



Time Runs Out in Poland

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

The massive strike in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counter-revolution in league with imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution. The Gdansk accords and the emergence of Solidarity (Solidarność), the mass workers organization which issued out of last year's general strike, produced a situation of cold dual power. This precarious condition could not last long, we wrote. And now time has run out.

With its first national congress in early September, decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution. The appeal for "free trade unions" within the Soviet bloc, long a fighting slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation of Moscow. Behind the call for "free elections" to the Sejm (parliament) stands the program of "Western-style democracy," that is, *capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government*. And now leading Polish "dissident" Jacek Kuron, an influential adviser of Solidarity, and a member of the Second International, has issued a call for a counterrevolutionary regime to take power.

To underscore their ties to the "free world," Solidarity's leaders have invited Lane Kirkland, the hard-line Cold Warrior who heads up the American AFL-CIO, to attend the second session of the congress scheduled for late September. This top labor lieutenant of U.S. imperialism, a man deeply involved in Washington's anti-Soviet war drive, has announced he will be there to wave the "free world" banner in Poland. Accompanying Kirkland is Irving Brown, the sinister AFL-CIO "European representative" whose "labor" cover is an invaluable part of his years-long role as top CIA provocateur against the European labor movement. In turn Solidarity is opening a U.S. office in the premises of teachers' union leader Albert Shanker, a notorious right-wing social democrat whose party newspaper, *New America*, denounced George McGovern as little short of a "Commie dupe" and even condemned Nixon as soft on Russia!

Over and above the formal actions of the congress, the whole activity and spirit of Solidarity is that of an organization making a bid for power. A few weeks



UPI
Solidarity congress: leaders kneeling to reactionary Catholic church.

before the congress the top leader, Lech Walesa, told printers who were striking government newspapers:

"I believe that confrontation is unavoidable. The next confrontation will be a total confrontation. . . . We see more clearly that without political solutions nothing can be achieved. The whole war will be won by us."

—Los Angeles Times, 21 August

When asked what would happen if the Sejm refused to act on Solidarity's program for self-managed enterprises,

(continued on page 6)

Spartacist Candidates in Detroit Elections

For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!

On September 15 Spartacist candidates for city council Don Andrews and Ann Weekley received 1,700 and 2,000 votes respectively after the first Spartacist campaign for public office in Detroit. With about 2 percent of the total vote, Andrews and Weekley did comparably or better than the other candidates who ran as socialists. But unlike the others, the Spartacist candidates campaigned not for utopian gimmicks to reform capitalism but for a workers government—to be won by mobilizing in the streets and factories. Andrews and Weekley campaigned as the workers candidates "For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!", in particular pointing to the successful November 1979 labor/black protest initiated by the Spartacist League and United Auto Workers militants where 500 proclaimed: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" and prevented the KKK from "celebrating" their bloody Greensboro massacre.

A central focus of the Spartacist campaign was to take the socialist fight into Detroit's auto factories. Andrews was a guest speaker at the September meeting of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit of the giant Ford River Rouge complex. A high point of the campaign was at the Labor Day parade where a class-struggle contingent marched behind a banner reading "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party! Vote for Andrews/Weekley—Labor Candidates for City Council." Another Spartacist banner read, "For Labor/Black Mobilization to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!"

The task now is to organize and recruit from Detroit's largely black working class and youth the class-struggle militants to wage the fight for socialist revolution.

Spartacist Canada talked with the candidates about their program. Printed below is an abridged version of that interview.

SC: Why did the Spartacist League (SL) decide to run in the election?

Andrews: We wanted to run because we are the only alternative that exists to defend blacks and labor against growing racist terror, against the devastation of a city bled dry by the auto barons. If you look at the vicious budget cuts coming from Washington—and

the Democrats are marching lockstep with the Republicans on this—you can see that the capitalists are sending a message to the workers and poor in this country. "You will have to eat bullets so we can build neutron bombs and other weapons of destruction and deploy them against the Soviet Union." In Detroit thousands of workers are thrown on the scrap heap



Workers Vanguard Photo

Spartacist candidate Don Andrews (center) in Detroit Labor Day parade, September 7.

as historic auto plants like Dodge Main and Lynch Road are shut down. In our election campaign we told working people the truth: capitalism is killing us. And, as we have said many times, we do mind dying.

Weekley: Detroit is a very clear example of the death agony of capitalism. You can see it every time you go to the Wayne State campus. In terms of black youth, the one hope that auto workers used to have for their children was that maybe they could save the money to send them to Wayne and then maybe they wouldn't have to be slaves to the assembly line. Wayne used to have the highest black enrollment of any state university and that was only 30 percent in a 65 percent black city. Now black enrollment is plummeting and the only "hope" for black youth is the so-called volunteer army. Reagan's solution to the 70 percent unemployment rate among youth in the ghettos is to round up young blacks and send them off to die in a war against Russia.

SC: You have talked about Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Could you elaborate on how this was addressed in your campaign.

Andrews: From very early on Reagan indicated that El Salvador was the front line in his war drive against the Soviet Union. We took a side with the workers and peasants fighting against the bloody U.S.-backed

Spartacist Canada

Published by the SPARTACIST CANADA PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6

EDITORIAL BOARD: J. Klancy (Editor), S. Peters (Production Manager), N. Carson, S. Morin, O. Stephens

Circulation Manager: P. Harris Business Manager: S. Magid

Signed articles do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed in a union shop by union labor.



SC Photo

FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND!

VANCOUVER, 12 September—A spirited Trotskyist League (TL) contingent of 25 marched behind a banner calling for "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" at a 650-strong "pro-choice" demonstration here today. Reformist rally organizers tried to obscure TL placards with "approved" ones and to drown out TL chants, but "Free Abortion on Demand!", "Down with the Bride Price! Down with the Veil! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Khomeini Murders Kurds and Women, For Workers Revolution in Iran!", among others, came through loud and clear. One young militant told a would-be censor that the TL was "the only group that shows its own politics, revolutionary politics." 100 papers were sold.

junta in El Salvador. And in our campaign we said that defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador. We believe that historic working-class gains of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia still exist and must be defended by workers throughout the world. The parasitic bureaucracies that rule in Cuba and Russia undermine those gains by their policy of compromise with U.S. imperialism and we call for workers political revolution to overthrow them. SC: Would you comment on Detroit's so-called black leadership?

Andrews: Well, like Malcolm X said, these "black leaders" are 20th century Uncle Toms. All of them have one thing in common. That is to tell black people that their salvation lies in appealing to racist bigots like Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan to fight racism. [City council president] Erma Henderson argues for black people to ignore the Klan and erstwhile Marxist Ken Cockrel fights in city council for fascists' "right" to "free speech." Meanwhile the NAACP is backing a bill in the state legislature which is supposed to curtail the activities of the KKK. Such anti-extremist legislation is always used against blacks and leftists. It's organized labor that has the power to stop right-wing terror attacks on blacks and other minorities and we called in our campaign for labor/black mobilizations to sweep the fascist scum off the streets.

One of the important reasons we ran in this election was to make the point that black people's salvation lies in united working-class struggle. Black and white workers have common interests against a common enemy—the bosses. That is what the black misleaders work to obscure.

SC: You mentioned earlier the devastation of Detroit by the auto industry.

Weekley: As the wife of a laid-off Chrysler worker I'm all too familiar with the bombshell that fell on our household and tens of thousands of other households in this city when auto plants shut down. When Chrysler went down the liberals and reformists along with

the trade-union bureaucracy had the strategy of simply begging the government for a few more handouts to "save Chrysler." We are opposed to this sort of bail-out scheme which amounts to welfare for the bosses. And "concessions" by Chrysler workers never saved any jobs. We call for sit-down strikes against mass layoffs. Seize closed plants. Sit-down strikes are what built the UAW. We need the militant tactics of the 1930s, but this time with a leadership to fight all the way to socialist revolution.

Andrews: Sitdowns against layoffs and strikes against pay cuts could spark a nationwide union offensive to dump the sellouts like UAW head Doug Fraser and get the labor movement off its knees. The labor bureaucracy whines that with a big business Republican in the White House there's nothing to be done—except to wait four years for a chance to put a "friend of labor" Democrat like Teddy Kennedy in the Oval Office. But Detroit already has a Democratic mayor, Coleman Young, who tells workers to "choose": layoffs, pay cuts or tax hikes. What we desperately need is a workers party that would mobilize labor to fight to defend labor/black Detroit. And key to that fight is to oust the labor misleaders and to break with the capitalist Democratic Party.

SC: What made you decide to run in an election when, as revolutionary Marxists, you see the only solution to the crisis of capitalism to be proletarian revolution?

Andrews: People have illusions in the existing institutions of capitalism and we don't want to leave the electoral field completely to bourgeois politicians and phony Marxists. We wanted to confront people's illusions head-on and to popularize our program. This is especially important with the new McCarthyites in California trying to paint us as "terrorists" and the Moral Majority leading an assault against the most basic democratic rights. The reformists simply want the working class to negotiate better terms of being exploited within the framework of capitalist society. We will not be satisfied until the working class conquers political power in its own name. ■

McDonald Commission Blueprint for New Spy Agency

Smash the Secret Police!

After four years and \$10 million the McDonald Commission of Inquiry into RCMP "wrongdoings" and "national security" released its findings at the end of August. Civil libertarians and reformists screamed "whitewash" at the report that absolved the federal government of responsibility for its official hitmen. A whitewash it is, but above all the McDonald Commission report is a blueprint for streamlining the RCMP and setting up more efficient instruments of state repression.

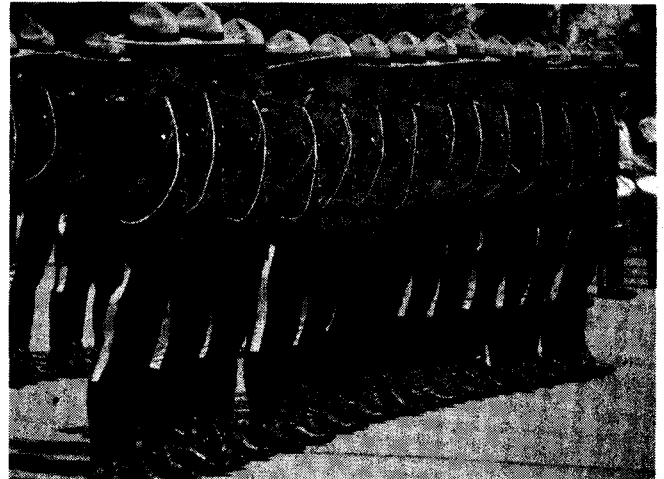
The McDonald Commission was the Trudeau government's answer to the scandals that broke after disclosures of RCMP break-ins, buggings, arson and burglaries made front-page news. The Parti Québécois' Keable Commission had to be mothballed by the Quebec judiciary under pressure from the Trudeau government when it appeared to be on the verge of exposing direct federal government involvement in RCMP "dirty tricks." The McDonald Commission was handpicked for its Liberal sympathies and designed to exonerate Cabinet ministers, especially the prime minister, from blame for RCMP "wrongdoings." And that's exactly what it did, although even this quisling commission could not deny government knowledge of RCMP illegalities.

The commission's concern about RCMP "excesses" and "abuses of authority," reflects both genuine fear of the bonapartist proclivities of the secret police and a desire for greater effectiveness in victimizing "legitimate" targets of state repression. So spying on Robert Bourassa's Quebec Liberal government and keeping files on federal Cabinet ministers' private lives is an "abuse." Burning down a barn thought to be the site of a planned meeting between the Front de Libération du Québec and the Black Panthers (instead of bugging it) is an "excess" that gained nothing but bad publicity. What the McDonald Commission wants is better organized state harassment and terror against what it considers real "subversives." Agent provocateur Warren Hart—who successfully infiltrated black and native groups offering to provide high-power weapons, dynamite and training in their use, as a set-up for state repression—is the kind of man they'll be looking for. He's praised in the report for his "laudable service for the people of Canada!"

As for laws that are broken in the service of defending the state, the commission has a simple solution—change them. To this the government has responded: why bother? According to Solicitor General Robert Kaplan, the RCMP can break the law whenever it's deemed necessary "in the interests of national security."

The one recommendation the government has accepted so far is to remove intelligence and security functions from RCMP jurisdiction and set up a new agency to deal with them, possibly with a mandate to carry out foreign espionage. Stressing that "security work" is not a job for "amateurs," the McDonald Commission calls for a specialized, "professional" spy agency.

The government's labor lieutenants in the leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress have given their backing to the creation of the new "civilian" intelli-



Christopher/Masterfile

RCMP, "Scarlet and Gold" hitmen for the Canadian state.

gence agency. Having waged their own campaign to clean communist "subversives" out of the "house of labor," the trade-union bureaucrats have no more commitment to getting rid of the bourgeois state's political police than to overthrowing the capitalist system it defends. NDP leader Ed Broadbent said the Liberals were incapable of supervising a security service. What he wants is a crack at the job himself. If the NDP ever managed to win a federal election it would use the secret police against left-wing radicals as viciously as its social-democratic cousins in Helmut Schmidt's SPD in West Germany.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) held up its brief to the McDonald Commission as the answer to RCMP "misbehavior." Here the CP called for "a code of conduct which establishes a clear separation between what is security and what is legitimate political dissent!" (*Tribune*, 7 September). In the context of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, backed by his junior partners in Ottawa, does the CP need to wonder who would be the natural targets for persecution as "dangers to national security" under the definition of its own "code of conduct"?

While not as forthright as the CP, which calls for democratizing the RCMP, the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) feeds similar social-democratic illusions about "reforming" the secret police. (The RWL's cothinkers in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party are suing the FBI/CIA to get them to admit that building revolutionary parties is an activity protected by the First Amendment!) The RWL calls for full exposure of RCMP illegalities, "punishing" guilty agents and ending the "harassment of citizens who disagree with the government." Deliberately avoiding the call for the working class to smash the repressive capitalist state and its political police, the reformist RWL reduces the role of the working class to muckraking.

(continued on page 15)

LCUC Militants: "We stand for a program of class struggle"

We reprint below the election leaflet of two Letter Carriers Union of Canada militants who ran for Local 1 delegate to the October Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) convention. The undemocratic voting procedure—you had to vote for all four delegate positions for your ballot to count—led to a high proportion of spoiled ballots. Out of 42 ballots cast, 11 were spoiled. Class-struggle delegates Mike Mares and Audrey Minton received 8 and 9 votes respectively.

This year's convention takes place in the wake of a dramatic rise in strikes. This summer alone thousands of workers struck—postal workers, wood workers in British Columbia, coal miners in Nova Scotia and steel workers in Ontario and Quebec are still out. The reason for this is clear—workers can't afford not to strike!

The economy is going to hell: double-digit inflation, an 80-cent dollar and skyrocketing interest rates have forced thousands unable to meet mortgage payments out of their homes and made gasoline a luxury item. The ranks of the labor movement have shown they're ready to fight and to use militant tactics. In B.C. phone workers occupied company offices for nine days, but their union leaders bowed to a court order and ended the occupation denying the phone workers a victory that should have been theirs. At every turn the bureaucrats have caved in to the bosses' anti-labor laws. When hospital workers were fired and jailed for their defiance of an anti-strike law the leaders of organized labor wept crocodile tears and moaned about injustice. Why didn't they mobilize labor to defend the hospital workers! The current misleaders of the trade unions stand in the way of labor victories. Their policy is to beg a few crumbs from the capitalists while keeping a lid on the militancy of the ranks and effectively enforcing the bosses' laws.

For trade unions to go forward requires a resolute struggle against capitalism. We stand for a program of class struggle; a program that takes on the bosses and their government on all fronts. We stand opposed to all anti-labor laws and put forward a strategy of mobilizing the labor movement to smash them and to win the unlimited right to strike. At our initiative our union took the stand that we are prepared to strike to defend Canadian air traffic controllers victimized for their solidarity with U.S. controllers. We fought to give active support to the CUPW strike, through joint picketing, and against the traitorous policy of our union leadership who pledged they

would give no support to the strike.

We fought against U.S. president Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War drive and for international labor solidarity with the workers and peasants of El Salvador in their battle against the U.S.-backed junta. The OFL must organize its affiliates to refuse to ship goods to the Salvadoran junta and to support the military victory of the leftist-led insurgents. As opposed to such international working-class solidarity the labor bureaucrats offer protectionist schemes which divide the working class internationally, create a climate of nationalism and patriotism, and set the stage for war. Instead of appeals for government tariffs we need to fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, full unemployment benefits to laid-off workers.

It is in this period of economic hardship that right-wing terrorist organizations like the KKK find fertile ground for their racist terror. Twice in the past year the Klan has appeared in Toronto in full regalia—a provocation to minorities, labor and the left! So-called "Ban the Klan" laws—usually used against labor and the left when used at all—will not get rid of these terrorists. Labor/minority mobilizations are necessary to sweep this filth off the streets when they raise their heads. At last year's OFL convention a resolution, initiated by this local, was adopted which called for such action—this must be implemented!

OFL president Cliff Pilkey & Co. would like us to believe that if only we back the NDP things will get better for working people, that an NDP government would act in our interests. But what has the NDP done when it has been in power? In B.C. in 1975, it was an NDP government that sent thousands of striking workers back to work without a contract. In Ontario the NDP supported Bill 89 which gives scabs the right to vote on strikes and contracts. It is not the NDP we need, with its program to tinker a little with capitalism not get rid of it. We need a workers party which will fight for a workers government committed to the establishment of a socialist planned economy.

Vote for the only program that shows the way forward!
Vote for Mares and Minton! ■

Toronto Trotskyist League Class Series

MARXISM AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

CLASSES TO BE HELD
AT U OF T ALTERNATE THURSDAYS

Time and Place to Be Announced

For more information call (416) 593-4138

Trotskyist League Forum

U.S./South Africa Cold War Racist Axis SMASH APARTHEID INVASION OF ANGOLA!

U OF T

Thursday, October 1

12:00 noon

International Student Centre
33 St. George Street

YORK U

Wednesday, October 7

4:30 p.m.

Room N701
Ross Building

Sponsored by the Trotskyist League Club

For more information call: 593-4138

Poland...

(continued from page 1)

Bogdan Lis, regarded as the organization's number two, replied smartly, "maybe we'll dissolve it" (*New York Times*, 13 September). When the 900 delegates left the congress, they understood that the organization was moving to take over the basic economic and political aspects of Polish life. Now, writing in Solidarity's newsletter, *Niezaleznosc*, Poland's most prominent social democrat, Jacek Kuron, has called for a new government based on a "council of national salvation" consisting of Solidarity, the Catholic church and "moderate" Communist officials. "The moment the council is formed, it would suspend operation of all authorities, including the government," Kuron added (UPI dispatch, 16 September 1981).



Rolke/Stern

Counterrevolution is no joke. Polish university students wear "EA" ("anti-socialist element") T-shirts.

The sophisticated representatives of Western imperialism, such as the *New York Times*, and apparently the Kremlin Stalinists as well, understand that Solidarity has now crossed the Rubicon. Top American officials have been quoted in European papers saying that Poland today is the most exciting and important opportunity for the West since 1945. And this is from an administration that begins to salivate as soon as it hears the word "rollback." Moscow has issued its strongest warning to date, demanding that the beleaguered Warsaw regime "immediately take the determined and radical steps in order to cut short the malicious anti-Soviet propaganda and actions hostile toward the Soviet Union." In response the Polish government has announced it is preparing drastic actions. Everyone thinks this means declaring a state of emergency and preventing the second part of Solidarity's congress.

Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course has also produced a powerful response from the anti-Moscow center, the Vatican. A week after the congress Pope Karol Wojtyla of Krakow issued his long-awaited encyclical on "the social question." This reaffirmed the church's traditional *defense of capitalist private property against socialism* and war against Marxism, while favoring unions as long as they are a "constructive factor of social order and solidarity." The Polish Conference of Bishops got the message and has thrown its support behind Solidarity's long-standing demand for greater access to the mass media. Does anyone doubt that "the new Poland" Solidarity's leaders say they are building conforms to the guidelines set down

by the Catholic church to which they all profess deep allegiance? The pope's encyclical (written in Polish) could well become the manifesto of a counter-revolutionary mobilization in Poland.

It is the most damning indictment of Stalinism that after three decades of so-called "socialism" a majority of the Polish working class is so fed up with it as to embrace the slogans of the Cold War. It is the Stalinists with their crushing censorship and endless falsifications, their corruption and gross economic mismanagement, their suppression of democratic rights always accompanied by cynical promises of "democratization" who have driven the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of the Vatican and the "AFL-CIA."

It is also important to point out that a reported 15 to 20 percent of the Polish workers have *not* participated in Solidarity's mobilization, despite the enormous social pressure on them to do so. Most of these workers probably retain some loyalty to the communist cause and are hostile to the clerical-nationalism of Walesa & Co. But today such workers are clearly a minority and on the defensive as the Solidarity leadership has the support of the active majority of the Polish proletariat. Thus, the threat of a counterrevolutionary thrust for power is now posed in Poland. That threat must be crushed at all costs and by any means necessary.

Solidarity Under the Eagle and Cross

It is sheer cynicism that Solidarity's leaders still claim to adhere to the 31 August 1980 Gdansk Agreement, which stated that the new union movement would recognize the "leading role" of the Communist party (Polish United Workers Party, PUPW), would respect Poland's international alliances (i.e., the Warsaw Pact) and would not engage in political activity. Of course, Walesa and his colleagues were strongly opposed to all these conditions but regarded them as tactical concessions for the moment. The notion that the new union movement would not be political was an absurdity. As we stated when the Gdansk Agreement was signed, either the new union movement would become a vehicle for clerical-nationalist reaction or it would have to oppose it in the name of socialist principle. There was and is no "third way," much less a purely trade-unionist third way.

It was clear from the beginning that Walesa & Co. saw themselves leading the entire Polish nation under the banner of eagle and cross in a crusade against "Russian-imposed Communism." Solidarity is no longer a trade union, but has come to include large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests, etc. Last winter/spring much of Solidarity's efforts were directed toward forcing the government to legally recognize the organization of peasant smallholders, Rural Solidarity, a potent social force for capitalist restoration. In late March Solidarity even threatened a nationwide general strike primarily on behalf of the rural petty capitalists, despite the fact that they were driving up food prices for urban consumers.

Local Solidarity organizations have kept up a barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda of the most vile right-wing sort. For example, the Solidarity newspaper at the Katowice steel mill, the largest in the country, reprinted chapters from Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* and ran cartoons that could have come straight out of the Western yellow press. At the same time, Solidarity's leaders have nothing but good things to say about the imperialist West.

Small wonder Ronald Reagan could declare that the Polish crisis signals the beginning of the end of Com-

munism, the desperate dream of world imperialism ever since October 1917:

"...I think the things we're seeing not only in Poland but the reports that are beginning to come out of Russia itself...are an indication that communism is an aberration—it's not a normal way of living for human beings, and I think we're seeing the first beginning cracks, the beginning of the end."

—New York Times, 17 June.

These were no mere philosophical musings. U.S. imperialism is deeply involved in fomenting anti-Communist reaction in Poland, especially through the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which has contributed \$300,000 and their first printing press to Solidarity.

While engaged in subverting Poland from within, the Reagan administration is also trying to provoke the Soviet Union into military intervention, in part through inflammatory statements like the above. Reagan/Haig want to see Polish workers hurling Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks in order to fuel their anti-Soviet war drive to white heat.

While the motion in the year-long Polish crisis has been toward pro-imperialist counterrevolution, the condition of cold dual power also created an opening for the crystallization of an authentically revolutionary workers party which could reverse this process from within. As Trotskyists, therefore, we oriented toward the potential for development of a left opposition from among those Solidarity and Communist party militants who wanted a genuine "socialist renewal" by seeking to recover the internationalist traditions of Lenin and Luxemburg, perverted in the service of the Stalinist

bureaucrats. A revolutionary vanguard in Poland would seek to split Solidarity, winning the mass of the workers away from the anti-Soviet nationalist leadership around Walesa. It would put forward a program centering on strict separation of church and state, unconditional military defense of the Soviet bloc against capitalism-imperialism, and a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and establishment of a democratically elected workers government based on soviets to carry out socialist economic planning (including the collectivization of agriculture). Yet we fully recognized that this program goes very much against the stream in Poland today and that the dominant tendency was for Solidarity to consolidate around a counterrevolutionary course in the name of nation, church and "the free world."

Solidarity Calls for "Bourgeois-Democratic" Counterrevolution

For a year the Solidarity leadership stopped short of openly calling for the overthrow of the official "Communist" system (a bureaucratically ruled workers state) and its replacement by (bourgeois) "democracy" like in the West. Walesa in particular liked to posture as a simple trade unionist, as if Solidarity was the same as the AFL-CIO in the United States or the DGB in West Germany. But as the economy descended into chaos, everyone recognized that simple trade unionism was impossible. Industrial and agricultural production has collapsed, the stores are empty, people wait hours to buy food and other necessities. The

(continued on page 10)

SPARTACIST/Canada and Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Oct.1 to Oct.31

Quotas (in points)	
Vancouver	240
Toronto	240
Total	480

Subscribe Now!

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ Province _____
 Postal Code _____ Phone _____

\$2/10 issues of
 Spartacist/Canada (includes Spartacist)

\$5/24 issues of
 Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

\$2/4 issues of
 Women and Revolution

\$2/10 introductory issues of
 Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

\$2/9 issues of
 Young Spartacus

Please put me on your mailing list.

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6, (416) 593-4138



They Hailed Khomeini: Fake-Lefts Search for New "Imam"

Since the spectacular June 28 bombing of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) headquarters in Teheran well over 500 opponents of Khomeini's Islamic dictatorship have been shot. Thousands more have been thrown into the dungeons built by the now-dead shah, where they are tortured by former agents of his notorious secret police, the SAVAK, now serving the "imam." With the sword of Islam hanging over their heads, Iranian leftists, populists and their supporters abroad—all of whom actively sought Khomeini's victory—today chant "No to the reactionary regime in Iran!"

Two years ago the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) stood alone in warning against any support to Khomeini and demanded "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" We said Khomeini in power would seek to reimpose the veil, restore barbaric punishments (flogging, stonings), suppress the national minorities and crush the left and workers movement as ruthlessly as did the shah. "Imperialist propaganda" shouted those who today hate Khomeini—then he was leading a great "progressive" struggle.

In Canada groups such as the Maoist Workers Communist Party (WCP) and the Stalinoid New Left-overs of *In Struggle!* (IS!) vigorously hailed the mullahs' ascent to power. Only now when Khomeini's hands are drenched in blood do they issue belated "warnings" and denounce the murderous repression of his regime.

These cynical fake-leftists, far removed from the immediate consequences of their support to the mullahs' revolution—refuse to repudiate their initial position. Instead they justify it by concocting stagist "explanations." An editorial in the August 25 *In Struggle!* declares: "The Iranian revolution has entered a new stage in which it is necessary for the working people to wage an anti-capitalist struggle."

IS! prides itself on having couched its capitulation to Khomeini in some tepid for-the-record "warnings" and "criticisms." This didn't stop them "celebrating" the ayatollah's coming to power as "the victory of the people of Iran" (*In Struggle!*, 20 February 1979). For its part the WCP straight out heralded Khomeini as a

"patriot" opposed to "the fascist repression, as well as any domination by foreign powers, including the USSR" (*Forge*, 19 January 1979). (Carefully omitted in all the WCP's pro-Khomeini propaganda was any mention of China's long-standing support to the shah—another enemy of so-called Soviet "social-imperialism"—including a visit by Chinese Communist Party chairman Hua Kuo-feng in the last days of the Iranian despot's regime, when the blood of anti-shah demonstrators flowed in the streets.

While they differed in emphasis, linking the WCP and IS! is the same anti-Marxist program, based on the "theory" of the "two-stage revolution" which subordinates the interests of the working class and its political independence to the "democratic," "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie. This led to bloody defeats from China in 1927 to Chile in 1973.



The soldiers of Islam. Mullahs armed for the slaughter of the left and workers movement.

But the fake-lefts' support to Khomeini's Islamic opposition was even worse. By comparison with Khomeini, Chiang Kai-shek was a great liberator—he was against the foreign Manchu dynasty, the imperialist presence in China and the binding of feet. Not so the mullahs, who were for reimposing the veil, restoring clerical lands and banning anything that represented social progress.

In the imperialist epoch the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, including national liberation, can be realized only through proletarian socialist revolution. The Russian Revolution proved

that only the class-conscious proletariat, led by its vanguard party, can mobilize the oppressed toiling masses to shatter the chains of imperialist domination and feudal backwardness as it struggles for its own state power. This is the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution* uniquely upheld by the iSt. Every other program led straight to kneeling before the mullahs.

But even according to their own Menshevik/Stalinist "two-stage" dogma, some might assume that IS! and the WCP are now calling for socialist revolution in Iran. After all, the mullahs' victory was supposed to be the "first stage." But neither the WCP nor IS! is calling for workers revolution to overthrow Khomeini's blood-drenched theocratic dictatorship. On the contrary, the "new stage" was ushered in by the emergence of an opposition under the leadership of none other than Bani-Sadr, the ayatollah's "secular" front man for two decades and later president of the "Islamic Republic."

The WCP's *Forge* tells us that the new opposition which has brought together Bani-Sadr and Massoud Rajavi of the Moslem-populist Mujahedin "merits the support of all those who hailed the Iranian people's defeat of the shah" (4 September). According to the WCP these two leaders of the government in exile in France—where they were flown by the shah's personal pilot—"share a common rejection of any association with pro-Shah elements!"

Until his downfall Bani-Sadr served his "imam" and Great Persian chauvinism well—witness the brutal suppression of the Kurds and Turkomans, and the Iran/Iraq war over Khuzistan. Many of those now around Bani-Sadr are big bourgeois seeking a capitalist "modernizing" alternative to Khomeini. And Mujahedin leader Rajavi proudly states "We are not Marxists, we are true Moslems." This is the opposition that has finally led groups like the WCP and IS! to raise their voices against Khomeini!

There is one left organization, however, that maintains a thoroughly disgusting loyalty to the murderous "imam"—the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USeC) represented in Canada by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). "Iranians Say 'No' to Terror



Gamma

Bani-Sadr: the loyal servant of Khomeini. Today this is the man fake-lefts look to as the leader of "stage two" of the Iranian revolution.

Bombings" was the headline of *Intercontinental Press* (14 September). And the *Militant*, newspaper of the American Socialist Workers Party, declared "Bomb attack on Iran officials deals blow to revolution" (10 July). The USeC's Iranian cothinkers in the HKE call for a stop to the executions of Khomeini's opponents only to avoid hindering the chauvinist war with the equally reactionary regime of the Iraqi Ba'athist colonels. *IP* proudly announced that one of their comrades "achieved martyrdom" (!) alongside Khomeini's revolutionary guards defending the "Islamic Republic."

The ex-RWLeers collected in the Socialist Challenge Organization (SCO) can only limply ask, "Where is the Iranian revolution going?" (*Socialist Challenge*, May). Unable to provide an answer the SCO is content to let "Fred Halliday, a well known leftist journalist" speak for them. He thinks that "the Bani-Sadr position is more progressive than that of the [IRP] position."

While the RWL whitewashes the mullahs' rule and the WCP, IS! and SCO line up behind Bani-Sadr, it is



International Women's Day 1979: Tens of thousands of women march through Teheran chanting, "In the dawn of freedom there is no freedom!"

only the authentic Trotskyists of the iSt who fight for the program of revolutionary Marxism. As one of several Iranian comrades who recently joined the iSt wrote:

"The bitter truth is that Khomeini is doing what he promised to do. When, in line with the anti-Marxist theory of two-stage revolution, the left supported Islamic reaction, the Spartacist tendency was saying that there isn't any anti-imperialist bourgeoisie so there is no anti-imperialist bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the century of imperialism, the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, as well as national emancipation, cannot be carried out except through a proletarian socialist revolution. This is what the Spartacist tendency stands for. All their positions made me come to the conclusion of giving my possibilities and force to this revolutionary organization."

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 287, 14 August 1981 ■

Poland...

(continued from page 7)

head of Solidarity's Warsaw chapter likened the organization to a union of seamen aboard a sinking ship. The obvious helplessness of the Polish Stalinists and evident reluctance of the Kremlin to intervene militarily further emboldened Solidarity's so-called "militant" wing.

The organization made its first bid for power on the economic front. Last April Solidarity came out with a program for the abolition of centralized economic planning, the election of enterprise managers by the workers and enterprise autonomy on the basis of market composition. In the anarchic conditions of Poland



Der Spiegel

Solidarity at first congress crosses over to pro-imperialist counterrevolution.

such self-managed enterprises would quickly free themselves from all but nominal state control. If carried out, Solidarity's economic program would lead to immediate mass unemployment, facilitate imperialist economic penetration and greatly strengthen the forces pushing toward capitalist restoration. (For a fuller discussion of this, see "Market Socialism Is Anti-Socialist," *Workers Vanguard* No. 287, 14 August.) If the government does not agree to this program, Solidarity is threatening to conduct its own national referendum as the first step to taking over effective control of the economy.

But the actions of Solidarity's first congress go much further even than this. Its open appeal for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc is both an arrogant provocation of Moscow and a declaration of ideological solidarity with Western imperialism. While the demand for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control is integral to the Trotskyist program for proletarian political revolution in the Stalinist-ruled Soviet bloc, the slogan of "free trade unions" has long since been associated with NATO imperialism. At the start of the Cold War the fanatically anti-Communist Meanyite bureaucracy set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in closest collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency. It is therefore quite fitting that accompanying Lane Kirkland to the Solidarity congress will be none other than Irving Brown, "Mr. AFL-CIA," whose disruption of the labor movement on behalf of U.S. imperialism spans three and a half decades. The Solidarity leadership is well aware of the anti-Communist meaning of the slogan,

"free trade unions," as they have been dealing with the AFL-CIO tops for months.

Even more important than "free trade unions" in the ideological arsenal of imperialist anti-Sovietism is "democracy"—not workers democracy based on soviets as in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, but bourgeois parliamentary "democracy." Here also the Solidarity congress fully adhered to the "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution. The important Warsaw chapter put forward a motion calling for "free elections" to the Sejm, further stating that "the road to the nation's sovereignty is through democratic elections to representative bodies" (*New York Times*, 10 September). In the world of Solidarity everything, including democracy, is subordinate to Polish national sovereignty. (For a theoretical discussion of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in bureaucratically ruled workers states, see Shane Mage, "'Pure Democracy' or Political Revolution in East Europe," *Spartacist* No. 30, Autumn 1980.)

Assuming the Warsaw regime was powerless to prevent it (as is probably the case) and that the Soviet army didn't intervene, what kind of government would emerge from free elections to a sovereign parliament in Poland today? A quarter to a third of the voters would be peasant smallholders, who will do what their local priest tells them to do. Their social attitude was summed up by British journalist Tim Garton Ash: "It is the conservative Catholic peasants of South-Eastern Poland who would overthrow communism at the drop of a Cardinal's hat" (*Spectator*, 14 February). Historically, Marxian socialism has been a powerful and at times dominant current within the Polish industrial proletariat. But 35 years of Stalinist bureaucratism has made much of the Polish working-class sympathetic at this time to clerical-nationalism and pro-Western social democracy, while demoralizing the rest. The likely result of parliamentary democracy would be the victory of anti-Communist, nationalist forces seeking an alliance with NATO imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Such a government would mean the counterrevolution in power. In 1935 Trotsky observed that "the restoration to power of a Menshevik and Social Revolutionary bloc would suffice to obliterate the socialist construction" ("The Workers State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," *Writings [1934-35]*). And the parties that would win "free elections" in the Poland of Wojtyla and Walesa are far to the right of the Russian Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. They would be closer to Pilsudskiite nationalism, hankering after the great Poland of the fascistic dictator of the interwar years.

And what would happen to any left opposition to such "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution? In his report to the Solidarity congress the organization's secretary, Andrzej Celinski, declared that his Communist opponents "do not hesitate to enter the road of national treason" (UPI dispatch, 6 September). Given the mood of the delegates, the accusation of "national treason" is the most inflammatory political denunciation imaginable. As Solidarity moves to reassert national sovereignty, loyal members and supporters of the PUPW will become the victims of a white terror.

Fake-Trotskyists like Ernest Mandel of the European-centered United Secretariat and Jack Barnes of the American Socialist Workers Party, tailing anti-Soviet social democracy, argue that Solidarity's leaders have not explicitly called for the restoration of capitalism. But they clearly have called for the overthrow of the existing state and its replacement by a clerical-

nationalist regime with close ties to NATO imperialism. And this would not be a peaceful process but a bloody counterrevolution. Trotsky debunked the notion of a peaceful, gradual transformation from proletarian to bourgeois state power as running the film of reformism in reverse.

As for the resulting economic transformation, Trotsky also pointed out that "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy" ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" *Writings [1937-38]*). State industry would be starved for new investment or even repairs, since this would divert resources from the rapidly growing private sector. At the same time, foreign capitalist investment would be invited in on a massive scale. Walesa openly calls for joint enterprises with Western capitalists as the salvation of the Polish economy. Wages would be kept low to compete on the world market. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers would be laid off as a "necessary" rationalization measure. Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarity do not want this. But the restoration of capitalism in all its ruthlessness would follow, as the night follows the day, from Solidarity's program of "Western-style democracy."

Tell Me Who Your Friends Are...

While proclaiming the need for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc, Solidarity has conspicuously *not* solidarized with workers' struggles in *capitalist* countries. When Ronald Reagan fired 12,000 striking air controllers, the entire national union membership, practically every trade-union federation in the Western world protested. But not the Polish Solidarity! Solidarity spokesman Zygmunt Przetakiewicz attended the New York City Labor Day demonstration in the company of Albert Shanker. At a time when even the most right-wing AFL-CIO bureaucrats were denouncing Reagan's massive union busting and savage cuts in social welfare programs, the Solidarity spokesman maintained a careful neutrality in the conflict between the American working class and the most reactionary government in half a century. When asked what he thought of Reagan's policies, Przetakiewicz replied, "I would not like to be involved in this kind of thing" (*New York Times*, 8 September).

At the Labor Day demonstration Przetakiewicz announced Solidarity was opening its first foreign office in the New York headquarters of Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT). The UFT is hardly a typical American business union. It is the main organizational base for the Social Democrats, U.S.A., otherwise known as the "State Department socialists." Shanker's Socialist Party (which in 1972 changed its name to avoid the stigma of socialism!) were hawks in the Vietnam War till the bitter end, even after Nixon/Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause.

The Social Democrats are despised by mainstream liberals as crazed, anti-communist warmongers. In the

film *Sleeper* by left-liberal humorist Woody Allen, the typical New York hero (or anti-hero) reawakens a few centuries in the future and learns that his civilization was wiped out in a nuclear war. He asks, how did this war begin? He's told: we really don't know, but we think a man by the name of Albert Shanker acquired the atomic bomb.

In the past decade the Social Democrats have developed the closest ties to the Meanyite machine which runs the national AFL-CIO. Kirkland/Shanker have done more than anyone else in the American labor movement to prepare the way for Reagan's massive arms buildup and anti-Soviet war drive. These two criminals are actively working for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Kirkland is a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, a right-wing militarist pressure group which attacked Carter for "selling out" to the Russians in the SALT negotiations. The *first point* in a recent resolution on global politics by the Social Democrats, U.S.A., states:

"The major priorities for the [Reagan] administration in the area of foreign policy should be: "1) *Rebuilding American nuclear and conventional strength*: The correction of the imbalance, along the lines suggested by such responsible defense analysts as those associated with the Committee on the Present Danger, must be undertaken as rapidly as possible." [italics in original]
— "The Global Vision of Social Democracy," *New America*, January/February

There's a saying: tell me who your friends are and I'll tell you who you are. Well, these are Solidarity's American friends.

Soviet Russia and the Counterrevolutionary Danger in Poland

Faced with the counterrevolutionary danger in Poland, the Kremlin Stalinists have gone beyond denunciations in *Pravda* to mobilizing the Soviet workers against Solidarity. Mass meetings in the giant Zil auto and truck factory in Moscow and similar plants in

(continued on page 12)

MARXIST LITERATURE

Trotskyist League Public Office Hours

Saturdays, 1:00 - 5:00 p.m.
Suite 502, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto
Phone (416) 593-4138

Vancouver Trotskyist League Class Series

TROTSKYISM: REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM TODAY

Thurs. Oct. 8 (Room 205)

Building the Revolutionary Party

Thurs. Oct. 22 (Room 215)

The Permanent Revolution

Thurs. Nov. 5 (Room 215)

The Russian Revolution

Thurs. Nov. 19 (Room 215)

USSR — The Revolution Betrayed

Thurs. Dec. 3 (Room 215)

Trotsky's Struggle for the Fourth International

Thurs. Dec. 10 (Room 215)

Trotskyism Today — The international Spartacist tendency

ALL CLASSES UBC STUDENTS UNION BUILDING: 7:30p.m.

For more information call: (604) 681-2422

Trotskyist League Box 26, Station A Vancouver, B.C.

Poland...

(continued from page 11)

Leningrad and elsewhere were held to approve a public answer to Solidarity's appeal to Soviet workers:

"They ask us to renounce ourselves, the results of our work, of our struggle, to betray millions of people who fell in battles against imperialism, to betray our Communist future."

—New York Times, 12 September

These words and these meetings are not simply bureaucratic displays from above without support at the base. Doubtless the Kremlin Stalinists try to whip up Great Russian anti-Polish chauvinism. Furthermore, Soviet workers and collective farmers resent the fact that for years Moscow has subsidized the Polish economy, although the standard of living in Warsaw and Gdansk is far higher than in Moscow or Kiev. Even Western bourgeois journalists report that the Russian man-in-the-street has no sympathy for Solidarity and what it stands for. Why? It is not primarily chauvinism or economic resentment.

The fundamental reason is that the Soviet working masses want to defend the collectivized social system born in the October Revolution, despite its subsequent Stalinist degeneration, against world imperialism. Unlike in Poland, where a deformed workers state was imposed from above by the Red Army, the Russian working class in 1917 took history into its own hands and will not lightly relinquish the social conquests of October. Moreover, Soviet working people keenly remember the 20 million lost fighting Hitler's Germany. 600,000 of these fell liberating Poland from the horror of the Nazi occupation. The Soviet working people know that the terrible nuclear arsenal of American imperialism, with the anti-Communist fanatics Reagan/Haig on the trigger finger, is aimed at them.

They fear the transformation of East Europe into imperialist-allied states extending NATO to their own border. The Kremlin bureaucrats cynically exploit this consciousness to rally support for their crushing of popular unrest and democratic aspirations in East Europe, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the Poland of Wojtyla and Walesa is not the Czechoslovakia of Dubcek's "socialism with a human face." Now the counterrevolutionary danger is all too real. Any day Poland could explode into a 1921 Kronstadt-style counterrevolutionary rebellion on a massive scale.

But if Poland could become a giant Kronstadt, the bureaucratic regime of Brezhnev is separated by a political counterrevolution from the communist government of Lenin and Trotsky. As proletarian revolutionaries, it is not our task to advise the Kremlin Stalinists on how to deal with the counterrevolutionary situation in Poland for which they bear ultimate responsibility. They are not our saviours. We have no confidence the Russian Stalinists can or will defend the social gains of the October Revolution bureaucratically extended to Poland. In principle the Kremlin Stalinists are perfectly capable of selling Poland to the German bankers if they think they can preserve their own domestic power base. Remember the Stalin-Hitler pact. Ever since the Red Army drove out Hitler's forces at the end of World War II, the Western imperialist bourgeoisies have dreamed of "rolling back" the Soviets to the borders of the USSR (and beyond). However, given the implacable, insane hostility of the Reagan administration and the relative weight of American as against German imperialism, giving up Poland is not a very viable option for the Soviet bureaucracy today. This is especially the case as Poland lies across the main supply

and communications routes between the Soviet Union and East Germany, the main state confronting Western imperialism.

Every class-conscious worker in the world, especially in the Soviet Union, Poland and the other East European countries, must understand that Solidarity is pursuing a straight-line policy threatening the gains of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the working class in history. Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped! *If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this.* And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution.

What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist program stands counterposed to the overwhelming bulk of the working class, a situation we of course urgently seek to avoid? There can be no doubt. The task of communists must be to defend at all costs the program and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today Trotskyists find themselves in such a position over Poland, and it is necessary to swim against a powerful current of counterrevolution.

But Soviet military intervention against Solidarity will have an entirely different character than its intervention against the Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, which opened the possibility of liberating the Afghan peoples from the wretched conditions of feudal and pre-feudal backwardness. There we said, "Hail Red Army!" In Poland it is the Stalinists themselves, through decades of capitulation to capitalist forces, who have produced the counterrevolutionary crisis.

If a Trotskyist leadership had to intervene against counterrevolution in Poland today the conflict might be no less violent. But it would seek to mobilize those sections of the Polish working class which stand on the historic social gains of liberation of Poland from Nazi enslavement and capitalist exploitation, who hate the bureaucracy for undermining those gains, and who would fight together with the Soviet Army to defend the material foundations of a socialist future. The crimes of Stalinism, not the least the present counterrevolutionary situation in Poland, mandate proletarian political revolution in the Soviet bloc, and these workers could well be its conscious vanguard in Poland, tempered in part through a revolutionary mobilization to crush the reactionary forces of Solidarity.

The European bourgeoisies, no less than Reagan and Haig, are trying to convince the working masses to focus their fears on a supposed menace of "red imperialism." But this is starkly contrary to the facts. In Afghanistan the CIA is arming feudalist tribesmen in an attempt to strike a blow at the southern border of the USSR, while Soviet troops act as social liberators. Vietnam is under constant menace of renewed attack from China, now overtly militarily allied with U.S. imperialism. And the racist apartheid South African regime is increasingly becoming a central part of the "free world," acting as an American surrogate in attacking Angola with Israeli supplied

Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto
Box 7198 Station A
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26 Station A
Vancouver, B.C. R2W 5H9
(604) 681-2422

Build Daily Mass Pickets!

Victory to Irwin Toy Strikers!

SEPTEMBER 27—For three weeks busloads of striking steel workers from Stelco in Hamilton have come weekly, and now twice weekly, to beef up the picket lines at the Irwin Toy plant in Etobicoke where workers recently organized by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are fighting for their first contract. Three Stelco workers and USWA District 6 director Dave Patterson were arrested there on September 11 when cops busted the picket line to escort scabs through the gate. The union's response has been to call for a nationwide boycott of Irwin Toy products. But mass pickets, not consumer boycotts, are what's needed to win this strike.

Doubtless the cops are itching to escalate their strikebreaking as they did with such gusto in the bitterly fought 1978 Fleck strike where 140 club-wielding provincial police charged a picket line of 100 members of the United Auto Workers. But with over 12,000 steel workers on the bricks in nearby Hamilton these professional scabherders ought to think twice.

Like the Fleck strike, the 40 mainly women strikers at Irwin Toy, who earn only the minimum wage, with no sick pay or seniority rights, face a management that is committed to maintaining the standards of a 19th-century sweatshop. The bureaucrats would accept a paltry \$4 an hour wage—less than half that made by Stelco workers under their old contract! But even this amount is too much for the company, which has come up with an insulting nickel on top of its original offer of 30 cents an hour!

The Irwin Toy strike began last June and for over three months the USWA did little to back up the strike. Now 40 of the 100 workers who first walked

out have found work elsewhere and 20 are scabbing. Meanwhile the union has agreed to stop office workers from entering the plant for only five minutes and plant workers for 20, as if the picket line were some new kind of traffic light! Picketers are instructed to keep their hands in their pockets while company scabs walk straight through the lines!

These workers went on strike to win—they don't have to eat this! Lately, when their union brothers have arrived on the scene from Hamilton, the scabs don't even bother showing up. Daily mass pickets could put an end to *all* scabbing and win a decent contract for the Irwin Toy strikers—including wage parity with USWA members at the large steel plants. Members of other USWA locals have been going down to build the picket lines. Militants in the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 put forward a motion at the local's general meeting September 17 demanding that a busload of LCUC members go weekly to bolster the Irwin Toy pickets and that the union donate \$300 to the Irwin strike fund. The motion was passed almost unanimously but has so far been scuttled by the local bureaucracy.

At the same time Irwin Toy workers are waging a contract battle in Etobicoke, the company's plant in downtown Toronto which remains unorganized is still in operation. Send pickets to the Liberty Street plant! Shut down Irwin Toy!

For the reformist left, the bureaucrats' "hands-in-the-pockets" policy is a model of how to run a strike. These opportunists point to the much-needed solidarity provided by the Stelco workers to boost Dave Patterson's credentials as a "militant." Well, the Inco
(continued on page 15)

weapons. Or that other showplace of the "free world," El Salvador, where American war materiel and Green Berets are supplying and maintaining a kill-crazed junta busy exterminating large sections of its own population.

Fake-Trotskyists and fatuous opportunists like Jack Barnes and Ernest Mandel (who hailed Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" as progressive even as the mullahs were slaughtering their followers) now claim a proletarian political revolution is going on in Poland and Solidarity is its instrument! On the contrary, Solidarity is the translucent Trojan Horse for Reagan/Haig's fanatical anti-Soviet war drive and what is going on in Poland is a pro-imperialist counterrevolutionary polarization. It is no accident that Solidarity has flourished under the gun of mounting anti-Soviet imperialist militarism of first Carter/Brzezinski and now Reagan/Haig, with their virulently anti-communist Polish pope in the Vatican. It is also no accident that in this period when defense of the Soviet Union is urgent, fake-Trotskyists led by Barnes/Mandel abandon all pretense of defense of the Soviet Union and embrace Solidarity.

The choices facing revolutionaries over Poland in the absence of a mass Trotskyist vanguard are not attractive even if they are clear. Abstentionism is not a choice; it is backhanded support to counter-revolution. No less a danger is abandoning the per-

spective of struggle for the conscious factor in history, for the *international proletarian vanguard*, which leads either to a social-democratic accommodation with the bourgeoisie or accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy (à la Marcy who defended Stalinist intervention against a nascent workers political revolution in Hungary). Of course the present Polish situation could only have come to fruition in a political vacuum reflecting the destruction of the important tradition of international communism in Poland through savage persecution, both capitalist and Stalinist. That tradition will only be reforged in a reborn Fourth International by revolutionaries who defended the gains of October when the danger was near, the situation complex and the need for programmatic clarity and backbone urgent.

We warn the Polish workers and the world proletariat that under the banner of nation, church and "the free world," the Solidarity leadership is organizing a bloody capitalist counterrevolution. The creation of a "democratic" Poland subservient to Reagan/Haig on the Western border of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped before it is too late!

Stop Deukmejian Witchhunt!

SL/SYL Sue California Attorney General

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) are suing California Attorney General George Deukmejian for wrongfully including them in his 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California." The report brands the SL/SYL as "another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal"—a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals. The fact that the organizations do not appear in the just-released 1980 report is a shame-faced admission that they are *not* "terrorists" or "criminals." But a spokesman for the attorney general's



Workers Vanguard Photo

SL protests Deukmejian red scare.

office has said that it stands by its 1979 report, leaving the SL/SYL in grave jeopardy.

The report is a classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left. It whitewashes the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, downplaying their threat to blacks and Jews, while focusing on "extremists of the left." According to this report the real danger of the KKK/Nazis lies not in their racist terroristic actions, but "in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left." In 1980, several months before Deukmejian's report for 1979 was issued, the SL initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, which prevented the Nazis from "celebrating Hitler's birthday" in the San Francisco Civic Center by a mass mobilization of labor unions, community organizations and socialists. As a result, the real perpetrators of terrorist violence, the Nazis, have not shown their faces in San Francisco since April 1980. But for Deukmejian, those who seek to mobilize the working

class to stop racist terror are "terrorists."

The report is all the more dangerous in light of an ominous new witchhunting act modeled on the notorious 1940 Smith Act. The Deukmejian Terrorism Bill, passed by a narrow margin in the California State Senate on July 8, was touted as a legal weapon against the Klan and Nazis. In fact, like the Smith Act which was used to prosecute Trotskyists and Communist Party members during World War II, it will be used against the left.

California's new Joe McCarthy is trying to set up the SL/SYL for the same kind of government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party. But, as Spartacist League Central Committee member Al Nelson stated at a press conference and protest demonstration outside Deukmejian's San Francisco offices on July 23: "We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can with impunity be blown away in the fight." The SL/SYL has pointed to the treatment received by the McCarthyite HUAC when it opened a "subversive hearing" in San Francisco in 1953. About 6,000 longshoremen, members of ILWU Local 10, struck to protest the hearing, paralyzing the waterfront. The CIO council in the East Bay area denounced the committee as an enemy of democratic rights and the hearings were flooded with "unfriendly witnesses" and "unfriendly" spectators. According to labor historian Art Preis: "At the first real resistance by organized labor, the government witch-hunters had to cut and run" (*Labor's Giant Step*).

Protest demonstrations against Deukmejian's smear against the SL/SYL have been held across California and the suit has already received wide publicity. In an August 1 letter, Comrade Nelson outlined the purpose of the suit:

"We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists, Trotskyists, who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that turns away from the working class struggle to abolish capitalism. We demand that our names be removed from the 1979 report and that the retraction be circulated as widely as the report."

The working class and its party have the right to organize! Deukmejian willfully brands as "terrorism" Marxist education and efforts to organize a workers party to fight for the interests of the working class and all the oppressed. If you defend the right of a workers party to organize, you have a stake in this suit. Law suits against the state are costly. The SL/SYL suit faces the resources of the state government of California and the right-wing agribusiness tycoons who call the tune for the new McCarthyites. The Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—is collecting funds to support the suit. Make checks payable/send your contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, U.S. ■

Angola...

(continued from page 16)

Africa in order to curry favor elsewhere" (*New York Times*, 30 August). The next day the U.S. accepted complete diplomatic isolation by vetoing a UN resolution condemning the South African invasion.

That is not to say there are no differences or tensions between Botha's South Africa and Reagan's America. The white rulers of South Africa want to keep Namibia no matter what and view the MPLA regime in Angola as a mortal enemy which must be destroyed. For U.S. imperialism, even under a right-wing fanatic like Reagan, the options are broader.

The U.S. regards South Africa's direct colonial presence in Namibia as an obstacle to winning black African states to the anti-Soviet cause. So even the Reagan administration is willing to entertain the prospect of a SWAPO government in Namibia provided it is purged of all Soviet allegiances. On Angola, Washington's stated position is to force the withdrawal of Cuban/Soviet forces and a coalition government of the MPLA and UNITA. But any such deal with the African black nationalists is completely sabotaged by Washington's present fulsome support to South African militarism.

While Cuba, the Soviet Union and East Germany have poured troops, advisers and equipment into Angola, their aim has not been to spread or defend proletarian revolution. Rather they seek to curry favor with and support the anti-working-class nation-

alist regime in Luanda. For example Cuban troops guard the Gulf oil fields in Cabinda. Small wonder Gulf espouses the "liberal" line on Angola. Military defense against South Africa cannot be entrusted to the MPLA leadership, which could easily discard its Soviet ties for a quick deal with U.S. imperialism just as Sadat's Egypt did in 1973. (Soviet arms supplied to Egypt are now being used to kill Russian soldiers in Afghanistan!) The Angolan working class needs a revolutionary (Trotskyist) party, one with the closest ties to the South African proletariat.

The main force for the liberation of the working masses of Angola and Namibia lies in the several-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the continent. In recent months there has been a great upsurge in working-class struggle in South Africa leading to the emergence of mass unregistered black unions and a sharp rise in strikes—at least one a day. Strikes have even occurred in the economically critical gold mines where 450,000 blacks labor in practically prison-like conditions. The South African military adventure in Angola coincides with stepped-up internal repression—forced eviction of thousands of "squatters" from the Capetown area, police attempts to break up the black unions. Yet, despite the desperate measures of the white racist regime, the curve of black class struggle in South Africa is on the upswing, needing above all a communist leadership to direct the struggle toward proletarian power throughout the continent. ■

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 288,
11 September 1981

Secret Police...

(continued from page 4)

The RWL used the McDonald Commission report to bolster the "democratic" credentials of Quebec premier René Lévesque. *Socialist Voice* proudly tells its readers: "In striking contrast to the hands-off attitude of the McDonald report, the Quebec government has laid charges against 18 RCMP agents accused of illegal activity in Quebec" (7 September). We would be only too happy to see these criminals thrown in jail. But the PQ's denunciations of RCMP "dirty tricks" are a political football to further its own aims. The Red Squads attached to the Quebec provincial and municipal police forces have no "cleaner hands" than the Mounties.

As we pointed out in 1977 when the McDonald Commission was set up:

"For Marxists, the RCMP's chief crimes do not consist in its violations of the standards of bourgeois legality. They flow from its real mandate: to maintain and defend the rotting capitalist system. The RCMP's surveillance and harassment of left and labor militants and organizations are carried out with the purpose of impeding their legal activities today, and of preparing their destruction when defense of the 'security' of the capitalist state requires it. The release of all secret files to the persons and organizations who have been victimized, the jailing of the criminal cops, and the abolition of all the so-called special, 'security' and spying police forces are elementary democratic demands of the workers movement. But as long as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie remains intact, the state through its agencies like the RCMP will continue

to direct terror and 'dirty tricks' against the working class and the oppressed.... Only through the seizure of state power by the proletariat led by a Trotskyist party will the death blow be dealt to the criminal political police and the criminal ruling class that they serve.

—"Jail the RCMP Criminals," *Spartacist*
Canada No. 22, December 1977/
January 1978

Irwin Toy...

(continued from page 13)

workers know better. After being out on strike for eight months in 1978 angry miners drove their former union president into seclusion when he tried to sell them a rotten contract. Patterson opened the Inco picket lines to security guards and office workers—a scabbing policy that is being followed today by Local 1005 president Cec Taylor.

Stelco workers have shown that they are willing to use their muscle to bring unorganized workers into the union movement. Yet right across the street from Hilton Works, the powerhouse of the USWA in Canada, is one of the largest non-union plants in the country and Canada's No. 2 steel producer. Dofasco employs over 11,000 workers, many of whom are sympathetic to the USWA. Patterson pledged to organize it when he campaigned for District 6 Director. Now Taylor has promised to do the job after the Stelco strike is over.

Organizing Dofasco would be a major labor battle. With steel production shut down solid at Hilton Works now is the time. Stelco workers have the power—use it! Organizing the unorganized is key to preserving and extending the fighting strength of labor. Victory to the Irwin Toy strike! Drop the charges against Patterson and the three Stelco workers! Victory to the Stelco strike! Organize Dofasco! ■

Apartheid Invasion of Angola

Smash U.S./South Africa Racist Cold War Axis!

South African racism found its natural ally in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive as Pretoria unleashed an invasion of Angola on August 24. "WE KILLED RUSSIANS IN ANGOLA," boasted South African war minister Magnus Malan in a screaming *New York Post* (1 September) headline. The *New York Times* (3 September) observed that the South Africans are "all but displaying the mounted heads of Soviet military advisers killed in last week's invasion." These brave Russians were among a handful of military advisers fighting in the invasion area as two South African columns with 32 tanks and air support swept over southern Angola destroying defenseless villages as well as killing Angolan soldiers.

Pretoria claimed that the purpose of the attack was to destroy the bases of SWAPO guerrillas fighting for the independence of South Africa's Namibian colony. In reality the invasion has a far broader aim, one strongly encouraged by Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive—to "destabilize" (as the CIA would put it) and ultimately overthrow the Soviet-allied nationalist government in Angola.

In fact a state of war has existed between South Africa and the nationalist MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) regime supported by the Soviet bloc ever since the Portuguese colonialists pulled out in 1975. A U.S.-backed South African army then moved into the power vacuum trying to reconquer Angola for Western imperialism. This imperialist power play was turned back by the timely arrival of 20,000 Cuban troops armed with modern Soviet weaponry. Since then the Angolan nationalist regime has depended on Cuban troops and Soviet military aid for its very survival as South Africa has continually subjected the country to air and ground attacks. And as we wrote last spring: "Given Reagan's bellicosity, an attempt to reverse the imperialists' 1976 defeat in Angola by another Washington-backed South African invasion is possible" ("Racist U.S./South Africa Axis," *Workers Vanguard* No. 281, 22 May).

As proletarian revolutionaries we say: Drive the South African army out of Angola! Military victory to SWAPO in Namibia! At stake in these conflicts is far more than the fate of the black peoples of southern Africa. Angola/Namibia could well become a flashpoint for World War III as the MPLA calls for more Soviet-bloc military aid while Reagan points to the Soviet/Cuban presence as justification for supporting South African militarism. Even more so today than in the 1975-76 war, defense of black nationalist Angola against white racist South Africa is bound up with the defense of the bureaucratically ruled Soviet state against capitalism-imperialism.

As soon as Reagan took office, top-level meetings



SC Photo

TL participates in Toronto demonstration against U.S. tour of South Africa's rugby team, the Springboks, September 25.

between South African military officials and Washington took place. Now the Reagan administration declares that independence for Namibia must be linked to the withdrawal of Soviet/Cuban forces from Angola, thus rendering the black African nationalists defenseless against South African militarism. And, openly encouraging attacks on Angola, Reagan pushed for Congress to repeal the 1975 Clark Amendment, which prohibits overt or covert aid to any Angolan group. His administration clearly wants to resume military support to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, a joint U.S./South African puppet engaging in terrorism in southern Angola. Repeal of the Clark Amendment was intended as a declaration of political solidarity with South Africa and a virtual declaration of war on Angola.

So Pretoria knew it had the green light for its invasion. If there was any doubt, a week after the invasion began U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker said: "The Reagan administration has no intention of destabilizing South

(continued on page 15)