Hawke/Mitterrand: Cold Warriors, Imperialist Overlords

Bloody Colonial Terror in the South Pacific

Events over the last two months in the islands of the South Pacific, principally New Caledonia and also Vanuatu, have highlighted deep volatility and instability in the region. In this "American lake," scene of intensified US/Australian/French anti-Soviet war preparations, resistance to imperialist domination by Paris and Canberra is met with swift and ruthless suppression.

The backdrop to murderous suppression of Kanaks in New Caledonia was the French presidential elections in April and May, which pitted the incumbent Cold War "socialist" Mitterrand against his neo-Gaulist prime minister, Jacques Chirac. Anger amongst the Kanak population had been building up since last October when seven Europeans, self-confessed killers of ten Kanak militants (including two brothers of FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou) were let off scot-free.

French imperialism, and threatened by the imposition of new laws designed to undermine Kanak claims to land and local government areas they presently control, the FLNKS (Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front) announced a boycott of the presidential elections. Over 80 percent of the Kanak population responded to the FLNKS boycott call on 29 April. Meanwhile on the outer island of Ouvea, militant Kanaks staged a desperate ambush and kidnapping of 15 French gendarmes. Days later the hostage total had risen to 27, including the head of the crack GIGN (Intervention Group of the National Gendarmerie), Australian imperialist chief Hawke bemoaned the "instability" in New Caledonia and called for the release of the hostages. The hostage crisis ended on 5 May, two days before the final presidential vote, in a wholesale massacre of the Kanak militants which left 19 dead. The hostage-terror campaign was draped in the Tri-colour. A total communications blackout was imposed immediately after the attack, and the bodies of the Kanaks were unceremoniously dumped in a mass grave. But gradually the truth has come out - it was cold-blooded, vindictive murder. A FLNKS spokesman revealed a "pre-arrangement" had been set up to free the hostages. Witnesses came forward testifying that the Kanak leader of the kidnappers, Alphonse Dianou, was shot after emerging from the cave unarmed. A drip feed which had been inserted in a French doctor was ripped out and Dianou was beaten to death with soldiers' rifle butts. Even the bourgeois Le Monde (23 May) admits that two others were "finished off in cold blood after they had surrendered." Vengeance for the murdered Kanak militants! Immediate freedom for pro-independence militants imprisoned and tortured! French troops out of New Caledonia!

The French fascist National Front leader Le Pen, not to be upstaged by Mitterrand or Chirac, issued calls to "exterminate Kanak rebels." Fascistic vigilante squads in New Caledonia emboldened by the murder on Ouvea immediately embarked on their own killing sprees. In one incident a white FLNKS official, Jean-Pierre Deteix, was subject to a hand-grenade attack.

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As Mikhail Gorbachev shook Reagan's hand in Moscow, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the local pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Serbian Peace Alliance (SPA) announced a program of joint activities and the drawing up of a joint platform for the "possibility of organisational unity." A joint statement says "both the SWP and the SPA have advanced the objective of bringing together into one party all those who base themselves on Marxist-Leninist ideology and practice" (Guardian and Direct Action, 1 June).

We noted before the announcement that they find it necessary to "popularise the idea ... among the members of the two parties.

The SWP and SPA, whether fused or separate, are reformist opponents of genuine Marxism-Leninism, that is, Trotskyism. We Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defence of the historic conquests of the Russian Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution. We seek to return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky through workers political revolution to oust the bureaucratic usurpers; and we fight for the international extension of the October Revolution through world proletarian revolution, especially in the imperialist countries.

The SWP and SPA support Gorbachev's perestroika economic reforms, which undermine central planning and are bound to provoke working class resistance. They are especially enthusiastic about his concessions to imperialism, like the INF treaty and the sellout of Angola. Their "detente" is in the offing, clearing the way for them to forge into the imperialist big-time via "left unity." With the working class base of the ALP turning away in droves, reformists like the SWP/SPA serve as a conveyor belt to redirect this disaffection back into Laborite parliamentarism.

SPA STALINISTS ON THE ROCKS

The SPA is the rump left behind by the defection of, first, the majority of the old Communist Party (CPA) to social democracy in 1968-71. Then the onset of Cold War II and the Hawke government led to the split of its conservative trade union bureaucrats in 1983. Since then its dim-witted leadership has been more or less reduced to emptying its Moscow puppetry of its limited Trotskyist opposition. Today the SPA is just one of several groups in Australia having relations with Moscow, and fears it is being abandoned by the Kremlin bureaucracy. Not surprisingly, there's considerable turmoil in the SPA, factionalism and splits. Last year the small Communist Group, publishing Clarity, split away, denouncing Symon's "opportunist" manoeuvres in the unity swap. Many SPAers obviously can't stand the SWP, judging by their non-attendance at "unity" events.

*PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE:* A DANGEROUS UTOPIA

The SPA is genuinely conflicted. Symon proclaimed "the four summit meetings already held have helped push the world away from the nuclear brink" (Guardian, 1 June) and the next week, a page one headline read "Progress at Moscow Summit." In the same issue, however, the page two editorial, "More, always more," made an unprecedented criticism of Soviet foreign minister Gromyko's "neo-Stalinist" orientation for a "defensive and apologetic statement" in response to the SPA's eulerian "human rights" groundswell in Moscow. The Reagans of this world will never accept the state of affairs in the socialist countries. They demand that socialism be thrown out and capitalism restored. No matter how ludicrous and dangerous this idea sounds, it remains their objective. It seems that some spokesman for the Soviet Government do not understand that (Guardian, 3 June). This is an implicit attack on Gorbachev himself. The SPA are in a bind. For some, it seems too much, for others, groveling in the face of Reagan's insults is too much, but then that...

Peter Symon (fifth from left) lead the SPA contingent marching in World War II casualties are an essential link.

Gorbachev's appeasement of progressive imperialism won't bring peace for the Soviet Union. Flooding from the bureaucracy's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country": "peaceful coexistence" is a deadly dangerous utopia, precisely because a direct military confrontation with the US is so suicidal. For when appeasement fails, the result is military confrontation, which the Kremlin seeks to placate a hostile imperialist enemy which only grows more powerful when the sign of Soviet "weakness." The imperialists cannot be placated short of liquidating the social foundations of the October Revolution upon which the bureaucracy itself rests. While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace; one or the other must ultimately reign. Lenin told Party activists in 1926. Nuclear weapons only make futile illusions in "peaceful coexistence" more dangerous, for the imperialists' real policy is not "detente" but a nuclear first strike against the USSR, of which the US spy/communications bases in Australia are an essential link. Only world proletarian revolution can disarm the imperialists.

**SWP LOVE USTASHA, SOLIDARNOSC**

Jim Percy's SWP has lately been full of praise for Gorbachev. In 1985 they split from the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat and began a split from the genuine Trotskyists, embracing some of the worst crimes of Stalinism — like the 1937 destruction of the Vietnamese Trotskyists who led the Saigon insurrection against reimposition of imperialist rule. However, the SWP is steeped in anti-Sovietism. Direct Action didn't share the guard's mini-manifesto about Reagan's antics in Moscow, having always supported the imperialist "human rights" crusade and the anti-Soviet dissidents.

The USFK lost 20 million dead in Vietnam, and the discontent of their East European puppet states is the logic of their detente illusion. While the bureaucratic appeasement of one country: "peaceful coexistence" is a deadly dangerous utopia, precisely because a direct military confrontation with the US is so suicidal. For when appeasement fails, the result is military confrontation, which the Kremlin seeks to placate a hostile imperialist enemy which only grows more powerful when the sign of Soviet "weakness." The imperialists cannot be placated short of liquidating the social foundations of the October Revolution upon which the bureaucracy itself rests. While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace; one or the other must ultimately reign. Lenin told Party activists in 1926. Nuclear weapons only make futile illusions in "peaceful coexistence" more dangerous, for the imperialists' real policy is not "detente" but a nuclear first strike against the USSR, of which the US spy/communications bases in Australia are an essential link. Only world proletarian revolution can disarm the imperialists.

**Direct Action**

*Betrayal* 

"Both the United States and the USSR are an essential link.

**Direct Action supplement (July 1983):** Criminal cover-ups for mass slaughter by Hitler's Ustasha puppets in Croatia. SPA has clamped up in this scandal; the popular front was supposed to be against fascism!
Kim Philby: In Memoriam

For many of us, the death of Kim Philby evoked our admiration for the achievements of this remarkable Soviet master spy who penetrated to the heart of British and American intelligence and counterespionage operations during and after World War II. Philby died May 11 at age 76, and was buried in Moscow with the military honors accorded a general of the KGB. The Soviet news agency TASS called him "heroic" and "a man of lofty international duty," adding laconically: "For a long time Kim Philby was engaged in an exceptionally delicate work, or, better said, a struggle directly within the special services of the capitalist countries whose thrust was spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the world's progressive movement."

As opponents of imperialism, we drew no small satisfaction from Philby's exploits and savored the humiliation which NATO secret services suffered as a result. At the same time, as fighters for the genuine proletarian internationalism of Trotsky, our overall appreciation of Philby and his role must necessarily be more equivocal.

The outstanding work of Philby — called by one-time CIA chief Allen Dulles "the biggest steal the Russians ever had" — certainly had a devastating impact on the intelligence establishment of British imperialism, as rabid Fleet Street headlines about the "traitor Philby" bear witness still. When he finally escaped to the Soviet Union from Beirut in 1963, he left behind a legacy that goes far beyond the generation of spy novels and headlines about the "traitor Philby". Philby evoked our admiration and our sympathy or, better, our delicate work, or, better said, our struggle directly within the special services of the capitalist countries whose thrust was spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the world's progressive movement.

But a life of service as a spy for the Soviet state under Stalin and his heirs does not necessarily equal a life of service to the working class. While Philby's circumstances placed him in a position to battle against powerful imperialist agencies, many of his contemporaries in Soviet intelligence had far direr assignments, sabotaging revolutions and murdering leftists. While he was gleaming valuable information from the French files on the other side of the lines in the Spanish Civil War his GPU colleagues were assassinating leftists like Andres Nin and strangling the revolution. Philby's intelligence work reflects only one side of the contradictory Soviet regime which issued from the political degeneration of the first victorious workers revolution, a regime that sacrificed the hopes for world revolution on the altar of "socialism in one country."

That Philby shared this program is evident in a recent interview in the (London) Sunday Times (20 March, 27 March, 3 April and 10 April 1983) in which he participated in a Western journal in 20 years, Philby met this spring with N. Khightey on several occasions, discussing his views at length. Asked about

Kim Philby, December 1967

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Continued on page eight
Solidarność Revival Fizzles

What's Behind Polish Strikes

Massive price hikes ordered by the Polish government in everything from food to rent sparked the strike wave. Transport workers wildcatted, steel and munitions workers shut down their plants demanding catch-up wage increases. The leaders of Solidarność rushed to place themselves at the head of this spontaneous strike movement. "I can mobilize the whole country," bragged Lech Walesa on May 4 as he once again led a strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarność. A week later Walesa led a few hundred dispirited followers out of the shipyard gates as the recent strike wave in Poland collapsed. That night he and his wife Danuta attended Catholic mass. Afterward Walesa proclaimed to reporters, "There is no freedom without Solidarność." His wife, visibly bitter, said, "There is no Solidarność.

For a few weeks everyone in Poland and in the world was asking: would it happen again? Would Solidarność again challenge the Warsaw regime on behalf of open anti-Communist clerical-nationalism? As in 1980 the current strike wave was triggered by an austerity program dictated to Poland by Western bankers. The New York Times (28 April) noted, "the Government is seeking to demonstrate to international lenders, such as the International Monetary Fund, from whom it seeks fresh credit, that it means business in cleaning up the economy." Since February the price of food has jumped 40 percent, public transport by 70 percent, heating by 100 percent and rents by 200 percent. Everyone expected trouble, and in late April trouble came.

It began with a wildcat strike of transport workers in the northern city of Bydgoszcz. Tensions ended almost immediately when the regime came up with a 60 percent wage increase. The next day the largest industrial enterprise in the country, the Lenin Steel Works at Nowa Huta near Krakow, was shut down and right after that another big metal-working and arms-producing complex at Slawowa Wola. The Nowa Huta strikers were not only demanding a 50 percent wage hike for themselves but big pay raises for all state employees in Poland.

While the main thrust of the steel strikes was more money, they also had a political edge. The Nowa Huta strike committee demanded the reinstatement of Solidarność activists fired years before, while Slawowa Wola's demanded the legalization of Solidarność. The latter strike was settled in a few days for a hefty wage hike, but the Nowa Huta strike continued. Then on May 2 strikers occupied the Gdansk shipyards. Now Walesa was once more on the forefront of the Polish stage. Here the demand to re-establish Solidarność was first and foremost, wage concerns were secondary.

Solidarność' masters and paymasters in Washington (this "free trade union" has received millions from the CIA, and the US Congress last year voted $1 million for it) and the Vatican immediately launched a campaign on its behalf. US State Department spokesman Charles Redman lectured the Jaruzelski regime: "The current strikes in Poland demonstrate more clearly than ever that successful economic reform and recovery require genuine dialogue between the government and society" (Washington Post, 3 May). By "society" the Reagan gang means Walesa & Co. On his way to visit Paraguayan dictator Stroessner, Pope John Paul Wojtyla (originally of Krakow) declared, that the Solidarność leaders "deserve unconditional support and encouragement." This time the best efforts of President and Pope to subvert Poland fell flat. On May 3 a police raid broke the Nowa Huta strike, while police cordoned off the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Immediately the mass of strikers went home, leaving Walesa with about 500 raw youth. From the start the Solidarność leadership appealed to workers throughout Poland for "actions of solidarity" on behalf of Walesa and his holdouts. But Polish workers did not answer this appeal. History did not repeat itself.

THE RISE AND FALL OF SOLIDARNOŚĆ

During the 1970s the Stalinist regime of Eduard Gierek, grossly corrupt and incompetent, engaged Poland to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Borse. When in 1980 the Western bankers turned the screws, the Warsaw government cut living standards by sharply raising prices, thus setting off a strike wave which gave rise to Solidarność. The legitimate grievances of Polish workers against the economically and politically bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy were channeled into a clerical-nationalist movement tied to the apron strings of Washington and the Vatican.

At its first national congress in September 1981, Solidarność consolidated around a counter-revolutionary program of "Western-style democracy" with Walesa praising Japan and the United States as economic and political models for Poland. At that point the international Spartacist tendency, almost unique on the left, raised the cry: Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution! Fortunately for the international working class, indeed for all humanity, Solidarność' bid for power was spiked at the last minute by the (near-bloodless) counter-coup carried out by the Polish regime under General Jaruzelski in December 1981.

Since then the Solidarność leaders have been completely unashamed in their support to "free world" capitalism and anti-Soviet militarism. They have denounced the social-democratic "peace" movement in West Europe as Kremlin agents and dupes. In 1983 the Solidarność Temporary Co-ordinating Commission (TKK) adopted a program calling for a thoroughgoing market economy in Poland complete with private ownership in industry and a stock market to boot. Even some of its...
Workers Strike, Contras Splitter, Sandinistas Backpedal

Nicaragua in Turmoil

**Workers Need Bolshevik Leadership**

6 MAY — With truce talks in Managua between the radical-nationalist Sandinista and Washington's contra mercenaries once again interrupted, Nicaragua is reeling from pitched battles and government negotiations offered increasingly dangerous concessions to the counterrevolutionary clients, who keep demanding more, thousands of Sandinista supporters demonstrated with signs demanding "death to the contras." Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan masses stagger under anti-working-class austerity which has slashed their miserable wages. Pushed to the wall, construction workers and mechanics have been on strike for the last two months. And as the Sandinista police crack-down, the internal right wing and contra leadership — in collusion with opposition union leaders — are cynically posing as friends of the strikers.

In the all-sided turmoil engulfing Nicaragua, a Bolshevik party is ever more urgently needed to crystallize the situation along class lines (Sandinistas to complete the revolution by expropriating the bourgeoisie, and to extend it throughout Central America and beyond).

The march 23 Sapos cease-fire agreement, implementing the Esquipulas II "peace" pact engineered by the Democratic Party and Costa Rican president Arias, is an effort to undermine the limited gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution through negotiations, since Reagan's contras have lost on the battlefield. Contra official and former La Prensa editor Pedro Chávez vowed as much on returning to Managua: "We came here to achieve at the conference table what we have not been able to achieve in the mountains!" (New York Times, 17 April). Backed up by the $48 million voted by the Democrat-controlled Congress, the contras want all Sandinista military and civilian personnel to abandon the seven "cease-fire" zones! They are also demanding the right to receive "replacement" weapons and ammunition, and that Soviet military aid to the government be cut off.

The Reaganites in Washington are doing their best to sink the truce talks. Under the Sapos accord, "humanitarian" aid to the contras is supposed to be delivered by a "neutral" party, so the White House picked AID (Agency for International Development), synonymous with CIA counterinsurgency programs from Vietnam to El Salvador. AID has already resumed air drops to the mercenary camps along the Honduran border with Nicaragua, even so, the military attempts at overthrowing the Sandinistas may have reached a dead end. The bottom line is that the contra war is over, said US Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams in an off-the-record interview, "And perhaps the last service I will perform for the Contras will be to hand out green (US immigration) cards" (Independent [London], 9 April).

Meanwhile, the contra leadership is fracturing. During the negotiations longtime CIA operative Adolfo Calero and former Somozaist National Guard colonel Enrique Bermudez have fallen out. Bermudez fired the contra commanders who signed the Sapos agreement, whereupon Calero tried to pull a coup tooust the military chief. The cease-fire poses a big problem for the contra tops: their mercenary peasant army could dissolve without the pressure of war and the promise of endless dollars. One contra official said, "Who knows how long we can hold together and keep up the morale of our troops" (New York Times, 24 April). As Sandinista troops in the field began meeting with nearby contra units, orders went out from contra HQ in Tegucigalpa to stop the fraternization. But in several cases the meetings have continued.

While the Sandinista leadership rolled out the red carpet for the contras, the Nicaraguan masses were in the streets. Dozens of demonstrations assembled to call the seven "cease-fire" zones! They are also demanding the right to receive "replacement" weapons and ammunition, and that Soviet military aid to the government be cut off.

Outside US embassy in Managua, Sandinista demonstrators denounced CIA-backed assassins, call for permanent cease-fire to end contra war.

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AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST
The impact on the Nicaraguan masses has been devastating. Inflation, which was running at 5,100 cordobas per month (about US$93 currently), has yet even according to government estimates, makes well over 2,000 cordobas (and more likely double that) just to feed a family of four. Unemployment may even run as low as 500 cordobas per month! Simply to survive workers must find a job on the black market, which continues to flourish despite government efforts to suppress it.

The catastrophic collapse of the workers' standard of living resulting from the economic reform soon touched off strikes by 3,000 construction workers and 1,500 artisans, who have joined the miners and other workers (as (more briefly) by restaurant workers, truck drivers and sugar plantation workers. The striking construction workers are demanding 200 percent wage increases and the limitation of the workday to eight hours. The Sandinistas responded by declaring the strikes illegal and firing the workers, while the pro-government CST labor federation has organized scabs to take their places. Tensions have run high as Sandinista militants and unions have squared off in street confrontations. Last week 38 construction workers went on a hunger strike to press for their demands. And then the right-wing opposition denounced the strikers, saying, "This is a reaffirmation of the view that socialist central planning is not viable in this country. The logic of these measures is a greater reliance on market signals."

- Washington Post, 5 March

And both PCN and PSN are part of a 14-party alliance opposed to the Sandinistas which includes all the right-wing parties. Yet the strikers certainly do not see themselves as counter-revolutionaries. Indeed, as the New York Times (14 April) article reported: "The construction workers' union hall is decaying, portraits of Lenin and other Marxists, and both unions support the traditional communist symbol, the hammer and sickle. SCASAS is known for leading a hard-fought building workers strike against Somozas following the 1972 earthquake, while CAUS, once the largest and most militant factory in the country, now called FABRITEX, where they continue to have support and which is one of the highest percentages of workers who have joined the militias and fought the contras at the front. In fact, most of Managua's industries have a strong presence largely socialist opposition unions.

LESSONS OF OCTOBER: BOLSHEVIK PARTY IS KEY

Sandinista Nicaragua has been brutally battered by years of anti-revolutionary aggression both by the bloody contra terrorists who have killed tens of thousands by Reagan's trade embargo which has sought to strangle the economy. Having endured so long, it is natural that war-weariness has spread in Nicaragua. This can drive backward workers into the arms of reaction. We have recalled the example of Kronstadt, where sailors mutinied in 1921 against the Soviet regime (see "Finish Off the Contras - Complete the Revolution?" WY No 44, 29 January). At that time also, hard-pressed urban workers led by the Mensheviks were striking for basic economic necessities. Lenin, Trotsky and the rest of the Bolshevik leadership tried to negotiate with the sailors, but finally the mutiny had to be put down by the Red Army.

The PSN and PCN are a realard in many ways to the Russian Mensheviks. They are hardline reformists, ardent believers in "two-stage" revolution who opposed as "adventuristic" the 1975 insurrection which toppled Somozas. The Mensheviks, too, led sections of the working class, such as the railway workers who opposed the October revolution and sabotaged its defense. But the Sandinistas are no Bolsheviks - far from it. The Sandinista leaders were born in the countryside, of peasant parents or came from rural backgrounds, it is natural that war-weariness has spread in Nicaragua. This can drive backward workers into the arms of reaction. We have recalled the example of Kronstadt, where sailors mutinied in 1921 against the Soviet regime (see "Finish Off the Contras - Complete the Revolution?" WY No 44, 29 January). At that time also, hard-pressed urban workers led by the Mensheviks were striking for basic economic necessities. Lenin, Trotsky and the rest of the Bolshevik leadership tried to negotiate with the sailors, but finally the mutiny had to be put down by the Red Army.

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Polish Strikes...
Continued from page five

ardent supporters in the Western left, it was clear that Solidarnosc, now had a pro-capitalist program (see "Solidarnosc Calls for Wall Street to Pull Out," Poland Vangard No. 406, 20 June 1986). At the same time, Solidarnosc was becoming moribund within Poland, reduced to small groups of intellectuals with clandestine printing presses. Last year the conservative London Economist (23 April 1987) reported: "Working-class support for Solidarnosc has dwindled rapidly, as polls conducted even by pro-Solidarnosc sociologists show." And Jacek Kuron, a leading intellectual figure in the movement, admitted, "Even the strongest optimists acknowledge that the influence of Solidarnosc amongst the silent majority of society has been radically diminished." Moreover, the Solidarnosc leadership disintegrated in competing factional cliques. Solidarnosc, godfathers in Washington and the Vatican were naturally distraught over the sorry state of the organization and made a last-ditch effort to save it. Last June John Paul Wojtyla visited Poland and prayed for "the spiritual, moral and political stage of Polish Solidarity." A few months later Reagan's man, former CIA chief George Bush, made his pitch. On a pilgrimage to a Warsaw church along with Sir Solidarnosc, Bush proclaimed, "I am proud to be standing beside Lech Walesa, a man so well respected in the United States" Chicago Tribune, 29 September 1983. The crowd responded by chanting, "No freedom without Solidarity; Long live Long live Solidarity." Wojtyla's prayers and Bush's praise were useless to restore the influence of Solidarnosc. But the economic pressures on Poland, for end of their rope and would resist further austerity measures. Even the official unions, which Jaruzelski set up to replace Solidarnosc, complained that social benefits and housing in Poland were much lower and much worse than in other Eastern bloc countries. And when the Jaruzelski regime first proposed big price hikes last spring, the official, bureaucratized unions declared this "unacceptable to working people" and implicitly threatened to strike against it. Nonetheless, the Jaruzelski regime went ahead with plans for sweeping market-oriented reforms dictated by the IMF: elimination of most, or all, subsidies for consumers; closing down unprofitable enterprises; expanding the scope of small-scale private capital; and encouraging foreign investment. Professor Jan Muzesiak, one of Jaruzelski's top economic advisors, said it was quite blunt: "I have no doubt that we will see bankruptcies and unemployment.... Reform requires much harder conditions for all working people" (Wall Street Journal, 10 April 1987).

Ihe Jaruzelski regime has

Soviet leader Gorbatchev
encourages
Polish general Jaruzelski
(right) to impose savage austerity program on behalf of Western bankers.

Lech Walesa flauts money from Western backers; Pope John Paul Wojtyla, godfather of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc.

In a sense that is true. The Jaruzelski regime is totally discredited. Everyone knows that economic "reform" is just a code word for severe austerity measures, and nobody believes the promises of "democratization." At the same time, the working class and society at large show little support or loyalty for Solidarnosc. It is doubtful that many Poles want Lech Walesa, who acts like a holy idiot, to govern their country.

Both the Stalinist Jaruzelski regime and the Solidarnosc opposition serve as transmission belts for international finance capital into Poland. At the height of its strength in 1981 Solidarnosc demanded that Poland join the IMF, which in fact Jaruzelski did a few years later. Thus the Polish working class is totally without leadership to resist the extortion of the Western bankers.

Economic desperation is driving Polish workers to struggle. In the next months we can expect at least localized strikes over wages. However, there can be no question of economic recovery as long as the surplus produced by Polish workers is turned over to the imperialist loan sharks. Yet no political grouping in Poland demands repayment of the debt—not even the shadowy "leftists" of the pseudo-Catholic Workers' Opposition Alliance, promoted internationally by pseudo-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel. The Workers' Opposition Alliance blames the economic crisis solely on "the parasitism, the incompetence and the treacherous treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy" (International Viewpoint, 27 October 1986). All tendencies from the most rigid anti-Communist nationalists to the most hardline Stalinists take for granted that Poland must endure years of hardship to repay Western bankers. This view was stated clearly by a Polish academic visiting Harvard, Jan Chownie, last year in a letter to the New York Times (31 March 1987): "Poland owes to Western creditors a total of $33.5 bilion. To meet that challenge alone will require years of belt-tightening policies and huge sacrifices from the whole of Polish society. However, I am afraid that before the Poles can be either fed or housed better, they will first have to work harder, produce more, export more and pay their foreign debts." Jaruzelski's economic advisers would dismiss any talk of repudiating the debt as wildly unrealistic. The bankers would not tolerate by organizing a boycott of Polish exports and markets. Poland could not then pay for vital imports of food and raw materials, and the Polish economy would totally collapse. Moreover, no economic assistance could be expected from the IMF, especially under Gorbatchev. In fact, Gorbatchev would strongly oppose Poland's repudiation of its debt to Western creditors.

This is all quite true. What it proves is that the solution to the Polish crisis within the framework of nationalism or Stalinism, Only a revolutionary, socialist, or imperialist solution can affect the international conditions to counter imperialist exploitation. Only a point of socialist internationalism can Polish workers effectively appeal to Soviet workers, who have their own reasons for opposing and resisting Gorbatchev's market-oriented reforms. At the same time, revolutionary workers in Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin would have the incentive to appeal to workers in West Europe and the United States against imperialist exploitation and warfare against East Europe.

The Polish bureaucratically deformed workers' movement was re-established by a social revolution carried out from above by Stalin's Russia in the aftermath of World War II. For some years now Polish workers have been deluded that their liberators are in the Vatican and White House. In reality Wojtyla and Reagan, acting through Solidarnosc, are more inspired to bring about a bloody counterrevolution in Poland than as a step toward destroy the Soviet Union. Aiding, in the delusion of the Polish working class have been Western social democrats, Euro-communists and pseudo-Trotskyists like Ernest Mandel, who for years have screamed, "Solidarity with Solidarnosc!"

Now it appears that Polish workers have become disillusioned with Solidarnosc. It is only by returning to the road of proletarian internationalism as defined by Rosa Luxemburg and the early Polish Communist Party, that Polish workers can liberate themselves from the Stalinist bureaucracy and the bloodsuckers of the IMF. For Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International—

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No 433, 20 May 1988

Kim Philby...
Continued from page four

Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, he said, that if his advice had been sought, "I would have advised that we stay out... on historical grounds. I would have said, look what happened to the British there. So long as we stay out... We decided to go in and hold the country down for a bit until we could restore order and then we are anxious to pull out as soon as we can do so without a mas- sacre of our friends there."

We Trotskyists, who unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist counterrevolution, proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" Faced with unenviable options on
Nicaragua...
Continued from page seven the contras. It would fight to
defend and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Located in an area considered by the Sandinistas to be their "backyard," Sandinista Nicara­
guas has been battered by an unre­
mitting assault which is now becoming un­
stuck. As decisive days approach in Managua, the experience of the
Russian October Revolution be­
comes more and more relevant. In Sep­
tember 1917, following the defeat of Kerensky's attempted counter­
revolution, Lenin wrote his famous pamphlet, The
October Coup and How to Combat It.

"Control, supervision and accounting are the prime re­
quivalities for combating cas­
tapo and famine. This is indisputable and universally
recognised. And it is just what is not being done from fear of envy. While the supremacy of the landowners and capital­
ists ... "

In point of fact, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, ie,

which class is in control and which is being controlled. In our country, in republican Rus­
ia, with the help of the autho­
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Continued from page three

social fascism through its sinister connection with the Croatian HDP. They apologise for the bloody mass-murder by Hitler’s wartime Croatian satellite Pavelic and his fascist Ustasha, and defend acts of Ustasha terrorism against the Yugoslav workers state. (See Australasian Socialist No 103, August-September 1981). For the sake of “unity” the SPA’s Guardian has maintained a constant silence on this scandal.

Over Poland, the SWP demonstrated for Solidarnosc counter-revolution, with fascist “Captive Nations” enigres, outside the Polish consulate in Sydney in December 1981. Perhaps that’s where they met the HDP-Ustasha. Percy even said the SWP was the closest thing to Solidarnosc in Australia, though in fact Santa-maria’s NC is actually edges them out. Stuffed to the gills with Vatican/CIA dollars, Solidarnosc, Maria’s NC actually edges them out. Stuffed to the gills with Vatican/CIA dollars, Solidarnosc, Pilsudski, carried with it the closest thing to Solidarnosc in this scandal.

This is precisely as sergeant-majors for the Eureka Flag, the German flag. Percy’s proposed flag-raising manoeuvre, hard on the heels of the collapse of the last one, unity with the CPA in the “New Left Party Charter.” Percy now ruefully describes the “new party” milieu as “badly infected territory, a real swamp.” Percy’s proposed flag-raising manoeuvre, hard on the heels of the collapse of the last one, unity with the CPA in the “New Left Party Charter.” Percy now ruefully describes the “new party” milieu as “badly infected territory, a real swamp.”

The SWP has to be pretty far gone ever since Percy wants fusion with the CPA’s SWP, a bunch of petty-bourgeois nationalists who succeed in giving rotten Trotskyism a bad name. Then not much Percy won’t do to get rich quick, witness the HDP-Ustasha episode. The latest flop produced internal trouble in the SWP, sections of which blamed it on Percy.

In early March four SWP National Committee members quit, saying “the Party is not the democratic organisation it pretends to be.” No kidding. The four long-time SWP leaders, Brett Treenery, Peta Stewart, Margo Connemon and Tony Forster, were hitherto part of Percy’s bureaucratic clique, so they ought to know. As proof, they are circulating on the left the constitution of the vehicle through which Percy exerts personal control of SWP property, named with supreme cynicism the “LD Bronstein Society” (Trotsky’s real name). Undoubtedly Percy’s pro-Gorbachev rhetoric, his current tactical hairline on the ALP, plus his notorious bureaucratic cultism, were obstructions to the regroupment with the CPA/greene “swamp” which the quitters wanted, but most likely they just got fed up when Percy came up empty-handed again.

Whether this rotten fusion will actually be consummated is open to considerable skepticism. After all you need a scorecard to keep track of the splits in the name of “unity.” At any rate SPAers would be well advised to hang on to their CPA’s flag.

SWP/SWA: NO PLACE FOR COMMUNISTS

There is an alternative for genuine defenders of the October Revolution; exemplified in the recent fusion of the Tribune Communist group in France with the International Spartacist tendency. These comrades, from the “anti-opportunist” milieu around the French Communist Party, were driven by their impulse to defend the USSR, and oppose the PCI’s “popular-front” betrayals, to the realisation that there is no revolutionary proletarian alternative to opportunism within the framework of Stalinism, only the Trotskyist Fourth International upheld today by the IST. Anyone who mistakenly joined the SWP or CPA to defend the Soviet Union and fight for revolution will also find abundant communists in this fusion, a proof of the atomically principled revolution regroupment the polar opposite of the “anti-opportunist” milieu around the reformist swamp. Percy and Synon are sinking in the swamp—SWP/CPA are no place to be a communist! Only the Spartan League fights for defence of the USSR, and to return it to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of proletarian internationalism. That is where real communists belong.

Cleveland St High...

Continued from page twelve

call for separate schools is a dis­pairing response to the entrenched racism of this ugly country, ac­cepting the racist status quo and abandoning the struggle to change it. " Separate is not Separate!" — in racist Australia such schools would be neglected, dirt-poor, third-rate prisons for black kids. Marxists stand for universal, free, secular, quality education by the state for all. This can only be achieved through struggling against racial segregation, for revolutionary integration.

It is the duty of the union movement to lead the fight to ensure that all children are able to attend state schools. The workers movement can, and in spite of its racist Laborite leadership, has on occasion defended the rights of blacks. In 1946, when the grandmothers of today’s students were fighting to get their kids into schools, black bans by the Seamen’s Union in support of striking Aboriginal stock­men in the Pilbara quickly won concessions from the bosses. Union bans have been effectively used in Central Australia againstcolour bars in public places. On 6 May, workers at the Darling Har­bour construction site in Sydney struck briefly when the bosses threatened to victimise crane drivers who flew the Aboriginal Land Campaign flag.

Teachers must be won to struggle for the defence of the immigrant and students. That will require a class struggle leadership. Greiner is continuing the previous Union’s drive against the bosses’ ap­point on teachers — trying to increase class sizes and reduce staffing levels. Perhaps young students are being broadened. The abolition of the youth dole forces kids to stay at school, turning schools into overcrowded prisons. Posters of boxer Jeff Fenech exhort students to "play by the rules" and they want to assign cops to school yards! Aboriginals, and many others, won’t salute at Greiner’s proposed flag-raising ceremonies, but he’s intro­ducing them to the boss that. The bourgeoisie wants a compliant, regimented population that will act out their "godless communism": they want kids who’ll change their school status from "white" to "Asian." If the political system as a whole is to change, the bugle, and ask no questions.

There’s no shortage of poten­tial allies for blacks. The working class is broadly disaffected by the Hawke government’s union­busting and wage-cutting under

Subdrive Success

Final Totals

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Congratulations to Spartacist League comrades on the success of our sub drive, especially to top seller, Andrew S from Melbourne. We are proud to have sold 318 subscribers to publications advocating the international Spartacist tendency, plus 810 points to Australasian Spartacist - English Language Spartacist, no 91-41, entitled Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky, particularly attracted many new subscribers. We extend a warm welcome to our new readers!

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[ ] Australasian Spartacist – 6 issues (1 Year) for $3

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Australasian SPARTACIST

10
the lie of "national prosperity." What's required is a revolutionary leadership of the labour move­
ment, to direct this disaffection into a class-struggle offensive to smash racist reaction, to fight for full social equality for blacks, for decent schools, health care and housing, for better jobs and con­ditions with full employment for all, to fight for a real workers government. This means breaking the working class from its mis­
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leaders in the ALP and Trades Hall, who serve this white-racist government.

It's striking that the "left" Teachers Federation tops, bourgeois bureaucrats, and various guilty white liberals and "left" groups have rushed to endorse the de­
mand for an Aboriginal school, while none are fighting to rescind the expulsions. For them, if blacks progress to separatism, the good, let them go quietly. The Teachers Federation has volumes of verbiage on "nationalism," but they won't defend half a dozen Abor­
iginal protesters who have been arrested by the concrete reality of racism in the Cleveland St events, all their verbiage on the paper they're printed on. The union tops allegiance is to Aus­
tralian capitalism, not to the working class, but on racist oppression of blacks and exclusion of Asians.

South Pacific

Continued from page two

Hawke toward military inter­
vention. The ACTU tops have loy­
ally served Hawke's Cold War re­
degion of military intervention in

ing the BLF, they have also been an instrument of foreign policy, im­
posing a "socialist" solution on the

South Pacific island, becomes Kanak nationalism. Workers News (6 May) says:

"National Liberation for Kanaky can only be achieved through the victory of the Kanak working class, through the struggles of the villagers and small farmers, to estab­
lish a Kanak socialist republic as part of a socialist federation throughout the

Pacific and South East Asia."

These high-sounding phrases conceal some important truths.

First, there is virtually no Kanak working class. The Kanak people who have seen the island, they are the victims of the colonial economy. Second, what of the remainder of the population, the wallahs? They are mainly Malagasy, Indonesians, French Polynesians, who predominantly work the niches of a colonial plantation" system. The SSL echoes the nationalism of the FLNKS, which

grants these peoples no rights within "Kanaky."

The left shares these pro­

visions of these tiny South Pacific islands, where one can hardly speak of full­
lledged nations in given the small size of the populations and the primitiveness of the economies, it is absurd to project an isolated "liberation struggle." A decent future for the islands' peoples can be envisaged only in integra­
tion with the proletarian struggles in Australia/New Zealand and in particular Japan, the powerhouse of Asia.

The Australian proletariat has a crucial role to play in integra­
tion of the oppressed peoples of the South Pacific. The bottom line to the Kanak struggle is becoming a class for itself is in­
tregnant struggle against its own imperialism through understanding that the enemies of Australian imperialism amongst the op­
pressed of the South Pacific are its allies in international pro­
letarian struggle. Last year in the midst of Hawke's militarist over­

The AFL-CIO undertook, against the treachery of the nationalist

Laborite bureaucracy. Thus their mand for an Aboriginal school, white liberals and

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12 JUNE: Six Aboriginal students have been indefinitely suspended from the inner-city Cleveland St high school in Sydney, and face expulsion, which would bar them from all state schools. The school principal and the new, Tory, Greiner state administration, the NSW Teachers' Federation bureaucrats and most of the teachers at the school, are united in this racist victimisation and make it clear they intend to keep the students out of school.

The suspensions followed a girls touch football match (a form of rugby) against outer-suburban Engadine High. One suspended student, Fiona Anderson, explained what happened:

"Both sides were getting rough. It was getting too out of hand and the referee called the game off. Someone on the other side called us a 'bunch of black sluts' and we reacted."

-- Sydney Morning Herald, 21 May

Such racist insults are fighting words. A scuffle broke out and two Cleveland St teachers, who intervened on the side of Engadine High, were allegedly roughed up in the melee. The teachers called the cops—a real provocation to black youth who are routinely harassed by the racists in blue.

The following day, at a special school meeting, the principal denounced the girls for "animalistic behaviour" and "bringing shame on the school." The Aboriginal students walked out of the meeting in a dignified protest. Up to 100 students, predominantly blacks, began a solidarity strike. Only months after participating in the massive Australia Day protest—a proud and historic event, giving notice to the Hawke regime that blacks intend to fight for their rights—these students were not going to take this sort of crap.

Parents and community leaders, who went to the school to learn why their kids had been suspended, were attacked by the principal as "an angry black mob." A Teachers Federation representative wanted the school closed during the 27 May protest strike meeting, in case of "violent attacks" by Aboriginals. Minister for Education Metherell refused to meet with the suspended girls and their mothers, saying he would be "ambushed by an undefined, large and angry mob." (Sydney Morning Herald, 21 May). This violence-baiting serves to set up blacks as non-persons without rights. The real crime here is against the students, tiptoeing out of the school system, their future denied them. SEPARATE IS NOT EQUAL

We salute the strike by Aboriginal students and demand the suspensions be immediately rescinded! The six students must be allowed to return to Cleveland St or any state school of their choice, without fear of reprisals. Perhaps to the well-appointed Vaucluse High, where students earlier had rejected their bicentennial medals en masse.

The government-school-union leadership line-up on this issue highlighted the hard racial exclusionism and brutal oppression of Aboriginals. From the early 1960s to the 1970s Aboriginals were excluded from state schools, attending instead poorly funded separate schools (whose untrained teachers' task was to prepare students for menial labour). Then, with post-war assimilationist policy, the government formally opened schools to blacks. Even then it was a struggle for Aboriginals, who petitioned schools and governments and fought racist opposition to get their kids into schools. They were to be admitted only if "clean, clad and courteous." White racists continued to get blacks excluded on spurious grounds of "health risks." Some Aboriginals were able to get into schools by producing medical certificates or by gaining Exemption Certificates (particularly awarded to children of servicemen), better known as "dog licences." The NSW Teachers Handbook provided for excluding Aboriginals on grounds of "substantial (community) opposition" until 1972 (JW Harris, Aboriginal Education in NSW 1976).

Following the suspensions parents and community leaders set up a makeshift school in the nearby ghetto suburb of Redfern. Aboriginal activists like Lyall Whitcrow have generalised this into a call for a separate Aboriginal school, with Aboriginal teachers and curriculum. The Cleveland St girls don't want to return to a school where they are violence-baited by the principal and whose teachers refuse to protect them against racist slurs. Who can blame them? And parents want schools their children will attend without fear of racist provocations. School is a daily battleground for black kids: only seven percent finish high school, compared with a national average of 45 percent. But the...