



Down with anti-Soviet sanctions!

Cold War crusade for Solidarność

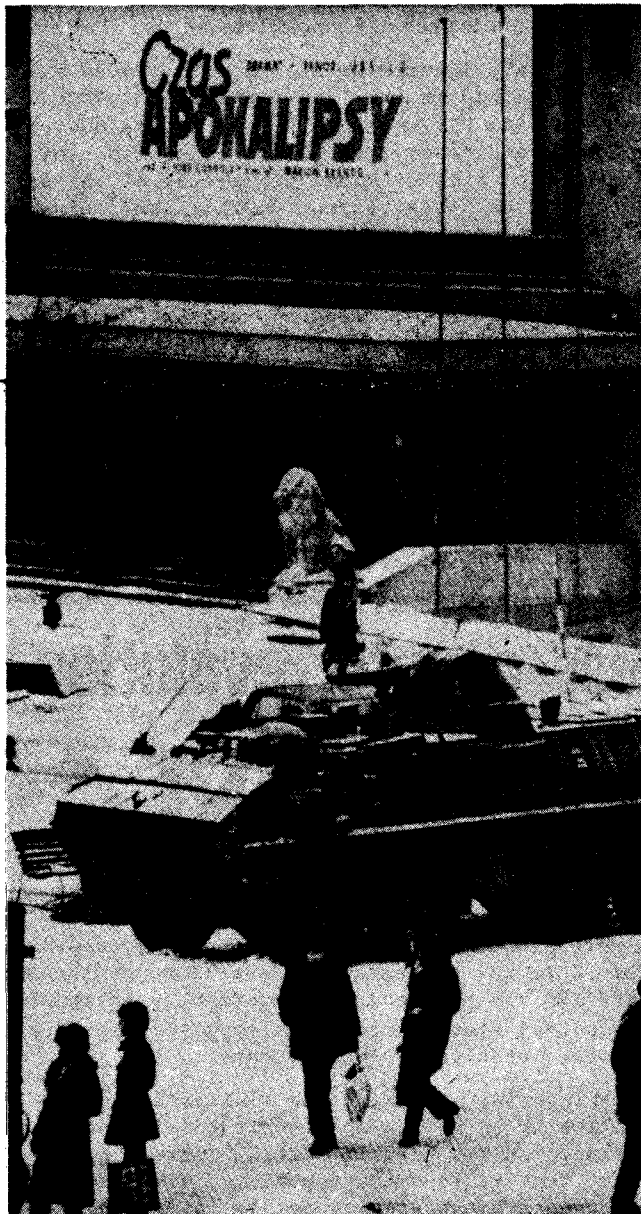
Polish Solidarnosc was the great white hope of Western imperialism. With the eruption of this pro-Western, anti-Communist 'trade union' within Eastern Europe, NATO ruling circles saw a historic chance -- the best, they said, since World War II -- to drive Soviet power back to Russian borders. Ever since 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 recognised by the 1945 Yalta Agreement. Today, 'roll back Yalta' is the cry which reverberates from the White House to the Vatican. American liberal commentator Ronald Steel laid out the stakes involved in the Solidarnosc 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 Eastern Europe would have been threatened. The other satellites might have followed suit.... The Iron Curtain could have been cracked.' (*New York Times*, 3 January)

But now Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary drive for power has been checked. If the Reagan administration's initial response to the crack-down against Solidarnosc by the Polish army was 'low key', it was only because, like Carter over Iran and Afghanistan, they had been caught out. They had been counting on -- and doing everything they could to provoke -- a Russian takeover. The bugbear of a 'Soviet threat to Poland' has been used to gain popular support for a trillion-dollar arms build-up and its nuclear first-strike strategy. From Wall Street to the White House, America's ruling class feels frustrated and angry.

With allies like these ...

But US imperialism's attempts to make Poland the *causis belli* of Cold War II have run into resistance and outright opposition from its West European allies, especially the most powerful one, West Germany. The obstreperous new PASOK regime in Greece, more concerned with its historical adversary across the border, objected that NATO was hardly the right forum to condemn a military dictatorship, given Turkey's membership! Thatcher remains Reagan's loyal lieutenant in the anti-Soviet crusade, albeit one with little clout to apply. (In a symbolic gesture, Britain announced the establishment of full-scale ambassadorial relations with the Vatican for the first time after the crackdown on Solidarnosc.) But in general the working masses in the US and Europe have not been swept into the anti-Communist mobilisations. Blacks in Reagan's America and trade unionists in Thatcher's Britain are not easily convinced to enlist in the imperialist crusade to defend civil rights and 'free trade unions' in Poland against 'Communist totalitarianism'. Reagan's Christmas denunciation of the 'forces of tyranny' in Poland who deny the 'basic rights of its people to form free trade unions and to strike' come from the man who destroyed the air controllers union by sacking the *entire membership* for daring to strike! And these are the same 'freedom fighters' who send Irish Republicans to



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their deaths and ship millions of dollars in weapons to the death squads in El Salvador which every single night murder at least four times as many people as have been killed in Poland since the beginning of martial law.

Under pressure from the right, not least of

all from the rabid Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, Reagan revved up the 'freedom for Poland' campaign. He even pulled together his old Hollywood cronies for a Cold War television 'extravaganza' entitled 'Let Poland be Poland' for broadcast throughout the 'free world' for 'Solidarity Day' (30 January). But the prospect of hearing Frank Sinatra sing Polish folk songs and Margaret Thatcher declaiming on trade union rights met with a decidedly unenthusiastic response even from the major television networks.

The most provocative of Reagan's actions was a series of economic sanctions, first against the Poles (cancelling LOT airline's landing rights in the US, 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). The sanctions have had little effect in provoking a response in Poland. General Jaruzelski adamantly declared, 'We will not succumb to political pressures from the West.' As long as West Europe and Japan don't follow suit, they will end up hurting American capitalists more than the Russians. The best the US could secure in the way of a unified response from its NATO partners was a vague pledge not to undercut the effectiveness of the American sanctions.

But regardless of the quantitative effect of Reagan's actions, all class-conscious workers must oppose this imperialist economic warfare against the USSR. Nor must workers allow themselves to get sucked into labour boycotts of Polish and Soviet goods, as has happened in isolated cases, including at Massey Ferguson in Coventry. Such bans are simply a complement to the imperialist Cold War sanctions. Down with the anti-Soviet sanctions and bans!

Cold War politics

Despite ham-fisted efforts by the Reagan administration aimed at putting a halt to West European involvement in the massive Siberian gas pipeline deal, even France went ahead and signed a 25-year contract for Soviet gas. Cold War Socialist president Francois Mitterrand is unenthusiastic about the US sanctions against the Soviet Union, but not out of being 'soft on Communism'. Denouncing Jaruzelski's action as Kremlin-inspired, Paris called for an 'offensive application' of the Helsinki Accords and also took aim at the Yalta Agreement. Mitterrand's France has been the one West European country to witness a mass anti-Soviet, anti-Communist mobilisation in response to the Polish military takeover. And the motor force behind it has been Mitterrand's Socialist Party.

On 14 December, 50,000 marched in Paris to show 'Solidarity with Solidarnosc'. A week later an anti-Communist union cartel including the social-democratic CFDT, Force Ouvriere (a Cold War 'socialist' creation of the CIA) and the official Catholic trade union federation staged a one-hour pro-Solidarnosc strike in an attempt to drag the ranks of the Stalinist-controlled CGT into the hysterical Cold War campaign. But in spite of heavy backing from the state, the

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Leopold Trepper, heroic Soviet spy

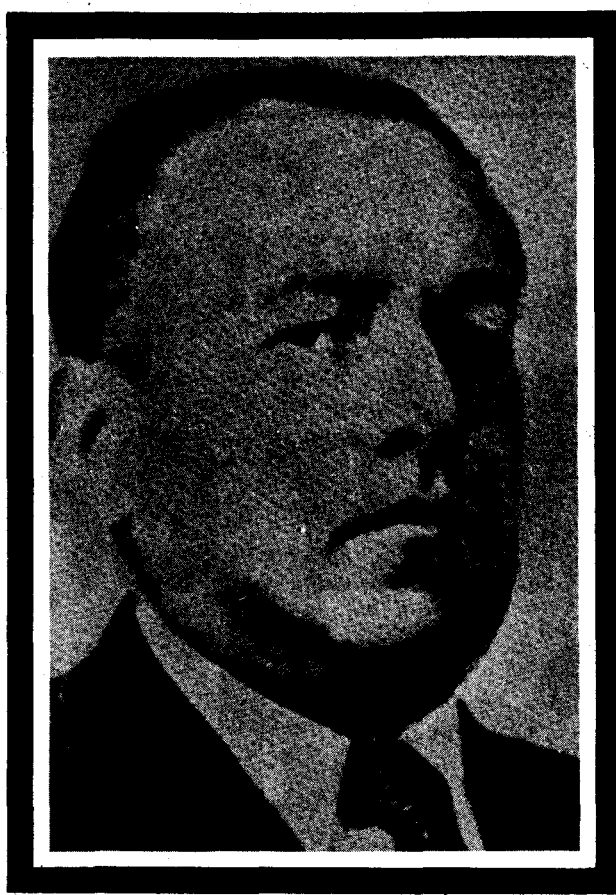
'Over and above our confusion and our anguish was the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, even though it had ceased to be the homeland of the socialism we had hoped for....

'My path was decided. It might end in a prison cell, a concentration camp, or against a wall. Yet by fighting far from Moscow, in the forefront of the anti-Nazi struggle, I could continue to be what I had always been: a militant revolutionary.'

Thus did Leopold Trepper describe in his memoirs, *The Great Game*, how he came to enlist in the Fourth Department, Soviet military intelligence, at the height of Stalin's Great Purge. Leopold Trepper: Polish Jew, communist militant, heroic Soviet spy, whose 'Red Orchestra' was the most spectacular and successful espionage network in Nazi-occupied Europe. His path was to lead not only to the concentration camps of Hitler, but the prison cells of Stalin. He died on 19 January, at the age of 77 in Jerusalem.

Born in Polish Galicia, Trepper came to communism, in his words, 'in the glow of October'. In 1924, blacklisted by the Pilsudski dictatorship for his role in a workers uprising in Cracow the year before, he fled to Palestine, where he joined the Communist Party. He was deported to France by the British colonial administration for clandestine organising of Jewish and Arab workers and, after several years in the Soviet Union, returned there to set up a network of some 300 agents penetrating into the highest echelons of the Wehrmacht (see 'Heroic Soviet Spies', *Workers Vanguard* nos 165 and 166, 8 and 15 July 1977).

Among the 1500 despatches transmitted to Moscow by the 'pianists' (radio operators) of the Red Orchestra were detailed plans of a new German tank and Messerschmidt fighter which enabled the Red Army to deploy superior versions within months. When Hitler met with the German High Command to draw up plans for the encirclement of Moscow, the stenographer was a member of the Red Orchestra, allowing the Soviet general staff to prepare a counteroffensive in time for the German attack. In fact, months before Hitler launched 'Operation Barbarossa', the invasion of Russia, the Red Orchestra was supplying detailed information to Moscow. Another Soviet spy, Richard Sorge in Tokyo, had even obtained the exact date of the invasion and the precise number of divisions involved. These reports were



Nazi file photograph of Leopold Trepper.

consciously ignored by Stalin, who placed his trust instead in the 'non-aggression' pact signed with Hitler in 1939. The entire Soviet people paid dearly, at a cost of millions of lives, for this criminal negligence of the defence of the Soviet Union, starkly confirming Trotsky's contention that 'the central nest of defeatism' was the Kremlin.

Captured by the Germans after the Red Orchestra was uncovered, Trepper managed to escape, only to be whisked off to the Lubianka by Stalin's secret police when he arrived in Moscow. Returned to his family and his native Poland after nearly ten years' imprisonment, they decided to flee yet again in the wake of an anti-Semitic purge orchestrated by the Gomulka regime.

Like many of his 'generation that has been

sacrificed by history', Trepper was aware of the counterrevolutionary crimes of the Stalin bureaucracy, not least the beheading of the Red Army on the eve of World War II. But with such exceptions as Ignace Reiss (an intelligence agent assassinated by Stalin after declaring for the Fourth International), they recoiled from the programmatic conclusions. Caught in Stalin's counterrevolutionary web, they continued to serve the world revolution in the only way they could: applying their inestimable talents and courage to the defence of the Soviet Union. Thus it is both distasteful and demeaning to find an obituary of Trepper by Tariq Ali (now writing in *Socialist Worker*, 30 January), whose heroes are anti-Soviet 'freedom fighters' in Afghanistan and Pilsudskite counterrevolutionaries in Poland, which seeks to paint Trepper in his image -- as a 'third campist'.

Leopold Trepper never came to Trotskyism. Yet in their very existence, these heroic Soviet spies confirmed the Trotskyist understanding that the bureaucracy is a fragile, contradictory caste, not a new class of exploiters. Alongside the degenerate hacks and assassins of Stalin, in the same government apparatus, at the very heart of the military and security organs of state power, there remained (and must still remain) elements infused with the ideals of communism. 'But who did protest at the time?', wrote Trepper:

'The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did.... But their voices were lost in the tundra.

'Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism.'

The voices of the Trotskyists were not simply lost in the tundra. A new generation of Trotskyists will be and is being forged through learning the lessons which these courageous revolutionaries defended with their lives. When the Soviet working class rises up in political revolution to expel the Stalinist betrayers, they will not forget Leopold Trepper and the martyrs of the Red Orchestra. ■

In defence of Solidarność counterrevolution

IMG calls cops on SL

The following letter was sent to the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group (IMG) in protest at the criminal use of the police against the Spartacist League.

Copies of the letter have been sent to numerous Labour Party and trade union branches and other labour movement bodies, along with a cover letter which points out: 'The IMG must be called to account for its behaviour.'

26 January 1982

International Marxist Group
Political Committee

Comrades,

On the morning of Saturday, 16 January, a leading supporter of *Socialist Challenge*, Davy Jones, called the police against two of our comrades. In response to your ban on the sale of Spartacist literature at the Other Bookshop because of our opposition to Polish Solidarność's CIA-backed counterrevolutionary course, our comrades were engaged in distributing literature outside the bookshop. Moments after Jones threatened to call the police if our comrades refused to leave the area, five members of the Metropolitan Police Force, including one detective, arrived on the scene. They entered your bookshop, came out after a brief period, interrogated our comrades and ordered them to leave the vicinity.

This action could easily have resulted in the arrest of our comrades, opening up them

individually and our organisation as a whole to increased surveillance, harassment and repression. It was witnessed by several supporters of the IMG and subsequently endorsed by National Secretary Steve Potter, who repeated the threat a week later in a similar context.

Fingering working class militants to the police is an action so clearly inimical to the principles and security of the workers movement that it is often associated with the work of agents provocateurs. Yet it is entirely consistent with your self-appointed role as promoters of a 'socialist' wing of the reactionary Pilsudskite and Cold War anti-Communist crusade against the Polish and Russian deformed workers states. The IMG literally marches shoulder-to-shoulder with openly anti-Communist, anti-Semitic Polish emigres and the most extreme pro-NATO elements, from the Healey wing of the Labour Party through the SDP and Tories.

Like the 'State Department socialists' of Max Shachtman's ilk who were the most vociferous advocates of American imperialism's war in Vietnam and its military provocations against the Cuban revolution, your position today is that of an apologist from within the workers movement for the most militaristic and militantly anti-Soviet wing of imperialism. You berate the left Labour and trade union leaders whom you normally fawn over because they are hesitant to plunge into the Cold War mobilisations behind Solidarność and the CIA. You squeal over Lord Carrington's supposed policy

of 'strict non-intervention'. You dismiss the Reagan administration's initial response to the martial law as 'mild' in an attempt to gather a case for your bizarre claim that the American government does not support Solidarność. Your French co-thinkers of the LCR denounce the Cold War Socialist Mitterrand regime for its ostensible stance of 'non-interference' and implicitly demand that French imperialism openly interfere in the affairs of the Polish workers state.

Your posture of 'anti-Stalinism' in this defence of social counterrevolution is given the lie by your mimicry of behaviour historically associated with the Stalinist movement, not least the denunciation of leftist opponents to the bourgeois authorities. You may be aware that the *Wall Street Journal*, another friend of Solidarność, has issued public, scarcely veiled threats that our voice in opposition to Solidarność's counterrevolution and CIA assistance through the conduit of the AFL-CIO must be silenced. We will not be intimidated by them. And certainly not by you.

Does the IMG believe that through police-enforced censorship of your patch on Upper Street you will be able to suppress our Trotskyist defence of the Polish deformed workers state? Do you imagine that your unholy alliance with anti-Soviet reaction can be made more palatable to the many left-wing militants in the labour movement who also oppose Solidarność if only you seal off your bookshop to Trotskyist literature on Poland? Hardly. We will continue to espouse and fight for the only programme which can advance the Polish workers on the road to proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist usurpers and suppress the counterrevolutionary and imperialist-inspired intrigues against the collectivised property and the military security of the Soviet bloc.

Yours,
John Masters,
for the Spartacist League Central Committee



Fake Trotskyists tail Pilsudskiite reaction, as CP erupts over Poland

The Polish Stalinist regime's successful move to check the counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarnosc has catapulted to the surface a long developing schism within the labour movement in response to the renewed Cold War. 'Solidarity with Solidarnosc' is now the battlecry of an unsavoury anti-Soviet amalgam. While the overwhelming bulk of the proletariat has shown little or no enthusiasm for this crusade for 'free trade unions' championed by Reagan and Thatcher, much of the ostensibly revolutionary left marches loyally if uncomfortably behind imperialist Cold Warriors and Pilsudskiite reactionaries. The increasingly shameless consolidation on a social-democratic trajectory by the myriad of pseudo-Trotskyist tendencies is revealed in their enthusiastic, indeed frenzied, support for Solidarnosc. But it is within the Communist Party (CP) that the impact of the anti-Soviet crusade over Solidarnosc -- and the evident bankruptcy of Stalinist rule in Poland -- has been manifested most sharply and turbulently. Open and rancorous factional warfare has exploded within the CP which threatens to tear it apart.

Pilsudski-lovers united ...

The Cold War line-up was graphically depicted in a 20 December Solidarnosc support demonstration of 15,000 in London. The marchers were overwhelmingly Polish emigres and Pilsudskiites, bemused by the herd of fake Trotskyists who were unsuccessfully and incomprehensibly running around trying to hustle their papers. Three London CP branches marched, under a hail of anti-communist insults from the Pilsudskiites. The speakers ranged from right-wing Labourites to Tories and worse. A perceptive account in *City Limits* (4 February) described the scene:

'For one thing, sharing Hyde Park with Thatcher and Reagan fans (not to mention Shirley Williams) isn't something for which the left has an etiquette. For another, I found myself, a socialist and feminist, alongside thousands of Poles, from West London, a big Catholic community of post-war refugees....

'But the absences from the march were also telling. The Labour Party had decided against formal sponsorship. Trade unions made a poor showing....

'Many trade unionists, accustomed to a viciously anti-union press, must have spent some time perplexed about whether to support Solidarity if Fleet Street did. After all, when was the last time there'd been front-page splashes applauding trade union victories here?'

On the question of Poland, it is the fake-Trotskyist groupings which vie to be the most strident exponents of Cold War socialism today. Indeed the level of frenzied disorientation, with nothing standing between them and their openly reactionary bloc partners, is revealed in the amount of propaganda they devote to attacking the 'hypocrisy' of imperialists like Reagan for supporting the 'Polish workers'. Thus the International Marxist Group (IMG) levels a frantic attack on the 'treachery of the Reagan administration' for daring to 'solidarise with Solidarnosc' by staging its television extravaganza. 'Poland is not another Chile' writes IMG leader Jonathan Silberman (*Socialist Chal-*

lenge, 21 January). Why? Because 'Talk of a military coup [in Poland] ... lets the ruling Communist Party off the hook' and because, unlike Allende, Walesa stood for the workers 'rely[ing] only upon their own ability and preparedness to struggle'. And this is passed off as Trotskyism!

The fake Trotskyists have been driven into uncharacteristic paroxysms by the inability to tail their traditional idols of the Labour/trade union reformist left over Poland, and have been uniformly complaining that the right wing is 'out-gunning the left' on the issue. *Socialist Organiser* (14 January) expressed the frustration in an 'open letter to Arthur Scargill and Tony Benn' plastered over its front page. But the Scargills and Benns of this world have a better gauge of the lack of working-class support and unsavoury quality of openly lining up with the likes of Thatcher and Reagan. They don't want to 'outgun' the right on this one. When told by a *Spartacist Britain* seller outside a mass miners rally in Rotherham that we didn't support Solidarnosc, Scargill replied 'Good! That makes two of us.'

Indeed while right-winger Frank Chapple has been trying to whip up support within the EETPU

the middle over the Polish events, with Eurocommunists anxious to prove loyalty to their 'own' bourgeoisie pitted into open factional war against Moscow-loyalists and those who would oppose the imperialist Cold War offensive. (See 'We won't strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa', page 5, for analysis of the fight in the Italian CP.) And while the British CP is a pathetic poor relation to mass parties like the PCI, unable even to dream about securing a few Cabinet seats in a coalition government, it too has been deeply riven.

While not going so far as Berlinguer and Co, the CPGB leadership line has a strong pro-Solidarnosc tilt. Shortly after the imposition of martial law, the Political Committee issued a statement headlined, 'Britain's Communists speak out: Release the prisoners. Restore democratic rights. Return to civilian rule'. The leadership position conceded that some elements of Solidarnosc were 'provocative' and even 'anti-Socialist' and that imperialism exploited the Polish crisis (to 'undermine the process of detente'). But its overwhelming emphasis was to attack the imposition of martial law and demand a 'return to the path of democratic renewal' (*Morning Star*, 12 January).

In response, much of the party's base has exploded, angrily demanding repudiation of all support to Solidarnosc. Five of the party's 20 districts have officially denounced the leadership line, including such working-class strongholds as the Midlands, East Midlands and Northern areas (and it only takes six districts to demand an emergency national conference). The district committee of the key London region voted 18-15 against the leadership line in December, only to overturn the vote by 19-17 in January. When international spokesman Gerry Pocock put the line at a London aggregate meeting in late January, all hell broke loose, as a motion of condemnation was forced to a vote

from the floor, and reportedly passed by a 4-1 landslide.

The letters column of the *Morning Star* and the fortnightly *Comment* have become a focus for stormy and vituperative debate. An opponent of Solidarnosc writes: 'The *Morning Star* has jumped on the same bandwagon as Reagan, Thatcher and the Pope when it demands an end to martial law in Poland....' Meanwhile the Eurocommunists and their allies charge that the Moscow-liners have 'fundamental differences with the party's programme for Socialism and cannot relate the facts to the reality'. And the three London branches, which marched on 20 December defied the leadership from an ultra-Eurocommunist, consistently pro-Solidarnosc stance.

The factional division in the CP was not born over Poland. The backdrop to it is a years-long conflict pitting the central leadership and its Eurocommunist allies against a large and growing pro-Moscow wing. Disenchanted by the party's

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Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union; Communist Party defends Britain.

for Solidarnosc, many of his members remember that it was the CIA-allied Catholic Action which spearheaded the anti-communist witchhunt that put Chapple in. Solidarnosc has an air of familiarity about it. In one Fleet Street union that had been offered a Solidarnosc speaker, an already wary branch officer became convinced that Solidarnosc had no place in his union meeting after reading *Spartacist* literature. A Solidarnosc rally in Glasgow was snubbed by the Scottish TUC and Labour Party. In Sheffield, not a single union contingent turned out for a miserable gathering of 150 Solidarnosc supporters, which was so uniformly right wing in colouration that even the fake Trotskyists decided against marching when they arrived.

CP divided

But while the fake Trotskyists present a solid united front with Pilsudskiite reaction and Cold War anti-Sovietism, the Communist parties of Western Europe have been split down

CP on Poland...

(Continued from page 3)

growing distance from the Kremlin ever since the Prague Spring of 1968, in 1977 a small minority around Sid French split out to form the New Communist Party. But many old-timers considered the split premature and remained inside with a perspective of recapturing the party from the 'opportunists and the Euros'.

The current explosion is informed by the Cold War build-up. When the *Morning Star* echoed the social-democratic call for 'Soviet troops out of Afghanistan' two years ago, a large and vocal minority rebelled (many CPers we encountered openly expressing preference for our call, 'Hail Red Army in Afghanistan'). At its national conference in November 1981, Afghanistan and Poland were the focal points of the fight. An amendment repudiating the leadership's call for the unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and demanding support for 'the action of the Soviet Union in answering the call for assistance from a fraternal party' received 115 votes to 157 against. A similar line-up was manifested in the debate on Poland. One anti-leadership document in the pre-conference discussion read:

'The EC resolution is not just a bad resolution, it is a microcosm of the degeneration of the party. It is anti-Soviet, verging on social chauvinism, tailist; it abdicates our vanguard role within Britain and the vanguard of the International Communist movement world wide. The resolution is riddled with opportunism. It represents the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism.' (Pre-conference discussion journal no 2, October 1981)

'Euros' v Brezhnevites

The opposition to Solidarnosc within the CP represents not simply undying loyalty to the Kremlin bureaucrats but a healthy disdain for the rampant capitulation to Cold War anti-Sovietism. There are many, particularly trade unionists, who joined the Communist Party in conscious preference to the Labour Party because it retains, however false and attenuated, the mantle of reflected authority of the Bolshevik Revolution. However those looking for a revolutionary internationalist alternative to anti-Sovietism, social chauvinism and tailism will not find it in the politics of Kremlin-loyalism.

The pro-Moscow opposition is if anything even more committed than the 'Euro/opportunist' leadership to the criminally illusory project of 'detente' with Cold War imperialism. The opposition amendment on Afghanistan carefully sidestepped the leadership's complaint that the Soviet intervention was in violation of the Helsinki 'human rights' Accord's 'agreed international principles' on 'interference in internal affairs' and even called for 'the earliest withdrawal of Soviet troops'. And the pro-Moscow wing willingly joins the leadership in such social-chauvinist pleas as a call for 'an immediate £2 billion cut in arms expenditure as a first step towards cutting by half the present arms bill of £12 billion....'

Such popular-frontist coalitions with the bourgeoisie and pacifist schemes for disarmament, time-worn recipes of the Stalinists, cannot combat the imperialist drive to reconquer the Soviet Union for capitalism. They serve only to dangerously disarm the Soviet Union and to sabotage revolutionary struggles elsewhere. While the Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) intervened in last October's anti-missiles march

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with banners reading 'Defend the Soviet Union' and 'Stop Solidarity's counterrevolution', the CP was hawking a *Morning Star* with the pacifist-chauvinist headline, 'Defend Britain -- Ban the Bomb'.

And when it comes to questions of the domestic class struggle, the pro-Moscow and Euro-communist wings are fundamentally united. The CP's trade union work -- the one arena where the party does exercise some significant influence -- is conspicuously not a question in the factional warfare. Yet this trade union work is a catalogue of betrayal -- from the CP's sabotage of all attempts to spread the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders fight in the early 1970s, through countless capitulations to management attack in British Leyland, to conscious opposition to turning the national steel strike of 1980 into a general strike. Such betrayals go back to the wartime no-strike pledge -- and before. And all this within the framework of a domestic political perspective (the 'broad democratic alliance') which is often to the right of the Labour Party left wing. No wonder the party drifts steadily downhill, losing another thousand or so members each year, while *Morning Star* circulation drops ever lower. And no wonder former CP executive member Sue Slipman can defect to the SDP with the damning admission that she had not really changed her politics!

The crimes of Stalinism

The Polish crisis is a sharp indictment of Stalinist rule. Yet most of the opposition to the leadership line on Poland goes no further than denouncing Solidarnosc as counterrevolutionary. For serious militants it is not enough simply to point the finger of blame at the imperialists and prattle about the 'mistakes' of the Polish regime. What sort of 'mistakes' could allow the Solidarnosc Trojan Horse for imperialism to win the leadership of the majority of the Polish proletariat? One small grouping around the CP which attempts to go beyond the Kremlin's puerile answers, for example, looks to *The Leninist* and the Turkish critical Stalinist Iscenin Sesi ('Workers Voice') group, which calls itself the 'Leninist wing of the Turkish Communist Party'.

Isценin Sesi seeks to sidestep the fundamental questions confronting Stalinists by disingenuously granting a fair chunk of Trotskyist analysis onto their Stalinist worldview. Thus its statement on the Jaruzelski coup, 'Counter-revolution in Poland must be crushed' (reprinted in translation in a supplement of the English-



Workers Vanguard



language *Turkey Today*), reads in places like a potted version of Spartacist analysis locked into a Stalinist schema for reform (through 'mass struggle'). Iscenin Sesi theoretical guru R Yurukoglu argues:

'The Solidarity movement was more and more becoming an impatient counter-revolutionary force. All its activities, the content of its demands, and the character of its international alliances brought this fact into open view.'

He denounces as nationalism the Polish Stalinist regime's appeal to the bogey of a Soviet invasion, 'frighten[ing] the people by saying the Russians are coming', and emphasises the necessity to 'defend the Soviet Union' ('600,000 Soviet soldiers died in order to liberate Poland'). Yurukoglu notes that agriculture is in ruins just because it is in private hands', denounces 'the old and antiquated bureaucratic structure, corruption and injustices' and warns: 'The question mark hanging over socialism in Poland still remains.'

But even this 'critical' Stalinist exposition with its phoney 'dialectics' about 'two lines of struggle' raises more questions than it answers. The Stalinists are on the horns of a dilemma over the Polish crisis. And it must be faced squarely by serious CP members. How is it that a question mark hangs over socialism in Poland after three decades of Stalinist rule? Why does agriculture remain an instrument of blackmail by the Catholic-dominated peasantry after that length of time? How can bureaucracy, corruption and injustice have been allowed to flourish to the extent that the overwhelming mass of the historically socialist Polish proletariat has been driven into the arms of an openly counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist movement? And why is it that on the borders of the Soviet Union there exists a regime which feeds into reactionary anti-Russian nationalism by hiding behind the threat of Soviet invasion? There are no answers within the framework of Stalinism. And thus it offers no way forward, save vague calls for 'socialist renewal'.

Who defends the Soviet Union?

Since 1924, only the Trotskyist Left Opposition and its successors have been able to offer a coherent explanation of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution under the thumb of Stalinism and the rise of a nationalistic, bureaucratic caste. Poland today is faced with a mass counterrevolutionary movement because of the historic policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, committed first and foremost to the defence of its privileged status leeching off the socialised property forms upon which it rests. Conciliation of counterrevolutionary forces began not with Gomulka but with Stalin/Bukharin. Bureaucratism is not an incidental or exceptional development but a necessary aspect of this nationalistic caste which in order to preserve its privileged position must deny workers (soviet) democracy, and seeks to conciliate imperialist reaction under the guise of 'building socialism in one country' through 'peaceful co-existence'. What is required to return the Soviet Union to the revolutionary-internationalist policy pursued by Lenin and Trotsky is for the Soviet proletariat to oust the bureaucracy through political revolution. And that is the only programme to get Poland working again.

The treachery of Stalinism has brought Poland to the brink of a bloody counterrevolution which would install a NATO-loyal Catholic-nationalist regime in the heart of the Warsaw Pact. The gutless crawling of the CP leadership and Euro-communists before 'democratic' bourgeois liberals who warrant nothing but contempt. Whether as lackey to Stalin or bootlicker to the bourgeoisie, the CP has for decades been a party of pathetic reformism, not proletarian revolution. Today it is visibly going nowhere and so the Labour Party will get its share of disenfranchised Communists.

There is an alternative. For those members of the Communist Party who recoil from capitulating to the imperialist-inspired crusade against the Soviet Union and the October Revolution, who wish to defend the historic gains of the proletariat which remain in the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers states and to extend them internationally, now is the time to come to grips with the patent bankruptcy of Stalinism. The fake-Trotskyists who are flocking into the arms of the social democracy and anti-Sovietism have nothing to offer those militant workers seeking to fight the imperialist war drive. There is only one tendency in the world today which stands on the revolutionary tradition of the Communist International and struggles for the rebirth of the Fourth International. That is the international Spartacist tendency. ■

Italian workers balk at Eurocommunist treachery

'We won't strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa!'

The preventive coup launched by the Warsaw regime to stop counterrevolutionary preparations by Polish Solidarnosc is leading the Italian Communist Party (PCI) to the brink of internal rift and perhaps to an open split. PCI tops immediately issued a condemnation of the crackdown in Poland, and party chief Enrico Berlinguer declared categorically on national TV, 'The forward thrust originating in the October

Report from Italy

Revolution has been spent.' But at the base, in the factories, Italian workers overwhelmingly refused to heed the Eurocommunists' call for strikes and demonstrations in 'solidarity with Solidarnosc'. A worker in Bologna expressed the sentiment of many, replying to union organizers, 'I don't strike for the madonna of Czestochowa.'

For the Communist Party leadership what is posed is a final break with Moscow, crossing the Rubicon in the process of social-democratization which in varying degrees has taken its toll among the Stalinist parties of West Europe. Long since become reformist, the Eurocommunists are looking to ensconce themselves in the capitalist state by swearing undivided loyalty to their 'own' bourgeoisie. In a televised press conference on December 15, Berlinguer pronounced his verdict on the 'real/existing socialism' of the Soviet bloc:

'The forward-moving capacity of renewal in the societies of East Europe has been exhausted. I am speaking of the forward thrust which has its beginnings in the socialist October Revolution... Today we have reached a point in which this period is at an end.' (L'Unita, 16 December 1981)

The PCI leader also went out of his way to praise Pope Wojtyla's statements on East Europe and said that 'today the question of Italy leaving the Atlantic Pact (NATO) must not be raised'.

In case there was any ambiguity about his aims, on the 17th Berlinguer delivered a hard speech against martial law in Poland before the Common Market 'parliament' in Strasbourg, for which he received the applause of the assembled bourgeois and social-democratic statesmen. Speaking to journalists there, he compared the present moment to the collapse of the Second International and the birth of the Communist International, saying that the PCI's 'third road' meant constructing socialism 'respecting the values and rules of democracy' (L'Unita, 18 December 1981). That same day he held a four-hour meeting with Willy Brandt, chairman of the German SPD and of the social-democratic Second International, on the prospects for a 'Euro-left'. And on December 18 Berlinguer met with Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo to map out a joint Eurocommunist offensive.

This campaign was rapidly spread throughout the PCI apparatus. There was reported dissension in the meetings of party activists, but in the

factories opposition to Berlinguer was massive. When the three union federations called a one-hour strike 'in solidarity with Solidarnosc', the strike was a failure all over the country. In Genova, the secretary of the powerful PCI-led dock workers union admitted 'there was massive resistance when we distributed the leaflet with the party line on Poland' (L'Espresso, 27 December 1981). At FIAT's Mirafiori works in Torino, where the PCI and union tops sabotaged a hard-fought strike in late 1980, workers noted that it was strange that 'a union that nine months ago did not agree on anything internally, all of a sudden decided to go all out for Poland'. In Milano a local party leader admitted that not only hard Stalinists but also 'the others don't want to demonstrate together with [Christian Democratic leader] Piccoli'. In Milano and Torino, only a few

Communist Party leaders have tried to explain away this opposition from their ranks as a reflection of Italian parochialism. No doubt this is an element, along with a healthy dose of anti-clericalism. But usually the workers' anger is directed at their leaders' failure to do anything about the devastating layoffs and inflation at home. And there is also widespread mistrust of Walesa & Co. One worker was quoted as saying of Solidarnosc: 'Some of its choices seem to demand a return to capitalism.' In Bologna, so-called *Kabulisti* (PCIers who supported Soviet intervention against CIA-backed Islamic reaction in Afghanistan) in left-wing factory councils argued, 'Solidarnosc was born a year ago and already it's trying to undo socialist power!'

So far there has been little sharp opposition to Berlinguer's line in the Communist Party

hierarchy. But the PCI bureaucrats have not been able to ignore the negative response, apparently unexpected, from their base. L'Unita, the party newspaper, has dedicated several articles to polemizing against the membership. In Torino the party apparatus mobilized against the so-called *kabulisti* (or 'Afghans') of Branch 39, who called for suppressing the counterrevolutionary activities of Solidarnosc. The 'Afghan' branch leader denounced the 'anti-Communist scum, from the MSI [fascists], the Christian Democrats and the Socialists to the so-called left, those of Il Manifesto and Lotta Continua' who all support Walesa. This speech reportedly drew applause from



Italian workers in solidarity with Fiat strike in 1980. But they wouldn't go out for Walesa and Wojtyla.

hundred workers showed up for trade-union-called demonstrations over Poland.

An article in the 'far-left' daily *Il Manifesto* (18 December 1981) reported on the situation in Bologna under the headline: "'Walesa Is a Provocateur, We Don't Strike for the Black Madonna.'" Difficult Atmosphere in the Factories'. There was a real 'upsurge against Solidarnosc in the factories and in the [PCI] branches themselves', the article noted:

'Some Communist branches refused to distribute the national leadership's document. A couple of officials, workers at SIP, said: "We won't join the strike, so obviously don't ask us to organize it." At the GD metal plant, a "historic" stronghold of the Bologna FLM [Metal Workers Federation], two departments with a Communist majority, after reading the agenda for the factory council which declared for Solidarnosc, took out pen and paper and wrote a counterdocument. They circulated it in the factory and began to collect signatures. At Wrapmatic, another metal plant, a long discussion ended with the decision to stay in the factory. "We won't strike for Walesa", they announced. The list could go on.'

At the Weber plant in Bologna a group of workers overran a picket line formed by union delegates. Both strikers and non-strikers were predominantly members of the PCI.

At a demonstration by metal workers on December 17 in Milano's Cathedral Square, strikers vociferously heckled a student speaking for Solidarnosc: 'They're talking too much about Warsaw. Talk about unemployment in Italy.'

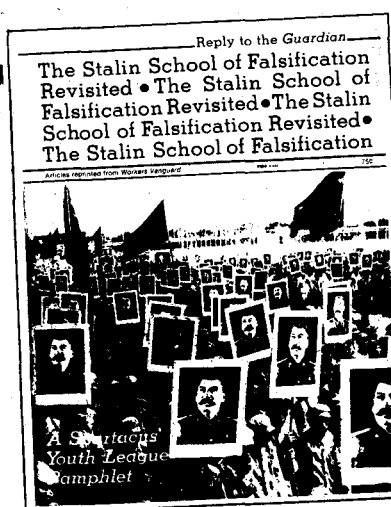
roughly a third of the PCI activists.

The pseudo-Trotskyists, meanwhile, have lined up solidly with Solidarnosc and the Western bourgeoisie. In Torino, according to the 'far-left' paper *Lotta Continua*, 'the Christian Democratic banners were side by side with the Fourth International [USec] banners'. A leaflet by the tiny *Lega Operaia Rivoluzionaria* (LOR -- formerly GBL, associated with Alan Thornett's TILC) outrageously compared the crackdown in Poland to the bloody 1973 coup in Chile, even referring to 'the Pinochets of Warsaw'. Nowhere does the LOR even mention defense of the social and economic gains of the degenerated/deformed workers states against counterrevolution, and these 'socialist' friends of Walesa label anyone who opposes (or is 'indifferent' to) Solidarnosc 'deadly enemies of the international working class'. (What does that make Reagan?) In fact, virtually the only organized tendency to oppose the power grab by Walesa & Co is the *Lega Trotskista d'Italia* (LTd'I), sympathizing sector of the international Spartacist tendency. But despite its small size, the LTd'I has a wide audience. In little over a month our comrades sold more than 800 copies of a 32-page pamphlet, 'Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution'.

Burning the last bridges to the Kremlin

Berlinguer aspires to attain political acceptability so that his party, like the social democrats of Scandinavia, Britain and Germany, can alternate in office with bourgeois formations as the executive committee of finance

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Cold War crusade...

(Continued from page 1)

press and the bosses, the reactionary strike failed to achieve its goal. No more than 5 per cent of the French workforce went out -- heavily concentrated in white-collar sectors like banking, teachers etc. In the CGT bastions of heavy industry, such as the Renault car factories, the strike was decidedly a non-event -- no thanks to the Communist Party/CGT bureaucrats, who only complained of reactionary manoeuvres to drive them out of the government and did little to mobilise their ranks against this strike in support of counterrevolution.

Imperialists divided

While the French social democrats have become pro-Reagan Cold Warriors, the German social democrats are now anti-Reagan 'detenters'. These sharp divisions are dramatic evidence of how the reformists defend and express, above all, the interests of their own bourgeoisie. German capital sees its interests in national reunification and further economic penetration of East Europe; Mitterrand's programme is one of protectionism, austerity and anti-Soviet militarism, while serving as the ideological spearhead of 'democratic socialist' counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

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 Erich Honecker in the DDR, was to regret that martial law 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 coup.

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 350,000 who marched in Bonn last fall against more NATO missiles with the tiny pro-Solidarnosc protests, the largest of which were about 6000. There is, in fact, a direct connection. As the influential liberal *Der Spiegel* (4 January) editor Rudolf Augstein put it:

'If, however, you hold dear Konrad Adenauer's "rollback", to be accomplished economically and by armaments; if you want to revive the policy of Dulles, which was abandoned by the inventor himself, of driving Soviet power back behind Russian borders; then go to it -- if you want the capitulation of your opponent, then you choose war.'

German imperialism has a long-term strategy for regaining Prussia and Saxony (East Germany) -- not to mention Silesia and East Prussia -- and dominating the rest of East Europe, centrally by subverting the region economically and then making a deal with the Kremlin. The hawkish correspondent for the *New York Times* (3 January), John Vinocur, understands the core of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy) as 'the search for a level of continuing accommodation with Moscow that could some day permit German reunification, and the real eradication of the consequences of World War II'. German finance capital, having failed to take East Europe and break the USSR militarily in the last war, prefers for now to undermine the Soviet bloc from within.

The bankers' friend

The imperialist bourgeoisie supported Solidarnosc 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 *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 subsidising 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 stan-

dard 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 petty-bourgeois radicals, in order to justify their support to Solidarnosc, are fabricating the notion that Western bankers are supporting Jaruzelski's crackdown. Recently American Cold War liberal James Wechsler, in a column entitled 'Bankers' Battle Hymn' in the *New York Post* (23 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 headline of a recent issue of *Workers Vanguard*, 'Solidarnosc Counterrevolution Checked'. Contrary to Wechsler's prediction, 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 *Economist*, as usual, expressed the policy 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 penny. 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



Warsaw, 15 December: Solidarnosc power bid spiked.

Solidarność counter

Abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 295, 18 December 1981

DECEMBER 15 -- With the imposition of a 'state of war' in Poland, a counterrevolutionary grab for power has been checked. Just hours before the proclamation of military rule, the clerical-nationalist leadership of Solidarnosc announced it was organising a national referendum on forming an anti-Communist government and breaking the military alliance with the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. The Warsaw regime was ready to take up the challenge. The actual steps taken go far beyond those usually described as martial law, and they seem to have made considerable preparations for the crackdown. So while Reagan and Haig were chasing their Qaddafi will-o'-the-wisp, the Polish government, at what appears to have been the last possible moment to make a move based on power, launched a virtual counter coup.

The Polish Stalinists managed to pull off an effective coup d'etat in their own country. Contrary to every instinct and appetite of the ruling bureaucracy, constantly seeking accommodation with imperialism, they were forced to take measures defending historic gains of the proletariat. For it must be recognised that Lech Walesa's Solidarnosc was moving to overthrow not merely the corrupt and discredited Stalinist regime, but social gains inherited from the Bolshevik Revolution -- centrally a collectivised planned economy -- which were bureaucratically extended to Poland after the Red Army liberated the country from Nazi occupation. That is why this Polish 'free trade union' is supported by the forces of imperialist reaction -- from Wall Street to the Common Market and the Vatican -- and why Ronald Reagan declared that the Polish crisis represented 'the beginning of the end of Communism'.

With such inflammatory statements, the US imperialist chief sought to provoke a bloodbath in Poland, in order to fuel his anti-Soviet war drive to a white heat. It is in the interests of the working class, in Poland and internationally, that the present suppression of Solidarity's counterrevolution remain 'cold' -- that is, without bloodshed. The Polish workers must be warned that strikes, protests and other acts of defiance against the martial law would only play into the hands of reactionary adventurers. Massive violence would lead either to the reimposition of a Stalinist totalitarian police state, crushing the workers movement for years, or

the victory of capitalist counterrevolution, a world-historic defeat for the socialist cause. Trotskyists seek above all to maintain a relatively open situation, so that a process of recrystallisation can begin to take place to forge a proletarian and internationalist vanguard.

If the present crackdown restores something like the tenuous social equilibrium which existed in Poland before the Gdansk strikes last August -- a tacit understanding that if the people left the government alone, the government would leave the people alone -- conditions will be opened again for the crystallisation of a Leninist-Trotskyist party. Especially in a country as historically evolved as Poland, the proletariat has the capacity to recognize its own historic interests, given time and a relatively open political situation. There must be elements -- outside Solidarnosc, within Solidarnosc, in the Communist party -- with genuinely socialist impulses which have been smothered by the particular confrontation that has dominated Poland over the last year. They must be won to the program of defending proletarian state power against the kind of clerical-nationalist mobilisation that brought Poland to the brink of counterrevolution, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Solidarnosc bids for power

At its first national congress, held in Gdansk in September, Solidarnosc consolidated around a program of open counterrevolution. Its appeal for 'free trade unions' in the Soviet bloc, long a central slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation to Moscow. Behind its call for 'free elections' to the Sejm (parliament) was the program of 'Western-style democracy' -- that is, capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government. To underscore their ties to the West, Solidarnosc even demanded that Poland join the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and invited to its congress Lane Kirkland, the hardline Cold Warrior head of the American AFL-CIO, and notorious CIA operative Irving Brown, chief of the AFL-CIO's European operations.

Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarnosc did not and do not consciously seek the chronic unemployment, wage gouging and deterioration of safety conditions that capitalism would bring. If the IMF ever got its hands

is not our task, as a Trotskyist vanguard fighting for proletarian 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 Solidarnosc was moving to overthrow the Warsaw regime and break with the Soviet Union. Secret government-sponsored polls in 1980-81 showed that only 3 per cent of the population would vote for the Communists in free elections, another 20 per cent for socialists of various sorts, and 43 per cent for Christian Democrats -- ie for capitalist counterrevolution in the name of the pope and (bourgeois) democracy. For those who couldn't see the logic of Solidarity's progression, Solidarnosc leaders spelled it out in a closed meeting in Radom, including this revealing excerpt from Lech Walesa:

'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 Solidarnosc 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



New York, 19 December: AFL-CIO spearheads Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

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 1000 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 labourers. 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 counter-coup 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 Solidarnosc 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 programme 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 regroupment, a political reckoning with Solidarnosc. Only the Trotskyist programme of ousting the sellout bureaucrats through political revolution, in order to defend and extend the historic gains of socialised property, can show the way forward. A genuine Leninist vanguard of the Polish working class, part of a reborn Fourth International, can be built only through uncompromising struggle against counterrevolution.

Adapted from Workers Vanguard no 296, 8 January 1982

Counterrevolution checked

firmly around the neck of the Polish economy, the workers would soon hanker after the 'good old days' under Gomulka and Gierk. It would presage the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis, and set the stage fairly directly for a nuclear Third World War, one way or another. In keeping with the Catholic spirit of Solidarnosc, one can say: 'Forgive them father, for they know not what they do'.

In their own way the Stalinists recognised that Solidarnosc was bent on a final confrontation, but nonetheless they temporized. Negotiations between Jaruzelski and Walesa finally broke down centrally over Solidarnosc's demand for free elections to local government bodies. Under existing conditions in Poland, this would have meant placing governmental power at the base of society in the hands of anti-Communist nationalists such as the neo-Pilsudskite and anti-Semitic Confederation for an Independent Poland.

The event which led directly to the crackdown was Solidarity's attempt to organize the fire-fighter cadets in Warsaw, a group whose legal status (as throughout Europe) is similar to that of the police. This was one remove away from organizing in the armed forces and militia. The night after police dispersed the cadets' sit-in on December 2, the Solidarnosc leadership met in Radom in a closed meeting where they made plans for a counterrevolutionary seizure of power. The head of the powerful Warsaw region, Zbigniew Bujak, declared that 'the government should be finally overthrown' and proposed the organisation of a Solidarnosc militia for that purpose. Someone turned the tapes of this meeting over to the

government, which repeatedly played them on state radio. Many Poles were no doubt shocked, especially at the duplicity of the 'moderate' Walesa who told his colleagues to keep saying, 'we love you socialism', while plotting the government's overthrow.

With their secret plans exposed, the Solidarnosc leadership made an open bid for power, announcing a national referendum for the establishment of a temporary government and 'free elections'. Hours later the regime struck back, declaring a 'state of war' under a Military Council of National Salvation. A thousand Solidarnosc leaders were reportedly detained, and, as a sop, five former Communist party leaders arrested -- ex-party leader Edward Gierk and his close associates. While General Jaruzelski, the prime minister and party leader, insists this is not an army takeover, there is here a disturbing element of military bonapartism. In this there is perhaps a concession to anti-Communist nationalism. While the Stalinist party is utterly discredited, the army retains a certain popular authority as the embodiment of the national state, supposedly above politics. The Stalinists only make hypocritical reference to socialist forms, the acknowledgment that vice gives to virtue. But compared to the naked armed fist, those forms are important....

If today much of the Polish working class looks to Western imperialism for salvation, this is not simply a response to the terror of the Stalin period which gradually trailed off into abuse and mismanagement under Gomulka and then Gierk. An earlier crime of Stalinism destroyed the important traditions of international com-

munist in Poland. Thousands of Polish Communist militants who fled to the USSR from the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski were killed in the purges of the late 30s. The Polish Communist Party itself was officially liquidated, and then Nazi occupation finished the job of beheading the Polish proletariat, especially its important Jewish component. The post-1945 ruling bureaucracy was, therefore, largely constructed from purely careerist elements who lacked even the degenerated Communist traditions of the old Stalinists.

The present crisis is, above all, a reaction to the bankruptcy of liberal Stalinism. When in 1956 Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power in the wake of the Poznan uprising, he promised the widest workers democracy. Then he turned and suppressed the workers councils and leftist intellectuals who had supported him against the hardline Stalinists, while at the same time strengthening the position of the Catholic church and the smallholding peasantry. When Gierk replaced Gomulka after the 1970 'Baltic coast workers' uprising, he promised unparalleled prosperity. Then he ruinously mortgaged Poland's wealth to Western bankers and also ruinously subsidized the landowning peasants. So after this repeated experience, when the Polish workers rose again in the summer of 1980 they now looked to the powerful Catholic church opposition and nationalist dissidents, behind whom stand Western imperialism. For a year the clerical-reactionary leadership of Solidarnosc around Lech Walesa stopped short of calling for the overthrow of the official 'Communist' system (a bureaucratically deformed workers state) and its replacement with (bourgeois) 'democracy'. Now the mask has fallen.

The Warsaw regime's preventive coup is apparently effective. Solidarnosc activists at large are agitating for a nationwide general strike. While news reports from Poland are very scanty, reported strikes appear to be limited to particular Solidarnosc strongholds and there seems to be little serious active resistance to the martial law. It remains possible, especially given the desperate economic conditions, that anti-Communist agitators in and around Solidarnosc could provoke mass protests which could escalate into violence and even civil war. Under these conditions Soviet military intervention could well be the only available means to suppress counterrevolution. But it is by far in the best interests of the working class that

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Black workers on Detroit dole queue wouldn't share Lech Walesa's view of America (CBS-TV interview, 2 November):



'... things are better in your country, and generally, your system has passed the test.... You have been achieving democracy and all that for years now.'

Walesa's Friends, Inc

So Lech Walesa is *Time* magazine's 'man of the year'. 'Lech Everyman', they dubbed him, 'the courageous little electrician from Gdansk' who 'led a crusade for freedom'. In addition to a lengthy personality profile (during his frequent drives to Warsaw, Walesa reportedly spent his time 'tuning in to rock played by Radio Free Europe') and history of Solidarnosc, *Time's* year-end special tried to milk the Polish crackdown for all it was worth with a nine-page essay on the Communist Danger. It was the usual 'free world' propaganda fare: while playing up seven strikers killed by the Polish army, the entire issue has not a word or picture about El Salvador, where the US-backed junta murdered more than 20,000 during 1981.

But it's the story behind the 'Man of the Year' story that's most interesting. A letter from the publisher says the piece was based on 'several sessions between Walesa and *Time* this year, including a question-and-answer breakfast for the *Time* Newstour in October at Charles de Gaulle airport outside Paris'. That's the first time this tete-a-tete has been mentioned in the American press, and there's more to it than *Time* lets on. The 'common man' from Gdansk got together with some uncommon friends in the West, it seems. For meeting with Walesa along with *Time* editor Henry Grunwald at that October 18 breakfast in a posh airport restaurant were a host of top American corporate executives.

Not a word was breathed about this confidential get together between the leader of Polish Solidarnosc and leading Western capitalists until two months later, after the crackdown which checked Solidarity's counter-revolutionary bid for power. The well-

informed French muckraking weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné* (16 December) just published an account, entitled 'A Wink from the Americans', which noted the secretive arrangements:

'Early in the morning their [Solidarnosc delegation] bus takes the *autoroute du Nord* [heading for a scheduled meeting in Vaudricourt], but barely outside of Paris it takes the cutoff leading to Roissy airport. Arriving at their destination, the Polish unionists reach Maxim's, an airport restaurant deserted at that hour. It's 8.30 am. In front of the restaurant, a cordon of CRS riot police. Inside, at tables laid for breakfast, 20-odd Americans receive Walesa and his friends.

'These businessmen arrived two hours earlier, by a special airplane.... Here's some wonderful dirty laundry -- expensive, too. Philip Caldwell, president of Ford; Robert Tirby, president of Westinghouse; David Lewis, ditto for General Dynamics; Henry Heinz representing the food/agriculture group of the same name, and Thomas Watson, an IBM bigwig. Plus a TWA VIP and several potentates of only slightly lesser importance, banking and life-insurance chairmen....

'All this crowd for Lech Walesa, considered a veritable head of a shadow government. The introductions are rapid and discussion begins. A system of simultaneous translation is in place, proof that on the American side in any case the interview was not totally improvised'.

Among the questions asked by these hard-headed captains of industry and high finance: 'Are you prepared to give up your Saturdays

off?' 'Do Polish workers know how to work and are they ready to?' 'Is it the end of Marxist-Leninist ideology in Poland?' 'Do you wish the Communist party to remain in power?'

During Walesa's Paris visit our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) demonstrated denouncing Solidarnosc as a company union of the Western bosses. When an LTF reporter asked the Solidarity leaders at a press conference about their call for the International Monetary Fund to take over Poland's economy, the haughty *Le Monde* became indignant that 'some of our colleagues seemed determined to make them admit a secret penchant for capitalism'. So now it is revealed that while *Le Monde* was denouncing a Trotskyist slam against Walesa's 'simple trade-unionist' credentials, the latter was engaged in hush-hush talks with US capitalists to offer better terms than the discredited Stalinist regime!

For Trotskyists it did not take such spectacular revelations to show what the pope's little Polish 'freedom fighter' was up to. Already at the time of its first congress last September, when Solidarnosc took up the Cold War propaganda themes of 'free elections' and 'free trade unions', inviting such sterling 'free trade unionists' as long-time CIA agent Irving Brown and opening a US 'press bureau' in the offices of 'State Department socialist' Albert Shanker's UFT, we warned: 'Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!' For a Marxist analysis of Walesa's course to counterrevolution, read the Spartacist pamphlet, *Solidarnosc: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*.

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 296, 8 January 1982

Italian workers...

(Continued from page 5)

capital. This has been the aim of all his political gambits, from the 'historic compromise' and 'Eurocommunism' to the 'third road'. But to achieve this status, the PCI must, to use the words of Leon Blum, show that it is prepared to act as 'loyal management of capitalist society'. And here mere reformism is not enough. While the bourgeoisie has been willing, *in extremis*, to resort to 'popular fronts' with Stalinist parties as a means of heading off revolution, for the ordinary running of the state it insists that its labor lieutenants cannot serve two masters, both the Kremlin and Italian capitalism.

Carrillo's Spanish CP has already crossed this bridge on the path of social-democratization, and Berlinguer has been looking for the right occasion. Recall his famous 1975 interview with *Corriere della Sera* where he said that 'to achieve socialism in freedom it is better that Italy remain in NATO, because this way there is no danger of military intervention by the USSR'. Together with Carrillo the Italian CP threw away phrases like 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and 'Marxism-Leninism', which are empty rhetoric for a party committed to upholding the capitalist system. And since August 1980 the PCI has warned of the 'irreparable consequences' which a Soviet intervention in Poland would have for its already tenuous ties

to the Kremlin. Now, in the context of Cold War II, with the most anti-Communist administration in Washington in decades, Berlinguer thinks he sees his big chance over Poland. If the PCI can prove its worth to the imperialists, attacking the Soviet Union as vehemently as the social democrats, perhaps it can overcome the veto on PCI participation in the government.

Berlinguer & Co seem ready to jump. But can they take their base with them intact? They are caught in a contradiction between reformist desires to support 'independent' European imperialism and fear that this could severely weaken their organizational weight: 12 million voters (30 percent of the total, far more than the Socialists and Social Democrats); control of the most powerful union federation, CGIL, with 5 million members, and strong peasant cooperatives; 1.8 million party members, with 200,000 or so activists and an apparatus numbering tens of thousands. Already they have control of city governments in the most important cities (Rome, Milano, Torino, Genova, Naples, Florence, Bologna, etc). And they don't want to risk that. So even the bureaucrats must take notice when faced with such vocal opposition from the membership.

In early 1980 there was significant protest within the PCI against the party's condemnation of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. This time five PCI city councilors in Milano broke party discipline by refusing to vote for an otherwise

unanimous motion (supported by everyone from the fascists to New Leftists!) which condemned the coup in Poland and 'Soviet imperialism'. But so far these 'Afghans' or *kabulisti* do not seem to have undertaken any kind of organized opposition to Berlinguer's line. No wonder: for the 'pro-Soviet' elements in the PCI and union bureaucracy have no real alternative program to counterpose to the Eurocommunist treachery of Berlinguer & Co. They are united by their fundamental reformism, as the bitter defeat of the FIAT strike demonstrated so vividly (see 'Italian CP knifes Fiat Strike', *Workers Vanguard* no 270, 12 December 1980).

Yet if there is a country in West Europe where a revolutionary opposition to the class collaboration of the Stalinist/Eurocommunist betrayers could gain very significant support in the working class, Italy is it. If the PCI leadership is going slowly in making the final rupture with its past, it is for fear that precipitous movement could spark a major split. Now more than ever, with the dramatic events of the Polish crisis and the capitalists' mounting attacks against the conditions of Italian workers, the Trotskyist program of unconditional defense of the Soviet bloc against imperialism and counterrevolution, of workers political revolution in the East to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats and socialist revolution in the capitalist West could appeal to the militant proletariat of Italy.

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 296, 8 January 1982

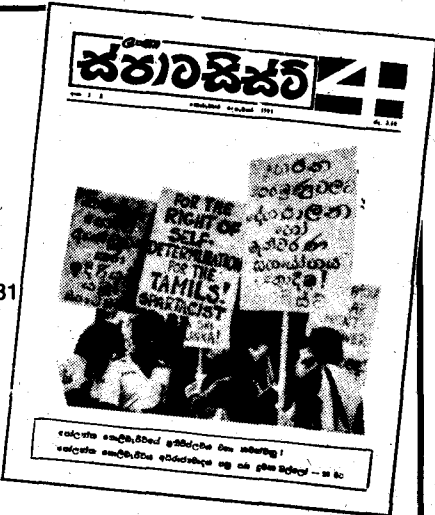
Greetings to Lanka Spartacist!

No. 1-2 November-December 1981 (in Sinhala)

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Revolutionary, counterrevolutionary, who cares?

Workers Power still cheers Solidarność

There's something funny going on in Workers Power (WP). In response to the Jaruzelski regime's crackdown on Polish Solidarność just as it was preparing for a counterrevolutionary bid for power, the January *Workers Power* published an elaborate 3-page, 16-point 'Theses on the Polish Military Coup d'Etat'. In the past year and a half, this small centrist group's attempts to square its programme with social reality (including the reality of the Spartacist League to its left) have led to bizarre leapfrogging in characterising Solidarność, all the while consistently demanding that it take the power, whatever it might be.

When we warned that early Solidarność was a politically contradictory phenomenon with a dangerously clerical-nationalist leadership, WP protested that it could not possibly move in a counterrevolutionary direction and that Walesa was a 'simple trade unionist'. When they finally admitted that he was a clerical nationalist, it was only to argue thereby that the church was a confirmed collaborator with Stalinism. When we said that at its September congress, Solidarność had consolidated around an openly counterrevolutionary course, WP swore up and down that it was clearly and simply conciliatory towards the regime and that only crypto-Stalinists (or worse) could dare label it counterrevolutionary. Now we read in Point 5 of WP's tortured 'theses':

'Solidarność could therefore only be a force for political conflict with the bureaucracy. Either it could have laid the basis for the revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracy that we have outlined above, or it could have developed a programme of collaboration with, and reform of, the Stalinist regime. Thirdly it could have moved in the direction of a counter-revolutionary overthrow of the regime which would have paved the way for the resto-

ration of capitalism in Poland....

'The leadership of Solidarity, and the dominant tendencies in its conferences and national commission was overwhelmingly under the influence of tendencies supporting the latter two political programmes.'

Even through WP's own distorting prism, all the 'dominant tendencies' it describes (and this is not just the leadership, mind you, but the 'conferences and national commission') are capitalist restorationist: one is tied to the Church hierarchy, which is 'ultimately fighting for capitalist restoration'; a second is for the 'establishment, by stealth and encroachment of a Parliamentary democracy'; a third (the KPN) is 'consciously restorationist'; and the fourth, the 'radicals', differed from Walesa only in pace, sought to 'prize [sic] control of the economy from the Stalinists' and demanded a 'power-sharing' scheme which placed fully 70 per cent of the power in the hands of 'peasants organisations', Solidarność and 'the counter-revolutionary KPN'.

So what?, says WP, 'it does not mean that we do not solidarise with Solidarność'. Of course not, in fact it means nothing programmatic whatsoever for them. Not an iota of the (admittedly convoluted) analysis so painfully elaborated in the theses finds its way into *Workers Power's* front-page article, 'Support Polish workers' resistance', which reads as though it could have come straight from *Socialist Challenge* or *Socialist Organiser* (but more likely Sheffield WP guru Keith Hassell, who wants the Red Army defeated in Afghanistan). On the contrary, the 'militant' WP raises as its central demand the 'fight for trade union action to black all Polish imports until trade union rights are restored and all Solidarność leaders and activists [whether 'ultimately', 'consciously' or simply 'stealthily' capitalist res-



„Być zwyciężonym
i nie ulec
- to zwycięstwo!
Zwyciężyć
i spocząć na laurach
- to klęska - ”

Józef Piłsudski

Solidarność placard idolises fascist dictator Piłsudski.

torationist?] released'. It sounds like Reagan and Haig would have more success on the sanctions question if they sat down at the table with the WP Political Committee rather than wasting time with Helmut Schmidt! Sanctions and bans on exports, says WP, 'aid Reagan and Thatcher's war drive'; bans on imports don't! Is that clear?

Throughout the Polish upsurge, WP has sought to distinguish itself from those fake Trotskyists like the International Marxist Group who simply tailed Walesa by being the most militant

continued on page 10

Walesa's Radomgate

If anyone doubted that the anti-Communist leadership of Poland's Solidarność was planning to seize power in the name of the eagle, the cross and 'the free world', these doubts were certainly laid to rest when someone turned over to the government tapes of a secret Solidarność leadership meeting in Radom on December 3. The authenticity of the tapes, repeatedly broadcast over state radio, is not denied by the participants.

According to a December 7 UPI dispatch, Warsaw region Solidarność chief Zbigniew Bujak asserted: 'The government should be finally overthrown, unmasked and deprived of any credibility.' He then proposed the establishment of workers guards to counter the state police. Jan Rulewski demanded a 'transitory government' to stabilize the situation before the election of a new parliament.

That Bujak and Rulewski said these things isn't likely to surprise anyone since they have a reputation of being Solidarność hardliners. The leader who was really exposed by the Radom tape is the 'moderate' Lech Walesa, who is shown up as a total dissembler. Walesa cultivates an image of a simple, honest workers leader, soft-hearted and even a bit soft-headed. The tapes show that this is an act to disguise his counterrevolutionary aims. 'We should not speak loudly about confrontation', he advises his colleagues. 'We have to say, "We love you, we love socialism and the party and of course we love the Soviet Union"'. But all this love talk is just a stratagem to buy more time for a counterrevolutionary mobilization:

'The confrontation is unavoidable.... I wanted to reach the confrontation in a natural way, when almost all social groups

were with us. But I made a mistake because I thought we would keep it up longer and then we would overthrow these parliaments and councils and so on.'

Right after the first part of the Solidarność congress in early September, we concluded that 'decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution' and that 'the whole activity and spirit of Solidarity is that of an organization making a bid for power!' ('Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution!' *Spartacist Britain* no 36, October 1981). We did not have nor need access to tapes of secret leadership meetings to recognise this. The actual goals and intent of Solidarność were readily available in Western sources for anyone not blind to reality.

Willfully blind to this reality are the fake-Trotskyist opportunist outfits, most of which simply call the pro-imperialist, counter-revolutionary mobilization of Solidarność a developing proletarian political revolution. Black is called white. A few fake-Trotskyist groups, however, notably Workers Power in Britain and Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) in the US, tried to cover up Solidarność counterrevolution by maintaining the organization is too conciliatory to the Stalinist regime. *Workers Power* (October 1981) informs us that the dominant tendency in Solidarność, 'articulated in nationalist and Trade Union colours', is 'towards accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy'.

Likewise, the Sollenberger outfit is, if anything, even more blatant in its whitewash. It held up publication of its 'monthly' *Workers Struggle* for a month and a half, re-

portedly in order to work out a line article on Poland (its first since over a year ago). And then it only mentions the danger of counterrevolution to deny that it exists:

'For their own reasons, the Western capitalist press, the Soviet bureaucratic press and some of the more crazed elements of the American left have seized upon these weaknesses, blown them out of all proportion, and deliberately lied about the Polish working class, making the absurd claim that it seeks the restoration of capitalism in Poland. A simple review of the actions of the Gdansk congress shows this to be a blatant lie.'

'In fact, the major weakness of the Solidarity congress was that even the opposition was too conciliatory to the Polish bureaucracy and to the Walesa leadership.' (*Workers Struggle*, November 1981, emphasis in original)

The Radom tapes expose the sophistries of Workers Power and the RWL as clearly as they expose Walesa. The difference between the so-called Solidarność 'moderates' and 'radicals' is over timing and public posture, not final aims. As Walesa explained to his colleagues at the Radom meeting, he wanted to make the seizure of power appear as a gradual escalation rather than a confrontation forced by Solidarność. As defenders of the proletarian dictatorship, even if bureaucratically deformed as in Poland, we didn't need access to secret tapes to understand the reality and raise the battle cry: Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 295, 18 December 1981

French Trotskyists lead anti-fascist demo

Le Bolchevik



ROUEN, 11 DECEMBER: 400-strong united front demonstration initiated by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) drew significant trade union support in protest against a recent series of fascist provocations. For a detailed report see the latest issue of *Le Bolchevik*, paper of the LTF, available from Spartacist Publications, price 30p per issue.

Workers Power...

(Continued from page 9)

counsellor to Solidarnosc. As we have pointed out before (see 'On the barricades for counter-revolution', *Spartacist Britain* no 37, November 1981), this has led WP to line up with the most openly reactionary elements in Solidarnosc, like the KPN and the 'radicals' associated with it, who rejected Walesa's patient, duplicitous approach in favour of seeking to provoke open civil war. Now the WP Political Committee theses argue that 'Revolutionary Marxists have no solidarity with these [KPN] conscious agents of counterrevolution'. That must be why a WP contingent marched behind the KPN at the pro-Solidarnosc demonstration in London. And at the September conference, it was the KPN which fought most avidly for one of WP's favourite demands: Poland out of the Warsaw Pact!

In its only polemical attack on the international Spartacist tendency, WP in its theses says:

'These miserable pedants who can only imagine winning the working class to Trotskyism in the propagandists' schoolroom (ie in the absence of struggle), call for a return to Gierek's regime of the 1970's: "If the present crackdown restores something like the tenuous social equilibrium which existed in Poland before the Gdansk strikes last August (ie 1980 -- WP) a tacit understanding that if the people left the government alone, the government would leave the people alone -- conditions will be opened again for the crystallisation of a Leninist-Trotskyist party"....'

WP wants struggle! Don't we all? WP incredibly denies that Solidarnosc was actually making a bid for power. But WP has consistently argued that it should. Now WP calls for an indefinite general strike in Poland 'to break the military government' and for 'armed squads' and 'workers militias'. In other words, the oh-so militant WP calls for a bloody confrontation between the mass of the Polish proletariat presently under a counterrevolutionary leadership and the Stalinist bureaucracy conjuncturally forced to act in defence of the socialised property forms. In that struggle we would stand on the side opposite WP (and its bloc partners of the KPN et al).

But Trotskyists seek to shift the axis of struggle to one pitting the proletariat fighting for political power (not social counter-revolution!) against the Stalinist bureaucracy. And for that a 'period of tenuous social equilibrium' is optimal, in which the advanced sections of the proletariat are given the opportunity to regroup, to break the influence of the Catholic hierarchy and NATO imperialism over the bulk of the Polish working class. The Polish proletariat has been given an opportunity, infrequent in history, to learn from its mistakes relatively painlessly and in the short term. The proletariat remains intact. Its will to struggle has not been significantly defused; and, for many workers, the Solidarnosc leadership has been exposed rather effectively as duplicitous and pro-capitalist. If out of this experience a

Trotskyist nucleus can be crystallised, Poland could yet be ripe for political revolution. But for WP this is not good enough. It says to the Polish workers: even we thesis-writers finally recognise that the leaders you have been following are counterrevolutionary; therefore you must fight harder still behind them.

Fortunately, WP has no influence over the Polish proletariat. But such cynical confusionism destroys subjective revolutionaries. That might help explain why WP supporters have been running around frantically telling our comrades that our organisation is in trouble over Poland. Well, we have a proposal: you can have any ex-members of ours who could not stomach opposing Solidarnosc counterrevolution and capitulated to social-democratic pressure. In exchange, direct to us those of your supporters who take seriously your characterisation of the Solidarnosc leadership and seek to draw the programmatic conclusions. ■

'Truce'...

(Continued from page 12)

for the working class. Three years ago they called for the return of the strikebreaking, coalitionist Callaghan government despite its flaunted anti-working-class programme and record, which had alienated and embittered countless working-class militants. Now SOA leader John O'Mahony writes, 'To kick out the Tories would be a great achievement even if the ghost of James Callaghan or Harold Wilson were to be the replacement for Thatcher.' If so, why not join the Healey/Foot campaign for Labour unity against the Tories?

The left/right line-up over Poland is no accident. The Healeyites represent in broad political terms the SDP faction in the party -- Cold Warriors, faithful acolytes of the CIA, IMF and NATO, architects of open class collaboration, proven betrayers of working people with their programmes for wage control, social contract and strikebreaking. On the other hand the Bennites represent the quintessence of parochial Little England social democracy, worried by the Cold War and desirous of taking Britain out of the firing line in order to pursue their utopian 'socialist' fantasies in splendid isolation. While the programme of the Labour left offers absolutely no way forward for working people, it is seen by the ruling class as an unacceptable alternative to the cravenly pro-CIA/NATO politics of Gaitskell/Wilson/Callaghan, today carried forward on the one hand by Healey & Co and on the other by the SDP.

A lot of workers in this country hate the ravages of Thatcherism and remember with disgust the union-bashing, strikebreaking and coalitionism of the right-wing Labour Party leaders. Many have looked or are looking to Bennism as a political alternative. But Bennism can't show a way forward on the key issues facing the working class -- and now more and more of the Bennites are predictably falling back into the old trap of championing 'Labour unity' or 'Labour victory' above all else. What is needed is not 'unity' or 'victory' on the terms of the reformists but a fight to split the Labour Party along the axis of consistent internationalist class struggle and the fight for socialist revolution. We say: Stop the witchhunt! Never again for the treachery of Wilson/Callaghan/Healey! Not Bennite Little England reformism but a revolutionary leadership of the labour movement! Forward to a British Trotskyist party! ■

Save Turkish trade unionists from gallows!

On 24 December Turkey's military junta began the mass show trial of 52 leaders of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DISK), the 500,000-strong militant union federation banned since the generals' coup of September 1980. Jailed for over a year with virtually no legal rights, the defendants -- much of DISK's top leadership -- face execution if convicted. They are charged with organising, before the coup, May Day rallies and demonstrations against anti-labour laws and protesting against the assassination of union leaders by fascist hit squads like the Grey Wolves. The junta, which overthrew a constitutionally elected government, now charges the trade unionists with having violated the constitution! According to their lawyers, the trial was delayed because the military authorities tried to gather evidence linking DISK with the pro-Moscow Turkish Communist Party (TKP), which itself has been outlawed since 1923.

When the military took over, vowing to crush political terrorism and end economic chaos, DISK's activities were banned, along with all strikes and collective bargaining. Some 600 union officials were arrested, and many charged with plotting to overthrow the state. Although the junta feigned even-handedness in crushing 'extremists' of both the left and right, the fierce repression has fallen overwhelmingly and much more brutally on the left, the organised labour movement and the oppressed Kurdish minority. Guevarist guerrilla organisations like Dev Yol (Revolutionary Way) and the Kurdish Apoists have been virtually wiped out, their militants murdered outright by the

army and police or forced to flee into exile. Reports from Turkey claim that more than 100,000 political prisoners are being held in Istanbul alone. Torture is so widespread and savage that even West European bourgeois governments that originally hailed the coup are telling the generals to clean up their act if they want to keep getting their loans.

Not so the Reagan gang in the White House. Although the Turkish junta rounded up more than 10,000 in the first week after the takeover, the US State Department indicated its 'sympathy' with the generals. But when it comes to Poland today, Reagan howls as if the crackdown in Warsaw was genocide! Recently, only a few weeks before the DISK leaders went on trial, US defence secretary Weinberger met with the junta to 'enlarge and improve defence cooperation' to the tune of \$403 million in military aid alone during 1982. For NATO imperialism, Turkey is strategic as a military bastion on the Balkan flank of the USSR, especially so since the 'loss' of Iran, and Greece's threat to boycott the military wing of NATO.

The left and labour movement internationally must demand immediate release of the DISK leaders and all prisoners opposed to the junta and the ultrarightist gangs. Trade unions must reject Reagan's anti-Soviet Solidarnosc sanctions and calls to boycott trade with Poland and the Soviet Union, and instead start blacking all military aid to the Turkish junta as an act of international solidarity with the Turkish workers and peasants under the gun. Free the 52 -- Unchain DISK! Down with NATO!

Spartacist League/US beats McCarthyite smear 'Marxists not mobsters'

The Spartacist League/US (SL) has scored a significant victory against the attempts of the Reagan administration and other right-wing zealots in the United States to create a new McCarthyism. Speaking at an 18 December press conference in the California state capital of Sacramento, SL Central Committee member Al Nelson announced that the California attorney general, George Deukmejian, had been forced to retract smear charges made against the SL in an official 1979 'Report on Organized Crime in California' which characterized the SL as 'terrorists' and a 'dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal'.

'This is a small but very important victory for the real majority of the American people: labor, blacks, Chicanos, Jews, Asian-Americans -- everyone targeted by the right-wing policies of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmejian.'

It's not every day that revolutionary Marxists are able to back down a McCarthyite witch-hunter like Deukmejian -- Reagan's man in California, the state's top cop and likely Republican candidate for governor. But on 17 December, just five months from when the SL suit was filed, Deukmejian's office acknowledged that letters of retraction had been sent to the major federal, state and local law enforcement agencies which were recipients of the original report. In addition, the SL distributed the letter to all members of the California Legislature. The SL victory has received wide press coverage with substantial articles in the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and other West Coast papers.

This report was not simply a 'subversives list'. The largest left organizations like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were not included while the KKK and Hell's Angels were (as well as several other left groups). In the McCarthy period the government tried, convicted and jailed communists for their ideas; prosecutors read selected passages of Marx and Lenin as 'evidence'. But after the Vietnam War and given the miserable economic and social failure of the 'American Dream' it has not been enough to simply brand people as communists to put them in jail. Statutes for legal witchhunting like the 1940 Smith Act have become generally discredited. Black Panther Party leaders were simply murdered in their beds.

The Reagan/Haig Cold War II of the 1980s goes beyond simple red scare, to the 'red-terrorist' scare, under the slogan of combating 'Soviet-inspired international terrorism'. A series of measures has been taken in the name of this new form of 'red menace' including a legal license for the CIA to spy on and infiltrate domestic left groups, pardons for convicted secret police agents, congressional cries for a new HUAC (the anti-communist House Un-American Activities Committee of the McCarthy witchhunt) and squeezing off the Freedom of Information Act.

Deukmejian's 1979 report is an especially

sinister document. It circulated only to police agencies, legislators and the press and is used as an authoritative 'source' on terrorist groups. It whitewashes the race terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis, claiming the real danger of these fascists lies in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left'. This is a classic attempt to use the terrorist right to go after the left and the labour movement. As Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson said:

'It was a murderous effort to set us up for the same kind of campaign of government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party....'

In fact, as Deukmejian has been forced to admit, we are outlaws, terrorists or criminals. We are Marxists.... We struggle to politically organize the American working class, to bring workers to the understanding that they need their own class party, a workers party, to fight for their immediate and ultimate interests. Such a perspective excludes substitutionist means such as terrorism, which is a futile, despairing strategy that turns away from the working-class struggle to abolish capitalism. Our victory today is a vindication of the right of the working class and its party to organize.'

The SL only found out about its inclusion in the report when a redbaiting letter to the University of California (Los Angeles) *Daily Bruin* referred to it to allege the SL was a group of criminals and terrorists. The SL's determination to fight the 'terrorist' set-up/smear meant not only a lawsuit, but a concerted effort to raise the issues and political consequences at stake in the case. Protest demonstrations in four West Coast cities proclaimed: 'Workers party has the right to organize!' With the Partisan Defense Committee, which provided legal counsel, members and supporters of the SL/SYL raised funds, solicited endorsements and began to publicize the case. There was quick recognition of the danger posed by Deukmejian's smear and the importance of a victory in the case, particularly by blacks and including black elected officials as well as civil libertarians.

The SL was deleted from the 1980 report, claimed the attorney general's office at the time, because of the organization's 'inactivity' that year. Yet 1980 was the most active year in the SL's fifteen-year history of political work in California; a mass trade union/black demonstration of 1200 initiated by the SL prevented the Nazis from marching on Hitler's birthday (19 April) in San Francisco and, among other things, ran a prominent and highly successful election campaign for San Francisco Board of Supervisors. As support for the case began to build and the court deadline approached, Deukmejian's office publicly admitted they could find no 'substantiation' for the charges.

This successful campaign against McCarthyite witchhunting stood in sharp contrast to the tepid social-democratic 'watersuit' of the fake-Trotskyist American SWP which has been dragging through the courts for eight years. In suing the US government for its years of infiltration, surveillance and dirty tricks against the reformist SWP, the SWP has attempted to convince the court that there is no reason to spy on it. It has sought a stamp of approval for its reformist politics from the bourgeois courts, attempting to convince the US government that it accepts the democratic illusions which it purveys, even explicitly likening itself in court to the British Labour Party (see 'Reformism on Trial', *Workers Vanguard* no 286, 31 July 1981). The SWP denounced the principles of Leninism

Group's Designation as Terrorists Voided

By PATT MORRISON, Staff Writer
A California Marxist group announced Friday that its lawsuit against state Atty. Gen. George Deukmejian, who filed the 1979 list of left-wing organizations and said that all

The New York Times

**MARXISTS DROPPING
SUIT IN CALIFORNIA**
State Official Admits Error in Putting Group on '79 List of Left-Wing Terrorists

By ROBERT LINDSEY
Special to The New York Times
LOS ANGELES, Dec. 25 — A Marxist political organization, the Spartacist League, has dropped a suit against the California Attorney General's office after the office acknowledged that it had been wrong to include the group in a list of left-wing terrorist organizations published in 1979.

The organization had contended that the state had wrongfully depicted it as prone to violence. The Spartacist had charged that the action was part of "re-sensitization McCarthyism" and a "murderous effort to set us up for the same kind of campaign of government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party."

In a 1979 report to the Legislature, George Deukmejian, the California Attorney General, listed the Spartacist League and a related group, the Spartacist Youth League, together with the Progressive Labor Party, the Communist Workers Party, the International Committee Against Racism and the Revolutionary Communist Party as left-wing groups operating in California.

Attempts to "isolate" charged the report said that the organizations shared a "radical ideology and advocacy of violence," asserting: "They exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible; their propaganda literature is highly inflammatory, and their activities range from counter-demonstrations against right-wing extremists to urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occu-

Los Angeles Times

Continued from First Page
ment spokeswoman Gina McGuiness. "When we re-searched our files after they filed suit, we didn't find enough substance to justify what had been said (in the report)."

Spokesmen for the Spartacist League said Friday they also intend to distribute copies of the retraction letter to members of the Legislature, who are also on the distribution list for the report.

vigorously opposed our inclusion in the 1979 report simply because the allegations about us were bid a Spartacist League statement issued Friday, especially because the report claimed we were outlaws, terrorists and criminals.... It was an effort to set us up for the same kind of campaign of government violence that destroyed the Black Party."

San Francisco Examiner

State digest
Compiled from Examiner news services

Marxists, not mobsters
THE STATE BUREAU of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence has issued a letter saying a Marxist group mistakenly was included in a 1979 report on organized crime. The state attorney general's office retracted the inclusion of the group under the name of Spartacist Youth League.

The Spartacist League's civil local agencies, committee. (San Attorney General retraction today, terrorist report checked the file terrorist label.

Noting that several leaders of the black community in California had sided with the organizations in the dispute with Mr. Deukmejian, Mr. Nelson asserted that there was concern "among blacks and liberals" that the Attorney General "and the Reagan Administration" would attempt to suppress political dissent under the guise of fighting terrorism. "They are willfully creating legitimate Marxist education and leftist activity with international terrorism," he asserted.



in court, besmirching the Trotskyist leaders prosecuted under the Smith Act during World War II, giving the government everything including financial records and the pseudonyms of their foreign comrades. In 1974 they expelled their vicariously leftist minority, the Mandel-ite Internationalist Tendency, labeled 'terrorists' by the government, and then turned over the internal documents as evidence of their own loyalty to the bourgeoisie.

In contrast the Spartacist League successfully fought for the right to advocate revolutionary, Trotskyist, politics without being set up for victimization and repression. Said Al Nelson:

'In forcing a retraction of the false allegations leveled at us we have won a victory for free speech. Socialists who believe the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, who maintain Polish Solidarnosc is not an agency of proletarian political revolution but a counterrevolutionary company union of the CIA and imperialist bankers, have a right to say so without being called terrorists.'

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 296, 8 January 1982

Checked...

(Continued from page 7)

Solidarity's counterrevolutionary bid for power be pushed aside as quietly, quickly and bloodlessly as possible.

In the course of heading off the bid for power by capitalist-restorationist elements, a number of Solidarnosc leaders have been arrested. The right to strike and protest have been suspended, a curfew imposed, Poland's borders sealed, telephone and telegraph communications interrupted or cut off. As the immediate counter-revolutionary threat passes, these martial law measures must be ended, including release of the Solidarnosc leaders. A Trotskyist vanguard seeks to defeat them politically by mobilizing the Polish working class in its true class interests.

For Trotskyists, the current Polish crisis powerfully reaffirms the need for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies, particularly brittle in East Europe. In its scale and form, the social mobilization around Solidarnosc demonstrates the power of the working class to take control of society. Yet coming under the influence of the Catholic church and the leadership of neo-Pilsudskite nationalists and pro-Western social democrats, the social content of Solidarnosc is profoundly anti-proletarian. A proletarian-internationalist workers movement in Poland can be rebuilt only under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard with a program of revolutionary unity between the Polish and Russian workers. This unity, necessarily directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, is key to defense of the collectivized economies and the gains of October. ■

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SPARTACIST

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Stop witchhunt against the left!

Labour's turbulent 'truce'

Ever since the discredited and despised Callaghan government crashed at the polls after the 1978-79 winter of discontent the Labour Party has been convulsed by bitter internal warfare, its electoral fortunes plummeting with the split of right-wing MPs to form the burgeoning Social Democratic Party. Until last October's Brighton conference the left -- with its Little England reformist panaceas, its desire to distance the party from the betrayals of the last government and its lack of enthusiasm for Western imperialist Cold War bellicosity -- was making rapid gains at the expense of the right wing, which after Wembley began to split to the SDP. However Brighton saw the narrow defeat of Tony Benn's deputy leadership bid against Denis Healey and the prising of the National Executive Committee from left-wing control for the first time in years. Now the Healeyite right, with the help of geriatric ex-left party leader Michael Foot, has clawed its way back on to the offensive: And the Labour left doesn't know if it's coming or going.

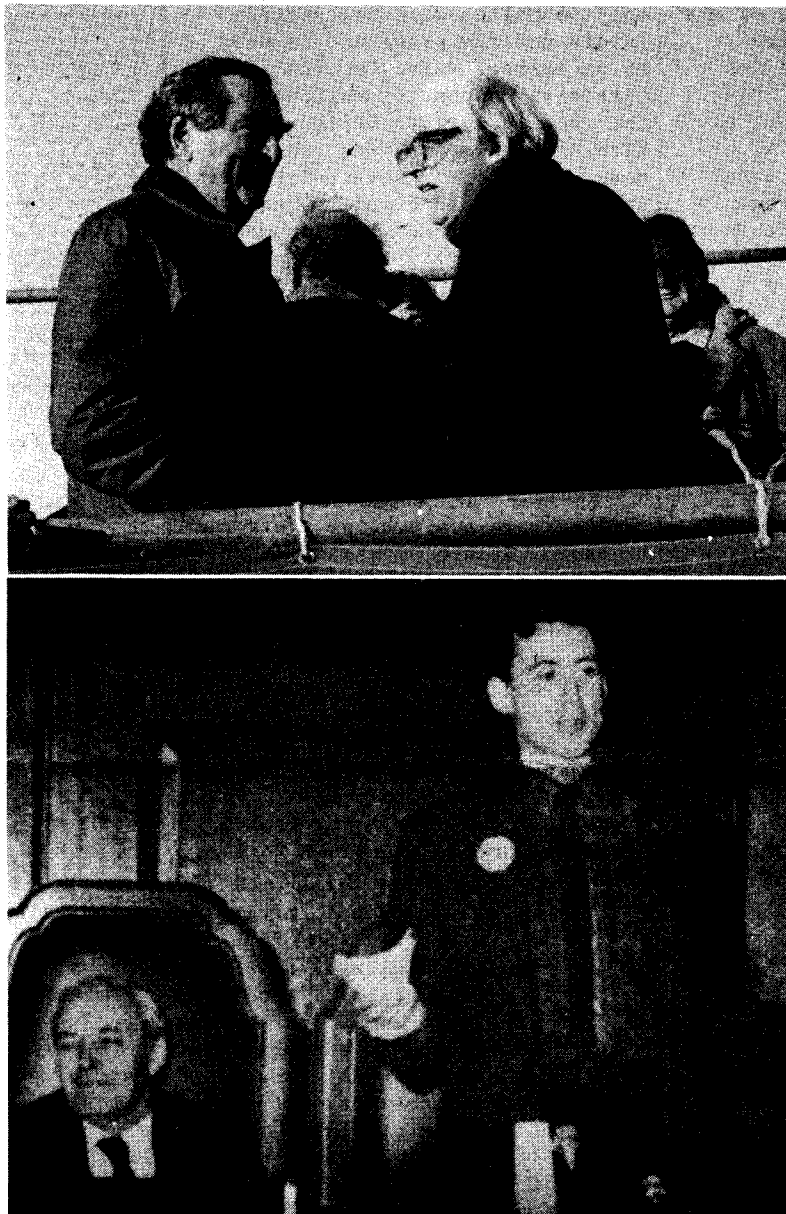
In early December the right wing declared war by launching a witchhunt. By a one vote majority the NEC refused to accept Bennite Peter Tatchell as prospective parliamentary candidate for Bermondsey, ostensibly because of his call for extra-parliamentary protest (actually only a lobby of Parliament) against the Tories. By slightly larger margins it rejected former International Marxist Group (IMG) leader Tariq Ali's application to join Hornsey Labour Party and voted to set up an official inquiry into the pseudo-Trotskyist Militant tendency. Days later Callaghan dotted the i's and crossed the t's in a *Daily Mirror* feature calling for the expulsion of Militant and other 'extremists' from the party. More threats flew against the left: Roy Hattersley demanded the ouster of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, while the press and television have lately featured scare stories about the activities of another fake-Trotskyist outfit, the Socialist Organiser Alliance (SOA). Stop the witchhunt! Defend Militant against right-wing purge! End the right-wing ban on Tatchell's candidacy! Let Tariq Ali into the Labour Party! Down with anti-communist bans and proscriptions!

Benn announced he would 'fight like a tiger' against any purge of his supporters. He declared himself the 'real deputy leader' of the party after another dozen or so pro-Healey MPs (more than the margin of victory in the October vote) had jumped ship to the SDP, and charged that the right wing's perspective was to purge or emasculate the left in order to work towards a coalition government with the Social Democrats after the next election. (Both Healey and Callaghan have already issued scarcely-veiled calls for such a coalition.) The party's crisis looked like coming to an explosive head.

Labour left in turmoil

But the fighting talk was shortlived. Now GMWU leader David Basnett claims that 'peace has broken out in the Labour Party'. Basnett and the other Trade Unions for a Labour Victory union bureaucrats called the party leadership to an emergency meeting at Bishops Stortford in early January to lay down the law. Call a truce, they demanded, or union money will not be forthcoming to bail the party out of its financial crisis. The TULV-brokered 'deal' would have the Bennite leaders drop their internal campaign against the right and in particular have Benn agree not to reopen the deputy leadership question before the next election. In exchange the right is supposed to accept the policy and organisational changes adopted at recent party conferences.

In fact, Bishops Stortford means a further strengthening of the right. The reformist poli-



Denis Healey and Michael Foot, pleased with each other. Below: Peter Tatchell (Tony Benn seated), victim of anti-left witchhunt.

ticians of the Labour left are not about to flagrantly defy the union paymasters. Thus while Benn & Co continue to take some politically provocative stances (eg supporting blacking in the ASLEF strike), there is now powerful pressure on them to temporise and retreat in the inner-party struggle against the right. On the other hand Healey et al, seeking above all else to restore Labour in the eyes of the bourgeoisie to its position as a 'responsible' alternative capitalist government, have no intention of accepting the Bennites' policies on such questions as nuclear disarmament. Only days after Basnett's declaration of 'peace', Healey was once more denouncing unilateralism from his Commons front bench. Soon after, Michael Foot took to the pages of the *Observer* for a pompous and long-winded attack on Benn and defence of 'parliamentary democracy' against the supposed threat from the left. Even more telling, the witchhunt still goes on -- and a significant section of the Labour left is waving the white flag before the Foot/Healey offensive or even actively aiding and abetting their attacks.

The much-vaunted Labour Liaison 82 conference designed to bring together the disparate Bennite left groups in an umbrella organisation produced only a shambles. The bulk of Tribune and the majority of the Labour Coordinating Committee (LCC), among others, refused to participate, and the conference itself on 23 January managed to organise and decide nothing. Benn himself only took part in order to issue a call for 'party unity'. LCC leader Nigel Stanley has joined the witchhunting clamour against Militant and Tariq

Ali. And Tribune calls for ending the fight on party constitutional questions -- except for Clause Two on eligibility for party membership which, they say, should be strengthened in order to purge groupings with 'their own programme, principles and policy' from the party.

The divisions inside today's Labour Party are so deep and acrimonious that it is difficult to imagine the present union bureaucrat-enforced partial truce holding for long. Today the key issue dominating political life in Britain, as internationally, is the war drive of NATO imperialism against the Soviet bloc degenerated and deformed workers states. It was the key underlying issue in the split of Labour's most ardent Atlanticist Cold Warriors to found the SDP, and it remains (however distorted through the social-democratic prism into debates over unilateralism and 'non-nuclear defence policies') the central defining issue of today's left/right divide in the party. And it is reflected over Poland, the key focus of the anti-Communist offensive in Europe today. While the Labour and union right champions counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc alongside Reagan and Thatcher, many prominent Labour lefts, reflecting a widespread sentiment among politically active elements in the union movement, simply don't want to touch this Cold War issue with a barge pole.

The pseudo-revolutionaries-turned-Bennites now inside the Labour Party are unable to provide an alternative to left reformism because their own programme on the central issues is fundamentally no better or, over Poland, actually worse, than much of the Labour left. The IMG and

SOA, just like the PLP and NEC, denounce the Soviet intervention against CIA-backed feudal reaction in Afghanistan and call for withdrawal of the Red Army. They champion the pacifist/neutralist Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament alongside the Labour left, breathing not a word about the need to defend the USSR against the war drive. And over Poland the Solidarnosc-loving pseudo-revolutionaries of IMG/SOA/Militant find themselves championing clerical reaction arm-in-arm with the most right-wing Cold Warriors like Healey, Terry Duffy and Frank Chapple!

The revolutionary alternative

The rise of the Bennite reformist left over the past 2½ years has led many fake revolutionaries to pin their hopes for cheap mass influence on a Bennite accession to power. Now with the perceptible disarray and retreat in the Labour left camp, groups like the SOA and IMG are complaining because many of those they so assiduously tailed are burying the fight against the right in the name of 'unity' for the elections. 'Cut the cant -- press home the fight!' pleads *Socialist Organiser* (14 January). It's all rather pathetic, the whining of the pseudo-revolutionary fakers that left reformists should stop acting like ... left reformists.

The SOA, IMG, Militant et al actually accept the key argument of the Labour traitors, right and left alike, that electoral advance for the party is unconditionally a good thing

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