



## Black Masses Defiant, Class Battle in Mines

# South Africa State of Siege



AUGUST 3 — On 20 July, apartheid fuhrer president P W Botha declared a "state of emergency" in 36 black townships and cities in South Africa. The sweeping order includes the heavily industrial Transvaal around Johannesburg, and the Eastern Cape region around the auto centre of Port Elizabeth. Henceforth, any member of the state security, police or military has virtually unlimited powers to arrest anyone without cause and hold them incommunicado without trial for an indefinite time. Security forces can search and seize property without warrants, seal off any of the areas, impose curfews and censor all news from the specified locations. Violators can be punished by imprisonment for ten years.

This was the first emergency decree by the South African regime since March 1960 — a similar order in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre of 69 unarmed black demonstrators led to the arrest of 11,503 people, and the voice of anti-apartheid protest was silenced for a decade. Since the order was imposed, security forces have arrested 1400 of the most visible opponents of the regime, now being held without charge, four black people

were killed when police opened fire on a crowd of 400 demonstrators in the black township of Tumahole outside Parys, 75 miles south of Johannesburg, and officially at least 16 others have been killed.

Priests, lawyers, teachers and political activists were said to be among those detained as the police moved in to seize people identified from lists. According to civil rights monitoring groups, police took hostages — one a four-year-old boy — to exchange for activists they could not immediately find. The purpose of the crackdown, as the 23 July *New York Times* reported, "seems to be to arrest everyone deemed capable of organising or channeling dissatisfaction with apartheid into protests that may involve attacks on reputed collaborators, as well as labour strikes and boycotts of white-owned shops".

Police breaking into homes, death squad executions of black school teachers, dumping bodies in the sand dunes along the Indian Ocean, hippo armoured troop carriers rolling through the black townships spreading terror — this is the "free world regime" Ronald Reagan says will be "reformed" through his "constructive



Repression sharpens (top); black miners union meeting (above).

engagement". In Washington, the State Department rushed to endorse Botha's emergency decree: "The situation has deteriorated to the point that the South African Government felt compelled to institute new measures" (*New York Times*, 21 July). Reagan

while shedding the occasional crocodile tear, supports his South African junior partner's move to crush the black revolt, scarcely containing his appetite to do it at home, eg the Philly inferno. In Australia the apartheid-like conditions of Aboriginals, sanctioned by the Labor government's arrogant opposition to land rights at the behest of the racist mining magnates, is the brutal reality behind Hawke and Layden's empty moralising about

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## Nicaragua Defies Reagan

Below we publish a report of a Spartacist supporter's recent trip to Nicaragua.

MANAGUA, July 20 — More than 500,000 people streamed into the Carlos Fonseca Plaza yesterday to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the revolution which toppled a bloody dictatorship that had ruled Nicaragua as its private fiefdom for almost half a century after being installed by the United States. Responding to the speech by Daniel Ortega, president of Nicaragua and leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the crowd chanted the slogan which can be

seen throughout the country: "Nicaragua victoriosa, ni se vende, ni se rinde" (Victorious Nicaragua won't sell out and won't give up). When the threat of a US invasion was mentioned, hundreds of thousands of voices roared back, "No pasaran" (They shall not pass) and "Aqui, alla, el yanqui morira" (Here, there, the Yankees will die).

The crowd was one of the largest in the Nicaraguan capital since the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty by a popular insurrection led by the FSLN. If the joy of victory was worn down after four years of a terrorist war by the CIA's "contra" mercenaries and brutal economic strangulation

culminating in the US trade boycott, the determination to fight to defend their revolution was as clear as ever. But there is a sense of loss of direction in the country. If a US invasion comes, they know what to do. In poor barrios you can see hand-scrawled signs like, "Yankee son of a bitch, we're waiting for you" and "The gringos and the reactionaries will die. Nicaragua will be Reagan's grave". But what is to be done now, they ask, except wait?

In recent weeks, Reagan has been escalating his attacks on the Sandinista regime, accusing Nicaragua of

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INTERVIEW WITH  
DR BERTRAM WAINER

Fighter for  
Women's Right  
to Abortion

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# Nicaragua ...

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being part of a band of "outlaw terrorist states". On the eve of the July 19 celebrations, Washington delivered a secret diplomatic note to Managua threatening reprisals against Nicaragua if more US soldiers are killed anywhere in Central America. After reading this insolent note to the crowd gathered in Carlos Fonseca Plaza, Ortega declared: "Nicaragua has neither practiced terrorism, nor supports terrorism, nor has it been involved in any terrorist activity. Who blew up the fuel tanks in Corinto?" he asked rhetorically. The Nicaraguans? "Who mined the Nicaraguan ports? Who bombed Sandino Airport? Who published the CIA murder manual? So who are the terrorists?"

## Defend Nicaragua!

Last month the press was full of articles about US preparations for direct military intervention in Central America. According to the *New York Times* (4 June), a leading Pentagon expert "asserted that the Nicaraguan people would rise up in support of an American invasion..." They may be sorely surprised. Speaking to some of the hundreds of thousands who gathered in the plaza to celebrate the victory over Somoza, the FSLN

The Nicaraguan people also have guns. Tiny Nicaragua can never match the firepower of the Yankee colossus with its aircraft carriers and battleships. But to take and hold a country will require armed men, and in preparing their contingency plans, the Pentagon will have to take into account the fact that *more than 200,000 guns have been distributed to the population so far in 1985*. At a ceremony July 13 in front of hundreds of soldiers where the promotions of more than 2,000 officers of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) were announced, Defence Minister Humberto Ortega declared that:

"Because of its confidence in the people and in order to be better prepared against eventual direct intervention, the Revolution has turned over, in an organized way, 170,000 AKA, G-3 and other automatic rifles; 25,000 mechanical rifles popularly known as 'macho-killers' [M-44s], about 5,000 of them prepared for snipers; 40,000 BZ, PPK, M-23 and M-25 and other semi-automatic rifles and sub-machine guns; and 20,000 hunting weapons of all kinds. The Revolution has handed over more than 200,000 rifles in an organized fashion to its people in order to defend the people's interests..."

In addition to mass mobilization into the army and militia, special mobile units, anti-tank and anti-helicopter units and elite special forces units have been created in recent months,



"We Won't Sell Out, We Won't Give Up! Nicaragua Will Be Reagan's Grave!" Half a million Nicaraguans in Managua's Carlos Fonseca Plaza celebrate sixth anniversary of their revolution, 19 July.

newspaper *Barricada* (20 July) asked peasants from the northern war zone about the claim by a leading US intelligence official that an invasion of Nicaragua would be like "falling off a log". They replied, "Let them try it. Let's see if they have balls like us!"

said Humberto Ortega, "to make every town in Nicaragua a genuine bastion, a genuine wall, so that an eventual intervention will be met house by house, block by block, street by street".

An armed people is key to the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. And the Nicaraguan people have real gains to defend. In the field of health: life expectancy has gone from 53 years in 1979 to 60 years today; infant mortality has fallen from 121 six years ago to 44 per 1,000 births in 1985; malnutrition among children has been cut in half, from 68 percent to 35 percent. In education the illiteracy rate has been slashed from 50 percent in 1979 to 13 percent. But above all there was the elimination of Somoza's National Guard, that gang of professional killers who ran the country through sheer terror. Now you can walk the streets day or night, and the police are actually polite — an unheard of thing in this region of banana republics.

## Complete, Extend the Revolution!

On June 17, all of Managua gets roaring drunk to celebrate the "Day of Joy" — the night when dictator

## SUPPORT SYL FUND DRIVE

### Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras!

*We print below an abridged version of an appeal issued in June by our comrades of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League/US. The SYL's fund drive to defend Nicaragua has struck a sympathetic chord across America. We encourage readers of Australasian Spartacist to contribute to this campaign at the address below.*

From "Fort Honduras" to the US Army's Southcom HQ in Panama, American military forces are poised for an invasion of Nicaragua. The US trade embargo is an act of war, and the next step, now openly discussed by the Reagan administration, is to send in the troops. The Spartacus Youth League has undertaken a fund drive to raise urgently needed dollars for Nicaragua's defence....

*This is no charity drive. The Nicaraguan masses have been courageously fighting the es-*

calating campaign of US-sponsored terror ever since the 1979 revolution which overthrew the murderous tyrant Somoza. They vow to fight to the last man, woman and child against a Yankee invasion. We here "in the belly of the beast" must do our part. At this critical juncture it is imperative to take a stand in defence of the Nicaraguan Revolution. A contribution to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua is part of the necessary class battle against Reagan reaction at home, against the criminals who salute Hitler's SS at Bitburg and firebomb black babies in Philadelphia....

The SYL is assuming all administrative costs for the campaign. Every dollar you give will go to Nicaragua. Make your "anti-contra" bution now! Make cheques payable to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua. Mail to: SYL, Box 3118, Church St Station, New York, NY 10008, USA.

"Tachito" Somoza fled Nicaragua. For one day, a puppet "caretaker" government desperately tried to organize an "orderly transfer of power". But a mass insurrection surging out of the capital's impoverished eastern barrios frustrated this attempt to realize the State Department's pipe dream of "Somozaism without Somoza". By the time the Sandinista troops from the Southern, Northern and Northeastern fronts converged on the capital on July 19, Managua was already in the hands of the insurgents. As the mercenary Guardsmen fled in their Mercedes, Piper Cubs and pirated boats, the destruction of the dictatorship meant the demise of the entire state apparatus of Nicaraguan capitalism.

What replaced it was not "Sandino-Communism", as the Reaganites claim, but a petty-bourgeois bonapartist regime of the radical nationalist Sandinistas. The FSLN regime was based on neither the preservation of bourgeois private property nor establishing the collectivized economy of a proletarian state. From the first days of their victory, the comandantes have sought to precariously balance between the forces of imperialism and the domestic bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the mass of working people and the oppressed on the other. This program has since been sanctified in the Sandinista trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and non-alignment", a formula which Daniel Ortega repeated once again this July 19. An estimated 54 percent of industry is still in private hands. But neither the Nicaraguan capitalists nor their American senior partners have been much interested lately in Sandinista offers to play the game of class collaboration.

The Sandinista balancing act *cannot last*, and this is already being felt in the countryside. Last month, the agrarian reform ministry (MIDINRA) took over holdings of Enrique Bolanos, head of the COSEP employers association, near Managua, where a land-hungry peasantry has been demanding expropriation of the hacienda owners. On July 16, National Agrarian Reform Day, MIDINRA head Jaime Wheelock distributed titles to the former Bolanos lands in the department of Masaya, as well as to several other farms purchased from their owners. Comandante Wheelock, once head of the "Proletarian Tendency" of the FSLN, vociferously denied COSEP's charges of communism: "Those who say we are enemies of property are wrong. Because it's true we expropriated one,

but we have created 870 new landowners."

The petty-bourgeois Sandinistas have tried to maintain their fiction of a "mixed economy", COSEP to the contrary, as long as their hold on power is not directly threatened. In practice this means propping up the remaining capitalists — hardly the program of Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution when he called for "control over the landowners and capitalists by the workers and peasants" ("The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", September 1917). But as Ronald Reagan ups the voltage, it is becoming harder and harder for the FSLN to walk the high-wire without crashing to the ground. And as the local "branch office" bourgeoisie increasingly feels the effects of being cut off from their home offices in the US, Bolanos' threats (at a COSEP convention July 17) of "decisive battles" will move from the realm of talk to action.

All the while, the threat of direct US military intervention hangs over the country like an incubus. Tanks are dug in at the approaches to major towns and cities and around key military installations. Military traffic is heavy, revolutionary vigilance around the factories and barrios is stepped up and security measures were heavy in the capital throughout the last week. The shortages and privations are taking their toll on Nicaragua's small working

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## FORUMS

### South Africa State of Siege

- Smash Apartheid! Black Workers Must Take the Lead!
- For Union Black Bans of All South African Cargo!

#### SYDNEY

15 August Uni of NSW

1-2pm Rm 209, Mathews Bldg

23 August Teachers Federation

7pm Rm 2, 73 Bathurst St,

#### MELBOURNE

15 August YWCA

7pm Rm 7&8, Level 3

489 Elizabeth St.

(Childcare provided)

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Sydney, 2001

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Australasian

## SPARTACIST

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The Hawke government is taking every opportunity lately to show its US big brother and the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) bloc how "tough" it is on Vietnam. By giving a green light to a spate of anti-Vietnam attacks and provocations it's also trying to enforce a hard Cold War line on the labour movement, sections of which remain sympathetic to the Vietnamese Revolution. In May Vietnamese fascist gangs were unleashed to terrorise leftwing meetings marking the tenth anniversary of the fall of Saigon. All year Vietnamese students in Canberra and diplomats have been targets of increasingly brazen assaults by these fascists, which the police have virtually ignored. On 23 June three diplomats were punched and kicked in a Canberra shopping centre, one requiring four stitches. On 12 July two shots from a high-powered rifle were fired into the Vietnamese embassy. The Vietnamese government has strongly protested to Australia and threatened to stop the orderly departure program. The 17 May Sydney waterfront unions meeting for "Solidarity with Vietnam" (see *Australasian Spartacist* special supplement, 5 June) was an example of the working class action needed to teach these counterrevolutionaries a badly needed lesson.

The conference on "Vietnam — Ten Years On" held on 6-7 July by the Australia-Vietnam Society (AVS), which promotes "friendship and understanding" with Vietnam, became the next target of the anti-Vietnam campaign. The conference was originally advertised for Wollongong University, but following threats of more violent demonstrations in Vietnamese rightist newspapers, the organisers announced its cancellation. The NSW police reneged on their earlier assurances of full protection while the Federal police even labelled it "subversive". The Foreign Affairs Department initially disapproved of members of its staff participating alongside keynote guest speaker, Professor Pham Binh of Vietnam's Institute for International Affairs. Instead of capitulating to the fascist threats, which will only embolden them further, the conference could have gone ahead as planned: in May the South Coast Labour Council had offered to defend meetings on Vietnam. However a defence guard of hundreds of militant unionists in a show of class solidarity with the Vietnamese workers state was the last thing the organisers wanted — the bourgeois scholars, journalists and Foreign Affairs mandarins registered to attend would have run a mile. Instead the conference was relocated to Sydney and held in "secrecy" under police guard: the fascists didn't show up only because the job was being done from the inside.

It became clear from the start that the government had decided to turn the conference into an anti-Vietnam platform. The first speaker, permanent head of the Foreign Affairs Department Stuart Harris, expounded Hayden's Indochina diplomacy and denounced Vietnam's "illegal occupation" of Kampuchea. Next, reactionary journalist Peter Hastings pontificated about "human rights violations" in Vietnam. He advocates more trade and better relations with Vietnam both as a lever for political pressure, and to make a dollar or two. The final provocative insult to the Vietnamese representatives and all partisans of the Vietnamese Revolution, came in the session on Kampuchea. A Kampuchean rightist, a Sihanouk supporter, was allowed to deliver an anti-Vietnamese tirade from the floor, hailing the "nationalist liberation movement" (ie the "coalition" of counterrevolutionary scum on the Thai border), to polite applause

## Smash Anti-Vietnam Attacks!

# AVS Conference Bows to Government Provocation

from some of the audience. The US/ASEAN-backed Sihanouk and Son Sann components of this "coalition" are no more than a cosmetic cover for the Chinese-armed Khmer Rouge, the remnant of the nightmarish Pol Pot regime of 1975-79, whose bizarre,

Party and SWP within the AVS made their choice over this provocation, staying put with Harris, Hastings and their Sihanoukist scumbag. Loyalistically pressuring this imperialist Labor government is the only strategy of these reformists, whatever their

prime minister Hun Sen in Vietnam this March. "Which side are you on? Vietnam's or ours?" asked the Thai foreign minister. Hawke's answer was to unleash the Vietnamese fascists.

Nevertheless the Vietnamese Stalinists pursue the pipedream of



Kampuchean troops hail Vietnamese troops returning to their homeland after crushing anti-communist guerilla bands on Thai border.

brutal and historically regressive assault on the very foundations of modern society wiped out millions of Kampuchean and left the country an exhausted ruin. The Vietnamese army liberated the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot, setting up the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) of Heng Samrin, and today protects their future against his return.

Registering his surprise at the presence of this accomplice of the bloodstained Pol Pot, Professor Pham Binh announced the Vietnamese delegation could no longer participate and they walked out. The Spartacist League had attended this conference to solidarise with Vietnam against the recent fascist rampage, but the conference's capitulation to this provocation made clear it had nothing to do with defence of the Vietnamese Revolution. We therefore also walked out in protest, leaving the assembled journalists, academics and reformist leftists in stunned silence.

### Kampuchea: Imperialists' Losing Game

The admission of this rightist was a capitulation to the media outcry over the AVS' earlier "undemocratic" exclusion of five other supporters of the Kampuchean guerrillas. And when Foreign Affairs fat cat Harris intervened to stop a move to expel him, the conference bowed to this government *diktat*. Reformists like the Communist

sympathies for Vietnam.

Vietnam is the chief target in the region of Reagan's global anti-Soviet war preparations because it's the USSR's main Asian ally which inflicted a humiliating, far-reaching and first-ever defeat on the US and its Australian junior partner. Kampuchea has been the hot spot of imperialist/China/ASEAN confrontation with Vietnam. US Secretary of State Shultz's promises of more US aid on his recent tour of the guerrilla bases in Thailand can't conceal the devastating setback the Vietnamese/PRK victories dealt to their border enclaves earlier this year. The "coalition government" is a fiction patched together for Western public opinion, to camouflage the unpalatable reality of continuing imperialist backing for the universally detested Khmer Rouge, the only militarily active component. As the PRK is increasingly able to stand on its own feet, the Vietnamese will be able to progressively withdraw more troops and ease the burden on their own economy. The imperialist strategy of using the Khmer contras to "bleed" Vietnam has palpably failed. There is nothing to negotiate, and Hayden's "peace initiative" aimed at brokering a "negotiated settlement" between Vietnam and ASEAN over Kampuchea and detaching Vietnam from the USSR has ended in debacle. Never with any real prospect of success, ASEAN finally torpedoed it when Hayden overstepped the mark by meeting PRK

"peaceful coexistence" with the ASEAN despots as well as US and Australian imperialism. The US-led anti-Soviet war drive makes particularly clear that the imperialists will never accept the overthrow of capitalist exploitation by the Russian and Vietnamese revolutions. Defence of the revolutionary gains requires proletarian revolution in the capitalist strongholds, and we Trotskyists look to breaking the encirclement of the Vietnamese Revolution through its extension throughout the region. And within the deformed workers states the revolutionary internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky must replace the nationalism of the Stalinist bureaucracies through proletarian political revolution. The imperialist stabilisation of Southeast Asia founded on the massacre of a million Indonesian communists, workers and peasants in 1965 is cracking at its foundations, most dramatically in the Philippines. Defence of Vietnam/USSR in Australia means above all a struggle against Reagan's lackey Australian imperialism, which as Hayden recently reminded us, is prepared to send troops to defend the US bases in the Philippines, regional keystone of the Cold War, against a revolutionary explosion. The AVS conference made one thing crystal clear: the real defenders of the Vietnamese Revolution are the Trotskyists who say "The Main Enemy is at Home", not Vietnam's false "friends" who court the Australian bourgeoisie. ■

We print below an interview with Dr Bertram Wainer, a long-time courageous fighter for women's right to abortion. Born in the working-class slum district of Gorbals in Glasgow, Scotland, Wainer is a kind of William Wallace in the struggle for women's rights. During his campaigns against backyard abortion and the police corruption which accompanies it, and against the reactionary so-called "Right To Life" bigots, his life has been threatened many times. The availability of relatively cheap, safe abortions in most major Australian cities today, despite the continuing existence of legislation which makes abortion a crime, is in large part a tribute to Wainer's militant struggles.

Wainer flew to Queensland following the 20 May Gestapo-style raids on Fertility Control Clinics in Townsville and Greenslopes, Brisbane. On the heels of Bjelke-Petersen's union-busting operation against SEQEB strikers and the state labour movement, Petersen's then Attorney General Harper unleashed the notorious Queensland police against abortion clinics. These cops who had been using choke holds against unionists on picket lines must have taken a perverse pleasure in terrorising the clinics. They stormed buildings where patients were being treated looking for "evidence" — even sending frogmen into nearby sewers to search for aborted fetuses! Then in a massive invasion of privacy, they seized over 19,000 personal medical files. Doctors Bayliss and Grundmann, who run the clinics, were arrested and charged with conspiracy to use force to procure an abortion. This act of state terror caused an outcry across the nation.

Subsequently the Queensland Full Court ordered the return of all medical files. The charges against Bayliss and Grundmann were dropped following a Full Court ruling that the warrants used to enter the clinics were illegal. But already great damage had been done. Women had been cruelly abused; the private sexual and medical histories of thousands had been open to scrutiny by cops and government officials. This campaign of terror should have been met with a mobilisation of the labour movement to stop it and ensure it never happens again. As a minimal measure massive financial compensation must be paid to Bayliss and Grundmann and to the women, who deserve restitution.

The reactionary campaign against abortion is not limited to the "deep north". In Tasmania recently a woman who had been raped was prevented from having an abortion by the courts. In the Labor-run states abortion clinics are constantly harassed — from Perth to the Royal Women's Hospital in Melbourne to the clinics in Sydney. For the last four years the Preterm clinic in Surry Hills, Sydney — at times the target of paint, bricks, and

## Interview with Dr Bertram Wainer

# Courageous Fighter for Women's Right to Abortion



Bertram Wainer in his Melbourne office

ASP photo

reactionary invasions — has been daily "picketed" by either the Right To Life reactionaries or weirdos like the sinister "Brothers of the Mother of God". Preterm has taken these scum to court on several occasions and is owed \$7,000 in court costs, but this has not deterred the presence of their anti-woman gauntlets. A contingent of class conscious union militants committed to the protection of women's right to abortion could quickly put the fear of god into these godfearing anti-abortion terrorists.

Abortion is one of the most important civil, political and cultural rights for women. It is an index of women's oppression under capitalism that even in the most advanced "Western democracies" the right of women to safe abortion is at best limited and reversible. All the more so today, when all manner of social reaction flourishes in a political climate conditioned by Cold War anti-Sovietism. The reactionary zealots feel the wind in their sails. The anti-homosexual "AIDS scare" has literally meant death and beatings at the hands of murderous bigots on the streets in Darlinghurst, Sydney's gay mecca. With their spiritual leader Reagan in the White House, Right To Life anti-abortion terrorists have been bombing abortion clinics around the US over the last year with impunity. In Canada, Dr Henry Morgentaler, a survivor of Hitler's concentration camps and now a prominent and courageous fighter for abortion rights, has been harassed, jailed and subjected to a violent, anti-semitic witchhunt. In capitalist Europe, particularly Italy and Spain where the hand of the Vatican rules

heavy, abortion rights are under increasing attack.

We honour Bertram Wainer's courage and determination in his nearly twenty-year-long struggle against Australia's oppressive abortion legislation and salute his service to women. Our call for free, safe abortion on demand coupled with free quality health care for all, and the repeal of all anti-abortion laws — in defence of the fundamental rights of women now targeted by bourgeois reaction — is integrally linked to our fight for a revolutionary labour movement which will champion the struggle of all the oppressed against their common enemy, the capitalist class and its increasingly repressive state apparatus.

★ ★ ★

**ASP:** You have a long history of fighting Australia's reactionary abortion laws and police corruption and your life has been on the line many times through this past struggle. Could you perhaps tell us briefly about your background and what led you to take up the fight for the right of women to have abortions?

**Wainer:** I don't think I had any particular involvement with women having abortions other than the generalised commitment to working class people not being disadvantaged, whether it be because of their sex or the poverty of their childhood and inadequate opportunities to get education. Abortion as an issue for me — I wasn't looking for it. Here was an issue: where people because of their class origins, that is they were poor people; and because there's something special about women being oppressed by laws which were designed to keep the poor down and to advantage the rich. So there was nothing in me which said this is a great feminist cause and these are my sisters, and I'll be involved with it. That didn't happen like that at all. I just saw it, as it were, a little bit at a time. This woman can't get an abortion, that woman can, and that is wrong. And instead of planning a strategy, a sweeping attack, I thought well I'll do this, and everything happened little by little and bit by bit.

So the best that can be said of me is, yes, I cared about people and here was an issue where I could finally do something. I had always wherever I could have, done things, because I am related to poor people. I mean I was

clearly of the working class, and I guess if it had been a question of the unemployed or the old aged or the infirm I would have done something. I think I was doing things that time but none of them were as potentially explosive as the abortion issue. I didn't recognise it for what it was — it was just something. I'd already had fights with public hospitals because they wouldn't introduce the elderly and I had fights with the army when I was in the army because they wouldn't let me treat dependants. In other words I was from Glasgow and we are great fighters and I'd been fighting but as I became politicised by the abortion issue I began to see almost the emergence of a new class, a class I hadn't been aware of. I don't think it's good to separate women as is happening with feminism, but I became aware of feminist politics as a result of the first couple of years of the abortion issue. And the more I saw of abortion the more I realised how vital it was that women should be freed of the burden of having to reproduce when they didn't want to and the more I related to feminist politics.

**ASP:** When the Greenslopes and Townsville clinics in Queensland were raided you flew in to keep the clinics open?

**Wainer:** What actually happened was on the Monday when they were raided both doctors [Bayliss and Grundmann] — both have worked with me in the past — rang me for help and I had to interpret the situation as it appeared at that moment. And it seemed to me right then on the Monday when the raids occurred, that what had been done — and I thought it was a Queensland cabinet act — was that both clinics had been closed and the women had nowhere to go for abortions. The nett effect of that would be that the doctors would be afraid to operate, the women who had the money would still be able to fly south to Sydney, the women who didn't would have to continue with the pregnancy. And so my immediate action was to ring both the doctors and say, look, I'll fly up and I'll keep Greenslopes open, because I was already registered in Queensland. So I flew up to Queensland and stayed in the clinic in Greenslopes offering it an abortion service. But the women didn't come. I think that will have to be spelled out.

Now I'm a foundation member of Children by Choice, which is an



Spartacist contingent at 1984 Sydney International Women's Day march.

ASP photo



organisation we can talk about later on if you like. I went to Children by Choice and we decided on certain actions, and one of them was that Children by Choice would filter out the women. We clearly had a duty to the women in Queensland who were coming to Children by Choice; to say listen, you can go to Tweed Heads for an abortion, you can go to Sydney and have an abortion, or you can go to Greenslopes and see Bert Wainer and have an abortion. But if you go and see Bert Wainer and have an abortion at Greenslopes he's going to tell the police. And I was over at Children by Choice as well and some of the women said yes, in which case I would sit down with them and say, look, I'm happy to do the abortion, it costs nothing, but we're not going to be driven back into a clandestine situation here. I'll do your abortion and once you're well I'm going along to the police and I'm going to have a press conference. I will not release your name but I'll say I did an abortion. Because it's necessary to keep pressure on Queensland cabinet.

**ASp:** As we understand it the Attorney-General, Mr Harper, announced that 47,000 files had been confiscated from the clinics, and then one week later he said that only 21,000 had been confiscated and that 18,063 were retained because they related to abortion. There seems to be a discrepancy in the figures, and it remains that the women whose names are on the files are open to persecution. Do you know more about that?

**Wainer:** Well, I think the figures are wrong but almost everything Harper does is wrong and I think he had the wrong conception. He really ought to be back selling real estate. The issue of how many histories were seized is in dispute. The doctors say somewhere in the order of 19,000, and I think Harper just stuttered out 47,000 because I think he's a bit of a puppet and he'd been told 47,000. But whatever is the true number — it doesn't matter whether it's ten, a hundred, a thousand. The reality is that the private sexual lives of a number of women have been seized under the powers of the Commonwealth Crimes Act which is dated 1914, and in relation to an offence against an act which was written in 1861. The Queensland Criminal Court has rewritten it, but it is extracted from a 19th century act. And I don't believe that the police should ever have the right to seize medical records, and particularly not these records which relate to sexual life and the reproductive life of women. But we need more laws, or fewer laws, one or the other. We need laws to protect histories if they're seized or we need laws to prevent histories being seized.

**ASp:** The charges against Doctors Bayliss and Grundmann have since been dropped, I believe.

**Wainer:** Sure, they've been totally dropped. It's interesting that the Director of Public Prosecutions, Des Sturgess, who when he was a lawyer gave a speech to the Law Institute in Queensland and he said, "Conspiracy charges are an abomination and ought never to be allowed to be laid, except with the OK of a court, a Supreme Court judge". Now, one of the first actions as Director of Public Prosecutions is to lay conspiracy charges. You have to ask, why did he lay conspiracy charges? Now, four weeks before these raids the minister for police, Mr Glasson, had said, "I have been advised by the Crown Law Department that it is virtually impossible to successfully prosecute a doctor for performing an abortion in Queensland". Having said that, Glasson shot off overseas to Finland. In his absence Harper and Sturgess pulled off this raid and I have private sources — and I believe them — that the police didn't want to be in this, that they personally didn't have a great deal of heart in the raid. But Glasson had already said you can't successfully prosecute a doctor for abortion, but what can you successfully prosecute anyone for? Conspiracy! There is — one of the law lords of England has said conspiracy is an engine of government. And if you look at conspiracy charges in England and Australia they're used for political purposes, eg the Ananda Marga. So the doctors were charged with conspiracy although there was an endless amount of evidence they'd done abortions. They weren't denying it.

**ASp:** Just one more question on Queensland. I believe that vasectomies are illegal.

**Wainer:** Well, they've been illegal as long as . . . . No-one pays any attention to it. In 1971 after I went bankrupt, after the Kaye Inquiry, I went to Queensland and established a practice in Caloundra. It was amusing. I applied for a job running the Caloundra Hospital which had 14 beds. It was advertising the job and I'd previously run a big army hospital in Brisbane. The Minister for Police said he can't have that job, publicly, because he's criticised the Queensland police. The Minister for Health said it's nothing to do with the Minister for Police, he can't say that. And they had an emergency cabinet meeting, would you believe as I was driving to Queensland, and they came out of this emergency cabinet meeting and said, well, the Health Minister said I was right, it's nothing to do with the Minister for Police, I will say who will get the job and Dr Wainer won't get it. So I thought stuff them, I don't need the job.

So I went to Caloundra and opened up general practice. And I did five vasectomies every Saturday morning

there. And many doctors were doing them, but we regularly received little things saying vasectomies are illegal. And then once we received this interesting doctrine. It said it may occasionally be legal to sterilise a woman for a number of purposes, it is never ever legal to sterilise a man. Now all that's sort of interesting. You know, the politicians who make these laws are generally elderly and there is such confusion about fertility and virility. And this reflected the concern that if I sterilise another man in some way their fertility and virility is diminished, the politicians. Yes, it's illegal but it's openly flaunted. It's a bit like prostitution laws. As you know certain Cabinet ministers have had vasectomies. I believe the whole issue is now finished. John Cain [Victorian Labor Premier] will not change the laws here. He won't even reply to a letter from me.

consumer and he has a little house out in the hills — I guess he's very happy because he's doing what he thinks is right. And he's a great guy.

**ASp:** In your experience have there been more attacks on abortion clinics in Australia?

**Wainer:** We've had a number of attacks. We've played them down. We had a little episode in the mid-seventies where a car parked out there was burned down and about a fortnight later one of our windows was broken and a petrol bomb thrown in, and I didn't pick it up. I don't know what was wrong with me, I was probably pre-menstrual or something. The bell didn't ring. A fortnight later someone actually did break in and threw a sort of molotov cocktail into one of our theatres. Now they made a terrible mistake because they closed the theatre door as they went out and that contained the fire. The one



Police close down Greenslopes clinic after 20 May anti-abortion raid.

**ASp:** There have been fairly widespread attacks both in the US and Canada against abortion clinics, and I believe you've read about Dr Morgentaler in *Women & Revolution*.

**Wainer:** I know him.

**ASp:** Has his case been supported internationally?

**Wainer:** Of course not. I'm a member of the National Abortion Federation [NAF] which is an American organisation where people with political or technological or feminist feelings about abortion get together. It's a lobby group, and I go there when I can afford it, to their meetings. Now, I raised Henry's case in their meeting last year and suggested that we raise money because he had legal fees in the order of \$100,000. I was with him last year in Canada and he was selling his house to meet the legal fees. A lot of abortionists, male abortionists aren't the chauvinist mercenary pigs women make them out to be. This clinic doesn't make me a fortune and Henry Morgentaler and I have both gone broke on the issue. And I asked NAF to support it financially. I think he got \$300, which won't mean anything. No, he hasn't been internationally supported because there is no one to support him. Who is there to support him? He's supported by his own conscience and he's a fascinating human being. He was in a concentration camp in Germany during the Second World War. He's done 18 months in jail because of his commitment. I don't know. We don't have the money to meet that sort of legal expense. And NAF gave him humanist of the year or something. I mean that gets you a little plaque but it doesn't really compensate you for losing your whole, and doing time in jail. But I think he thinks the issue is worthwhile. And insofar as he doesn't come from a wealthy family, he's not a great

theatre was completely incinerated but it ran out of oxygen. Since then I have increased my security. If you look behind you will see that we have bars on our windows, the glass is unbreakable glass, the place is computer security. I have always lived, since the days of '69 and police corruption and organised crime, in such a fashion that no one could really kidnap me as they did to the doctor in the United States. I live well out of the city. I have guard dogs.

I doubt if we have the crazies in this country that they have in the States. I've been to Right-To-Life demonstrations in the States and I've been to a Right To Life demo here and there was a total difference. These people can be fanatic and frenetic but they lack the sinister overtone of menace that you find in the United States. There's something intimidating about a Right To Life demo in the States. The anti-choice people — and I don't think you ever ought to give them nice names like Right To Life or pro-life, I mean that sounds wonderful — they're really an anti-women lobby. In Sydney they play them with kid gloves, you know, and they try and play within the law.

When I finally blew up this one morning, they invaded my clinic, I called the cops and the cops came here and said well, we can't do anything. At this stage we had crying women everywhere, the Right To Life were chained to my operating theatre tables and refused to move. And I said to the cop well, OK, just get out of my way. And I rang the Commissioner of Police and I said do you want another bloody Royal Commission, you get a divvy wagon down here in a hurry or else, you know, you won't know what's hit you. Then I went back into my operating theatre and I said listen, you've

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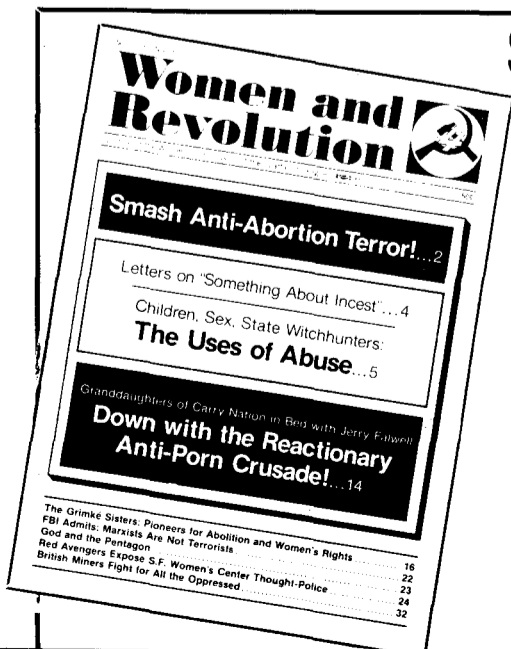
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## South Africa...

Continued from page one

South Africa's lack of "human rights".

South Africa is driving toward civil war. The current wave of black resistance to apartheid slavery continues to mount. So does the determination of the white supremacist regime, armed to the teeth, to drown that resistance in blood. Ever since last August when defiant black struggle and the massive boycott of the Indian and "coloured" (mixed race) communities doomed Botha's "reform" constitution, Pretoria's brutal repression has claimed more than 500 lives. Now it is gearing up for the massacre of tens of thousands. In the face of this dire threat, now more than ever there must be the strongest international labour-centred protest action against Botha's state of siege! Waterside and maritime workers: black ban all South African cargo! Extend the bans on the Saffocean Mildura!

### Repression and Resistance in the Townships

The East Cape city of Cradock was the site of a massive funeral attended by tens of thousands Saturday, 20 July, for Matthew Goniwe and three other leaders of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) whose burned and mutilated bodies were found along the Indian Ocean coastline — victims of the apartheid authorities or their ultra-rightist henchmen. In courageous defiance of the apartheid police state, as the coffins were brought to the stadium where the funeral service was held, and later as the coffins were lowered into the earth, mourners unfurled the banner of the nationalist African National Congress, and the banner of the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Both organisations are banned in South Africa and their advocates if captured are frequently hanged.

Under the multitude of "laws" and "emergency regulations" of apartheid repression, funeral processions which until recently were one of the few gatherings which blacks could attend, have been regularly and savagely attacked by the police. On 10 July, South African police went on a murderous rampage in the black township of Duduza, east of Johannesburg, in which 13 blacks were killed. The anger of Duduza was so intense that Bishop Tutu was rushed in from Johannesburg to lead the funeral procession of 5,000. This preacher of "nonviolence" to those facing, unarmed, apartheid's armoured cars and machine guns earned his Nobel Prize that day as he "saved" a black police informant from the just wrath of the mourners who sought to use this fink's overturned and burning car as a funeral pyre to transport him back to his maker.

One week later Soweto, the teeming black township of two million residents ten miles southeast of Johannesburg, exploded in the largest anti-apartheid protest since its name became synonymous with the black youth revolt against apartheid which swept across South Africa in 1976. As agents of the apartheid regime, black township officials are frequent objects of black anger, and on 13 July, more than a hundred black youth were arrested and charged with taking part in an "illegal" demonstration outside the home of Soweto's mayor Edward Kunene. Four days later a hearing for those arrested coincided with a school boycott in 26 cities and towns. In Soweto on 17 July, thousands of students boycotted classes, burned Kunene's home to the ground, commandeered a dozen municipal buses and held a huge rally at the

police compound where the hearing was scheduled. In order to disperse this crowd of militant youth, police firing rubber bullets and birdshot and brandishing *sjamboks* (whips) were supplemented with charges by mounted troops.

Meanwhile, in black townships near Port Elizabeth, the Indian Ocean port city and centre of South Africa's auto industry, the auto unions have been leading a boycott of white-owned shops, demanding a price freeze on staples, withdrawal of the military from black townships and elimination of puppet local black administrations. After four days, white civil officials called the impact of the boycott, set to last for two months, "desperately urgent" while black organisers said the action had resulted in total suspension of black trade in shops owned or operated by whites.

At the same time thousands of auto workers at GM, Ford and Volkswagen have walked off the job. The exploding black trade-union movement is the critical new factor in the equation. A *New York Times* article (21 July) comparing the present conjuncture with that of the Soweto 1976 revolt noted, "But some commentators contend the scope of present unrest exceeds that of 1976 because it has swept up community groups and black trade unions as well as young blacks."

### Superexploitation in the Mines

As the bloody armed fist of apartheid repression strikes out at the black masses in the townships, a mighty giant — the country's strategic black miners — battles apartheid slavery in the mines. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), with about 150,000 members among the 550,000 black miners of coal, gold and other metals, is preparing for an industry-wide strike. Upon the grinding misery and superexploitation of the miners have risen the giant conglomerates like Anglo American and, indeed, the whole South African industrial economy. Today, gold still accounts for half the foreign exchange crucial to importing the equipment on which the manufacturing sector depends. The South African bourgeoisie talks about "reform" as the economy stagnates due to the weak internal market, low productivity and the shortage of skilled labour created by the migrant labour system. But that system remains the integral and irreformable foundation of South African capitalism, and neither the pious wishes of former Anglo American magnate Harry Oppenheimer nor a US Congressional ban on Krugerrands is going to change that.

For more than 20 years the US has claimed to support a UN ban on military hardware to the apartheid regime. But because South Africa is a strategic anti-Soviet ally of the US, Washington has seen to it that its racist junior partner has not only become the predominant military power on the continent but has been able to develop its own arms industry so that it is now the sixth largest exporter of military goods in the world. Likewise, Congressional "bans" on loans and investment will change nothing. Neither will the Australian Labor government's endorsement of French imperialism's resolution for an international trade embargo — a move to protect the "confetti of its empire" of *colons* from the Horn of Africa to Guadeloupe to New Caledonia — while guaranteeing Australia's \$300 million a year trade with South Africa. Capitalist investment, whether from Wall Street, London, Sydney or Johannesburg, will seek the highest rate of return — which translates directly into sweating superexploited black labour in South Africa.

The toiling masses of the world see in apartheid an intensified reflection of their own oppression and exploitation, and the red-hot hellholes of South Africa's mines are the compression chambers of brutal apartheid slavery. As long as the struggle in South Africa follows white-vs-black national lines, the whites will win hands down. But the class principle can prevail. As South African society seethes on the brink of insurgency against apartheid slavery, the combative black union movement has been propelled toward openly political struggle. The strategic power of the black gold miners is key. South Africa's black proletarians, six million strong, must be the gravediggers of apartheid.

In South Africa the most elementary democratic and national demands — for the right to vote, for the right to live with one's family, for the right to strike, for the right to a decent education for one's children — mandate a fundamental social overturn of apartheid capitalism. By its very compression of social oppression,

## Union Bans...

Continued from page eight

by consecutive 24-hour bans by waterside and maritime unions, and further actions are planned for Adelaide and Fremantle.

At today's picket, across from the banned Mildura, some 35 seamen were joined by supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) and South-West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), a representative of the New Caledonian Kanak FLNKS, and a contingent of 20 Spartacist supporters, including a group of postal unionists. Several wharfies were also there; many more would have turned out had their union given them the go-ahead. Ndeutala Hishongwa of SWAPO spoke movingly of the struggle against racism and exploitation in South Africa and Namibia. The Mildura's cargo, said ANC speaker Terry February, "is the produce of exploited labour in South Africa". February called on the right-wing Hawke Labor government to take action against apartheid, but one placard carried by a seaman hit the nail on the head: "Workers unite and crush apartheid!"

Speaking for the Spartacist League, a postal militant counterposed class-struggle solidarity action to appeals for imperialist trade sanctions being pushed by chauvinist-protectionist Laborite bureaucrats:

"The combativity of the oppressed black masses battling savage apartheid repression, particularly the powerful and strategic black proletariat, serves as an inspiration to the oppressed throughout the world, including the working class and oppressed of this country. It compels class solidarity. It is in this spirit that we greet the class action of the maritime unions — they should be extended."

As one SL placard read: "Hold the Mildura to ransom! Freedom for Nelson Mandela, black union leaders, all anti-apartheid fighters!"

Now more than ever international labour-centred solidarity action is vital. Recently British dockers in Southampton refused to load a container of military cargo for South Africa. This kind of action, like the strikes against the Mildura, must be extended to all cargo bound to or from South Africa — and to ports around the world!

The shipowners hate the anti-apartheid bans by the unions, complaining in their journal, the *Daily Commercial News* (30 July) that "no such action was being taken against,

South Africa is a paradigm of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution: "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation" (*The Permanent Revolution* [1930]).

To give conscious direction and leadership to the common class bond in the struggle against apartheid repression mandates the forging of proletarian internationalist parties in the US, in South Africa, in Australia and internationally, by combating every variant of class-collaborationist popular frontism and nationalism (which in the Australian, US and West European labour movements takes the pernicious form of protectionism). For workers revolution — smash apartheid! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!

— adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 384, 26 July 1985

for example (!), Soviet vessels despite that country's internal and external policies". (We are pleased to report that on the very day the banned Saffocean Mildura sat idle at Melbourne's Swanson dock, not more than a few hundred metres away watersiders were working the Khudozhnik Ioganson, a Soviet container ship.) On the other side of the class line, seamen and others at the picket especially appreciated the SL spokesman's closing remarks:

"We firmly believe the struggle against apartheid in South Africa must be a struggle here as well. Today it is the madman Reagan who is driving towards anti-Soviet World War III, who is an ally of the racist fuhrer Botha against the black masses throughout Africa and in the USA. In this country we know that Hawke is Reagan's junior partner and certainly no friend of black labour (applause). We are confident that apartheid will be smashed, that the principle of class will prevail, and that black South African workers must take the lead in that struggle. Smash Apartheid! Thank you." ■

## Union-busters...

Continued from page eight

injustice. When the cops, the courts and the media start howling about "corruption" and "crime" in the unions, militants should immediately smell a rat — these are code words for government union-busting and interference in union affairs. After years of phone taps and entrapment, all they had on Gallagher were building materials and services claimed to be worth \$92,000 that he got from

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builders he knew personally to build modest houses for himself and his son at remote McLaughlins Beach (no Surfers penthouses, and the only houses they own, incidentally). "I've been set up real good" Gallagher told the court.

Corruption, like all moral "absolutes", is a class question. The payola Gallagher is supposed to have squeezed out of the developers is just routine practice in the business world, from the free lunch on up. As for his accusers, the NSW state Labor government absolutely oozes corruption at every pore, and all the Royal Commissions and inquiries sometimes lift a corner on it, but are utterly powerless to touch it. The gifts given to Gallagher are just petty cash to multimillionaire developers like the Grollo brothers, who the courts let off with a slap on the wrist. No evidence was produced to show how concretely Gallagher had been thus "corrupted" and the conduct of the trial was a travesty — the jury was obviously hung, but the judge kept it locked up for eight days until it came up with a guilty verdict.

Those "socialists" like the Communist Party and the BWIU bureaucrats who have joined in the government/media propaganda about BLF "corruption and thuggery" embody the real corruption in the workers movement — the bought-off reformist bureaucracy that betrays the workers struggle in exchange for respectability and influence within the capitalist state (and the perks that come with it). The capitalist cops and courts are the instruments of the class enemy and the unions can only be effective workers' fighting organisations through a struggle for independence from the capitalist state.

The widespread opposition to this frame-up among militant workers could have been mobilised in a massive demonstration at the court when Gallagher was sentenced on 21 June, many times more than the 300 BLs who protested. The BLF did circularise the other union leaderships calling for such a demonstration, which was predictably ignored. A revolutionary leadership could have gone to the union ranks and found the class conscious militants who don't like what's going on; but the BLF leadership seek an accommodation with the bureaucracy of which they are a distinct part. Key to rallying working class support is a clear political break with Hawke and his Accord: though they try to work around its edges the BLF leadership supports the Accord and the Hawke government, as does the CPA(ML) and their Chinese mentors. A revolutionary party is necessary, which fights to regroup militant workers into a communist vanguard, standing for a genuine workers government based on revolutionary workers councils like the Russian Soviets of 1917, not a "Labor" parliamentary administration of capitalism.

Key to beating back the scabbery of the BWIU and NSW Labor Council bureaucrats etc is a political fight for industrial unionism in this craft-ridden industry. A revolutionary leadership of the BLF, by appealing to the tradesmen's ranks on the basis of the common class interests of all building workers, could undercut McDonald and Sharkey and McBean and lay the basis for unity on the job and on the picket lines. Gallagher's militant but narrow outlook is incapable of broadening this fight beyond one union to the whole working class.

Another missed opportunity was the Victorian ALP conference the next weekend. The bitter factional row around Hawke's power play in bringing back the former NCC union forces has deeply split the Socialist

## Wainer...

Continued from page five

got fucking three minutes to get out of this place or you'll all be gassed, and I turned on the anaesthetic gas. And the copper said you can't do that. And I said, look, we know just where you stand, you said you've no authority in here, now get gassed or get out. So he got out. And the Right to Life at this stage started undoing their chains. They weren't going to be gassed. And as they ran out of the theatre I and a few of the other doctors started hitting them, hard. And then I turned the fire extinguishers on them and then I threw them down the back stairs and turned the hoses on them. I was beside myself with rage. I mean a real Glaswegian Gorbals rage, you see. And the TV arrived and filmed all this. There had been buckets of water flowing on them and they said why are you doing that doctor, and I said, I always wash the filth off my steps at this time of day. And then there was a great screaming of divvy wagons — the cops got the message, and the

Left with its important union base. Cain's assault on the BLF has stirred up much discontent in ALP ranks too, reflected weakly by the tepid opposition by Socialist Lefters in the upper house like George Crawford and Joan Coxedge to Cain's Bill — they knuckled under of course when it came to a vote. But a class-struggle leadership of the BLF could have mobilised a big demonstration against Hawke/Cain, both their union-busting, their Cold War foreign policy and their NCC rats. Such displays of class power could deepen the divisions in the ALP and shatter the anti-BLF united front.

The Maoist politics of the BLF tops and their Aussie nationalism disarms the union in its fight against the Cold War Labor governments. China is in an anti-Soviet alliance with Reagan, and the virulent anti-Sovietism of the local Maoists lands them in the same camp as Hawke and the NCC, eg over Afghanistan and Vietnam. Gallagher got his seat on the ACTU executive by a rotten deal with the NCC right-wing in which he joined the anti-Soviet chorus over the downing of KAL-007, since proven to be a US spy provocation. But waving Eureka flags and supporting bombing Russia hasn't appeased the bosses. You can't defend the gains of the working class at home unless you defend the historic conquests of the international working class, the workers states in the USSR, Eastern Europe, Vietnam and Cuba under attack from US and Australian imperialism, the same ruling class that is out for the BLF's blood.

The year-long strike of the British miners led by Arthur Scargill was an inspiring example of the power and fighting spirit of the working class. Only the treachery of the union bureaucracy allowed Thatcher to defeat them, but even in defeat they are defiant and have polarised Britain deeply, laying the basis for the emergence of a revolutionary party that can transcend the limitations of Scargill's militant left reformism.

The Australian bosses have taken off the gloves and the unions are taking one defeat after another, but hard class struggle can turn this into some victories. For that to happen the dead hand of Laborism which can only play by the bosses' rules must be thrown off the working class. Smash the Accord! Break with the Labor Traitors! Free Norm Gallagher! ■

Right To Life were being arrested. And this father who's always fasting — you know that father, some priest is always fasting down in the city — he goes up to a cop and says I want to charge Dr Wainer with assault, look what he's done to me, he's broken my nose. And this was the only cop in Victoria I expected this approach from, because the policeman looked at his nose and then said in a broad Glaswegian accent, "Get in there, you're lucky it wasn't me or you'd have a broken jaw as well". So we had them arrested and charged.

And I went up when the trial was on and they came up. Of course they had the best of lawyers, a QC [Queen's Council] — a Catholic QC, Catholic juniors, Catholic this. And they said look Dr Wainer, it's a trivial charge, why pursue it, they'll apologise. I said it isn't trivial you know. It's conspiracy to trespass, going back to what I said about conspiracy charges earlier. The QC then realised I knew my law because they had conspired, and conspiracy carries seven years. So he then went back and said, look, Wainer's after you and he's got the law here and I suggest you apologise. He came back and said, look, they

promise to apologise, they'll never do it again, will you not pursue the charges. Now, I had very little hope of justice in a magistrates court so I said, all right, I'll take their apologies. And he said, well, I gave it to you and I said, no, that's not good enough, I want each one of them out of there in front of the cameras. And they apologised.

Now since that day I've had no overt violence. We've had the odd person who comes and paints graffiti on the fence at night, we've had no pickets. But if we get it back — look, if they strike at me I'll strike at them, and I know where they are. And I think every abortion clinic has to take that attitude. I'm not suggesting for one moment that I would break the law, but if the law is broken by other people and the law doesn't defend me then I may have to take steps to defend my women, because they're not in a position to be hassled. They come in here, they're already weighed down with the worries of the world, they're pregnant, and all the problems. They don't want fanatics. But it depends on how nationally we cope with this new threat.

ASp: Thank you. ■

## Nicaragua...

Continued from page two

class, but the determination and enthusiasm of the youth who made the revolution is still there. Young soldiers and students and even an old woman in Masaya were cheerful in greeting "American enemies of the CIA". And when a dozen Soviet-made helicopters, including several of the formidable MI-24 gunships, flew in formation over Carlos Fonseca Plaza yesterday there was a lusty cheer from the crowd.

Nicaragua is in the throes of revolution — what began as a political revolution quickly began to stir up a social revolution as well, which cannot be contained in the straitjacket of Sandinista "pluralism". Peasants demanding land, women who want the right to abortion, workers fed up with the bosses' systematic sabotage and mismanagement by FSLN administrators can't be satisfied by the attempts to appease the capitalists, the church and the White House.

No less than in 1979, when Wheelock ordered peasants to give back the land, the Sandinista leaders are holding back revolutionary struggle. A genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is needed in Nicaragua to provide the kind of leadership the Bolsheviks gave in 1917. In Nicaragua just as in Russia, if not more so, *internationalism* will be key. A nationalist regime, no matter how radical, cannot revolutionize the working masses against the hostile US puppet regimes which surround Nicaragua on the Central American isthmus.

The touchstone for internationalism in Nicaragua is El Salvador, and El Salvador is the subject almost never mentioned by the Sandinistas. In days of travel only one faded slogan was seen on a wall calling for support to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents. But while Ortega simply told the crowd that Nicaragua has nothing to do with terrorism, one worker interviewed by *Barricada* said, "the Salvadoran patriots should keep on killing Yankees, even if it's used as a pretext to invade us, because we're going to kill them here, too". Hinting at a revolutionary war throughout Central America after the US invades, as FSLN leaders occasionally do, is *too late*. An

internationalist leadership could have set the whole region aflame with revolution following the triumph in 1979 — thus depriving the Yankees of their bases in Honduras and elsewhere which they are now using as a staging ground for attacking Nicaragua.

Managua was crawling with American "friends of Nicaragua" last week. But the "solidarity" milieu has been notably silent at home in the face of the US trade boycott and Congressional votes for "contra" aid. The reason is not hard to find: the Democrats, who previously criticized Reagan's policy as "counterproductive", have swung over to full-fledged support for the administration following Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow in April. The FSLN has noticed the shift as well: one Sandinista spokesman complained that all the "solidarity" groups ever asked was, "Is Nicaragua getting Soviet aid?" Comandante Bayardo Arce said it's time to stop talking about empty "solidarity" and start talking about a "convergence of interests" in defending the revolution. But they won't have much luck with their fair-weather "nonaligned" friends who boycotted the sixth anniversary (not one head of state or social-democratic luminary attended).

The Spartacist League calls on American workers, minorities, youth and all opponents of imperialism to defend Nicaragua against imperialist aggression. The Spartacus Youth League recently undertook an urgent fund appeal in response to the US trade embargo, saying "Now more than ever Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from arms to medicine to spare parts". This campaign has had an enthusiastic reception, raising thousands of dollars in the space of a few weeks, every penny of it going to Nicaragua. Spartacist supporters in Nicaragua for the July 19 celebrations found that people loved the SYL button, "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" and showed a heartfelt appreciation for acts of genuine solidarity in times when the going gets rough. For our part, as Trotskyists we consider it our revolutionary duty to take a stand for Nicaragua, the No 1 target of the US anti-Soviet "anti-terrorist" war drive today.

— Abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 384, 26 July 1985



## Free Norm Gallagher, framed for Hawke's Accord!

# Break with the Labor Union-busters!



5 AUGUST — Sixteen years after the mass strike which freed Clarrie O'Shea, the infamous penal powers have been revived in the form of section 45D of the Trade Practices Act. \$1.7 million of the Meatworkers union's funds were seized by the federal court to pay a \$44,000 fine imposed as punishment for union picketing of Northern Territory abattoirs. The government/court drive to smash the militant Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) has seen general secretary Norm Gallagher jailed for four years and three months on frame-up charges of "corruptly receiving secret commissions", after a years-long government operation that cost \$30 million. The Federal, NSW and Victorian Labor governments have legislation ready to "outlaw" the union and legalise cop-enforced raiding by other unions. The sacked Queensland power workers and their families have been left to rot for six months by the ACTU in the face of Bjelke-Petersen's anti-union assault. Labor politicians seem to glory in union-busting: Cabinet member John Dawkins taking his kids across striking Canberra teachers' picket lines on 2 August baiting them that he'd just love to scab, is par for the course now.

The Hawke Labor government is turning on its own base, launching ever sharper attacks on the unions and

capitalist austerity measures, at the bidding of the bourgeoisie. And internationally it is marching in lockstep with Reagan's nuclear war plans against the USSR/Vietnam. While talking disarmament, Hawke and his CIA-loving bunch were secretly planning to help tests of the first-strike MX missile. They have forced the re-entry into the ALP of the NCC/DLP union wreckers and red-baiters who led the anti-communist witchhunt in the '50s. Meanwhile the bosses openly gloat and prepare to toss Hawke aside and bring back the conservatives once he's done some of their more unpopular jobs.

Real wages are falling, profits are up and this social-democratic "reform" party, minus reforms, is screwing the working people and poor who vote for it in so many ways. Like the 1974-79 Wilson-Callaghan British Labour government, Hawke is paving the way for a vicious Tory regime that will swing the axe at social services and government enterprises, and seek to break the strength of the unions in a way Malcolm Fraser never dared. Many life-long Labor supporters see this as a "fake Labor" government — a bunch of Tory careerists kicking the workers who put them there in the teeth. But that's what the ALP's always done, from Hughes to Scullin to Chifley. And like them, the Hawke



21 June: BLF battles Cain's cops as court sentences Norm Gallagher (top).

government is going down. The organised working class has a choice — go down with it, or cut loose from Labor and rely on its own strength. In the ranks of the unions there's discontent and restlessness aplenty but so far no concerted fightback. What is desperately necessary is a revolutionary party and a program to turn this discontent into all-out, hard class struggle — to smash the gathering offensive of the bosses and their Labor servants.

The BLF has long been public enemy number one for the ruling class and the Hawke/Cain/Wran governments because it's a union with a history of combativity that has won real gains for its members and has never been completely housebroken by the Accord, the ACTU and Arbitration. So why did the outrageous frame-up and jailing of Gallagher go down without any real fight? The rest of the trade-union bureaucracy has been lined up with the government, leaving the BLF isolated. The "lefts" have been particularly despicable, with the other building unions led by the Building Workers Industrial Union (BWIU), dominated by splitters from the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia, standing by ready to scab on the BLF and destroy it by raiding. But more importantly the BLF leadership, dominated by supporters of the Maoist Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) [CPA(ML)], has not fought. Instead they've dodged and weaved, hoping things will cool off if they keep their heads down for a while, and looking for a bloc with elements of the trade-union bureaucracy also under the gun. While the ACTU and some union leaderships have gotten cold feet and opposed the government's anti-BLF legislation, this is only because they know that actually driving the BLF off the job sites will be a whole lot harder than passing a new law in parliament.

The frame-up of Gallagher for "corruption" is an object lesson in capitalist class "justice", that is, blatant

## Union Bans Hit Sth African Ship



70-strong picket against Saffocean Mildura, Melbourne, 5 August. ASP photo

MELBOURNE, 5 AUGUST — A 70-strong picket was held at South Wharf today in support of bans by waterside and maritime workers against the Saffocean Mildura, a Dutch-registered South African freighter. In the wake of apartheid fuhrrer PW Botha's declaration of a "state of emergency", the bans were kicked off in Sydney in late July by the Waterside Workers Federation, followed by similar 24-hour actions by Firemen and Deckhands (tugmen), the Seamen's Union and watchmen of the Miscellaneous Workers Union whose picket line delayed the ship's departure when the linesmen refused to cross. When the Mildura arrived in Melbourne on 1 August it was again struck

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