



Selwyn Tait

Mass funerals defying state of emergency broken up by racist cops. Reagan/Mulroney back apartheid police state, their "free world" ally.



Reuters

## Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

# Apartheid State of Terror

One year ago on September 3, the black townships around South Africa's cities erupted in fury against the brutal apartheid slavery they have endured for decades. As the waves of black revolt surged from one end of the country to the other, virtually every sector of the urbanized oppressed non-white population has been drawn in. Beginning with youth in the industrial centers of the Vaal triangle it spread to workers throughout the Witwatersrand mining region, to "coloured" (mixed-race) squatters near Cape Town, to the cities of the eastern Cape and now Durban. As the flames died down in one area, they would burst forth in another. And the answer of the white suprema-

cist regime of South Africa's Führer P.W. Botha was always the same: *sjamboks* (whips) and bullets. In 12 months well over 700 blacks have been murdered by the apartheid security forces, some scores of government collaborators in the townships have been eliminated and a handful of whites killed.

Repression has not stopped revolt. But the white supremacist regime has the military means and the determination to crush that revolt by massacring blacks, not merely by the dozens, but by the thousands. The townships and compounds where blacks are concentrated are built so that they can easily be

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## New York City: Spartacist Election Campaign

# "NYC: For the Working People!"

New York's working people, youth, racial and national minorities have someone to vote for this fall. Spartacist spokesmen Marjorie Stamberg and Edward Kartsen are running for mayor and Manhattan borough president. As revolutionary socialist candidates they will make their campaign a vehicle for telling the truth about this rotting system and what can be done to change it. New York is on the razor's edge. Real estate robber barons drive thousands from their homes to huddle on the streets; unemployment skyrockets; city unions get the shaft. While arch-racist mayor

bosses who seek to make the workers and poor pay for their decaying system, Stamberg and Kartsen call for "the socialist reindustrialization of America!"

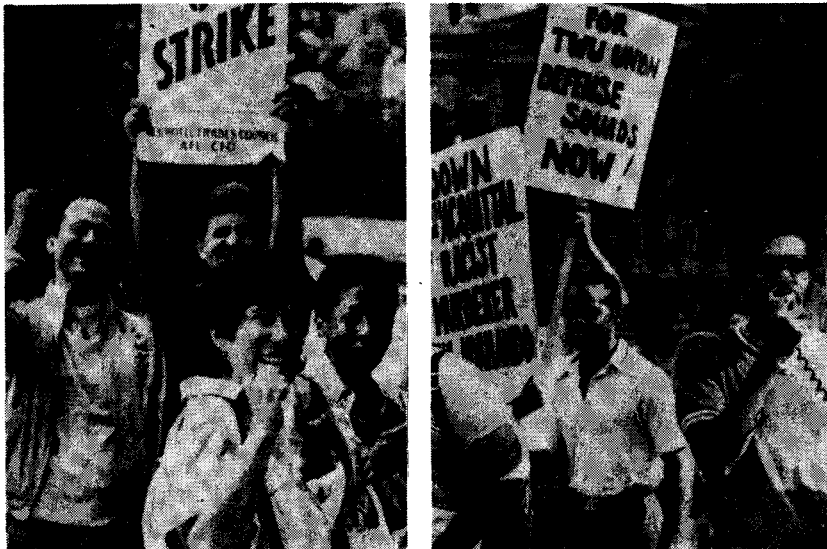
Part and parcel of Reagan's regimentation of the population for war, the fanatical bigots of the Moral Majority are "laying hands" on everything from education to sex to rock and roll. From the White House to New York's reactionary archbishop John O'Connor, they've declared war on abortion clinics and homosexual rights while fighting to bring back school prayer. Stamberg and Kartsen demand: "Government out of the bedrooms! Down with all porn/sex/drug laws! Free abortion on demand—free quality health care! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Millions for AIDS research! For the separation of church and state!"

The Spartacist candidates say:

"From this election platform we raise our revolutionary program: not only in New York but throughout the nation, the situation cries out for a *workers party* to defend the interests of labor, the poor, minorities and the hard pressed middle classes against Reagan, Koch, and the capitalist class they represent. We need a labor and minority-led fight for a *workers government* which will seize all major industry without compensation and institute a planned socialist economy."

Revolutionary internationalists, Stamberg and Kartsen call on labor to fight imperialist war with class war. As Reagan and the Democrats ready their machinery for war against the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, Stamberg and Kartsen take a side: For political strikes against Reagan's war moves! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America! No "divestment" illusions in imperialism—the power of the international labor movement must be brought to bear against the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa! A vote for Spartacist is a vote for workers power—from Durban to New York City!

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Workers Vanguard

**Spartacist candidates: Marjorie Stamberg with striking NYC hotel workers; Ed Kartsen, right, speaks at July 1983 NYC transit workers rally protesting racist lynch mob murder of union brother Willie Turks.**

Edward I. Koch "divests" city funds from South Africa, his NYPD killer cops act like they're in Soweto. In the Bronx, the cops evict by shotgun—blowing away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs for falling behind in her rent. Black New Yorkers and all decent people in the city are outraged as grisly details emerge in the belated trial of (some of) the transit police lynch mob that murdered young black artist Michael Stewart. And they still haven't got rid of New York coroner Dr. Elliot Gross the ghoul, specialist in eyeball-gouging and cadaver-switching.

The wave of racist cop terror gripping NYC is the issue this election year. Yet none of the bourgeois candidates, including the black Democrats, will touch this "hot potato." Spartacist campaigners report that the call to "Kick Out Koch! Stop the Racist Cop Terror!" has touched a real chord in the city. Stamberg and Kartsen say: "Everyone has the right to defend himself! Gun control kills blacks! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks!"

Meanwhile the only "job" open to youth these days is as cannon fodder in the U.S. imperialist forces. Not only in New York, but throughout the country an entire generation is being thrown on the scrap heap. The schools don't teach them anything and there aren't any jobs. The Spartacist candidates demand free, quality education for all as well as full employment. Against the

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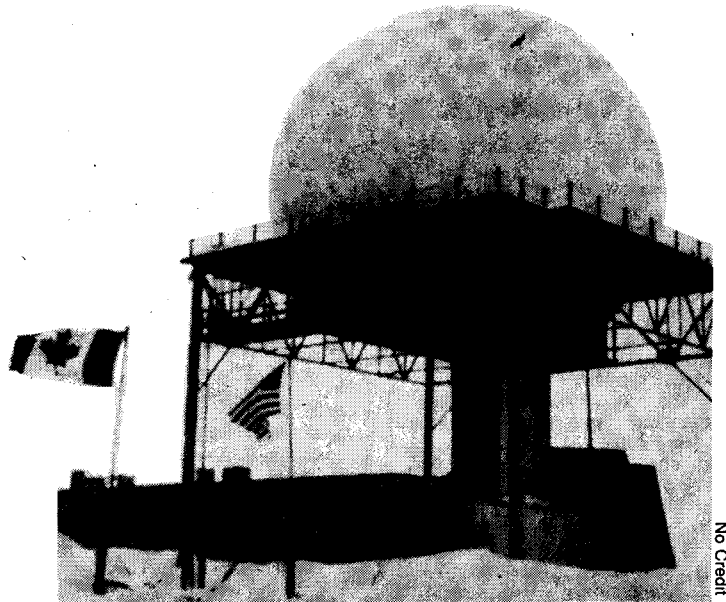
# Smash NATO/NORAD! Defend the Soviet Union!

## Cold War in the North

This summer's voyage of the U.S. icebreaker *Polar Sea* through the Northwest Passage provoked a giant yelp of "poor little Canada" nationalism. The NDP and Liberals raised a big hoopla over the defense of "Canadian waters" while the press chimed in with stirring calls "for the defense of sovereignty." Mel Hurtig, president of the Council of Canadians and self-appointed *numero uno* among Canadian nationalists, sent his step-daughter up in a chartered plane to drop leaflets wrapped in the Maple Leaf protesting this "insulting and demeaning... threat to our sovereignty" onto the deck of the *Polar Sea*. Not to be outdone in this contest of Canadian flag-waving, Communist Party of Canada leader William Kashtan urged "patriotic Canadians" to take a stand, and demanded, "all political parties in Canada, from Conservative to Communist, should issue a joint declaration upholding Canada's sovereignty over the NW passage" (*Canadian Tribune*, 12 August)!

Passing virtually unmentioned, however, was the *Polar Sea's* anti-Soviet war mission. Fresh from re-supplying the key U.S. war base at Thule, Greenland, the icebreaker was heading back "to the Beaufort Sea in mid-August for joint exercises with Canadian and other American vessels" in anti-submarine warfare (*Toronto Star*, 1 August). But the "good Canadian patriots" weren't protesting that. To the contrary, they were lined up to pledge their allegiance to the anti-Soviet war aims of Canadian imperialism and its senior partners in Washington, hoping to prove that maintaining at least the fiction of Canadian "independence" from the U.S. was best suited to prosecuting Reagan's war drive. Liberal Party defense critic Jean Chrétien admonished the U.S. over its declaration that the Northwest Passage was international waters: "If we want the passage to stay within the control of the West, it must be Canadian.... Because if they are international waters it's all right for the Russians to be there" (*Globe and Mail*, 5 August). While *Maclean's* ran articles claiming that "Soviet submarines have begun to infiltrate Canadian arctic waters," Mel Hurtig called on the Canadian government to build a stronger military presence in Canada's north.

The *Globe* editorialists today call the Arctic Canada's "last frontier." In 1946 U.S. general H.H. Arnold declared it the front line of Cold War I: "If there is a third world war, its strategic center will be the North Pole." In the 1950s the Pinetree and northern Distant Early Warning (DEW) radar lines were built in Canada as part of the U.S. "containment" policy targeting the USSR. Now in Cold War II the DEW line is being replaced by the \$1.5-billion North Warning System as part of the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) agreement signed between Canada and the U.S. in 1957. Part of a massive \$7-billion U.S. project (Canada will be spending some \$600 million) this system will consist of 39 short-range and 13 long-range radar stations in the north linked by ANIK communications satellites to NORAD headquarters in Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado. The plans also include building up to a dozen airstrips, complete with am-



**North Warning System: Integral to Reagan's first-strike Star Wars plans.**

munition dumps, for the deployment of U.S. F-15 interceptors, U.S. AWACS command and control aircraft and new Canadian CF-18 Hornet fighters.

As we go to press, Tory prime minister Brian Mulroney has announced the Canadian government's "rejection" of any participation in Reagan's billion-dollar "Star Wars" program. While Mulroney allows that private Canadian companies and universities have free rein to make big bucks in the research of and tools for the militarization of space, the Liberals and NDP are claiming their demand for "no Star Wars" has been vindicated. But, even the *Globe and Mail* (4 June) has admitted that the North Warning System is an integral part of "Star Wars":

"Bear in mind that the planned modernization of the Arctic radar network which NORAD plans is very much an SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] add-on. The renovation improves the continent's defenses against low-altitude threats—bombers and cruise missiles—as a complement to the SDI's proposed deployment against the high-altitude threat—intercontinental ballistic missiles."

Canada serves as one big anti-Soviet military base. From Nanoose Bay, B.C. to Argentic, Newfoundland the U.S. operates anti-submarine warfare stations. Because its terrain closely resembles much of the Soviet Union, Canada is a key training center for European NATO land and air forces, and most recently for testing the cruise missile. And back in March U.S. secretary of war "Cap" Weinberger declared that missiles could well be based in Canada's north.

Reagan's war plans against the Soviet Union threaten to plunge the whole world into nuclear barbarism. All of Western Europe bristles with nuclear weapons  
(continued on page 12)

## "Nicabucks" Campaign Raises \$25,000 (U.S.)

# SYL Fund Drive - A Hit in Nicaragua!

Under the guns of Yankee imperialism, with U.S. troops poised for an invasion, embattled Nicaragua desperately needs hard currency for everything from arms to spare parts to medicine. In response to Reagan's trade embargo—a clear act of war—the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) joined in the urgent fundraising campaign launched by our comrades in the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). Our call to



SC Photo

**Sandinista soldier wearing SYL campaign button: "Crush the Contras!"**

"Defend Nicaragua! Donate Dollars—Crush the Contras!" struck a responsive chord on campuses, at workplaces, in black and Hispanic neighborhoods across North America. Salvadoran refugees in Los Angeles, transit workers in New York, students in Toronto all dug deep to contribute, raising \$25,800 (in U.S. dollars) in six short weeks, every penny of it going to Nicaragua.

Comrades from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and TLC who visited Nicaragua found that people loved the SYL button "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" On July 16, the national chairman of the TLC presented this button and fundraising material to Father Miguel D'Escoto, Nicaragua's foreign minister and a Maryknoll priest, who had been fasting for eight days to protest the state terrorism of U.S. imperialism. Noble as this call to conscience was, it wasn't going to stop the contra rapists, torturers and killers, or Yankee guns, as D'Escoto himself would be the first to admit. He warmly embraced our comrade after she spoke briefly of our campaign to raise desperately needed material aid to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution and to fight the imperialist warmakers on the home front.

Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega and Tomás Borge

Minister of the Interior, also expressed their gratitude when presented with the SYL's fundraising button at a July 19 reception for international delegates to the celebrations of the sixth anniversary of the revolution. Borge, the sole survivor of the five who founded the Sandinista Front in 1961 and who began to fight the Somoza dictatorship at age 14, immediately pinned the button to his fatigues.

Young soldiers in Matagalpa and Jinotega wanted to know what the button with the big red star said. There were broad grins and handshakes when the slogan "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" was translated. At the "Germán Pomares Field Hospital" in Jinotega a young soldier who desperately wanted his own button, proudly pinned it to his uniform and stood at attention for a photo. His wounded comrades, casualties from the four-year war against the contra terrorists, were eager to hear stories of the enthusiastic response the fundraising campaign met among young workers, students and minorities in North America who are targeted to be the cannon fodder in Central America.

The SYL campaign to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution was *no charity drive*. The courageous Nicaraguan masses have vowed to fight to the last man, woman and child against a U.S. invasion. It is the duty of North American revolutionaries to take a stand in defense of Nicaragua as part of the necessary class battle against the blood-drenched imperialists here "in the belly of the beast." The more it looks like the U.S. will invade, with the full backing of its imperialist junior partners in Ottawa, the more popular opposition to the war threats is growing. Our fund drive provided one way to concretely express it and Nicaraguan youth on the front lines sure were glad to hear about it.

Managua was crawling with "friends of Nicaragua" from the U.S. and Canada during the week leading up to the July 19 celebrations. But, in the face of Reagan's embargo and plans for a full-scale invasion, the "solidarity" types have been notably silent at home. In Canada, these popular-front reformists have stopped organizing even the most minimal protest demonstrations in favor of craven attempts to pressure the Canadian government to step in to "help Nicaragua." (Predictably the Canadian jackal imperialists have seen the U.S. embargo as a way for them to pick up some trade profits on the cheap while their dollars go to prop up the murderous Salvadoran junta and "made in Canada" ammunition finds its way to the contras.) In the U.S. the rad-libs' strategy of pressuring their Democratic Party Congressmen is in a shambles, to say the least. Using Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow as the pretext, the Democratic "doves" joined hands with the Republican "hawks" in voting millions of dollars in "humanitarian" aid (including helicopters!) to the CIA's contra terrorists.

The Russian question is the scourge of the Central American "solidarity" milieu. Like Reagan, they believe that if Central America has anything to do with the Soviet Union, that would justify a U.S. invasion. This has not gone unnoticed by the Sandinistas.

When one of these fair-weather "friends" of Nicaragua asked how to deal with the reaction in the "movement" against Ortega's trip to Moscow, a Sandinista official responded bluntly "some people's solidarity is skin deep." A young Salvadoran tour guide also complained that it seemed that the only question the "solidarity" groups ever asked was "Is Nicaragua getting Soviet or Cuban aid?"

On their home turf, the liberals and social democrats scream "provocation" at our slogan "Defense of Cuba/ USSR Begins in Central America!" resorting to anti-communist violence, including calling the capitalist cops to keep our Soviet-defensist signs out of "their" demonstrations. This summer organizers of Canadian Action for Nicaragua and its subsidiary the Canada Electric Brigade used lies, slanders and obscene violence-baiting to keep a supporter of the Trotskyist League out of "their" tours to Nicaragua. To enforce their desired "ideological purity" these junior McCarthys were the thought police in star chamber-style inquisitions to weed out the reds. Their lines came straight from the mouths of their imperialist masters, denouncing communists as "disrupters," "violent" and "crazy," and equating leftists with the race-hating fascist terrorists. Sound familiar? It rings of Reagan ranting that Nicaragua is part of a terrorist confederation of "outlaw states run by the strangest collection of misfits, Looney Tunes and squalid criminals since the advent of the Third Reich" (*New York Times*, 9 July)! Setting us up for repression here at home with their "Big Lies," the Canadian "Do Nothings" for Nicaragua do more than their fair share to feed the anti-communist climate of Cold War II being charged to a white heat to smash the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Nicaragua is the number one target of the imperialists' terrorist anti-Soviet war drive. Nicaraguan soldiers, workers, youth and, despite the major

political differences which separate us, Sandinista officials and leaders, expressed their appreciation for our actions of genuine solidarity with the Nicaraguan Revolution, especially now when the going is tough. For our part, as revolutionary Trotskyists we see it as our proletarian internationalist duty to defend Nicaragua, especially mobilizing workers and youth on the home front to fight against the imperialist warmongers.

The Trotskyist League of Canada takes this opportunity to thank everyone who contributed to the SYL campaign and made it a striking success. The \$25,000 raised is but a token of what could happen here in the imperialist heartland in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. But let it be a warning to the rapacious imperialists who threaten to plunge the world into anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. **SMASH THE IMPERIALIST WAR MOVES! DEFEND, COMPLETE, EXTEND THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION!**



**GET YOURS NOW!**  
 Wear your partisanship where it can be seen: up front!  
 "Crush the Contras" buttons, \$2 each (order from TLC, Box 7198 Stn. A, Toronto M5W 1X8 - make checks payable to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua).  
 All proceeds to defense of Nicaragua.

## Workers Vanguard/ Spartacist Canada Subscription Drive

Sub-drive special! From September 12 to October 23 we're offering a free *Workers Vanguard* packet: "Smash Apartheid - For Workers Revolution!" with a joint subscription to *Workers Vanguard/Spartacist Canada* or *Workers Vanguard/Young Spartacus*.

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# Justice for Japanese Canadians!

# The Infamy of Canada's Concentration Camps

Forty years ago, on August 6 and 9, 1945, the first nuclear holocaust was unleashed over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The concluding act in the imperialist allies' great "war for democracy," the incineration of thousands of innocent civilians was meant to demonstrate the nuclear military might of imperialism to the USSR. Preparing the way for new nuclear holocaust, against Russia, Reagan saluted Hitler's SS killer elite at Bitburg in an attempt to bury the Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany. While Reagan obscenely dismissed the cries of outrage from the survivors of the Nazi holocaust, his junior partners in Ottawa play their part in the ideological preparations for the next imperialist war by spitting on the survivors of their concentration camps. In World War II, 22,000 Japanese Canadians were rounded up by the Canadian government, torn from their homes, robbed of all their property. Their families ripped apart, they were herded into concentration camps on the West Coast and forced to work as virtual slave laborers. All that was missing was the Nazi slogan "Arbeit macht frei."

More than forty years later, the arrogant imperialist rulers of this racist "white man's" country, Liberals and Conservatives, refuse to even issue an apology for the barbaric racist atrocities perpetrated against Japanese Canadians. For over a decade the concentration camp survivors and their descendants have fought for redress. The National Association of Japanese Canadians demands an apology, pardons for criminal records imposed under the War Measures Act, reinstatement of Canadian citizenship for those illegally deported to Japan and individual compensation for the millions of dollars in property stolen. Refusing to negotiate, turning down all demands for compensation, Mulroney's Conservative government has issued an ultimatum: a \$6-million "multi-cultural education fund" that "should be for all Canadians"...or nothing. As Roy Miki, president of the Greater Vancouver Redress Committee, put it: "They're saying, 'You've got three weeks to agree to this.' It's like, 'You've got 24 hours to pack your bags and leave the Coast. We're doing it for your own good'" (*Globe and Mail*, 24 January). Although no amount of money will restore the shattered lives, the bodies and spirits broken through the racist savagery of the Canadian ruling class, we fully support the efforts of the survivors and their

descendants to get as much restitution as possible.

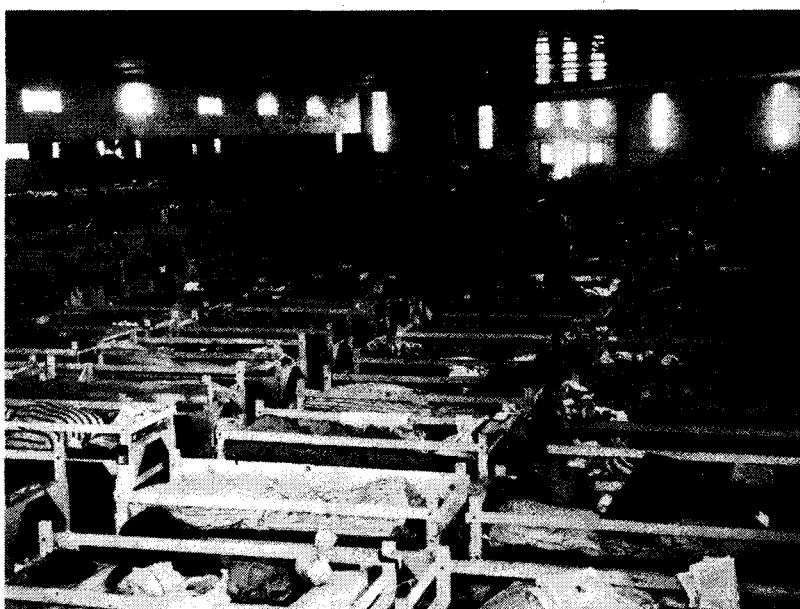
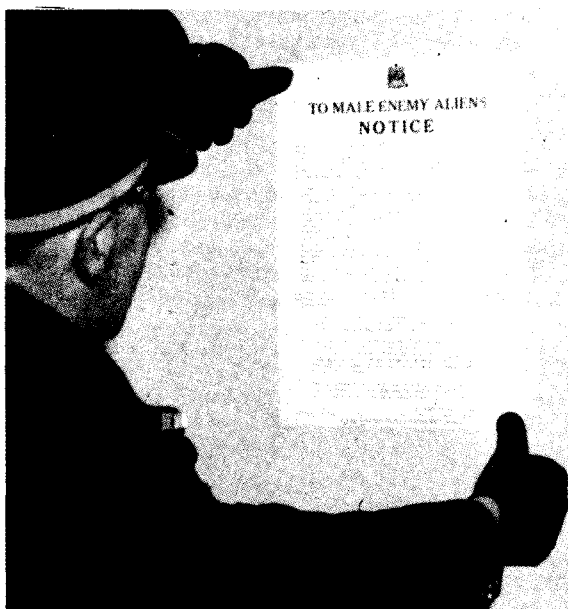
The attitude of the rulers of this country, built on the United Empire Loyalist ethic of white, British, Protestant superiority, was captured by Mulroney's Liberal predecessor Pierre Trudeau who asked, "If we started trying to acknowledge past wrongs, where would it end?" Contrary to liberals who now bemoan the internment of Japanese Canadians as the "mistake" of an otherwise fine and fair society, Canada was founded on genocide against Native Indians, the national subjugation of the Québécois and the dispersal of the Acadians. The railways of the "Great Dominion" were literally built over the corpses of Chinese laborers. The brutal incarceration of Japanese Canadians in concentration camp hellholes and slave labor camps was not the result of some outburst of nativist racism, it was a policy calculated and planned years in advance in the highest corridors of power.

The Liberal Party of William Lyon Mackenzie King, who had spent two decades fanning the flames of anti-Asian racism, were the architects. In B.C. they campaigned on the platform of "no vote to the Chinese and Japanese," and in 1923 King introduced the Chinese Exclusion Act and reduced Japanese immigration to Canada to 150 per year. Ian Mackenzie, a Liberal cabinet minister from B.C., and the man who implemented the destruction of the Japanese Canadian community, was a notorious racist who openly associated with the fascist White Canada Association.

Even before the war began, in 1938 Mackenzie was



Tashme, B.C.: More than 20,000 Japanese Canadians were imprisoned in internment camps set up by the Canadian government.



Photos: Vancouver Public Library

**Racist 1942 expulsion order meant imprisonment in filthy Livestock Barns, Hastings Park, Vancouver.**

urging the federal Interdepartmental Committee on Orientals to make preparations for the "detention of upwards of 10,000 persons in British Columbia alone" (quoted in Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, Toronto 1981). Laying the plans for their "final solution" to the "Japanese problem," the racist Canadian imperialists turned away desperate Jews fleeing Hitler's death camps. According to another Liberal cabinet minister in the King government on the question of Jewish immigration, "none is too many."

The government lie that Japanese Canadians were "dangerous subversives" was never more than a fig leaf for calculated racist state terror. Since 1940 the RCMP and the military had been probing the "loyalty" of the Japanese Canadian community and concurred in the view that "No fear of sabotage need be expected from the Japanese in Canada." From selling Victory Bonds to their largely unsuccessful attempts to enlist, the Japanese Canadians themselves went to great lengths to demonstrate their loyalty to a country that wouldn't even allow them to vote until 1949. For today's conscience-stricken liberals the real "tragedy" of the internment is that from the bourgeoisie's own point of view, their Japanese Canadian victims were "innocent." Presumably then those Japanese Canadians who opposed the imperialist slaughter of World War II deserved to be persecuted as were the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers League in Canada and the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.

**Canada's Concentration Camps**

On 7 December 1941 Japan struck simultaneously at Pearl Harbor and Hong Kong. At dawn the next day the Canadian Navy began seizing the 1,200 fishing vessels owned by Japanese Canadians and in Vancouver the RCMP began rounding up members of the Japanese community. Within five days railroads, hotels and paper mills across Vancouver and the Lower Mainland fired all their Japanese workers. By 14 January 1942 the federal Cabinet had ordered the removal of all Japanese male nationals between 18 and 45 from the West Coast. A full month before the U.S., Canada—much harsher and more ruthless in its persecution of the Japanese community—established its

concentration camps.

The "legal" instrument for this savage repression was the War Measures Act. Reflecting Canada's history as a British colonial bulwark against the American bourgeois-democratic revolution, the War Measures Act provides for the suspension of all democratic rights—free speech, right of assembly, the right of property and movement—whenever the administrators of the bourgeois state judge that these rights conflict with the "security" of their class rule. Used in the army occupation of Quebec in 1970 and the imprisonment of Québécois nationalists, leftists and unionists, the War Measures Act was also enforced to round up and intern 8,000 "enemy aliens" in World War I. They were taken in for the "crime" of either not speaking the "Queen's English" or opposition to the war.

On 24 February Mackenzie King issued the order to remove "any and all persons" from any "protected area" in Canada. This sweeping diktat could be used against anyone, but it was only applied against the Japanese Canadians. Invoking images of Nazi terror, posters were nailed up warning "every person of the Japanese race" that they had no rights, that their cars, radios, cameras and firearms were contraband and ordering them to leave the West Coast protected area "forthwith."

The government moved savagely and rapidly. Families were hauled from their homes without warning. A former soldier recalled searching a house where "the tables were still set, there was rice in the bowls at the table and vegetables on dishes." What wasn't looted—down to the smallest and most intimate personal mementos—was auctioned off by the state for a fraction of its worth. The money was used to pay the costs of the internment!

The Livestock Barns at Hastings Park in Vancouver were requisitioned as a temporary concentration camp. A hellish clearing house for human beings, for many Hastings Park was the most horrific episode in a period of unrelieved horror. Arriving families were ripped apart. Men were forced to submit to physical examinations to determine their fitness for hard

(continued on page 8)

## Concentration Camps...

(continued from page 7)

labor, packed on trains and shipped to road camps at Hope and Princeton, B.C.; Jasper, Alberta and as far away as Ontario. The women, children and elderly remained behind in the fetid, maggot-infested, disease-ridden barns that stank of years of animal filth. Sanitary conditions were non-existent. There were outbreaks of dysentery; prisoners starved on a diet of rice, bologna and tea; and to this physical torture was added constant racist abuse and beatings from camp staff and guards. Months later they were herded onto trains bound for the "refurbished" ghost towns of B.C.'s interior. At Slocan, Kaslo, Greenwood, Sandon and New Denver, they were put into camps surrounded by barbed wire and police watchtowers. In towns like Tashme families were crammed into ramshackle huts hardly more fit for human habitation than the animal stalls at Hastings Park. Families that escaped forced separation by "volunteering" for the sugar beet plantations of Alberta suffered even more. Through ferocious prairie winters they huddled in farm outbuildings. Their work was seasonal. Paid starvation wages for brutally hard work in the summer, in the winter they were destitute.

Even the end of the war did not bring relief for Japanese Canadians. In December 1945 King used the War Measures Act to order the deportation of 10,000 Japanese Canadians. Given the bitter experience of the camps, the government hoped to trap Japanese Canadians into signing a "voluntary" repatriation petition. Pushed to the limits of their endurance by the racist, brutal treatment they had received, thousands did sign—an act they were to bitterly regret. Those who did not sign were expected to demonstrate their "loyalty" by following the government's forced resettlement decree. Even the U.S. "allowed" its concentration camp victims to return to the West Coast in 1946, but in Canada Japanese Canadians who tried to return to B.C. were thrown in jail. It wasn't until 1949 that Japanese Canadians could "go home"; but there was literally nothing to return to.

### "Yellow Peril" Racism

The mass internment of Japanese Canadians intersected the fear and racist hatred of the Japanese and other Asian immigrants on the West Coast, and it had a powerful economic component as well. With the rise of Japan as an imperialist power the Canadian ruling class whipped up a cry against the "Yellow Peril." This was picked up by the labor bureaucrats who demanded a total ban on "degenerate Orientals" and excluded all Asians from union membership. In 1900 the trade-union tops in B.C. mobilized a screaming racist mob against a 4,000-strong demonstration organized by Japanese workers in solidarity with a strike by Japanese and white fishermen. Under the pretext of preventing a race riot, the government declared martial law, sent in the militia and broke the strike. In stark contrast to the racism peddled by most of the trade-union leadership, William "Big Bill" Haywood, then a leader of the Western Miners' Federation and later a fervent supporter of the Russian Revolution, telegraphed during the 1903 Vancouver Island miners' strike at Ladysmith: "We approve of calling out any or all men necessary to win at Ladysmith. Organize the Japanese and Chinese if possible."

In response to attempts to drive them out of the mines and forestry industry, many Japanese Canadians turned to fishing and agriculture where race

was not a barrier to success. They turned the marginal land of the Fraser Valley into productive fruit and berry farms, and built up a strong base in the B.C. fishing industry. The Pacific war was viewed by the Canadian bourgeoisie as a "heaven-sent opportunity" to rid themselves of the Japanese "economic menace." Days after the order to intern Japanese nationals an editorial in the *Vancouver Sun* (19 January 1942) complained of the Japanese taking "charge of the Fraser salmon industry" and the



Public Archives of Canada

Slocan, 1946: Japanese Canadians deported to war-ravaged Japan.

"infiltration of Japanese into the bush fruit areas of the Fraser Valley." The *Sun* gloated that the internment of Japanese Canadians and wholesale robbery of all property meant that "on the Coast here white fishermen know, just as any thinking man knows, that the Japanese will never get those boats back."

### Who Defended Japanese Canadians?

At every stage of their torment, Japanese Canadians stood virtually alone. Protest and resistance on their own behalf was isolated and in the main aimed at trying to prevent the splitting up of families. Many feared, and not without reason in the hysterical racist climate drummed up by the government, that any protest against internment would only further endanger them. To the ruling Liberal Party, opposition was proof of guilt and disloyalty. Nevertheless there was resistance. A handful of Japanese Canadians escaped from the camps and lived on the run, wearing "I am a loyal Chinese" buttons to escape RCMP dragnets. In one incident, 33 men staged a sit-in at an Immigration shed to protest the dispersal of their families. They were evicted by Irish Fusiliers armed with tear gas and police batons, interned as prisoners of war and deported.

A few private individuals, many of them Jews, tried to help. In the B.C. Interior the Doukhobor sect, no stranger to state persecution, sold food to the internees at greatly reduced prices. But the established churches turned their backs and the leaders of organized labor actively participated in whipping up the racist war hysteria against the Japanese. With the onset of World War II, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), predecessor of the NDP, dropped any pretense of "anti-militarism" and lined up behind the guns of the Canadian imperialists. At the CCF's Sixth Congress in 1940, David Lewis told the delegates that "the faith and policies of democratic



socialism are indispensable not only to win greater justice in time of peace but also to win military victory in a war fought for democracy" (quoted in Walter D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF 1932-61*, Toronto 1969). Thus in 1942 the CCF majority backed the internment of Japanese Canadians "for reasons of defense." CCF member Grant McNeil made his contribution to the great "war for democracy" by serving on the advisory board to the B.C. Security Commission whose task was the overseeing of the concentration camps.

Because of its pretension to represent the working class and oppressed, the Communist Party of Canada (CP) was perhaps the most disgusting of all in its betrayal of Japanese Canadians. The Stalinists were among the most rabid drumbeaters for the imperialist "war effort." They called for a vote to Mackenzie King's Liberal Party, signed no-strike pledges, sold war bonds and denounced the Québécois opposition to conscription. The Stalinists not only gave their unqualified support to internment, they were enthusiastic participants in the persecution of Japanese Canadians. Repeating the outrageous racist lies of the Canadian government the 31 January 1942 *Canadian Tribune* demanded "that action must be taken to prevent enemy sympathizers among the estimated 24,000 Japanese in the province from engaging in fifth column activities." The same article lauded the "United Fishermen's Union which first proposed that ... Japanese vessels be leased to white operators, and in this proposal, adopted by the government, it had

non-citizens." The 30 May 1942 issue charged that the evacuation of Japanese Americans on the U.S. West Coast was "a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desires of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy.'"

A small party, whose leaders faced years in prison for their revolutionary opposition to World War II, nonetheless the SWP extended what concrete aid they could to the persecuted Japanese Americans. On the West Coast they helped Japanese Americans secure their property and make personal arrangements in the days before their expulsion. Many Japanese American members of the CP turned to the Trotskyists for aid after "their" party had thrown them out.

In February 1946, as the Canadian government was preparing to deport 10,000 Japanese Canadians, the Canadian Trotskyists wrote in *Labor Challenge*:

"The mass compulsory forced exodus of the Japanese Canadians from the West Coast finds a parallel in modern times only in the slave labor trek of the peoples of Europe into Hitler's industrial war machine. But the Canadian war criminals are not content to rest after the scattering of these people across the continent but continue their ruthless persecution. They are preparing to transport them across the vast Pacific to war torn Japan where many will no doubt succumb to the ravages of disease and hunger.

"Canadian capitalism stands self-indicted. Another War Crime stains its bloody hands."

It was not just courage, steadfastness in the face of adversity, that helped the Trotskyists to defend Japanese Americans and Canadians. Above all it was program. Defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, they opposed the inter-imperialist slaughter that laid waste to most of Europe and Asia. Just as Lenin and the Bolsheviks did in World War I, the Trotskyists in World War II called for revolutionary defeatism toward both imperialist sides, the "democratic allies" as well as the German and Japanese imperialists.

#### Racist Protectionist Poison

Today, the survivors of Canada's concentration camps appealing for redress of the racist atrocities committed against them, face a climate of escalating anti-Japanese hysteria. Once again combating the Japanese "trade menace" is the battle cry of the imperialists and their labor lieutenants in the trade-union leadership and the NDP. Selling the

working class the lie that the Japanese workers, and not their own capitalist bosses, are responsible for the decayed state of North American industry, the labor tops and social democrats whip up anti-Asian racism and embolden the worst enemies of labor, the race-hating terrorists of the KKK/Nazis. Once again the CP goes along encouraging this protectionist poison.

They said the concentration camps could never happen here—but they did. Today, the war drive of the U.S. imperialists and their Canadian junior partners directed centrally against the Soviet Union will destroy us all—unless we stop them. The international Spartacist tendency carries forward the proletarian internationalist tradition of our revolutionary Trotskyist forebearers in World War II, offering the the program and the organization that can unite the workers and oppressed minorities in successful battle against the racist imperialist warmongers. ■



U.S. Army

"Democratic" imperialists A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki to intimidate USSR.

the support of public opinion." In 1945 the CP hailed the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This is the depth of national chauvinism to which its cynical class-collaboration and support for Stalinist foreign policy had led it.

The Stalinists were also active participants in the persecution of revolutionary Trotskyists for their principled opposition to the imperialist war. In Canada, the tiny Socialist Workers League was declared illegal and its press banned under the War Measures Act. Isolated and hounded the Canadian Trotskyists nonetheless continued to distribute the *Militant*, newspaper of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. In sharp contrast to the *Canadian Tribune* and the CP/USA's *Daily Worker*, the *Militant* exposed the racist lies and atrocities against Japanese Americans. In March 1942, the *Militant* attacked the "brutal and indiscriminate witchhunt being conducted against

## South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

sealed off and bombed and napalmed into submission. As *Business Week* (26 August) wrote: "The betting is that they [South African whites] can put down any violent frontal assault for the foreseeable future because they still have the guns." But this organ of American capitalism ran the prediction under the headline: "What Pretoria Fears More Than Rioting in the Streets" —i.e., the muscle of South Africa's six-million-strong black proletariat. Except for the two-day general strike last November in the Transvaal and episodic skirmishes with the apartheid bosses, that proletariat as a class has not been mobilized in the present anti-apartheid revolt. But it is there that is concentrated the power to smash the chains of apartheid slavery, opening the road to workers revolution.



South Africa's strategic gold miners. Black workers are the key to smashing apartheid slavery!

As the black unrest in the townships continued to spread this winter, the regime called for unmitigated state terror. This was codified in Botha's July 21 "State of Emergency" declaration and his August 15 speech to the Natal provincial conference of the ruling Afrikaner National Party. Since the "emergency" went into effect, more than 150 blacks have been killed and over 2,000 thrown into South Africa's notorious torture chambers. But this is nothing compared to the bloody slaughter the apartheid butchers are preparing. "I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon in South Africa," Botha said. "There is no turning back." He recalled the Afrikaner Voortrekkers circling their wagons to hold off the siege. To demands for "power sharing" with the non-white majority, he replied: "We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so now." "One man, one vote," he said, would mean "abdication and suicide" for white South Africa.

The situation is building toward civil war, all right, but with what result? The apartheid butchers may feel their hold being shaken, but their power is not broken. And in the absence of a clear working-class axis of struggle, the field is left open for black demagogues like Zulu chief Buthelezi, whose thugs staged murderous raids on the Indian community of Durban early in August.

All the contradictions of apartheid capitalism are dramatically escalating. A state of terror has been decreed, but the mood among black youth has gone beyond where terror can stifle protest. Moreover, by arresting every "nonviolent" black leader they can find, Pretoria is further radicalizing the masses. The imperialist politicians think that if Botha would only

make a token gesture of reform it could serve as a pressure valve, to blow off steam.

But Botha understands that apartheid cannot be reformed out of existence any more than slavery could be in the American South. The bedrock of South African capitalism is the superexploitation of black labor. Apartheid developed in the 19th century to extract gold and diamonds, which was very labor-intensive. Unlike mining in certain other countries, like the Soviet Union, South Africa has continued to develop its mining (which creates 70 percent of its exports), not through improvement in machines but through the increasing brutalization and exploitation of the black proletariat.

### Sanctions: Imperialist Duplicity

Recently the Western imperialist powers have been moving toward economic sanctions, however mild, against their apartheid ally. Why? Certainly not out of any concern for black freedom. The bloody crimes of the imperialists, from A-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki to ravaging Vietnam where over 1,000 were killed every day for seven years, are on a scale unknown to the South African rulers. The imperialists, instead, want to pacify the rebellious black masses and save white-ruled South Africa from itself and for the "free world." South Africa is an indispensable ally of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union. The alliance with this totalitarian, racist police state explodes the "democratic" pretensions of the "free world." Pretoria regularly brands any opposition to white racist rule as inspired by Soviet expansionism, while Reagan accuses the Soviet Union of "stirring up the pot" in South Africa. In addition to the military importance of South Africa for NATO, Western imperialism has an enormous economic stake in the apartheid state. South Africa is not only the leading producer of gold in the capitalist world, it is also the dominant exporter of such strategically important minerals as chromium, manganese, vanadium and platinum.

The Canadian capitalists, however, have a more immediate and vested interest in sanctions against South Africa: they profit mightily from them. With a resource-based economy, as has South Africa, Canada stands to make a bundle, especially from the sale of gold. With investors shunning South Africa's Krugerrand (sales in Canada have dropped by \$54 million), the popularity of the "Maple Leaf" gold coin is skyrocketing, up an estimated 50 percent from 1984. And with gold prices increasing in reaction to "political instability" in South Africa, every black killed adds to the coffers of the racist Canadian imperialists. No less than the Krugerrand, the "Maple Leaf" drips with the blood of black South Africans.

While benefiting directly from sanctions, the Canadian ruling class has been loathe to even match those imposed by its imperialist allies. They didn't even join the U.S.'s empty gesture of recalling its ambassador to Pretoria. The various measures announced in July by External Affairs minister Joe Clark prompted the *Financial Post* to headline: "More bark than bite in Ottawa sanctions." The multi-level hypocrisy of the Canadian bourgeoisie was best captured by the NDP social-democratic government in Manitoba, which pompously declared that it had banned the sale of South African booze, and then announced it was auctioning off its inventory to the highest bidder! Even refusing to sell South African wine was too much for the guardians of Canadian capitalism at External Affairs. As one spokesman worried: "Is Canada's reputation as a trusted trading partner being undermined?" (*Globe and Mail*, 17 August).



Spartacist League/U.S. contingent, New York, August 20.

Throughout the world the brutal South African regime is seen, especially by the colonial masses and by blacks in America, as a mirror of their own oppression, encapsulated and grotesquely magnified in one country. In the U.S. everyone knows that Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" means defending apartheid. Campuses in the U.S. erupted this spring in anti-apartheid protest, as students (supposedly the generation of mindless flag-waving "new patriots") occupied buildings, staged "sit-outs" and massive rallies from California's Berkeley to upstate New York's Cornell University. Here in Canada, however, campuses have been relatively quiescent and anti-apartheid demonstrations unfortunately small reflecting the illusion, so liberally sown by the social democrats and fake leftists, that the Canadian imperialists are "moral" nice guys. But Canada, no less than Reagan, has a policy of "constructive engagement" toward the apartheid butchers in South Africa. This was expressed by Canada's ambassador to South Africa, Edward Lee:

"We don't agree that South Africa should be isolated. The purpose in maintaining a dialogue is to do whatever we can to break down apartheid and assist those who are suffering.

"If we broke off all diplomatic relations and insisted South Africa should leave all the international organizations then you have no way of influencing the situation."

—Toronto Star, 16 August

A leader of Canadians Concerned About South Africa declared that they were picketing Bata Shoe Co., a leading Canadian investor in the exploitation of South African blacks, because "we want to use it to pressure the federal government to follow through on its UN commitment to impose economic sanctions against South Africa" (Toronto Star, 23 June). Appealing to the Canadian ruling class to wash its hands of apartheid slavery, what really has these liberals and their Communist Party buddies "concerned" is keeping revolutionary politics out of "their" demonstrations and meetings. On June 16, at a meeting commemorating the ninth anniversary of the cold-blooded apartheid murder of black school children in Soweto, the CP and the African National Congress Youth Group called the racist Toronto cops to stop supporters of the Trotskyist League from distributing our newspapers with the headline: "From Harlem to Soweto—The Only Solution: Workers Revolution!"

Those demanding "divestment" have gotten their wish (as much as they ever will): several billion dollars have recently fled the country as imperialist bankers, multinational corporations and nervous South African investors try to hedge their options. The only kind of "divestment" which will benefit the exploited and oppressed toilers is the expropriation of capitalism by a victorious workers revolution. Some black South African trade unionists seem to understand this, at least partially. Alec Erwin of FOSATU, probably the strongest black union federation, recently stated that his organization opposed the withdrawal of assets from South Africa:

"...because we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labour of South African workers, and which now absolutely belong to this society....We see absolutely no sense in handing over part of the social wealth of this country in order to place pressure on the regime."

—Work in Progress No.37, June 1985

**For Labor Action to Smash Apartheid!**

Communists look to the international working class as the vanguard of the fight for freedom in South Africa. At a protest rally of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, against the arrival of 40,000 tons of South African coal at the port of Rouen, an LTF speaker declared: "It's not divestment by the Mitterrand government and Botha's buddies—who only demand that the exploitation be a little more discreet—that's going to help South African blacks, but rather trade union action, to show that the working classes of other countries won't tolerate the repression of their brothers."

In Australia and Britain workers have taken matters into their own hands, hot-cargoing ships and cargo from and to South Africa. But in Canada the trade union bureaucrats have taken no industrial action to defend the black proletariat in South Africa. Toronto's Labor Day march saw the labor skates push "Boycott South Africa" buttons, meaning an impotent call for consumers to refuse to buy South African products. This feeds very nicely into the bureaucrats' racist

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## Cold War...

(continued from page 3)

targeting every major Soviet city and military installation. In Southeast Asia, in southern Africa, in Central America, every day and in every way the U.S. and its imperialist buddies are bent on bloodying and provoking the Soviet Union and its allies. In Washington they think: keep squeezing, grind, grind, grind and when the pressure gets high enough the Russians will cry "uncle" and the U.S. will prevail. This is arguably a mistake. Hitler tried it, and lost. And Marshal Ogarkov is not the flinching sort. For our part, we Trotskyists say: Smash NATO/NORAD! Defend the Soviet Union! The main enemy is at home!

The nationalist furor over the *Polar Sea* had nothing to do with opposition to Reagan's war plans against the USSR. Rather it was a bid to assert an "independent" Canadian military role in them. But *Globe* columnist Jeffrey Simpson (2 August) caught the absurdity behind all the arguments about Canada defending its "sovereignty":

"Just what, pray tell, do those now objecting propose to do about the American icebreaker *Polar Sea's* voyage through the Northwest Passage?... Canada, after all, cannot defend itself against enemies, let alone friends."

While crammed with NATO/NORAD military installations, Canada's "own" military presence in the Arctic consists of several hundred Inuit, forcibly taken from their homes and dumped on some godforsaken islands, armed with baseball caps, World War I-vintage rifles and 200 rounds of ammunition.

Having fought in two world wars without suffering the agony of occupation, Canada has always been protected from bigger enemies by bigger friends (first Britain and then the U.S.). Its fighting has always been in someone else's country, from World War I to the 1918 imperialist invasion of the Soviet workers state to the 22,000 Canadian troops sent to "fight Communism" in Korea. This is the price paid by the Canadian ruling class for the protection of its shores by its senior imperialist partner in Washington. At the same time the jackal imperialists who run this rich "white man's country" have profited handsomely as merchants of death for U.S. imperialism. During the Vietnam War the Canadian capitalists sold \$1 million a day in war materiel to the U.S. All the while the Canadian government, headed by Pierre "Peace Initiative" Trudeau, claimed its hands were clean, decried the grislier aspects of the war and avoided the overhead of domestic discontent.

As Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney starts to sound more and more like Reagan's personal envoy the Canadian nationalists and NDP Cold War social democrats are worried that Canada will lose its "clean hands" image which was so useful in covering for and above all *profiting* from the U.S.'s long, losing, dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. In an article entitled "There's a lesson for Canada in Vietnam" (*Toronto Star*, 21 April), former NDP federal secretary Gerald Caplan warned:

"Had we a government openly supportive of the Americans, Canada too might have faced a decade of nightmare, of war in our streets, of kids against parents, class against class, students against authority, young against old, governed against government.

"If Mulroney continues his fawning servility to a president chomping at the bit to launch the kind of immoral foreign adventures many Canadians would passionately oppose, we still might."

No less than Reagan the right-wing NDP social democrats are out to suppress the workers' "class against class" fight against the bourgeoisie at home, and they equally share Reagan's aim to "roll back" Communism abroad—differing only over tactics. Just back from a recent trip to Washington NDP leader Ed Broadbent expressed his concern that, "If [Mulroney] comes down on the side of Star Wars, that could jeopardize the constructive role that we've traditionally played" (*Globe and Mail*, 4 September). The "traditional" role of the Canadian imperialists has been to pose as the clean, honest, middle power while sending in their troops as "peacekeepers" to enforce the imperialist-sponsored status quo. As part of the UN forces on the Litani River in the Mideast, for example, the Canadians served as one-way doormen for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and Zionist genocide against the Palestinians. Most recently Canada has sent troops to the Sinai to replace those other U.S. lackeys, from the "dominion" down under, Australia.

The NDP Cold Warriors are no "neutral" pacifists. They don't even oppose the imperialists' anti-Soviet war alliances. Far from it—Broadbent and NDP external affairs critic Pauline Jewett both agree that Canada should stay in NATO/NORAD, arguing that this would be the most useful role it could play! What has the NDP concerned is that too close an association between Canada and the Reagan administration will undercut their "traditional" role as the ideological frontmen for U.S. imperialism's war aims—from stopping the spread of revolution in Central America through the Contadora initiative to beating the drums for Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland.

And taking their cue from their NDP mentors the reformists and the "peace" movement have doggedly refused to oppose NATO/NORAD. Instead they seek to act as the foreign policy advisers to the Canadian government. The central focus of their "Refuse the Cruise" and "Stop Star Wars" demonstrations is neither for an end to bombs nor war (as utopian as that is short of socialist revolution), but to refurbish the image of the Canadian bourgeoisie as the clean imperialist "nice guys." This is perhaps best captured by the Communist Party (CP), which in the name of detente with the imperialist butchers carries a banner of the Canadian flag inscribed with "Brave Neutral Mediator. Go For Peace Tax." The CP, so concerned about "the security of Canada" (*Canadian Tribune*, 5 August), long ago traded the red banner of the international working class for the Maple Leaf of Canadian imperialism in pursuit of a (yet to be consummated) popular-front alliance with their "own" bourgeoisie.

Since 1917 Canada has served as a virtual mercenary first for the British and then the Americans in the drive to reconquer that one-sixth of the world ripped out of the hands of imperialist exploitation by the Russian Revolution. As revolutionary Trotskyists we fight for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, recognizing that its collectivized economy stands as a historic gain for the workers of the world. It will take proletarian political revolution to clean the bureaucratic usurpers out of the Kremlin and return the USSR to the road of Lenin and Trotsky—the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. Meanwhile the workers and oppressed peoples of the world can only be thankful for the Soviets' nuclear missile capacity and for those Soviet subs under the polar ice cap—they have, so far, restrained Reagan and his Canadian imperialist junior partners. ■

# Nicaragua...

(continued from page 16)

staged one of their largest raids in four years of terrorist activity in the area around Estelí. They were mopped up by the Sandinista army, who reportedly used the Soviet MI-24 gunship in action for the first time. On August 3, a demonstration of several thousand in Estelí showed off 33 captured contras, scores of rifles, Claymore mines and knapsacks "made in the USA" and the like.

Tiny Nicaragua can never match the firepower of the Yankee colossus. But as Ray Hooker, a representative of the FSLN government from Bluefields in the Atlantic coast region, warned: "If Reagan invades he must be prepared to lose 20,000 to 50,000 lives.... We will make sure that the forces, the young men, sent in for invasion are killed. Their blood will nurture further revolutions." The Nicaraguan masses must not be left to stand alone against the most powerful war machine in history. It is the duty above all of workers and youth in North America who will be sent to die for the imperialists' war aims to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution to the hilt. What is at stake is not just the self-determination of a Central American people; it is the fate of a revolution that could spark a conflagration throughout the continent. Defense of Nicaragua is part of the necessary class battle on the home front against our "own" bourgeoisie.

## "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!"

Four years of war and grisly contra atrocities have taken their toll. Recently the bodies of eight mothers who had gone to visit their sons at the army school in Matagalpa were found hacked apart. Health and daycare centers are burned to the ground with patients and children still inside. In León, the country's second city, our comrades were told of crop burnings by the contra terrorists and in their attack in the Estelí area they tried to burn down grain silos. This sabotage and Reagan's trade embargo, aimed at squeezing the economy to prepare the way for full-scale war, have definitely had an effect. In a Managua hospital there is a room full of unusable "made in the USA" intensive-care equipment. Production in factories and agriculture comes to a grinding halt when there are no replacement parts for equipment. The shelves in supermarkets in Managua are empty. Recently one of the markets in Estelí wasn't even selling beans. Meanwhile the threat of a direct U.S. invasion hangs over the country like an incubus. Military traffic is heavy, revolutionary vigilance around factories and barrios is stepped up. Tanks are dug in at the approaches to major towns and cities and around key military installations.

If the joy of victory has been worn down by contra terror attacks and brutal economic strangulation, our comrades who were in Managua for the sixth anniversary celebrations reported that the determination to fight to defend the revolution was as clear as ever. The crowd was one of the largest in the Nicaraguan capital since the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty. But there was a real sense of loss of direction. The Nicaraguan masses are mobilized to defend the gains they have won since 1979: the illiteracy rate has been slashed from 50 to 13 percent; infant mortality has fallen from 121 six years ago to 44 per 1,000 births in 1985 and malnutrition cut in half; and above all there was the elimination of Somoza's National Guard. But the Sandinista leaders are *holding back* the revolutionary struggle necessary to the defense of even these gains. From the platform at the July 19 cele-

brations, Daniel Ortega stressed the FSLN's commitment to a "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment"—the Sandinista nationalist trinity aimed at achieving "peaceful coexistence" with the domestic and imperialist bourgeoisie.

One of the chants at the demonstration was "National leadership, give us our orders." This slogan is the consummate expression of the bonapartism of the radical-nationalist FSLN regime which places itself *above* the workers and oppressed. But it also expresses the Nicaraguan masses' will to fight, if only someone would show them the way. The situation desperately cries out for a genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist party to provide the kind of leadership the Bolsheviks gave in 1917 to the Russian Revolution that threw out the capitalists and landlords and defeated the armed intervention of 13 imperialist countries. Since 1917, despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, the great October Revolution has been an inspiration internationally in the struggles of workers and oppressed for liberation. In Nicaragua our comrades found that CST [Sandinista Labor Federation] bookstores were filled with Lenin's writings, including the "April Theses" in which the Bolshevik leader called for the Russian working class to take power.

Today Nicaragua is on the front lines in the imperialists' war drive aimed at overturning the gains of the Russian Revolution: if they can bump off Nicaragua, Cuba's the next target and then on to the Soviet Union. For the war-torn, desperately impoverished and magnificently combative Nicaraguan workers and peasants, Lenin's pamphlet, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It" lays out what has to be done to defend their revolution. On the eve of October, as famine and devastation due to the imperialist war threatened the Russian people, Lenin wrote:

"In point of fact, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, i.e., which class is in control and which is being controlled. In our country, in republican Russia, with the help of the 'authorised bodies' of supposedly revolutionary democracy, it is the landowners and capitalists who are still recognised to be, and still are, the controllers.... We must resolutely and irrevocably, not fearing to break with the old, not fearing boldly to build the new, pass to control over the landowners and capitalists by the workers and peasants."

The workers and poor of Nicaragua have given ample proof of their will to fight, losing 50,000 lives and waging three national insurrections during 1978-79 to bring down the hated Somoza dictatorship. But they need to expropriate the capitalists, a pro-imperialist "fifth column" within the country, in order

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## Nicaragua...

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to break their economic stranglehold and undertake a socialist reorganization of society.

Contrary to Reagan's ravings against "Sandino-Communism," the FSLN represents radicalized petty-bourgeois nationalists who are more than willing to live with a "national" bourgeoisie, as long as their hold on power is not directly threatened. Six years after the revolution an estimated 54 percent of the economy still remains in private hands as the FSLN *commandantes* try to maintain their precarious balancing act 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. But the Sandinistas cannot simultaneously win the war against the contras, prop up the bourgeoisie and feed the people.

The country is in a war economy, 40 percent of the national budget goes for defense needs and contra sabotage actions have cost an estimated \$1.1 billion—more than twice Nicaragua's export earnings annually. Prices for basic foods have tripled this year as did fuel prices, leading to a similar increase in the cost of all forms of transport as the government removes subsidies the country cannot afford. According to an economic adviser to the FSLN regime, no hospitals, schools or roads have been built in 1985. And, there is a freeze on all new investment for social service projects (lighting, housing, sewage).

### War Communism Without the Communism

Objectively many parallels can be drawn between the internal situation in Nicaragua and that of Soviet Russia in mid-1918, after the proletariat had seized power and was facing a civil war launched by the defeated bourgeoisie and its tsarist White Guards. These contras of their day were also backed by the imperialists—who soon invaded in the hopes of overthrowing the Soviet regime—and by the remaining Russian capitalists. Thus the Bolsheviks as a measure of self-defense had to go beyond workers control and expropriate the bourgeoisie. This gave rise to "war communism" in which everything was indeed subordinated to the task of winning the civil war, and the workers willingly made enormous sacrifices to defend their revolution.

Under the hammer blows of U.S. imperialism what the Sandinistas' emergency measures amount to is trying to erect "war communism" without the communism. Their response to the U.S. trade embargo has been to call for more "sacrifices and unity." But in order to maintain the FSLN's "mixed economy" scheme, the poor get austerity and sacrifices while the capitalists get subsidies. Part of the program of drastic consumer price increases was to increase the prices paid to the producer. And to "stimulate exports" the government is paying cattle ranchers and cotton growers for part of their production in dollars, supposedly to be used for buying spare parts, pesticides and the like. But neither the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie nor their American senior partners are showing too much interest lately in the Sandinista game of class collaboration.

A representative of the COSEP employers association charged that the Sandinistas had "reneged" on their promise, made in the first days of the 1979 victory, to "preserve the private sector" and he justified contra terror with the sinister comment, "if there had been no agricultural reform there would be no war." And as the Nicaraguan "branch office" bour-

geoisie increasingly feels the effects of being cut off from their home offices in the U.S., the threats of "decisive battles" made at the July 17 COSEP convention will move from the realm of talk to action. Already the Sandinistas militarily face the results of their attempts to conciliate the bourgeoisie: they're at war against contras led by Alfonso Robelo, a former "patriotic" junta leader who now works openly for the CIA.

The FSLN *commandantes* are still trying to walk the high wire between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie internationally and at home. But that rope was cut with the imposition of the U.S. trade embargo, forcing the Sandinistas to complete the social revolution or fall victim to bloody counterrevolution as the con-



Workers Vanguard

### Young compañeros of the revolution on guard in Managua.

traditions of the Nicaraguan Revolution are brought to the flash point.

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 contained within the strait-jacket of Sandinista "pluralism." At one location in Nicaragua, a Spartacist comrade ran into a soldier-construction worker and asked him about the U.S. trade embargo and changes since the revolution. The soldier replied: "Sandinismo is only a word. The bourgeoisie enriches itself while the proletariat gets poorer. We have made a revolution, but we have yet to make the revolution. Have you heard of the expression 'class struggle'?" Such militants represent the promise of a socialist future for the combative Nicaraguan masses.

### For Proletarian Internationalism!

So far Washington's NATO allies, including their Canadian junior partners, have refused to go along with the trade embargo. For the jackal imperialists that rule this country it's an easy way to pick up trade profits on the cheap while they participate in NATO naval maneuvers in the Caribbean targeting Nicaragua, send \$30 million in transport planes to Honduras and "made in Canada" ammunition is fired out of contra guns. The Sandinistas aren't going to have any more luck appealing to their fair-weather "non-aligned" friends. Not one head of state or social-democratic luminary attended the sixth anniversary celebrations. Although hardly a luminary, Ed Broadbent, the dull-as-dishwater leader of Canada's

right-wing NDP social democrats, was caught "rethinking" his support to the Sandinistas in deference to Reagan's denunciations of last year's Nicaraguan elections as a "Soviet-style sham." Even Nicaragua's Contadora "buddy," Mexico, buckled under to U.S. blackmail and turned off the oil tap.

Reportedly, during his trip to Moscow Daniel Ortega got a guarantee of crucial oil deliveries from the USSR. But the TASS statement on Ortega's meeting with Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev pointedly limited the USSR to giving "Nicaragua assistance in resolving urgent problems of economic development, and also political and diplomatic support... to uphold its sovereignty"—i.e., militarily the Sandinistas are on their own. Such statements at bottom reflect the narrow nationalist consciousness of Stalinist bureaucrats who seek above all else "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, failing to see that the refusal to come to the aid of Nicaragua only *emboldens* the Yankee beast.

Ortega can't have been surprised by Moscow's reaction, for the Sandinistas wear the same nationalist blinkers (though it's their revolution that is at risk). For several years now, the FSLN has turned its back on the leftist insurgents fighting the blood-drenched Salvadoran junta. El Salvador is a subject almost never mentioned by the FSLN. In their travels throughout Nicaragua our comrades report seeing only one faded slogan calling for support to the Salvadoran rebels. In Matagalpa an army commander insisted "we are not an army of aggression." In an interview with Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa (*New York Times Magazine*, 28 April) Daniel Ortega said that the FSLN is prepared to sacrifice the Salvadoran revolution if only Washington would strike a deal:

"We're willing to stop the movement of military aid, or any other kind of aid, through Nicaragua to El Salvador, and we're willing to accept international verification. In return, we're asking for only one thing: that they don't attack us...."

Far from appeasing Washington, the Sandinistas' refusal to extend the struggle throughout the isthmus has allowed for the build-up of imperialist military bases in Honduras and elsewhere which are being used as staging grounds for attacking Nicaragua.

The key to defeating the imperialists' war moves is proletarian internationalism. The front line of defense of Nicaragua runs through San Salvador—where a combative workers movement is re-emerging after several years of clandestine existence—to Mexico, where a powerful five-million-strong proletariat is groaning under IMF-dictated austerity. It includes the capitals and industrial centers of Latin America, where a Yankee invasion would be met with explosions of popular anger. And it includes especially the class struggle of American workers.

One worker at a factory in Managua said, "imperialism is as obsolete as the parts to this machine." But, in the hopes of preserving their decaying system of exploitation, misery and war the imperialist rulers are waging a campaign of global counter-revolutionary terrorism targeting the Soviet Union. Nicaragua is in the cross hairs of the imperialists' insane anti-Soviet war drive. The gains of the Russian Revolution; the future of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world is at stake. As North American revolutionaries it is our task to mobilize to stop the imperialist beast, now, in Nicaragua and above all here in North America, before it's too late. ■

## South Africa...

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"Buy Canadian" protectionist campaign directed especially against Japanese workers.

For decades black struggle in South Africa has been dominated by competing brands of nationalism, represented today by the CP and African National Congress on the one hand, and the "black consciousness" Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) on the other. Under the guise of multi-racialism the ANC/CP espouse popular-frontist accommodation with so-called "progressive capitalists" like union-buster Harry Oppenheimer while AZAPO combines abstract socialist rhetoric with a hard racialist nationalism in which there is no room for whites like Neil Aggett (the organizer for black unions murdered by the apartheid regime in 1982) and which is modelled on black despots like Ghana's Nkrumah.

Contrary to the ANC and its leftist cheerleaders around the world a civil war at this time, fought along national (racial) lines will result in a *pointless* bloodbath for the black masses. But we are not liberal pacifists. *Blood will flow in South Africa. The question is whose blood, when, where, why and how.* There is no solution to apartheid slavery short of a civil war, but it must be fought along class, not national lines, giving rise to a black-centered workers government under which whites, too, will have a place. For the oppressed to emerge victorious from the inevitable civil war in South Africa, they must be organized and led by a class-conscious vanguard infused with the understanding that those who labor must rule.

Continuing Lenin's struggle for independent communist parties in the fight for a Fourth International,

his comrade-in-arms Leon Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, wrote to his supporters in South Africa in 1935. Trotsky noted:

"The Bolshevik Party defended the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination *with the methods of proletarian class struggle*, entirely rejecting the charlatan 'anti-imperialist' blocs with the numerous petty-bourgeois 'national' parties of czarist Russia...."

"Only thanks to this *irreconcilable* class policy was Bolshevism able to succeed in the time of the revolution to throw aside the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the national petty-bourgeois parties and gather around the proletariat the masses of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities."

—L.D. Trotsky, "On the South African Theses," *Writings* [1934-35]

A Leninist-Trotskyist party in South Africa must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular-frontism, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. A workers revolution in South Africa, with its concentration of industry and wealth, will be the motor force for the liberation of the desperately impoverished black masses throughout the continent. Now is the time for internationalist communists, black, coloured, Indian and white, to undertake the construction of unobtrusive nuclei, in and oriented toward the workers movement in South Africa, laying the basis for a multiracial revolutionary workers party in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■



Managua, July 19: Contras, imperialism, "No pasarán" – they shall not pass.

Workers Vanguard

# Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The Reagan administration is cranking up the voltage in its terror campaign to smash the Nicaraguan Revolution. The trade embargo, \$27 million in aid to the CIA's contra cutthroats, ominous threats of reprisals against Nicaragua if more U.S. soldiers are killed anywhere in Central America. In early August the Nicaraguan armed forces were placed on maximum alert as the U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier *Eisenhower*

country in recent months report that the Nicaraguan masses are responding with a giant "screw you!" At the July 19 celebrations of the sixth anniversary of the revolution that smashed the Somoza dictatorship, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega asked the crowd of 500,000 in Carlos Fonseca Plaza what they thought of a leading U.S. intelligence official's claim that invading Nicaragua would be like "falling off a log." The answer was roared back in the chant: "Aquí, allá, el Yanqui morirá!" (Here, there, the Yankee will die) and "Nicaragua victoriosa, ni se vende, ni se rinde!" (Victorious Nicaragua won't sell out, won't give up) —the slogan that could be seen everywhere in the country, on billboards, buildings, in the barrios, at army barracks in the northern war zone.

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## Eyewitness Report

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and eight accompanying warships cruised off the Caribbean coast. It's called "perception management": terrorize, pistol-whip, starve out, grind down the Nicaraguan masses, jerk around the radical-nationalist Sandinista government until it cries "uncle" and submits to Yankee diktats. And if that doesn't work, plans for a full-scale invasion are being finalized. According to a two-part article in the *New York Times* (4,5 June) Pentagon preparations for the invasion are "largely complete."

Supporters of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and the Trotskyist League of Canada who have visited this embattled Central American

Cheers resounded when a dozen Soviet-made helicopters, including the formidable MI-24 gunship, flew in formation across the plaza. The Nicaraguan people are also armed. More than 200,000 guns have been distributed to the population in 1985—"the year to smash the contras." Our comrades reported that in the northern Nicaraguan city of Estelí, everyone from an 84-year-old man to 15-year olds were armed with AK-47s to keep revolutionary vigilance against the contra thugs. In late July the contra mercenaries

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