

With the Workers Revolution in Poland! Gdansk. December 13.

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

December 13, the Trotskyists will march in the streets of Gdansk, Poland under the banner: "The Fourth International is with you, for the freedom of Workers Poland." They will be there, on the first anniversary of the declaration of martial law, at the head of an international contingent of workers delegates who defend Workers Poland.

From the beginning, our fight for an international workers demonstration in Gdansk has met with support from the workers and youth in the United States who want to defend the Polish workers and their struggle — as a *revolution*.

Some however seem to think that the demonstration is an "adventure."

If an international workers demonstration in Gdansk is an adventure, then what is the call of the TKK (Polish initials for Solidarnosc leadership) for a week of action December 13-17? Is this too an adventure!

Let us examine the situation in Poland and see what is an adventure and what is not. Since the declaration of martial law, the Polish workers have repeatedly checked every attempt of the junta to bring about a "normalization" in Poland.

In fact, the outlawing of Solidarnosc is, if anything, an admission of failure by the Jaruzelski junta. It opens up a new stage of battles between the Polish workers and the junta, and with the Catholic Church, heading to a confrontation with the tanks of the Kremlin.

The release of Walesa, does not signal, as the bourgeois press is saying, a concession by the junta. But neither does it represent a capitulation, by Walesa or by the revolution. It is necessary to be very precise about Walesa and the reason for the sporadic character of the November 10 actions. Then we will see who prepares the adventure.

Walesa, isolated and under tremendous pressure from the Church, was released from prison on the condition that he re-

main silent. It has now come out that Church officials in Poland were shown pictures of Lech Walesa in "sexually compromising situations," by Polish security agents. Such vile Stalinist methods! Clearly, Walesa is not trusted by the junta.

He, along with the wing of the TKK most influenced by the Church, has not capitulated. But Walesa describes well his

own position when he says, "I am on a tightrope, and the tightrope is greased with lubricant."

In such a situation, the construction of a revolutionary leadership is the decisive factor. This is necessary even to maintain the unity of Solidarnosc against the junta. The real adventure would be to fail to see

the opportunity for making the construction of a party, revolutionary and working class, the stake of millions. In particular, when the Church, whose influence has transmitted the interests of imperialism that the Solidarnosc leadership moderate its objectives, is now taking a direct role in the counterrevolution.

In fact, the junta is forcing a confrontation, while relying on the Church to develop a split in Solidarnosc. Archbishop Glemp openly called for Polish workers to ignore the call for a General Strike on November 10. And what is the response of the Church to the vile slanders of Walesa? NBC quoted a Church source as saying, the pictures were "either genuine or high quality fakes." They do not deny the Stalinist slanders. It is also believed that Frasinuk, who was arrested the day after he called for a General Strike (he is a radical in the TKK) was handed over by the church hierarchy.

And all of this is supported by a virtual pact between imperialism and Stalinism. After the Kremlin's support in Lebanon, Reagan has given the nod to go ahead in Poland.

Now we ask, how is this to be fought? By silence. Let the Polish workers stand alone? Or as the Socialist Workers Party says "concentrate the fire against the imperialists."

No! Fight it by building an international mobilization of workers and youth — for Socialism! Fight it by reinforcing the Polish Trotskyists with a mobilization against our common enemies, Stalinism and reactionary (yes *reactionary!*) bishops who dominate the organizations of the peace movement in order to serve the diplomacy of the Kremlin and imperialism. Fight it through a struggle for a new revolutionary leadership against Stalinism and *pseudo-Trotskyism!*

That is our fight for an international workers demonstration in Gdansk. Join us. Everything else is an adventure.

Motion of Support

We workers, militants and youth, personalities, unions and union organizations, political groups and organizations, support the initiative for an *International Workers Demonstration* on December 13, 1982, in Gdansk — in order to declare the active solidarity of fighters for socialism from every country with the Polish workers and youth who will take to the streets on the anniversary of Jaruzelski's military takeover.

Because we are fighting for socialism, the rebellion of the Polish workers against the totalitarian regime in their country is also ours. It is a *working class revolution* that constitutes the best hope for socialism, as well as for the fight of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world.

Because we are fighting for socialism, and because it can be built only through the free association of peoples and through the workers councils, because it is in total contradiction to the oppression of one people by another or by a totalitarian oligarchy, we demand: *Freedom for Workers Poland!*

And we denounce the attempts by imperialism to make use of the Polish workers' rebellion for its own anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary ends. Imperialism has clearly shown, by its oppression of peoples all over the world and by the recent war of extermination against the Palestinian people, what the freedom and independence of peoples is worth to it. But we also denounce the Kremlin's pretense of being the leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle. Its guilty silence on the extermination of the Palestinian fighters and the Lebanese left shows that it is

ready to bargain the freedom of a people for its tanks' freedom of action in the countries that it oppresses.

Because we are fighting for socialism, and because socialism is inconceivable without the development of all working class rights, in particular, freedom of assembly and of association, we demand: *Freedom for Political Parties in Poland!*

The Kremlin and its military junta in Poland, far from being the saviors of socialism, are its gravediggers. The repression of workers and militants in Eastern Europe, the absence of civic freedoms, the attempts to crush Solidarnosc, are the best ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie against socialism and those fighting for it in the West.

Because we are fighting for socialism, and because it will be built against Jaruzelski's military junta and against all those who carry out its totalitarian rule over the internment camps, the repression and the frame-up political trials, we demand: *Stop the Political Trials in Poland!*

Free Walesa, Kuron and All Those Imprisoned!
Lift the State of War!
Freedom for Solidarnosc!

Because we are fighting for socialism, we will not let the Polish working class revolution be strangled. We will demonstrate, or insure our active support to all those coming from different countries who will demonstrate, on December 13, 1982, in Gdansk — challenging Jaruzelski's junta at the side of the Polish workers.

Support the Polish Trotskyists!

In our last issue, we took up the fight to defend the Polish Trotskyists through helping to build the party that they represent in Poland — the party of the political revolution. A contribution — and especially a regular pledge — to the International Workers Fund is a concrete way to take up an *active support* of these revolutionary fighters and the Polish Revolution itself.

A brochure is now out to help organize this fight. It contains a number of the attacks made *by name* on our comrades. This will show potential contributors that the Polish Trotskyists are a real force that the Stalinist bureaucracy fears and wants to crush.

Naturally, we do not in any way claim to be the force behind the Polish Revolution as a whole, let alone behind every single action that has taken place since August 1980. But we are fighting to become the leadership of the Polish Revolution in order to provide the policy and direction that alone can lead it to

victory. In their own way, despite the usual Stalinist grotesque lies and exaggeration, the bureaucrats do understand that, and that is why they are out to stop us.

Let us quote some of these attacks (some have appeared in our press before) and see what the Stalinists really get worked up about.

In a two-part article that appeared in *Trybuna Ludu* (official daily of the Polish Stalinist party) on March 1 and 2, 1982, the bureaucrats published an attack on our Polish section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), including — and this is especially important today — an attempt to link KOR leaders like Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski with Trotskyism.

Among other things that the Stalinists found offensive was that the RLRP's paper, *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle"), published an "article by H. Paszt, 'What does the Church defend: the workers or the PUPW (Polish Stalinist

party — editor)?" in which they criticized the sermon of Cardinal Wysinski and the attitude of the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy calling for calm and work." Indeed, we plead guilty to this heinous crime — a crime in the eyes of the Stalinists, who today still count on the Church's "calling for calm and work."

Writing about one action that occurred at the First Congress of Solidarnosc the Stalinists assert: "The broad masses of the members of Solidarnosc, in the name of whom the Congress adopted the 'appeal to the workers of Eastern Europe,' had no idea of who was manipulating the delegates of the Congress." We manipulated no one, but we are proud that we did indeed propose this appeal.

In a separate article, published in *Zycie Literackie* ("Literary Life") on August 22, 1982, the bureaucracy raises openly its greatest fear: "... They criticized the intervention of Edmund

Baluka (head of the Szczecin strike committee in 1970 — K.F.) at the University of Warsaw, who communicated the foundation of a new political party, the Polish Socialist Party of Labor. The program of this party tended, they wrote, toward the 'reform of the Stalinist regime' and not toward the 'revolution and the seizure of power by the working class and its councils.'"

Yes, that is Trotskyism, and we maintain this call today. If you want to support the one group in Poland that is fighting to replace Jaruzelski and his thugs with the rule of the workers councils, if you want to help in the practical steps that will bring about this goal, contribute now, make a pledge, to the International Workers Fund.

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1982 Elections: Turning Point in Class Struggle

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Many analysts see the Republican defeat and Democratic victory in the 1982 elections as "par for the course."

"Voters always vote for the 'outs' in between presidential elections." "Swings back and forth, without a dime's worth of progress," says the US Socialist Workers Party.

In reality, nothing could be farther from the truth. The 1982 elections represent a *turning point* in the class struggle.

Reagan and the Republican Party lost far more than they expected to lose — 26 seats in Congress, 7 state governorships and 6 state legislatures.

Yet the Democratic Party victory was in no sense an overwhelming one. It was not even able to regain control of the Senate!

The AFL-CIO and other unions and the American Communist Party did their best to turn out workers and blacks to vote Democratic. While more turned out than in the past, large numbers did not.

This is not a result of apathy or lack of interest in politics. The militant declarations of striking workers interviewed on TV manifest the contrary. This is a result of unprecedented opposition to the Republicans and

Democrats.

If this unprecedented opposition to the Republicans and the Democrats has not yet resulted in a decisive defeat for them — in the elections, contract negotiations, strikes, or some other arena of the class struggle — it is not a result of the passivity and lack of interest of the workers, but of the betrayal, passivity and opportunism of their leadership.

Several spokesmen for the Democratic Party said that they were *glad* that they did not gain control of the Senate because if they had they would have to initiate alternative programs to Reagan's. Yet the AFL-CIO and the CP continue to assert that the Democratic Party victory is a working class victory and orient toward it.

Leaders of Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC), the GM Sub-Councils, and other union tendencies, like the International Socialists/Labor Notes or the Revolutionary Workers League, did absolutely nothing about the elections and the AFL-CIO/CP betrayal. They essentially told workers to abstain. Is it any surprise that when it came to mobilizing workers against the UAW leadership's maneuvers to split American and Canadian Chrysler workers (the second "strike vote") that these lead-

erships, despite their much-vaunted strength in the unions, also proved impotent?

The Socialist Workers Party and the Workers League ran candidates in the elections that called for the formation of a Labor Party, yet they did not offer the union workers anything that they could do *en masse*, in a unified fashion, in the direction of such a party. At the same time, in their propaganda they fostered a myriad of illusions in the possibility of reforming the system ("put workers in office," "labor party pledged to socialist policies," etc.)

This — not lack of interest in socialism nor a conscious break on the part of the workers with these parties — is the reason that these parties and others like them did so miserably in the elections. In Michigan, the combined votes of the most popular candidates of the SWP and WL were less than 10,000!

The only tendency which offered the working class any way to confront Reagan in a massive and unified fashion was the Trotskyist Organization. It campaigned for union candidates as a step in the direction of the foundation of the Workers Party and, on this basis, for a write-in vote for its candidate Barbara Putnam. Thus it was able to advance in the formation of

the new leadership of the working class.

We have not yet been able to learn the results of the write-in vote. We expect them to be small. But however small they are, they are far more important than any other votes for they represent the possibility of just such a massive and unified struggle against the Reagan regime.

We think that the results in the 1982 elections, particularly the miserable showing of the major parties that claim to be socialist in the midst of massive discontent on the part of the working class, should cause youth, workers and militants and organizations which claim to represent the working class to reflect. To reflect on the efficacy of organizations that call for a Workers Party, but refuse to take one practical step inside the unions to mobilize them *en masse*, in a unified fashion, against the Republicans and Democrats, and form the new leadership, the Workers Party, on this basis.

This was and is our aim in the fight for union candidates and we intend to pursue it — in upcoming union elections, local elections and elsewhere. All tendencies that claim to be for a Workers Party have an obligation to act this way. The results in the 1982 elections prove it.

Time for a Showdown at Chrysler

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The impact of the walkout by Chrysler Canada workers is already being felt in the "return to the bargaining table" by the UAW leadership and the Chrysler Corporation — for both the Canadian and US contracts — despite the previous insistence that there would be no negotiations until January.

The Canadian workers were right to go out, and our struggle in the US has to be to support them by extending the strike here, taking control of it and waging it as the confrontation it really is.

Ever since the Canadian strike began — because it was clear that the workers there would not wait any longer — the Fraser bureaucracy has been out to sabotage both Canadian and US workers. This bureaucracy knew perfectly well, when it held the "referendum" on striking in the US, that the Canadian workers were going out. It hoped to isolate the Canadian workers, set the Canadian and Americans against each other, defeat the Canadians

first and then mop up the Americans.

Together with this went a vast media campaign. Even *The New York Times* (not widely read among auto workers) denounced the strikers "because any break in nominal wage parity at this sensitive moment would almost surely lead to a walkout on the American side of the Detroit River" (November 10, 1982).

The sharp turn-about in the "referendum" in the US (from a 70%-30% vote against the contract to the same margin against an immediate strike) has to be attributed overwhelmingly to a deep distrust of the leaders the auto workers have. Above all, the Fraser leadership, but also the opposition in the union, including forces such as the Communist Party (CP), that talked tough and even led the walkouts on September 14 — and then had no policy.

Thus, the CP has now set up a Chrysler Rank and File Committee for a Better Contract to "hammer out in clear terms to the national negotiating committee just exact-

ly what we want" — thus seeking to maintain the Fraser leadership in place.

Similarly, Larry Leach, president of Local 1264 in Sterling Heights, Michigan, one of the leaders in the "contract rejection" fight, is quoted in *The Militant* (November 19) as saying: "We stand in solid support of our Canadian brothers and sisters. That is what solidarity is all about."

Not quite, although the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose paper *The Militant* is, puts forward the same idea of canned goods and sympathy as a substitute for real solidarity.

American workers have to support the Canadian workers, yes. But they have to *take back the initiative*. Not just indirect pressure — the reason for the "negotiations" — but an organized mobilization to turn the situation around.

Fraser and the rest will not disappear like the autumn leaves. They have to be defeated in a struggle, which cannot occur

outside of the actions of the workers themselves — in *striking Chrysler now!*

The unity of Canadian and American workers in the strike poses the conditions for a real showdown, heading toward a *national strike in auto* — and it has to be fought out as such. We have to take over the union, the first step of which is the *election of factory and central strike committees* as the way for the ranks to actually run things. This is the way the Polish workers began.

At the same time, in the face of Chrysler's "plant shutdown" blackmail, we have to *occupy the plants*.

On the basis of such a confrontation, one that poses also the confrontation with Reagan — the source of the attacks — the workers will be able to determine who it is that represents the necessary new leadership.

Public Meeting: "From Poland to El Salvador"

On Saturday, December 4, the Trotskyist Organization/USA will hold a public meeting on the topic: "From Poland to El Salvador: A new revolutionary leadership against the Communist Parties and Castro."

"From Poland to El Salvador . . ." because what is at stake is the revolution. But all the forces of Stalinism, imperialism and their Social Democratic and centrist allies try to conceal this fundamental question from the working class and the youth.

Poland is a struggle for imperialist democracy, including "free" unions ("just like here"), we are told. Whether this is presented favorably (the imperialists, their union bureaucrats and, in turn, their hangers-on), or unfavorably (the Stalinists and their stooges), is only a division

of labor on the fundamental work. In this sense, too, the various centrist groupings that try to present the Polish workers movement as a spontaneous, very radical, trade union movement, whose goals are ultimately those of pressure on the regime ("just like here"), are merely in charge of window-dressing.

But Poland is a *working class revolution* — and the alternatives are not political revolution or "reform of the bureaucracy," but *political revolution or Stalinist counterrevolution*. That means that what happens in Poland is critical for the fate of the international socialist revolution.

Here lies the connection with El Salvador. The revolution in Central America represents the start of the American Revolution (in a hemispheric sense), whose culmination will be the overthrow of US imperialism itself.

But the same forces that are plotting against the Polish Revolution, trying to minimize what is at stake, are likewise active against the *revolution* in El Salvador (and this includes the Catholic Church).

This is the whole meaning of trying to present the struggle in El Salvador to American youth as a "peace movement," as a movement whose goal cannot be to support the victory of the revolution there as a prelude to its victory here, but as a movement against "another Vietnam,"

for "human rights," for "democracy." Anything but socialism!

Fidel Castro's position against the Polish Revolution is well known; too well known to hide. The lie takes the form of pretending that Castro, devoted Kremlin bootlicker, follows a different policy in Central America. But he is the chief architect of limiting the revolution to a "democratic" framework (that is, keeping it from going over to socialism) and the chief organizer of the schemes to sell out the struggle today, to stop the military advance of the revolution in order to preserve the Salvadoran army, the capitalists and landlords — and American imperialism.

The Communist Parties, Castro, all

their apologists must go! Building the leadership for the revolution is the subject and the task of our December 4 meeting. Be there!

K.F.

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revolutionary leadership!**
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