off some food shipments), and then against the Russians (prohibiting export of capital goods for the oil and gas industry and high-technology electronics; suspending Aeroflot landing rights). As long as West Europe and Japan don't follow suit—and they admitingly say they won't—these sanctions will end up hurting American capitalists more than the Russians.

The American business community remembers Carlan's Afghan grain boycott and other "punitive" measures as a case of shooting oneself in the foot. But regardless of the quantitative effect of Reagan's actions, all class-conscious workers must oppose this imperialist economic warfare against the USSR. Down with the anti-Soviet sanctions!

With Allies Like These...

U.S. rulers' attempts to make Poland the causs bell of Cold War II have run into resistance and even outright opposition from their West European allies, especially the most powerful one, West Germany.

When asked about Bonn's reaction to the Polish crackdown, government spokesman Kurt Becker replied bluntly, "There are no implications for the West. Next question, please." Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's reaction, while visiting East German leader Erich Honecker in the DDR, was to regret that "Soviet influence" in Poland had been "necessary." And the initial statement on Poland by the Second International, penned by German social-democratic chairman Willy Brandt, refused to condemn the crackdown. Meanwhile, Schmidt was sitting around a Florida beach mourning off against Reagan's sanctions to James Reston of the New York Times, long-time confidante of Democratic presidents.

An incensed and bewildered Wall Street Journal (4 January) complained that "something powerfully strange is taking place in the German psyche." The Journal is right in the sense that the West German masses want no part of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Observers have compared the 500,000 who marched in Bonn last fall against more NATO missiles with the tiny pro-Solidarnos6 protests, the last of which were about 6,000. There is, in fact, a
The Main Enemy is at Home!

COLD WARRIORS WEEP FOR SOLIDARNOŚĆ

Joseph Seymour
Central Committee Spartacist League/U.S.

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Defend the Soviet Union!

as long as it looked like it had a chance of taking power. But now that Walesa looks a loser, some bankers are looking to Moscow to pay Poland's debts. Call it compensation for not winning the big prize in Poland: capitalist counterrevolution. The house organ of international financiers, the London Economist (28 December 1981) explained: "Russia now controls Poland again and does not want a Polish default either." Reportedly the Jaruzelski regime has come up with $350 million in interest payments just in time, and informed opinion thinks it's really Russian gold. There is nothing new in this. The Soviet Union has long been subsidizing the Polish economy. Since the mid-late-1970s, in fact, Poland has functioned as an intermediary for Western finance capital to extract economic surplus from the Soviet workers and peasants. This is particularly egregious since the standard of living in Moscow and Kiev is distinctly lower than in Warsaw and Gdansk. In 1977, for example, Poles consumed 65 pounds of red meat a year, almost as much as West Germans, while Russians ate only about 50 pounds a year. Yet the Soviet Union has been exporting thousands of tons of meat to Poland in order to keep the Polish masses quiet.

A lot of liberals and rad-libs, in order to justify their support to Solidarność, are fabricating the notion that Western bankers are supporting Jaruzelski's crackdown. Cold War liberal James Wechsler, in a column entitled "Bankers' Battle Hymn" in the New York Post (22 December 1981), claims there is a cabal of "Western bankers and American Communists and Trotskyists, incongruously united in apologia for the ruthless crackdown by the Polish commissars and their Kremlin sponsors." By Trotskyists he means the Spartacist League and cites the Workers Vanguard headline "Solidarność Counter-revolution Checked." Contrary to Wechsler's predictable speculation, the consortium of Western banks holding the Polish debt refused Warsaw's request for an additional loan to cover their interest payments, expecting the Russians would now pay. The London Economist, as usual, expressed the position of imperialist finance: "...a Poland without a free Solidarity is not worth rescuing."

As for the $27 billion in Polish debt to the West, these loans have been so profitable that many banks would come out ahead even if they got not another (continued on page 6)
Smash Klan Terror...

(continued from page 8)

the political climate in which the fascists are growing.

The liberals shrug, "who cares?" It was only a handful of Klansmen, they say. When the Nazis started out in Germany they too were treated as a joke, dismissed and ignored. But when the stench of burning flesh filled the air, when the corpses were piled high, it was too late to fight effectively.

The fascists must be stopped before they can grow. The organized labor movement has the power to sweep these scum from the streets. And Vancouver is a labor town. British Columbia has the most militarized railroad workers attacked by rioting mobs; of Sikhs left to starve on the Komagata Maru. This is the land where the cops get away with the cold-blooded killings of Albert Johnson and Fred Quilt. The land of racist immigration laws, today welcoming Polish emigrés while deporting East Asians and Jamaicans. Liberal, self-righteous Canada, the "Great White North": virulently racist.

Small wonder that KKK leader David Duke called Canada "the last bastion of white supremacy." The Klan doesn't need to import, they're recruiting "good old" Canadian boys, like the gutter garbage from motorcycle gangs who get their "dicks" from beating up East Asians.

Cold War Fuels Klan Terror

In the context of the rightward political climate of the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive these scum have been emboldened to crawl out of their holes and parade openly hooded and robed through the streets of Vancouver. Reagan/Haig, backed by their junior imperialist partners in Ottawa, are out to "redback" communism abroad; the fascists feel it is open season on leftists, East Asians and labor at home.

They have met no resistance from the labor misleaders in the trade-union bureaucracy and the NDP, who have been the motor force in mobilizing anti-Sovietism and anti-communism at their "solidarity" demonstrations for Poland's company union for the CIA, Solidarność. Acting as the "labor" cover for U.S., as well as Canadian imperialist foreign policy, the labor tops and social democrates have united with right-wing/fascistic East European emigrés under the battle cry "Freedom for Poland."

Feeding off renewed Cold War anti-Sovietism former members of the fascist Western Guard now lead the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee. Wearing their "Solidarność" buttons they greeted a CP "peace" demonstration in Toronto October 31 with placards reading "Start World War III!"

This hasn't stopped the bulk of the left from joining in the chorus of pro-Solidarność anti-communism. But even the pro-Kremlin Communist Party cannot catch which way the wind is blowing. When the KKK came knocking at their door the CP dismissed it as a publicity stunt! Their answer to fascist attacks is to appeal to the capitalist government to "ban the Klan."

This dangerous and illusory strategy leads the CP/USA to call on the KKK's "favorite son" U.S. president Ronald Reagan to "confront the reality of racist oppression" (Daily World, 19 December 1981)!

In Canada they appeal to Trudeau, who's marching in lockstep with his partners in the White House toward nuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union. At home it's war on labor with the Trudeau government preaching austerity and threatening wage controls as unemployment hits depression-level highs and inflation and usurious interest rates tear the guts out of the working class. They want the man who declared war on Quebec in October, 1970, to "fight the right."

The reason behind the CP's call for "ban the Klan" lies neither in stupidity, nor ignorance. It is politics.
It's the programmatic extension of their desire for a class-collaboration alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie," the policy of the popular front, fundamental to Stalinism since 1936. But the capitalist state is not and cannot be class-neutral, much less "anti-fascist."

Capitalism's decay means that the bosses will direct their main blows at the workers movement, the one social force with the power and clear class interest to smash the fascist bands to crush them in broad daylight. For this job the bourgeoisie will never "ban the Klan." The state does have a use for "anti-extremist" laws—not against the fascists but against labor and the left. Does the CP need to wonder who is the natural target for persecution in the midst of an anti-soviet war drive? Reliance on the bosses' state laws-not against the fascists but against labor and anti-communism. This social garbage sees itself as the concentrated, "strong" version of the racists and union-busting anti-communists. This social garbage sees itself as the concentrated, "strong" version of the racists and union-busting anti-communists.

The enormous power of the working class to mobilize in its own historic interests is a true for virtually the entire left who back "Ban the Klan" groups like the B.C. Organization to Fight Racism and the Riverdale Action Committee Against Racism. The creased pro-Albania Stalinists of the CPC-MU and their People's Front Against Racist and Fascist Violence merely represent the flip side of the same reformist coin. They call on the East Indian community to go it alone against the fascists, all while joining the strident racist chorus which has spurred the Klan's growth.

For Labor/Minority Mobilizations!

The enormous power of the labor movement must be turned on the fascist bands to crush them in infancy. I t can be done! When the domestic reflection of the Cold War II exploded in the bloody streets of Greensboro, N.C., the TL organized a united-front protest. The Trotskyist League initiated a united-front protest and collected over 130 signatures (including the president of the Chinese Students Association, the coordinator of East Indian Student Affairs, the Director of International House, campus union stewards and student government officials) on a protest letter demanding "No Platform for Fascists!"

On January 6, the TL mobilized 15 students, minorities and unionists to take the protest to a Unity staff meeting. Indignantly squealing that the TL was "disruptive," the self-styled progressives that run the Unity defended their interview with McQuirter as an "expose" of Klan terror. These racist murderers use the media only to organize for genocide. The fascists are action groups. Their program is expressed not in words but fired from the barrels of guns.

Two days after the TL protest the Ubyssey printed a death-threat letter entitled "Shoot Commies": "The KKK in Canada have committed no crimes but have been unmercifully attacked by communists....I feel all communists should be shot." This open incitement to fascist terror is an outrage! Covering for the author whose threat was "withheld" the Ubyssey is aiding and abetting the Klan and racist, anti-communist reaction.

"celebrate Hitler's birthday" in San Francisco. The SL/U.S. and class-struggle militants in the unions initiated the April 15 Committee Against Nazis, and over 1,200 unionists, Jews, blacks, Chicanos, gays and socialists occupied the site the Nazis had planned to use for their goose-stepping provocation. The CP tried to sabotage and then boycotted the rally, but this powerful united-front demonstration, endorsed (continued on page 7)
Cold Warriors Weep ...

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red cent. The Wall Street Journal (7 December 1981) admitted: "And some bankers boast privately even were they forced to write off their Polish loans now they might show a profit on their loans to the nation over the past decade, so lucrative have been these deals."

It is outrageous that the Polish and Soviet workers should be milked by the profit-hungry bankers of Zurich, Frankfurt and New York. A revolutionary workers government in Warsaw would immediately cancel the imperialist debt. But it is not our task, as a Trotskyist vanguard fighting for the proletariat political revolution in the Soviet bloc, to advise the Warsaw bureaucrats, who have ruined the Polish economy, how to get out of the hole they're in. To be sure, should the Stalinists default, all class-conscious workers must defend Poland and the USSR against retaliation by the bloodsucking financiers and their political hirelings.

For Polish Trotskyism

Encouraged by Radio Free Europe and the Polish pope, it was clear that Solidarność was moving to overthrow the Warsaw regime and break with the Soviet Union. Jaruzelski's coup came at the last possible moment as a move from a position of power. Secret government-sponsored polls in 1980-81 showed that only 3 percent of the population would vote for the Communists in free elections; another 20 percent for socialists of various sorts, and 43 percent for Christian Democracy—i.e., for capitalist counterrevolution in the name of the pope (and bourgeois) democracy. For those who couldn't see the logic of Solidarity's progression, Solidarność leaders spelled it out in a closed meeting in Radom. The tapes, which have become known as "Radomgate," stripped off Lech Wałęsa's mask of a simple trade unionist. More extensive excerpts of these tapes have now appeared in the Western press, including this revealing excerpt from Wałęsa:

"After all, let us realize that we are bringing this system down. Let us at last realize this. If we agree to have private storekeepers, buy up state farms and ensure complete self-management, this system will cease to exist."

—Washington Post, 20 December 1981

The International Spartacist tendency drew the conclusions last September as Solidarność took up the Cold War propaganda themes of "Free elections" and "Free trade unions" throughout East Europe. "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" before it is too late, we said. And, for now, the power grab by this "company union for the bankers and the CIA" has been blocked. After the initial methodical roundup of Solidarity leaders, the flurry of resistance has died down. The general strike or armed resistance which would have forced a bloody confrontation, hardening the present disastrous lines of division, fortunately did not occur. The immediate danger of counterrevolution has been checked, but the fundamental crisis of Polish society has not been resolved.

The Polish masses are undeniably infatuated with the capitalist West, with American jeans and flags, and German cars. They should know that Poland cannot break from Russia without a major new war which would again mean their ruin. After World War II, the entire country was forcibly transferred 200 miles to the West, taking land which the Germans took 1,000 years to absorb. And the Germans are not generous with their Lebensraum. Counterrevolution in Poland would mean a capitalist reunification of Germany, creating a powerful imperialist juggernaut in Central Europe with no room for the Poles.
except perhaps as agricultural laborers. As the soldiers in those funny helmets start marching east again, Poles would necessarily embrace Russian army boots for protection. Those who think that General Jaruzelski's countercoup is the same as Nazi, or even Frederick the Great's rule would be brutally disabused of this notion.

It has been reported that some Solidarność militants, and even a few leaders, have been asking, "How did things go so wrong, so fast?" Well, you were against many of the right things, but what were you for? The forms of the movement frequently suggested proletarian political revolution, but tragically the content was dominated by the Catholic church and Western imperialism. The program of Walesa & Co. would have meant disaster for Polish working people. So everything important is learned the hard way, and Poland 1980-81 is no exception.

What's needed now is a period of underground reconstruction, in order to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized Poland 1980-81. Only the Trotskyist program of ousting the sellout bureaucrats through political revolution, in order to restore capitalism in Poland has been checked by martial law; whereas: in Canada the CLC and the NDP are in the front line attempting to mobilize the labor movement behind the imperialists' war drive, providing office space for Solidarność North American offices and calling on trade unionists to participate in "Solidarity with Solidarność" demonstrations on January 30; therefore we resolve: that we condemn the CLC/NDP's anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist demonstrations and that we refuse to participate in these anti-communist, anti-working-class mobilizations; and further that we demand: "NDP/CLC Tops: Hands Off Poland!", "No to Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!", "Defend the Soviet Union!" and "No to anti-Soviet Sanctions!"

Smash Klan Terror...

(continued from page 3)

... by 35 union officials and nine local unions, made clear that the Hitler-lovers didn't dare show, and they haven't been back since.

These two mobilizations, the largest labor actions of the right things, but what were you for? The forms of the movement frequently suggested proletarian political revolution, but tragically the content was dominated by the Catholic church and Western imperialism. The program of Walesa & Co. would have meant disaster for Polish working people. So everything important is learned the hard way, and Poland 1980-81 is no exception.

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and the system that breeds them requires ousting the racist, pro-capitalist labor tops and the political destruction of the hypocritically self-righteous social democracy. The labor movement desperately needs a class-struggle leadership, forged in the struggles of minorities and all the oppressed and fighting for the Cold War drive. The struggle to smash the fascists

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No "Solidarity with Solidarność"

The following motion was introduced at the January 21 meeting of Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1 by Audrey Minton:

Whereas: Solidarność, backed by the CIA, the western bankers and the Vatican, was the instrument in U.S. president Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive aimed at reclaiming the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation;

Whereas: Solidarność's counterrevolutionary drive to restore capitalism in Poland has been checked by martial law;

Whereas: in Canada the CLC and the NDP are in the front lines attempting to mobilize the labor movement behind the imperialists' war drive, providing office space for Solidarność North American offices and calling on trade unionists to participate in "Solidarity with Solidarność" demonstrations on January 30;

Therefore be it Resolved: that we condemn the CLC/NDP's anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist demonstrations and that we refuse to participate in these anti-communist, anti-working-class mobilizations; and further that we demand: "NDP/CLC Tops: Hands Off Poland!", "No to Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!", "Defend the Soviet Union!" and "No to anti-Soviet Sanctions!"

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February 6—In an ominous and dangerous provoca­
tion to every trade-unionist, minority and leftist in
this city, hooded Klansmen roamed the streets of
Vancouver February 1, making special visits to left­
ing bookstores. Eleven of these murderous scum,
six in full regalia, handed out their hate literature
in front of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist­
Leninist) [CPC-ML] bookstore. Then the fascists
marched on the Communist Party’s (CP) People’s
Co-op Books. Here one Klansman drove home the
fascists’ murderous message, rapping on the window
and pointing inside with a fist formed in the shape
of a gun.

This is the latest escalation in the dramatic rise
of Klan terror in B.C. This summer an East Indian
was shot in broad daylight with a needle carrying
the message “Compliments from the KKK.” On Octo­
ber 17 last year a cross was burned in south Van­
couver. Firebombings of East Asians’ homes, houses
sprayed with shotgun fire, an East Indian beaten to
death in a park: racist terror is on the rampage.
In the past month Klansmen have paid several visits
to leftist bookstores, beating up and hospitalizing a
CPC-ML member who attempted to drive them away.

Now these racist creeps go out openly in hoods
and robes in a campaign of terror directed against
every decent person in Vancouver. But as the Klan
grows bolder others look away. There has not been
a peep of protest from the labor bureaucrats or their
“political arm”—the wretchedly right-wing social
democrats of the NDP. But then both the labor tops
and the NDP have made ample contribution to fanning
the flames of anti-communist, anti-Soviet hysteria,
(continued on page 4)