



POLAND

# Solidarność Counterrevolution Checked

We reprint below the article, originally headlined "Power Bid Spiked", which was written immediately following the December military crackdown in Poland. It is from the 18 December *Workers Vanguard*, fortnightly paper of the Spartacist League/US.

The Polish crackdown has greatly frustrated the plans of US imperialism and NATO ruling circles who saw in the eruption of the pro-Western anti-communist Solidarnosc a historic chance, the best since World War II, to drive Soviet power back to Russian borders. If the Americans were taken off guard by the Polish counter coup, it's because they were counting on a Russian takeover. Now with the crackdown against Solidarnosc by the Polish army, the US has resorted to economic warfare against the Soviet degenerated workers state. So long as the West Germans and Japan don't follow suit — and they adamantly say they won't — Reagan's sanctions will end up hurting American capitalists more than the Soviet Union.

Even the Australians, counted along with Thatcher's Britain as among US imperialism's most slavishly loyal allies, have offered nothing more than verbal support, no doubt still piqued over the last grain embargo when US exporters moved in at their expense once the restrictions were lifted. When questioned on the US sanctions, ALP opposition leader Bill Hayden fully endorsed the Fraser government's stance, cautiously remarking that Reagan was "well meaning", but like Fraser finding too costly the price of Australian participation (*Age*, 18 January). According to the *Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1981) Australian business has something in the order of one billion dollars worth of sales of wheat, wool, meat and rice to protect.

The most significant opposition within the "Western Alliance" to making Poland the *casus belli* of Cold War II has come from the West Germans who — and for good reason — fear the outbreak of World War III on German soil. But Schmidt and Brandt are no pacifists, and they are certainly not "patsies for the Russkies" as some in the Reagan administration would have it. 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 Eastern Europe, centrally by subverting the region economically and then making a deal with the Kremlin. Having failed to break the USSR militarily in the



Solidarity's power bid spiked: Polish tanks inside Lenin shipyard in Gdansk

last war, German imperialism prefers for now to undermine the Soviet bloc from within.

If the German social democrats have played it very cool over Poland, their French counterparts have sought to whip up anti-Soviet frenzy, challenged on this score only by the Italian Eurocommunists who want a definitive break with Moscow (see article back page). These sharp divisions are dramatic evidence of how the reformists defend and express, above all, the interests of their own bourgeoisie. While German capital sees its interests in national reunification and further economic penetration of East Europe, Mitterand's program is one of protectionism, austerity and anti-Soviet militarism, at the same time serving as the ideological spearhead of "democratic socialist" counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

The Polish masses, undeniably infatuated with the capitalist West, should know that Poland cannot break with Russia without a major new war which would again mean their ruin. 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 rule would be brutally disabused of this notion.

For now Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary power grab has been blocked. The general strike or armed resistance that could have forced a bloody confrontation, hardening the present disastrous lines of division, fortunately did not occur. As Trotskyists we seek a *political recrystallisation* within the Polish working class and the forging of a proletarian vanguard, tempered in the struggle against clerical-nationalist counterrevolution. The perspective of Russian-Polish workers unity in defence of proletarian state power, and necessarily directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, can alone offer a *socialist* resolution to the crisis of Polish society.

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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 organizing 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 recognized that

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# Friends of Lech Walesa, 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 counterrevolutionary bid for power. The well-informed French muck-raking 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.

## Discretion and Mum's the word

"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 v.i.p. 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."

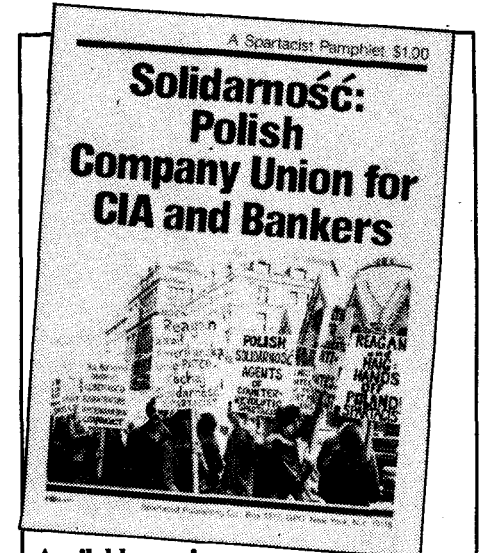
Among the questions asked by these hardheaded captains of industry and high finance: "Are you prepared to give up your Saturdays off?" "Do Polish workers know how to work and are they ready to?" "Is it the end of Marxist-Leninist ideology in Poland?" "Do you wish the Communist party to remain in power?"

During Walesa's Paris visit our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste 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 United Federation of Teachers, 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*.

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## Solidarność . . .

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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 collectivized 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 recrystallization 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 crystallization 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 mobilization 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 unemploy-

ment, wage gouging and deterioration of safety conditions that capitalism would bring. If the IMF ever got its hands firmly around the neck of the Polish economy, the workers would soon hanker after the "good old days" under Gomulka and Gierek. 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 recognized that Solidarnosc was bent on a final confrontation, but nonetheless they temporized. Negotiations between Jaruzelski and Walesa finally broke down centrally over Solidarnosc' 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-Pilsudskiite and anti-Semitic Confederation for an Independent Poland.

The event which led directly to the crackdown was Solidarity's attempt to organize the firefighter 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 organization 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 Gierek 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.

## Imperialism and "Liberal" Stalinism

"Free trade unions" and "free elections" for Poland have become key slogans in Reagan's Cold War II, and the imposition of martial law will certainly be used to fuel the anti-Soviet war drive, especially in West Europe. In France, in particular, mass pro-Solidarnosc demonstrations have been held, led by Socialist Party notables, producing a "holy union" running from the fascists, royalists and Gaullists to social democrats and Stalinophobic fake-Trotskyists like the OCI and LCR. In the US, imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger, a man directly responsible for the murder of millions of defenseless Vietnamese, condemns the crackdown on Solidarnosc as "a very grave offense against human freedom". When Kissinger speaks of "freedom" he means freedom to exploit the workers and peasants of the world, a "freedom" maintained by mass terror.

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# We're Looking for Some Hard Young Communists

The Spartacist League/ANZ held its national conference over the New Year. The conference marked the end of a period of intense and often sharp political discussion and membership sorting out following last year's extraordinary national conference. At that time, against emerging defeatist and "third campist" tendencies in the organisation, the SL powerfully reaffirmed its tasks in this region of unconditional military defence of the USSR/Vietnam in the face of Reagan/Fraser's anti-Soviet war drive (see "The Main Enemy is at Home!" *Asp* 90, Summer 1981/82). As noted by a representative of the international Spartacist tendency the political re-arming necessitated by this struggle

## SL National Conference

also reflected that we have gone into a new political period.

"Most of our history as a tendency hitherto was in a particular period marked by, earlier the Vietnam war and later, in the 70s, the time of detente, the time of the popular-frontist wave in Europe. It's pretty clear that we've gone into a quite different period politically, which of course puts comrades' commitment to the test and puts the Russian Question in particular to the fore."

Defence of the Soviet Union against the imperialist war drive is the question of proletarian class strategy today and its centrality to our tasks and growth was a continuing theme throughout the conference. Appropriately the recent dramatic events in Poland provided the major focus for the international report to the conference. Pointing out that US imperialism had been taken off guard by the counter coup in Poland the reporter noted the evident effectiveness of the military crackdown in at least temporarily checking Solidarity's counterrevolutionary bid for power. For us, he pointed out, the absence of widespread organised resistance which could have forced a bloody showdown could be of critical significance. Now at least there is the possibility of a recrystallisation along new lines and the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard committed to defence of proletarian state power while fighting for political revolution to oust the discredited Stalinist bureaucracy.

While we do not have the means to directly intervene in the Polish events, the reporter stressed the importance of and, in some cases, the spectacular opportunities for propagandistic intervention. For example, our Italian comrades have sold many hundreds of the Italian-language Spartacist pamphlet on Poland, mainly to workers around the PCI. Moreover as noted in the report on tasks and perspectives Poland will be a dividing line for communist recruitment in the next period. "Our powerful line on Poland should strike a nerve in the Australian labour movement with thoughtful presentation", an amendment to the conference document stated:

"The despised Fraser government loves Polish Solidarity and hates Australian unions. What's more the experience of intense Catholic organising in the unions in this country — the Catholic Action Movement and the Industrial Groups aimed at driving the Reds out of the unions, coupled with Menzies' attempted banning of the CP in the early 50s is vividly remembered.... The sense that 'Solidarnosc is Poland's Groupers' should both outrage our opponents and in places find receptivity among leftist Laborites and trade-union militants."

The political line-up over Poland underscored the point that opposition to anti-Sovietism is crucial to the struggle for working-class independence. Perhaps most graphic was a Melbourne pro-Solidarity rally in late December where former ACTU head Bob Hawke and former Liberal leader Billy Snedden shared a common platform. Internationalist opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive necessarily requires a hard struggle against Australian Laborism. As the conference document stated,

"Despite demagogic appeals to 'independence', the ALP tops promise the bourgeoisie to better lead Australia in its role

as junior partner of US imperialism in this region. This does not, however, prevent them from cashing in on pacifist, anti-war sentiment....

During the Vietnam war the ALP kept the anti-war movement within the framework of bourgeois pacifism and nationalist isolationism. Today the social democrats and bourgeois liberals oppose the Sinai force with the slogan 'No More Vietnams!', expressing their humiliation at the defeat of Australian and US imperialist troops at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. Our interventions at the Sinai/"peace" demonstrations, highlighting defence of Vietnam and the USSR against Australian imperialism, the running dog of Reagan in this

peculiar idiosyncracies of SWP reformism, brought into sharp relief by Poland, render its badly misplaced claim to Trotskyism all the more ludicrous.

Much discussion at the conference centred on using our unique political capital to recruit. Our recruitment will be *against* anti-Soviet popular frontism and *against* Laborism. As the conference document stated,

"We are the party that defends the Soviet Union and Vietnam, that hates and combats the racist, parochial, anti-woman chauvinism of "little Australia" nationalism, that swims against the stream of pervasive Laborism, that stands for "build picket lines, don't cross them!"



SL polarised Sinai troops demo, defending Vietnam/USSR, attacking Australian imperialism

region, sharply marked us out as the communist pole."

A central task projected by the conference was fighting to establish the SL as the Trotskyist pole in the workers movement against our fake-left opponents. The past period has seen a dramatic shift to the right on the part of the left, many of whom have sought to "come in from the cold" war drive through liquidation into the Labour Party. Over Poland the various social-democratic tendencies — the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the "third camp" International Socialists and the larger, if more reluctant Eurocommunist CPA — have stampeded onto the barricades of counterrevolution. The Brezhnevite Socialist Party of Australia, also face to face with the Russian Question, is finding that support to the Moscow bureaucracy sits uncomfortably with their domestic popular-frontist appetites and deep-going adaptation to the Labour Party, fuelling an open internal split involving key SPA trade-union bureaucrats and considerable turmoil over how much to accommodate the anti-Sovietism of the forces they seek to bloc with in the "peace" movement.

While the staggering bankruptcy of Stalinism in Poland ought to sharply confront Moscow-loyal Stalinists with the "spectre of Trotskyism", the only program that can defend and extend the gains of October, we have no intention of letting our fake-Trotskyist opponents off the hook. Of these none has been more shameless in championing counterrevolution in Poland than the SWP, Australian section of the Barnes/Mandel "United Secretariat", that grotesque parody of Trotsky's Fourth International.

Here is an organisation, deeply liquidationist towards the ALP and thoroughly Stalinophobic, which loves not only Solidarnosc... but Castro, not to mention a continuing attachment for the blood-soaked Khomeini regime. The

and that represents the Australian component of a hard Leninist international."

Our most significant burst of recruitment in recent years was around Afghanistan where we raised the slogan: "Hail Red Army!" Much of the current political power of the SL comes from this layer of mainly young comrades who joined in the face of the Russian Question. Moreover the recent past period of intense political sorting out saw many comrades come forward with the will and capacity to lead the organisation, a development most striking among our female membership which now comprises fully half the organisation.

Preceding the conference working commissions on trade-union and student work were held, stressing the importance of forging communist fractions as the basic units for party work in these areas.

At present our forces only allow a modest trade-union implantation and fraction perspective. As against all variants of fake "agitational" postures or pretence to "mass work" our aim as a small fighting communist propaganda group is to deepen our roots through exemplary intervention in social and class struggle around a class-struggle program. A resolution summing up a spirited session on strike tactics addressed the divisive craftism of the trade-union bureaucracy and our unique defence of the basic trade-union principle that "picket lines mean don't cross" noting that our tactics "are shaped consistent with two interlinked ends: to win the strike and combat and expose in struggle the trade-union bureaucracy. In strike situations we seek to draw the class line." It was stressed that ours is a perspective for power in the unions, entirely alien from the kind of no-struggle moralism, typified for example by impotent consumer boycotts, which lets the bureaucrats off the hook.

Throughout the conference and preced-

ing educational a recurring theme was the need to critically grasp the contradictory traditions of the Australian labour movement. In an educational on the "White Australia" policy speakers noted that white racism was from the beginning a central component of Laborite nationalism, one which the social-democratic labour historians have downplayed or suppressed. Nevertheless many of the major formative struggles such as the great strikes of the 1890s, out of which the ALP was formed, were hard class battles against the bosses in which an internationalist perspective would have been decisive in cracking Laborism's dominant influence. As the history of the early CPA demonstrated, refusal to consistently wage an open struggle against the "White Australia" policy went hand in hand with fatal adaptation to social democracy.

Discussion on the migrant proletariat, sparked by the recent Ford Broadmeadows strike, noted that while there is assimilation of migrants into all classes the proletarian layers are forced into the lowest paid, least skilled work through massive discrimination and are more easily alienated from the craftist, mainly native Australian labour bureaucracy during periods of hard class struggle. Winning these workers to the perspective of seizing state power in this country must be pursued as an integral part of our struggle to break the native white Australian working class away from reformism and backwardness. Questions such as "White Australia" racism, anti-migrant chauvinism, the woman question — these will be acid tests as we struggle to root in our class a program for proletarian victory. As one comrade put it, "it will be ex-ockers that make the Australian revolution".

There is a basic truth for Marxists; you know the world to the extent that you can shape it. This is not the least of our reasons for identifying with and carrying forward today the banner of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks won, and that counts. They were the first, and thus far the only ones to lead a proletariat, conscious of its aims, to power in its own name. Thus it is with pride that we trace the roots of our small tendency back to the Russian Revolution. As the speaker on iSt history noted,

"We raise the slogan that we are the party of the Russian Revolution. And that's not simply a propaganda exercise, it's not simply a question that we stand on the gains of October and on the lessons of the Russian Revolution. Through the American Trotskyists we can claim honestly to have links and continuity with the Russian Revolution.... The left opposition in the American Communist Party, centred on [James P] Cannon, but not simply him, became Trotskyist. And then through the 30s they were able to work very closely with Trotsky.... Moreover, with the events leading up to the second world war and also in places like Vietnam, the events after the second world war, many of the other capable leaders of the Fourth International were killed either by the Nazis in Europe, or by the Stalinists.... So the American cadre became a key centre of survival of the Trotskyist cadre after the second world war. These particular, if you like exceptional, circumstances help to explain why our tendency springs out of the American SWP and from the American location.... It has something to do with ties that go back to the Russian Revolution."

The proud traditions on which we stand, the American Cannonite tradition which is that of the Russian Bolsheviks, are not sentimental but ground us in those methods and program that alone offer the working masses an alternative to imperialist irradiated barbarism. And for those who want a future the fight for communism is the only hope. ■

Reprinted below is a Spartacist League leaflet on Poland and the Australian left's obscene defence of Solidarity, the only "union" in the world backed by Ronald Reagan and the Pope. Appropriately titled "Anti-Red Front Over Poland", the leaflet nails the "democratic socialists" who scandalously joined hands at a series of protests against the military crackdown with anti-communist East European emigres of the type who fled to this "land of the free" one step ahead of the Red Army's vengeance after fighting on the losing side in World War II.

The leaflet was handed out at the "Poland Today" session of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA)'s Marxist Summer School, held in January. This annual effort to present itself as an all-inclusive umbrella for the social-democratic left was notably smaller in attendance this year and, to say the least, lacking in lustre, reflecting the CPA's current disarray in which the Polish events play no small part.

Sure enough, the session on Poland drew a broad sprinkling of the Australian left. The fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the "third camp" little Cold-Warriors of the International Socialists (IS), the unsavoury entrepreneur and ALP "left" operator Bob Gould — they were all there, sensing an opening within the declining and deeply pessimistic CPA. Even Gould's sinister friends in the Socialist Labour League, whose role as messengers for Libyan dictator Colonel Qaddafi took them right out of the workers movement some years ago, turned out to cynically rail, along with the rest, against the CPA's "Stalinism".

Which is not to suggest that the CPA failed to condemn the counter coup in Poland. Naturally, it did. For, as the leaflet points out, this is a party that ten years ago "liberated" itself from Moscow so as to be a more attentive servant to its "own" bourgeoisie. But unlike its smaller social-democratic competitors who see in Poland the opportunity to wave the anti-Soviet flag, the CPA, due in part to its name and history, is mainly concerned with getting out of the line of fire.

As made clear by Denis Freney, its main spokesman on Poland, the real divisions in the CPA are over *how much* to support Solidarity and how shamelessly. Freney's speech was devoted to a scarcely-veiled polemic against his party's timid hopes for a "modus vivendi" between Solidarity and the discredited PUWP ("Statement of National Officers", 16 December). Theorising that the Soviet regime may not, after all, be in "transition from capitalism to socialism", Freney challenged the mainly CPA audience that it was no "crime against socialism" to want non-alignment and a break from the Warsaw Pact or to want "free elections". Not a single CPAer in the audience rose to address the issue at all.

When Spartacist speakers, who alone defended proletarian state power in Poland while calling for a *political* revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, pointed to Walesa's secret parleys with top US businessmen in Paris (see article this issue), Freney replied: so what if Walesa wanted "a little bit of money, a little bit of understanding" for the Polish economy from these leading figures of capitalist industry and high finance! Others, like Gould, simply lied through their teeth:

"The Western bourgeoisie have come out absolutely solidly in support of the military coup.... The Western bourgeoisie are solidly behind the maintenance of the Soviet bureaucracy. That's clear."

So Reagan didn't impose sanctions against the Soviet Union. Or to believe the SWP, the anti-Soviet war drive is merely a pretext for an assault on the "Grenadan Revolution". Certainly the *Wall Street Journal*, that important mouthpiece for US finance capital, isn't shy about its "Peoples Front" in defence of Solidarity. "If the coup succeeds in crushing Solidarity, we capitalists will join the democratic socialists in mourning", the *Journal* editorialised (16 December 1981).

Likewise, contrary to the myth that the Western bankers support Jaruzelski,

# CPA/Fake-Trotskyism on Barricades for Counterrevolution

## Anti-Red Front Over Poland

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 to pay up. The London *Economist* summed up this policy of imperialist finance: "... a Poland without a free Solidarity is not worth rescuing."

Though the CPA, SWP, Gould et al have tried their damndest to deny it, there is an unholy alliance over Poland directed against the Soviet degenerated workers state ... and they are part of it. The powerful Western friends of Solidarity who sit in the Vatican and the White House, along with their poorer cousins in Canberra, are united in their aim of restoring capitalism in the Soviet bloc. Only those who defend the historic gains of October can lead our class *internationally* to victory in sweeping away its capitalist masters once and for all. *This is the task of authentic Marxists.*

The Polish military crackdown against Solidarity following its threat to set up an anti-communist government and break from the Warsaw Pact sent political reverberations around the world. American imperialism's hopes for a "free world" Poland on the Soviet border or at least Soviet intervention and a nationalist bloodbath to whip up their anti-Soviet war drive have been greatly frustrated. Jaruzelski's military takeover appears to have effectively checked, for the time being, Solidarity's counter-

revolutionary bid for power. And it is by far in the best interests of the Polish working class that it be suppressed as quickly and bloodlessly as possible.

Poland was key to Reagan/Haig's drive to "roll back" Communism, setting the stage for nuclear war they believe they can win against the Soviet Union. Caught by surprise and at loggerheads with their West German imperialist allies over anti-Soviet strategy Reagan has replied with sanctions which though superficial represent imperialist economic warfare against the USSR and must be opposed by all class-conscious workers. But it is the "democratic socialists" internationally who have mobilised for counterrevolutionary reaction in the streets, willing accomplices in helping Reagan/Haig manufacture a "democratic", "anti-Stalinist" cover for their war plans. While national particulars differ, from Mitterand's anti-Soviet Socialists in France to Italy's Euro-communists to fake-Trotskyists like the SWP and "State Department socialist" groupings in the US, the pro-Solidarity protests everywhere are anti-Red coalitions including in almost every instance hardened anti-communists and openly fascist elements. This has been just as true in Australia where groups like the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the International Socialists (IS) and the Communist Party (CPA) have made common cause with anti-communist "Free Poles" and the Eastern European "Captive Nations" fascist fringe, the whole sordid cabal

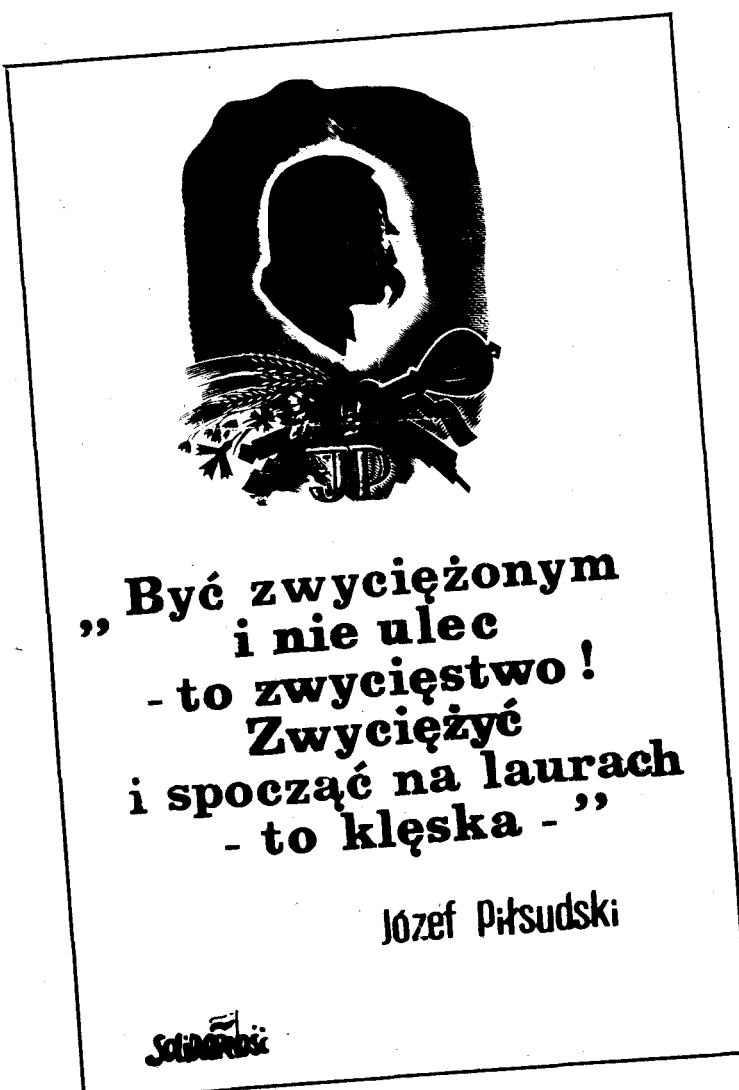
sporting their Solidarnosc T-shirts and waving Polish nationalist flags.

This disgusting line-up is no accident. This is not Hungary 1956 where Trotskyists backed the workers councils calling for anti-Stalinist political revolution while anti-communists demonstrated for capitalist counterrevolution led by Cardinal Mindszenty. There is no such polarisation today. Ronald Reagan, Fraser, the Pope, ultrarightist and fascist emigres, the *Wall Street Journal* — and the CPA, SWP, IS et al at this summer school — all call for "solidarity with Solidarnosc".

### On the barricades for counterrevolution

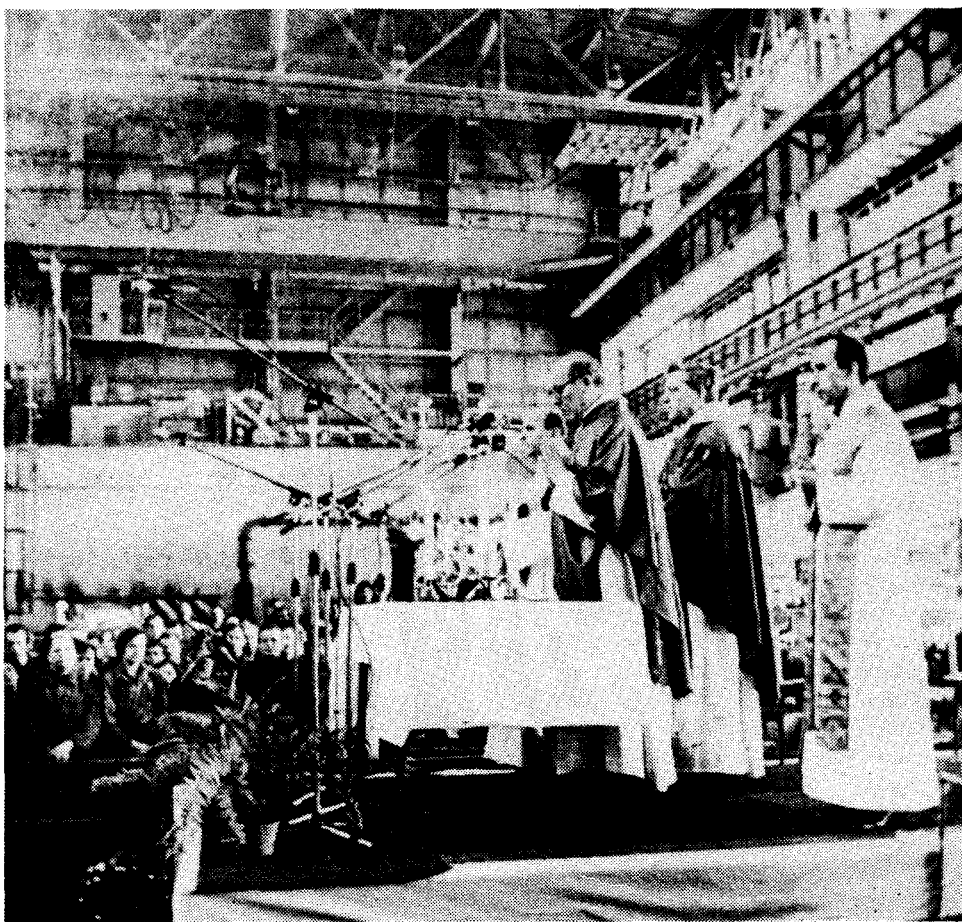
At a 14 December protest at the Sydney Polish consulate the SWP/IS invited the leader of the "Free Poles" demonstration, Charles Weyman, to solidarise with them on their "left" platform. When Mr Weyman's "constituency" arrived, replete with "Captive Nations" banners and signs like "Down with Red Fascism in Poland", SWPers taunted a Spartacist photographer that they would be happy to pose with them, even giving clenched fist salutes to these anti-communist scum when, as the reactionary crowd grew, they prudently left. At a Melbourne demonstration on the same day the SWP/IS attempted to join a 500-strong "Free Poles" demo who "scorned the offer" (*Age*, 15 December). This is perfectly consistent for the IS, Cold War "socialists" who equate US imperialism with the Soviet degenerated workers state and Stalinism with fascism. Two years ago, following the Red Army intervention into Afghanistan, the IS leafleted a similar reactionary demonstration in Melbourne that comprised not only "Captive Nations" types but notorious Nazi Ross "Skull" May. The difference this time is that the supposedly Soviet-defencist SWP is trying to outdo the IS in its anti-Soviet fanaticism. Demagogic SWP bigshot Jim Percy claimed to the *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 January) that "his party was the most closely aligned to Solidarity in Australia". If the cap fits then wear it but it is the anti-communist "Free Poles" associations of course that make up the local "Solidarity chapters", not the SWP. Even Percy's craven mentors in the American SWP, who reversed their pro-Soviet Afghanistan line in fear of Reagan's election, felt embarrassed participating in the ultrarightist pro-Solidarity demos in the US and belatedly pulled out.

The CPA, unlike the SWP, IS or the rabidly anti-Soviet Laborite grouplets around Bob Gould or Paul White's *Socialist Fight* who desperately wanted the clerical-nationalist Solidarity to take power, ludicrously stands for "national reconciliation" while supporting Solidarity and condemning the crackdown. This is an untenable position, reflecting lingering remnants of its Euro-communist hopes for "socialist renewal" through internal reform of the bureaucracy. But the current Polish crisis is the product of the utter bankruptcy of precisely this *reform* Stalinism, Dubcek-style, twice over — first Gomulka, then Gierk. Decades of Stalinist misrule and mismanagement have sold off Poland's



Solidarnosc placard idolises Piłsudski, fascist dictator of pre-war Poland. Fake-left allbills this pro-imperialist, clerical nationalist movement in Poland as movement for "socialist democracy".





Priests give mass during strike at Lenin steelworks, Nowa Huta

economy to the Western banks and, for now, driven the mass of the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican and NATO imperialism. That is a monumental crime of Stalinism.

The CPA, however, long ago crossed the Rubicon from Stalinism to a reconciliation with mainstream social democracy and it wasn't long in actively throwing in its lot with the reactionary mobilisations. CPA President Judy Munday came to the 19 December "left" pro-Solidarity rally at Sydney's town Hall Square "to associate the CPA" with its aims. Obviously reflecting unease within the CPA, Munday spent most of her time polemicising that Solidarity was not "for a return to capitalism" and its aims "are no comfort for the Liberal party, the Reagans of this world".

This fairytale, the lynchpin of the "democratic socialist" line, has now been blown away and the Solidarity leaders' real program spelled out with the tapes of the secret Solidarity meeting at Radom on 3 December, played in full

on Polish radio and not denied by Solidarity. Many Poles were undoubtedly shocked to hear Walesa say: "we have to say 'we love you, we love socialism and the party and of course we love the Soviet Union' ". As Walesa admitted this was nothing but a stratagem to buy time. He went on,

"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)

As for Walesa, *Time's* "Man of the Year", an undoubted cadre of the Polish Church who had already told American TV newscaster Walter Cronkite that "your system has passed the test", the latest revelations are that he met secretly with the top echelons of American corporate business when he visited Paris last October (see "Friends of Lech Walesa, Inc" reprinted in this issue.)

The Solidarity leaders had carefully restrained themselves before from trumpeting their anti-socialist program

fully-blown for fear of a premature confrontation, although there was plenty of evidence. At its September congress it had put forward a program — "free elections" to a bourgeois parliament, a market economy and abolition of central planning ("self-management"), entry into the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and a call for the CIA/Radio Free Europe slogan of "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc — which stamped it as decisively pro-capitalist. This program in power, placing the crisis-ridden Polish economy at the mercy of the IMF, would mean mass unemployment, wage cuts, soaring inflation, and destruction of social services that would make Thatcher's Britain look like a workers' paradise. Needless to say it would've been accompanied by a ruthless white terror against all in its path and WWII would have been that much closer.

Now that it is out in the open the CPA can only mumble that Solidarity's tactics were "inappropriate and misplaced". The ever more bizarre SWP flatly denies that Solidarity was making a bid for power (but supports such a course anyhow). Ironically, their "revolutionary" Cuban heroes described the same events as "preparing for a counterrevolutionary coup" (*Granma*, 27 December 1981). As for the IS and *Socialist Fight* they were already backing the Solidarity "militants" (grouped around the neo-Pilsudskiite and anti-Semitic Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN)). Now it is clear that the differences between the "moderates" and the "militants" in Solidarity's leadership were only questions of timing and public posture, not their fundamentally anti-communist aims.

The international Spartacist tendency drew the conclusions last September as Solidarity took up the Cold War propaganda themes of "free elections" and "free trade unions" throughout Eastern Europe. "Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution!" we said, before it is too late. Now the danger of counterrevolution has been checked, but the fundamental crisis of Polish society has not been resolved. But if some sort of social equilibrium is restored then once again conditions exist for the crystallisation of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard and a perspective of proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. As for the pro-Moscow Stalinist Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) it can only rely on a purged and refurbished bureaucratic caste and Polly-

anna hopes for the future. But the SPA also faces the spectre of the Russian question in its ranks with a sizeable trade-unionist opposition being pulled in a social-democratic direction. With detente in a shambles and a warlike bourgeoisie uninterested in "peaceful coexistence" with the USSR, the program of Trotskyist internationalism is more clearly than ever the only real defence of the workers states. A Trotskyist regroupment in Poland, steered in the lessons of the clerical-nationalist threat, seeking revolutionary unity with the Russian workers on the basis of its unconditional defence of the Soviet bloc against imperialism, must be rooted in uncompromising struggle against the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracies.

### Solidarity Is Poland's DLP/Groupers

As for the social-democratic left they are unashamedly howling with the imperialist wolves. Concerned only to prove their "democratic" anti-Soviet credentials by supporting any movement against Stalinism the CPA, SWP, IS etc have worked overtime to paint Solidarity as "socialist", fighting for "political revolution", ignoring the war drive and writing off the influence of the powerful Catholic Church as irrelevant or even pro-Stalinist. Urging Solidarity on to seize power, they reveal an appetite at bottom similar to Reagan's: for them a bloodbath with misguided Polish workers throwing Molotov cocktails at Soviet tanks would be an opportunity to really get the anti-Soviet "mass movement" going. And from Reagan and Fraser down through the Laborite parliamentarians and trade-union bureaucrats to the self-proclaimed "socialists", "the Polish workers" have become a holy talisman to hide the real and sinister appetites at work.

But many workers in the West know instinctively that Solidarity is not for their class. In Catholic Italy, home of the Vatican, Eurocommunist leaders called for strikes to defend Solidarity, pledging themselves to "democracy" and NATO. But the militant Italian proletariat refused, their attitude summed up by a Bologna worker who replied to union organisers, "I don't strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa" (*New York Times*, 19 December). Similarly in this country the experience of Catholics organising in the unions, the anti-communist witchhunt of the 50s and the

Continued on page six



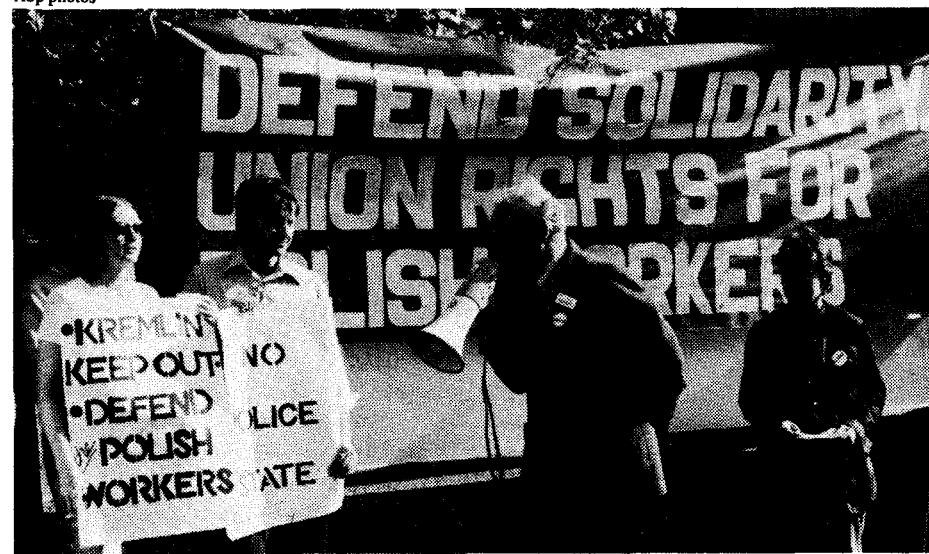
14 December: SCANDALOUS! The photos above tell the story. Outside Sydney's Polish consulate "Free Poles" and reactionary East European emigres including the sinister "Captive Nations" cabal are joined by the "Trotskyist" Socialist Workers Party (SWP) demonstrating their "solidarity" with Solidarnosc's aborted counter-revolutionary bid for power.

The SWP, along with the "third camp" International Socialists (IS) and members of the Communist Party stood shoulder to shoulder with these anti-communists, their "freedom and socialism" placards mingling with fascist slogans (see photo left) like "Down with red fascism in Poland", the communist hammer and sickle

equated with the Nazi swastika.

This is nothing new for the IS Cold War warriors. Just two years ago they "leafleted" a "Captive Nations"/Maoist rally in Melbourne (which included in its ranks notorious Nazi Ross "Skull" May) denouncing the Red Army intervention into Afghanistan. Back then the SWP, which had uncharacteristically backed the Soviet intervention, wrote that this was "probably the most outrageous anti-communist rally seen in this city since the 1950s" and aptly characterised the "Captive Nations"/Baltic Council "one of the most rabidly anti-communist groups in Australia" (*Direct Action*, 24 January 1980). Now Poland puts the SWP in the IS's imperialist "third

ASp photos



camp", and look who's there with them!

The photo on the right shows "Free Poles" spokesman Charles (Karol) Weyman (also the leader of the Australian branch of Polish Solidarnosc) speaking at the SWP/IS platform outside the Polish consulate. "Keep up the good work", he told them. Weyman has been kept busy since, monitoring defections of Polish seamen to the "free world". And on Reagan's January 30 "Day of solidarity with Solidarity" this Australian president of Solidarnosc initiated a full-page listing of Solidarnosc's real friends in Murdoch's *Australian*, a veritable who's who of the anti-communist right in Australia. Frank Knopfelmacher, B A Santamaria, Fraser, Anthony, trade-union flunkies

like Barry Unsworth and the VBU's Joe Thompson, and in pride of place Cardinal Freeman and Archbishop Sloane. The SWP wouldn't have even got a phone call.

Now as Reagan steps up his Polish campaign against the Russians the SWP's "left" cover is in tatters and they know it. "Imperialist hypocrisy" they cry, telling us that Walesa/Wojtyla really wanted "socialist democracy" just like in Castro's Cuba. "Socialist democracy" flowers only in the day-dreams of Castro's vicarious SWP followers, not in Stalinist Cuba. But Castro at least picked the counter-revolutionary Solidarnosc for what it is, and he certainly would've recognised the equivalent of Cuban *gusanos* at the Polish consulate.

# Anti-Red Front...

Continued from page five

Groupers, is sharply remembered. The older CPA cadre know, as does any class-conscious partisan of labour in this country — the program of the Catholic Church in politics is unalloyed anti-communist reaction. In the trade unions and under "working class" guise it is no less sinister. The Industrial Groups, dominated by the secretive Catholic "Movement", were the agencies of the Cold War witchhunt against communists in the unions which culminated in the 1955 DLP split from the ALP. To those not blinded by anti-Soviet propaganda the analogy is starkly obvious: Solidarity is the DLP/Groupers with a mass base in the heart of the Polish workers state.

Behind the lies, demagogy and wilful indifference amongst the left to the real social forces operating in Poland lies the fear of social democrats facing anti-Soviet imperialist reaction. The criminal illusion these reformist leftists foster is the shameful, capitulatory falsehood that by refusing to defend the historic gains of the working class, by helping the class enemy to destroy them in fact, they will buy a pardon for themselves from triumphant reaction. Instead they will get the reward the Iranian left got for their help in bringing the "anti-imperialist" Khomeini to power. As Trotsky noted of such people, those who cannot defend past gains will never conquer new ones.

To the questions posed by Poland you will only get communist answers from the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League. The forms of the Solidarity movement frequently suggested proletarian political revolution, but tragically the content was dominated by the Catholic Church and Western imperialism. The program of Walesa & Co would have meant disaster for Polish working people. So everything important is learned the hard way, and Poland 1980-81 is no exception. What's needed now is a period of underground regroupment, a political reckoning with Solidarnosc. Only the Trotskyist program of ousting the sellout bureaucrats through political revolution, in order to defend and extend the historic gains of socialist 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. ■

# Italian Workers...

Continued from page eight

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." 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

# WWF Bureaucrats Join Cold War Drive

Surely no-one was much surprised when Cliff Dolan called a quick revote to reverse the ACTU's decision to send a couple of reps to Moscow for the upcoming congress of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions. No less a vicious union-busting outfit than Rupert Murdoch's *The Australian* (26 January) appealed to "Australian unionists" to "refuse to allow their participation ... to be cited as an endorsement of the crushing of the Polish workers' efforts to build a genuine trade union movement." After all, Dolan knows who his masters are. And so does Charlie Fitzgibbon, the president of the Waterside Workers' Federation (WWF) which, by a vote of its ALP-dominated Federal Council, imposed a week-long ban on Polish ships in protest against the military crackdown.

This is the union that struck against the Vietnam war, that stopped work for a day to protest the Sinai force and that three years ago in Sydney blacked Chinese ships when, in collusion with US imperialism, China (unsuccessfully) tried to teach Soviet-allied Vietnam a "bloody lesson". With its reputation as the class-conscious political elite of the Australian labour movement, the Federation's ban was naturally seized upon as a propaganda coup by Solidarnosc's friends in the Australian bourgeoisie. And that's exactly what it was intended as. A gloating front-page article in *The Australian* (23 December) smugly reported that:

"The Federation is known to have Communist Party members, some of them hard-line Moscow supporters, but [Federal organiser Tas] Bull said these represent only about 2 per cent of union members."

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."

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". In fact, virtually the only organized tendency to oppose the power grab by Walesa & Co is the Lega Trotskysta d'Italia (LTd'I), sympathizing section 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".

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

No doubt some wharfies are plenty disgusted with their leadership's treachery in the service of the counter-revolutionary Polish "union" Solidarnosc, not to mention Bull's red-baiting smear in Murdoch's press. Last August rank-and-filers on the Sydney waterfront threatened to refuse to handle medical supplies headed for Solidarnosc when Charles Weyman's Association of Free Poles tried to use the occasion for an anti-communist propaganda blitz. In the end Weyman had to abandon his plans for a newsy reception on the docks (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 August 1981).

In a letter to the Moscow-line Stalinist Socialist Party (SPA)'s press, one retired wharfie poignantly conveyed the deep sense of betrayal felt by those on the waterfront who retain some kind of loyalty to the communist cause:

"The action, in support of Reagan on behalf of the worst elements in society today, amazes and really disgusts me and, as a retired wharfie, guarantees from me, to the union, for the rest of my life, my complete and utter condemnation."

— Socialist, 27 January

The SPA published the letter, of course, but itself remained silent. When SPA general secretary Peter Symon was asked to comment on the ban he refused, pointing to the matter as an "internal dispute" within the union to cover his cowardly evasion (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 January).

As for the "hard-line Moscow supporters" in the Sydney leadership of the WWF, they finally came out with a statement opposed to the ban, but according to Sydney branch sec-

retary and SPA supporter Tom Supple they simultaneously endorsed a Federal Council resolution against "outside interference in Poland" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 January). This is nothing but back-handed support to imperialist propaganda aimed at possible Soviet intervention against Solidarnosc. For the Stalinists, "peaceful coexistence" with Fitzgibbon — based on selling out to the imperialist Cold Warriors — is an unquestionably higher principle than defence of the USSR.

The fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), attempting to obscure their own alliance with imperialist reaction over Poland, opposed the ban for falling in behind Reagan's "hypocritical propaganda drive", cynically adding that tactics in defence of Solidarnosc "must be very carefully chosen" (*Direct Action*, 20 January). Yet the very same Charles Weyman who was rightly rebuked by Sydney wharfies was a keynote speaker at the SWP's "own" pro-Solidarnosc rally!

The leadership of the Waterside Workers Federation is using the reputation and industrial muscle of this still-powerful union to back the imperialist bosses in their drive to war against the Soviet degenerated workers state. One could hardly think of a more graphic example of how the bureaucrats act as the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class." Defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism, which only the Trotskyists fight for, is crucial to forging an alternative class struggle leadership in the unions with a program to mobilise all of labour in the interests of its own class internationally. ■

bourgeois formations as the executive committee of finance 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.

Carillo'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".

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 councillors 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 Knives Fiat Strike", WV 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 counter-revolution; 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. ■

— abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 296, 8 January 1982

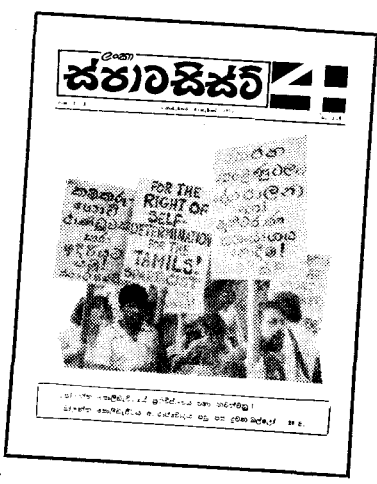
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No. 1-2 November-December 1981 (in Sinhala)

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# Solidarity is Poland's DLP/Groupers

In form, Polish Solidarity appears as a demonstration of the enormous social power of the working class, yet this movement kneels before the Catholic priests, carries pictures of the Pope and the pre-war dictator Pilsudski and appeals for salvation to Western imperialism. The anti-Soviet fake-left supports any opposition to Stalinism whatsoever and so chooses to believe that no matter what Solidarity thinks, says or does, its mass proletarian base automatically makes it progressive. The Catholic Church's role as a reactionary political institution, which ought to have been settled once and for all by the French revolution at the latest, is actually disputed.

Yet the Australian labour movement had its own experience of Catholic reaction in the unions, the Industrial Groups and the later Democratic Labor Party (DLP), behind which were B A Santamaria's sinister "Movement" and its successor, the National Civic Council (NCC). The NCC's recent 40th anniversary was for Santamaria 40 years of holy war to save Australia from communism. For the working class it has been 40 years of anti-union sabotage and anti-communist witchhunting. Fraser and several of his ministers attended the NCC's celebration, bringing the bourgeoisie's message, "keep up the good work". For good reason do militant workers and leftists hate this clerical anti-communist outfit.

Quite consistently, the NCC is all for Solidarity, its supporters at this year's AUS council bravely sporting their Solidarnosc T-shirts. Of course the face Catholic reaction presents in seeking to overturn proletarian state power in Poland is that of a "democratic" opposition to bureaucratic Stalinist rule; in Australia it has always been strident anti-communism backed by the authority of the bourgeois state power. Yet the underlying common denominator of both Solidarity and the DLP/Grouper/NCC axis is organised Catholic reaction in the working class, aimed against the gains of the workers. Those fake-socialists who foam at the mouth against the NCC here

while alibiing Solidarity in Poland as "socialist" only express the social-democratic preference for "democratic" imperialism over "totalitarian Stalinism". We say, Solidarity is Poland's DLP/Groupers.

Just as the present US global war drive against the USSR fostered the growth of the pro-NATO Solidarity Trojan Horse, so thirty years ago the Groupers flourished in the anti-communist hysteria of Cold War I. The breaking of the 1949 coal strike, the 1951 referendum to ban the Communist Party (CPA), the Petrov Royal Commission — such events fed the climate in which the Catholic witch-hunters thrived. In 1941 Santamaria had formed the "Movement", together with the Catholic hierarchy, to fight the growing strength of the CPA in the unions and propagate his reactionary Catholic corporatist social views. Having official church blessing, facilities, financial support, and supervised by a committee of bishops including Archbishop Mannix, the Movement functioned as a highly disciplined, secret organisation of trained cadre carrying the Church's crusade against communism into the labour movement. Santamaria in his 40th anniversary speech praised these zealots "who went in fighting, to use a Marxist phrase, cadre against cadre, cell against cell, national organisation against national organisation" (*Newsweek*, 13 January 1982). Organised in parish cells, often by priests, it mobilised Catholics for union elections to defeat communist officials by whatever means. It stacked union meetings to subvert militant action, wrecked left-wing meetings and sought to smear, intimidate and drive all communists out of the unions, universities, community organisations etc. Its mass base came from the takeover of the Industrial Groups set up in 1945 by the ALP to combat CPA influence in the unions, then at its peak. The Groups under Movement domination became the agents of the Cold War witchhunt in the unions.

The Groupers' biggest victory was their takeover of the Federated Iron-



B A Santamaria, leader of Catholic reaction in Australia

workers Association (FIA), one of the most powerful and strategic unions of the war years. During the war, the Stalinist Thornton leadership's record of strikebreaking and heavy-handed bureaucratism on behalf of the Allied war effort repelled many militants from the CPA. The opposition to Thornton in the Sydney shipyards was led by the Trotskyist group of Nick Origlass and Laurie Short. The Stalinists' attempt to remove Origlass from his elected position precipitated the long Balmain strike of 1945. Just as the bankruptcy of Polish Stalinism drove the working class into the arms of the Church, so Thornton's betrayals drove militants into the rising anti-communist opposition. As the Cold War deepened, Short and others broke with Trotskyism to join the Groupers, presaging the course of today's "third camp" socialists like the IS and SWP, whose Stalinophobia puts them alongside all shades of reactionaries over Poland. In the unions, the Groupers used "democracy" to rally support against CPA bureaucratism. For them it meant driving the Reds out, which a court-controlled ballot in the FIA finally achieved in 1951, installing the Short leadership which turned the union into the tame-cat, anti-communist outfit it is today.

By the 1950s the Movement's early social demagoguery gave way to anti-communism pure and simple. Its "threat from the north" scare propaganda tapped traditional anti-Asian racism: "Our own Reds realise that the prospects of achieving power by internal action are hopeless. But they believe firmly, and with some justification, that soon all Asia will be theirs and then resistance by Australia's few to Asia's Red many will be hopeless" (*Newsweek*, 4 June 1950, quoted in P J Ormonde, *The Movement*). This hysterical fear of communism dovetailed with US imperialism's strategy. The CIA at the time was funding similar anti-communist operations in trade unions across the world, like those in France and Italy masterminded by the agent Irving Brown, who Lech Walesa invited to Solidarity's first congress. Its financial backing would certainly have been made available to the Groupers.

By 1954, the CPA had lost control of many key unions and the witchhunt had slashed its membership, while the Groupers were taking control of the ALP machine. However they then posed a threat to their erstwhile mainstream ALP allies like Evatt, Calwell and the AWU. In the 1955-7 split, the latter turned on the Groupers, driving them out to form the DLP, which existed for a decade and a half as the hardest pro-imperialist pressure group in Parliament, eg, over Vietnam. As Santamaria recognised, the split also saved the CPA from being completely wiped out in the unions, no thanks to the CPA who looked for its defence to the self-same ALP leaders like Evatt and Calwell who during the 1949 coal strike had threatened to throw communists in concentration camps.

The NCC is no relic of the past. Today it continues its sinister Catholic subversion in the unions, on campuses, in the anti-abortion movement and in other fields. The intensifying anti-Soviet Cold War climate can only favour its resurgence. In their lawyering for Solidarnosc counterrevolution the social-democratic left not only cover for the imperialist war drive but fuel the growth of the most reactionary forces at home. ■

## Solidarnosc...

Continued from page two

In the name of countering "the export of revolution" to El Salvador, American war material and Green Berets are propping up a kill-crazed junta. The racist apartheid South African regime becomes a central part of the "free World" in attacking Angola with Israeli-supplied weapons. In Afghanistan, the CIA arms Islamic reactionaries fighting along the southern border of the USSR to maintain feudal and pre-feudal slavery. Washington's ally China constantly menaces Vietnam, which heroically fought US imperialist barbarism for decades. But it is in Poland that Reagan sees the best possibility to realize his counterrevolutionary designs against the Soviet Union by "rolling back" the postwar social and economic gains in East Europe. The seizure of power by Solidarnosc would mean a victory for Wall Street and the Pentagon, for the Common Market and the IMF, for bloody Latin American dictators and South African racists. The creation of a "free world" Poland on the western borders of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust.

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 Gierak. An earlier crime of Stalinism destroyed the important traditions of international communism 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 Gierak 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 stands 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.

### What next in Poland?

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

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.

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 counterrevolutionary 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. ■

## Defeat GMH/AMI witchhunt!

MELBOURNE: Five members of the Vehicle Builders Union (VBU) described as "socialist" and "trade union" militants in the SWP's *Direct Action* were sacked last December 23 on the eve of the Xmas break. Three had been employed at GMH's Plant 4 and two at AMI. With contraction of the industry, the auto bosses are acting to undercut resistance to their "rationalisation" plans and massive layoffs by driving out of the plants anyone suspected of being a "red" or a union militant. More recently, Ford made a similar move by trying to sack union activist Dursun Erdogin, a member of the Union of Australian Turkish Workers. His job was saved only by the threat of industrial action by VBU shop stewards.

The sacking of "the five" is an attack on the entire union. The VBU must mobilise its power to win their reinstatement and defeat the auto bosses' anti-communist witchhunt!



## Hands Off the BLF!

The Fraser government is out to get the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF). Its latest instrument, the Royal Commission into alleged corruption in the BLF, is aimed at creating a suitable climate for its already-initiated de-registration proceedings against the union.

Like the continuing investigation into the Painters and Dockers union this Royal Commission is real bourgeois class "justice". As the BLF pointed out last August it lays no specific charges, has no jury, reverses the onus of proof, has no rules of evidence, no presumption of innocence and no committal proceedings. Instead, under "privilege", all sorts of allegations and insinuations can be made, any and all muckraking dredged up and paraded through the bosses' media without the accusers having to prove a thing. From the start the BLF offered to answer any charges in a properly constituted court. BLF officials have rightly refused to cooperate with the Commission, Federal Secretary Norm Gallagher denouncing it as a "kangaroo court" which "no self-respecting worker or workers' representative would have anything to do with".

The accusations charge that Gallagher

and other officials took payola from the building industry bosses, most of it pathetically centring on building materials Gallagher allegedly received *gratis* for his modest beachhouse at the Victorian coastal resort of Yarram. Stern stuff. No bank robberies, not even a crooked ballot just allegations of interest-free loans and free gum trees from the City Council.

We have no love for the Maoist Gallagher BLF leadership, but we know what the bosses are gunning for. The BLF has not been loath to use its industrial muscle to squeeze higher wages and better conditions out of the land developers' bloated super-profits. Like his NSW bureaucratic foes, Munday & Co, Gallagher won office back in the days of the old Stalinist Communist Party cleaning up the industrial jungle on the building sites, bringing real self-esteem and security to its unskilled, mainly migrant membership through hard-fought class battles to win sick pay, long service leave and safety conditions in a notoriously dangerous industry. That is what the blood-sucking land developers and big-time builders hate. Hoping to use the growing pool of desperate unemployed they want the "freedom" to bring back

Depression-like conditions like the already prevalent "body hire" system (where men work by the day, even the hour, at the whim of builders and contractors). Corruption? As Gallagher told Queen's Council Winneke, "You and Mr Callaghan (counsel assisting the commission) are getting \$1500 and \$1200 a day to carry out the Master Builders and Government's dirty work". Whatever the truth of the bosses' allegations it is the job of the BLF ranks, not the courts, to clean up their union.

Behind Fraser and the Master Builders there is an unholy alliance wanting the BLF's head. The Australian Workers Union (AWU) and Ironworkers (FIA), involved in mutual demarcation and raiding disputes with the BLF, have the nod from the bosses to replace the BLF in new "resources boom"-linked construction projects. Then there is the contemptible group of CPA and former NSW BLF officials like Jack Munday, bureaucratically expelled from the union and reinstated only after giving backhanded support to the Royal Commission witch-hunt (and countless court actions against the union).

For the Maoist Gallagher, making



Gallagher: bosses target BLF

common cause with Reagan and Fraser's anti-Soviet war drive has not saved the BLF from domestic anti-communism and union busting. Nor can their narrow trade-union militancy provide any real defence against a concerted capitalist offensive. The viciously bureaucratic Gallagher machine, which does not hesitate to use the bosses against its opponents in the labour movement, has plenty to account for — but before the workers. Not the discredited Munday/Owens but the construction of a class-struggle leadership in the BLF will make them answer. Hands off the BLF! Bosses' courts out of the unions! ■

## "We Won't Strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa!"

MILANO — 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 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 organisers, "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. The PCI leader 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".

At meetings of party activists there was



Torino, Autumn 1980: Flat strike, shafted by PCI but Italian workers won't go out for Walesa and Wojtyla

reported dissension, 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 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

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