

Wall Street Shudders After Tokyo Stock Market Crash

Japan is supposed to be the ultimate, super-successful capitalist country. But in March and early April the Tokyo stock exchange experienced a meltdown wiping out almost 30 percent of the market value of Japan, Inc. "There is a total loss of confidence, period," exclaimed one securities dealer. "It's an ugly situation," echoed another. "There are no buyers at all. None." Nippon Telegraph and Telephone—the largest corporation in the world—had its stock fall from a peak of \$21,000 per share a few years ago to less than \$8,000.

The Tokyo crash reverberated in financial capitals from Wall Street to Frankfurt. The fear is that the Japanese will pull back and sell off their assets to cover their losses at home. For most of the last decade, Japanese money has propped up the debt-ridden and decaying U.S. economy. Tokyo banks and securities outfits regularly purchase 30 to 40 percent of new U.S. Treasury bonds. Without this Japanese money, T-bills would be selling at the same interest rates as junk bonds. But now the great "leveraged buyout" of East Europe, channeled through the banking houses of Frankfurt, is playing havoc with world financial markets. Soaring interest rates in West Germany triggered the Tokyo crash and are widening the massive U.S. budget deficit.



Shigeo Kogure

World's biggest stock market loses almost 30 percent of value in a few months.

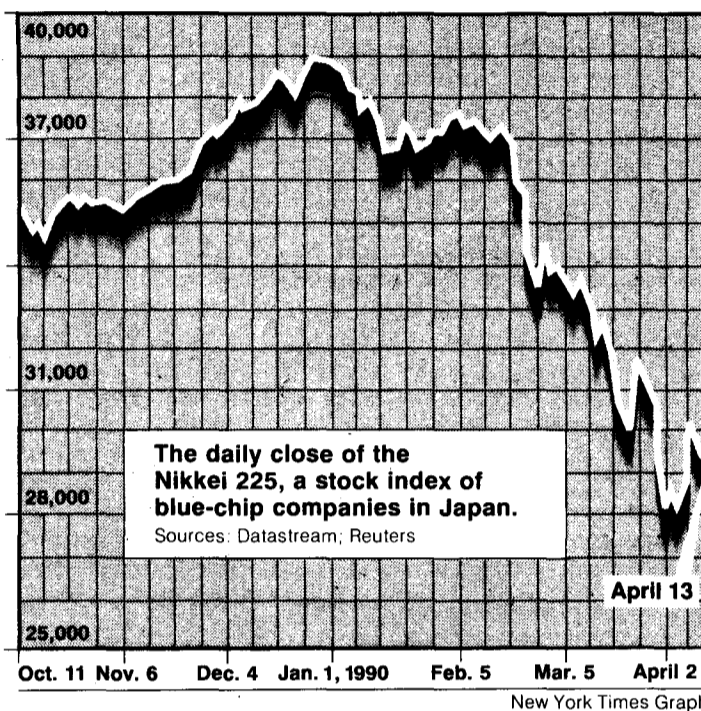
Thus at the very moment that the rulers of world imperialism are proclaiming "the death of Communism" as "the end of history," capitalism isn't looking so triumphant on its home turf. The crash of the biggest stock market in the world came less than three years after the Wall Street crash.

Economic conflicts between American and Japanese capitalism continue to escalate toward full-scale trade war. Thatcher's Britain is rocked by a popular revolt against the new poll tax. Debt-burdened Latin America is an economic disaster area. And the "transition" to capitalism in East Europe is not going all

that smoothly as the economic "shock treatment" designed for Poland meets desperate worker resistance.

The Nikkei and Anschluss

In the mid-1980s the United States became the world's biggest debtor nation
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New York Times Graph

Emboldened by Gorbachev's Appeasement

Bush Targets Cuba

The United States has been waving the Big Stick in the Caribbean a lot these days. Invading Panama, kidnapping the head of state and installing a puppet regime. Buying the Nicaraguan elections by exploiting the hunger of a war-weary population, ground down by years of economic embargo and contra war imposed by the U.S. Proposing a naval blockade of Colombia to "interdict drugs." And, testing just how far the Kremlin under Gorbachev is willing to appease them, the rulers in Washington have sharply escalated their provocations against Cuba. In imperialist eyes, the survival of the only successful anti-capitalist revolution in the Western Hemisphere is an intolerable challenge to their dominance of the region.

In a blatant act of international piracy in the Gulf of Mexico, on January 30 the U.S. Coast Guard attacked an

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Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism!



U.S. Marines at Guantánamo military base in Cuba.

Michael Luongo

Stalinist Show Trial of General Ochoa in Cuba... 6

Interracial Basketball Team Sues, Jury Awards \$76 M

Brooklyn Flames Slam Dunk NYPD

Bensonhurst. Howard Beach. Gravesend. After the lynch mob murders of Yusuf Hawkins, Michael Griffith and Willie Turks, the names of these white ethnic enclaves have come to symbolize racist terror in "Up South" New York. If you are black, and you stop for a bagel or a slice of pizza in one of these neighborhoods, or one of countless others like them in every borough of the city, you are literally risking your life. Yet despite all the race-hate whipped up by the likes of ex-mayor Ed Koch and the terror routinely meted out to blacks and Hispanics by the NYPD, there remain principled men and women in this city who are committed, sometimes at great personal cost, to justice and simple decency. For example, the Flames, an interracial community basketball league in Brooklyn.

On March 7 a New York State Supreme Court jury awarded \$76.1 million to the Flames' head coach, Gerard Papa, 36, from Bensonhurst, who is white, and James Rampersant, 27, a black friend, for damages suffered on the night of 12 March 1986, when the two men were shot at and then savagely beaten by five white NYC cops. This is apparently the largest police brutality settlement ever in New York State.

The incident began just before midnight when they were driving home,

Hinojosa/Newsday
James Rampersant (left) and Gerard Papa were savagely beaten by the New York police.



shooting the breeze in Papa's Lincoln as they turned onto one-way Bayview Avenue in Coney Island. Suddenly the headlights of an oncoming car were in their eyes. Papa tried to back up, hitting another car which had boxed him in from behind. Then two men with drawn guns left the front car and started shooting. Thinking they had been caught in the middle of a gang war Papa ducked down and hit the gas. Witnesses called 911. The tape of the call was later played on TV: "There are guys out here in cars, and they're shooting like—it's the OK Corral. Get somebody out here now!" But the cops were already there.

When Gerard Papa saw uniformed cops he thought he was going to be rescued. Instead he was dragged from the car, kicked, beaten and had his head smashed on the pavement. Papa received a concussion, broken ribs and other injuries. Rampersant's beating left him with a concussion. Neither man was taken to the hospital. Papa and Rampersant were then charged with attempted murder of a police officer, assault, reckless endangerment and criminal mischief. They spent two days in jail waiting to be arraigned. The charges against them were eventually dropped but the two are lucky to be alive. The cops, who claim they saw a weapon (there was none), could easily have blown them away "within police guidelines."

The cops' story, that five of them, in two unmarked cars, were searching for a thief who stole \$10 and a cheap ring from a black prostitute six days earlier, was absurd on the face of it and the six jurors, all non-whites, wouldn't buy it. In interviews after the trial none of the jurors would give their names for fear of police retribution. One said, "It's a blatant disregard for human life. The officers came here, and they didn't show remorse. And, quite frankly, they scared us" (*New York Times*, 8 March). The cops said it was all a case of mistaken identity. But there was no mistake. Papa had been in the cops' cross hairs for a long time.

Gerard Papa graduated from Columbia Law School and then went to work on Wall Street for a hefty salary. But he gave it up in 1974 to found the Flames, a community basketball team based in Bensonhurst which was started with white kids not good enough for any existing team. Anybody could join the Flames, kids from either side of the elevated F-train tracks, whether from the heavily Sicilian neighborhoods or the heavily black Marboro Homes project. This won Papa friends, and also enemies:

"So I started a team and then I started to notice this would be a great vehicle for—to do some good work.... Then, the

next year, when we got a black kid on the team—you know, three black kids on the team, and all of a sudden all the racial problems started. Well, you know, now I was in the middle of a fight, and I realized it was a fight worth fighting."

—CBS-TV, *60 Minutes*
(1 October 1989)

Father Vincent Termine let the Flames use the gym at the Church of the Most Precious Blood as their home court. In an interview with *WV*, Gerard Papa recalled the '77-'78 season. "When you went to an away game, you'd literally plan ahead of time how you were going to go, where you were going to leave the kids, where the car was going to be when you came out, how you could get out of the gym into the car so that you would get out of this all in one piece." But Papa and the Flames persevered. That same season they won the league championship for their age group for all of Brooklyn and Queens, an event Papa described as "like going to the World Series as an expansion team." Today the Flames have grown to 30 teams and some 200 kids, roughly 60 percent black, from some of the toughest parts of Brooklyn.

In 1979 Papa began seeking city funding for the Flames, and over the next few years some money did come in. Then he tumbled onto misuse of funds: hundreds of thousands of dollars disappearing into nonexistent programs and no-show jobs. When Papa blew the whistle, funds were cut off to some phony groups and some were closed down. But in retaliation, the Flames funding was eliminated too. Within 18 months every bit was gone, apart from a \$20,000 grant from the City Youth Bureau, and that was cut off following Papa's arrest. Today, the league runs on the support of local merchants. But with the local pols as well as with the cops, the head coach of the Flames was a marked man.

For a year after the beating, the Brooklyn D.A., liberal Liz Holtzman, took no action against the cops. When a grand jury was finally convened it rejected criminal charges against the police. Needless to say, the cops faced no departmental charges and are on the job today. After last month's civil suit award, the city is appealing the fines. Today, instead of the racist pig Ed Koch, New York has a black mayor, David Dinkins. Holtzman is now the city comptroller, elected with Dinkins' backing. But the cops haven't changed—the NYPD's "inaugural message" to Dinkins was the shooting of two Hispanic youths in Bushwick, 17-year-old Luis Liranso and José Luis Lebrón, age 14.

Gerard Papa suffered permanent injuries and no longer practices law. He and James Rampersant have not seen any money yet, but we hope they get every penny. ■



TROTSKY

May Day: For Proletarian Internationalism

This year marks the 100th anniversary of May Day, the worldwide workers' holiday proclaimed by the Socialist International in 1890 to commemorate the frame-up and execution of four American labor radicals, three of them German immigrants, in Chicago three years earlier. Writing on the eve of the first imperialist world war, Rosa Luxemburg saw May Day above all as a struggle against the war-driven and exploitative capitalist system.



LENIN

In Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany, the celebration of May Day was an important act of working-class defiance of bourgeois authority.

A chain of unending, exorbitant armaments on land and on sea in all capitalist countries because of rivalries; a chain of bloody wars which have spread from Africa to Europe and which at any moment could light the spark which would become a world fire; moreover, for years the uncheckable specter of inflation, of mass hunger in the whole capitalist world—all of these are the signs under which the world holiday of labor, after nearly a quarter of a century, approaches. And each of these signs is a flaming testimony of the living truth and the power of the idea of May Day.

The brilliant basic idea of May Day is the autonomous, immediate stepping forward of the proletarian masses, the political mass action of the millions of workers who otherwise are atomized by the barriers of the state in the day-to-day parliamentary affairs.

...the more the idea of May Day, the idea of resolute mass actions as a manifestation of international unity, and as a means of struggle for peace and for socialism, takes root in the strongest troops of the International, the German working class, the greater is our guarantee that out of the world war which, sooner or later, is unavoidable, will come forth a definite and victorious struggle between the world of labor and that of capital.

—"The Idea of May Day on the March" (April 1913)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 500

20 April 1990

Spartacist Forums

Black South Africa Seething:

Smash Apartheid! Workers to Power!

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, April 21, 7:30 p.m.

Room 306, Barnard Hall
Barnard College
(No. 1 train to 116th St. and B'way)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

BOSTON

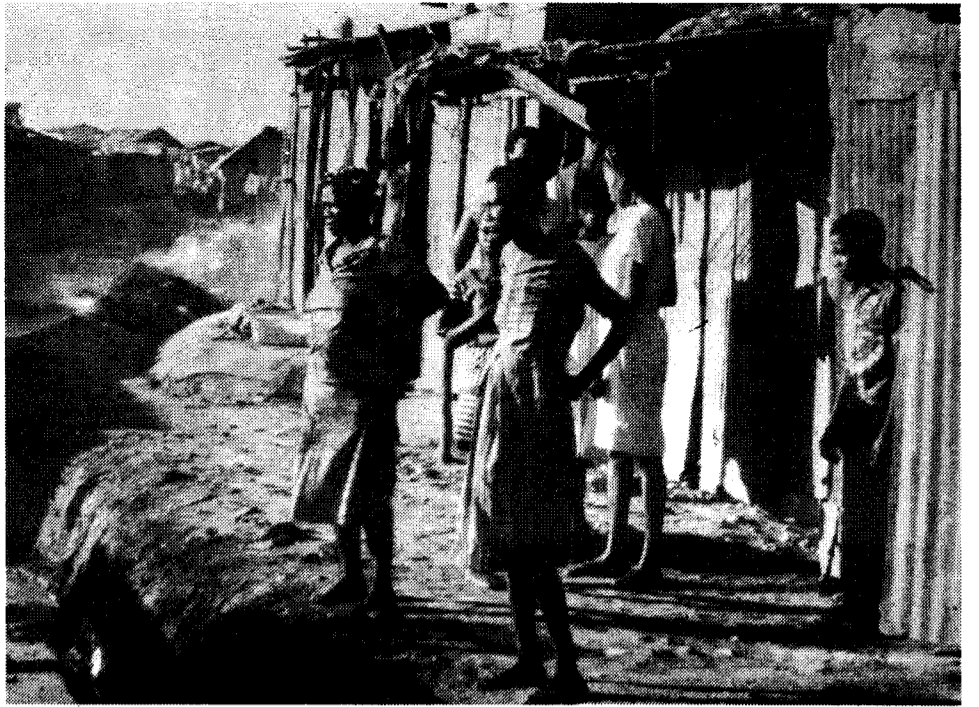
Wednesday, April 25, 7:30 p.m.

Emerson 305
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928



AFP

Demonstrators in Port-au-Prince display gun taken from thug of deposed dictator Avril. Shantytown in Haiti, the most wretchedly poor country in the Western hemisphere.



Christopher Little

Haitian Masses Battle Poverty, Dictators Made in USA

General Avril Takes the Miami Shuttle

On March 12, after the sharpest outburst of mass protests since Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier was ousted four years ago, the Haitian masses drove hated military dictator Prosper Avril out of the country. As Avril was flown to Miami in a U.S. military transport, the American ambassador in Port-au-Prince practically choreographed step by step the setting up of a new "civilian" government. But this can only be a cosmetic revamping of continued oppression by the army and Duvalierist thugs, the feared Tonton Macoutes.

Last year, unions called two massive general strikes in the face of vicious repression. Following Avril's ouster, as rampaging soldiers and Macoutes kill dozens in nightly shootings, civilian "vigilance brigades" have been formed in poor neighborhoods of the capital and the countryside. Hoping to put a lid on the exploding social struggle, the new regime announced as its sole program the organization of "democratic" elections. But in this tortured land, no fundamental questions will be decided at the ballot box. The last time Haitians went to the polls, voters were indiscriminately slaughtered as they stood in line to vote.

As social tensions in Haiti reach the breaking point, there is a crying need for an independent struggle for power by the working class.

The explosion of rage which brought down Avril was provoked on March 5 when government soldiers fired on a peaceful demonstration in Petit Goâve, killing 11-year-old Roseline Vaval. The parties of the "democratic opposition" responded with a call for a "popular uprising" to force Avril to resign. Three



Wide World



Claude Perez



U.S. News & World Report



Morel/Haiti-Observateur

Three decades of bloody terror: François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier; Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier; Henri Namphy; Prosper Avril.

days later, as some 10,000 people assembled for Vaval's burial, they were attacked by club-wielding soldiers. When protesters marched to the National Palace, the Presidential Guard opened fire. The following day saw a veritable popular insurrection as flaming barricades went up in all cities and in most towns along the North-South highway.

In city after city angry crowds braved army bullets and clubs to vent their wrath on symbols of the hated military regime. In Petit Goâve they burned down the military headquarters. In Port-au-Prince, Gonaïves and other cities they sacked government buildings and the

homes and offices of Avril supporters. The army responded with a wave of terror, shooting into crowds of demonstrators or firing at passers-by from speeding trucks. As the revolt continued, U.S. ambassador Alvin Adams unceremoniously called Avril out of bed at 2 a.m. for a "highly personal conversation." Two hours later the dictator was bundled aboard a cargo plane to Florida.

The formation of a new civilian government was presented as a great victory for the Twelve, a recently formed coalition ranging from bourgeois luminaries like former World Bank official Marc Barzin to the wretchedly reformist Communist Party. These forces are to be represented in a Council of State with veto power over the new president, Supreme Court Justice Ertha Pascal-Trouillot. But this "caretaker" government, born of the coming together of the bourgeois opposition and the murderous officer corps with the blessing of U.S. imperialism, is no agent of "democratic reform." The defense minister, Col. Jean Thomas, was for many years a member of the Presidential Guard. And the figurehead president, Mme. Pascal-Trouillot, was a supporter of "Papa Doc" who was appointed a judge by his son.

The passage of power to the new government was carefully orchestrated to reinforce the illusion of "independence" from the military. The chief of the army

smartly saluted the new president and pledged that his forces are now "at your command." But the power of the army is in no way broken simply because Avril has gone into exile. In fact, no sooner had the new president been designated than she promptly went into hiding for a day, fearing a possible coup. In a taped message to his comrades-in-arms, Avril assured the troops that he had been guaranteed that they would not be prosecuted for past actions and that the Presidential Guard would only be renamed, not disbanded.

The illusion that the Duvalierist state apparatus can be pressured to carry out a "democratic reform" is belied by all experience since a mass popular upsurge toppled Baby Doc in February 1986. Despite heady hopes of "people's power," the Haitian masses had to endure a regime of terror under military strongman General Henri Namphy. The November 1987 elections were drowned in blood. A rigged vote then installed Leslie Manigat who, in the five months until he was sent into exile by Namphy, was nothing more than a front for the generals. When Avril ousted Namphy in September 1988 he in turn pledged to introduce "democracy." Instead he launched a reign of terror. Last year there were 354 reported death squad assassinations; the real number

continued on page 4



Reuters

Washington's current figurehead president, Mme. Pascal-Trouillot (left), a former supporter of "Papa Doc" Duvalier.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

California Oil Workers: "Bring Back the Coker 6!"

RODEO, California—Three dozen workers rallied outside the Unocal refinery here on April 11, furious at the firing of six members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) for "violating company rules." Their "crime"? Supposed drug and alcohol use, and reading "unauthorized materials, including adult books"! Unocal's "proof" is the unsubstantiated testimony of a company agent who spied on workers in the plant's coking unit. One of the unionists, members of OCAW Local 1-326, told *WV* that Unocal's paid snitch "wiped out 30 years of seniority in a heartbeat." Another fired worker bitterly said he wasn't about to give up the union that Greg Goobic died for. Goobic, a 20-year-old Unocal worker, was run down and killed by a scab in the 1983 OCAW strike.

Unocal's spy, labeled "The Infallible Source" on workers' picket signs at the rally, was hired from Krout & Schneider, a private detective outfit. One of the fired workers said that Unocal picked out the coking section because "We're a unit that's pretty highly union-oriented with a lot of stewards." OCAW unit chairman David Castagnetti pointed out that "the coker has quite a bit of strength in the union. And if they hit the big



Oil workers picket Unocal in Rodeo, California. WV Photo

guy, the rest of them will fall down behind." The company infiltrated the spy into the union during the recent negotiations. As soon as the contract was signed, Unocal moved to fire the workers.

There was white-hot anger among OCAW members at the rally. In the name of the capitalists' "war on

drugs," these workers have suddenly found themselves on the street, blacklisted from the industry. The same union "leadership" that draws up drug testing plans to help the bosses police the workforce now leaves the fired workers to twist in the wind. All the union tops have done is file a grievance, which could take a year to resolve! Even with the threat of more firings hanging over the heads of Local 1-326 members, the OCAW tops pursue their crawling, losing strategy.

The drug witchhunt has as its primary targets unions and minorities, as the capitalist class tries to break the back of any resistance to the impoverishment of American working people. At the nearby Chevron refinery in Richmond, workers have been subjected to degrading searches by drug-sniffing dogs. And in Daly City, transit cops recently raided a BART workers' locker room, cutting locks off with bolt cutters. Especially in transit and the oil and chemical industry, the bosses attempt to justify their drug witchhunt with lies about their supposed concern with safety. But what kills scores of workers and endangers the public are capitalism's profit-driven cuts in maintenance and safety.

The labor movement has the power to stop this union-busting witchhunt, but the sellout labor bureaucrats are always eager to demonstrate their loyalty to capitalism. In New York, Transport Workers Union Local 100 chief Sonny Hall has *volunteered* his membership up for drug testing. Hall was recently embarrassed when even the federal courts threw out, for the moment, DOT rules which would have subjected transit workers to mandatory testing. In another case brought by the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Council, a federal district judge stopped the Navy's testing of 50,000 civilian workers, including many in government shipyards.

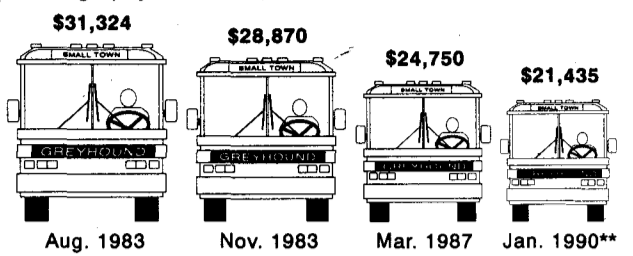
What's needed is some hard class struggle. Local 1-326 workers should teach the arrogant Unocal bosses a lesson by some quick strike action to *occupy the refinery* and put some teeth in the demand they chanted at the rally: "Hell with the lies, hell with the piss, bring back the Coker 6."

Greyhound: Working for a Dog's Wage

Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) members striking against Greyhound have their backs to the wall—their wages have been driven down so far there is nothing left to "giveback." Take a look at the "incredible shrinking bus" representing a driver's pay in the AFL-CIO graphic above. It certainly speaks to the viciousness of union-busting Greyhound boss Fred Currey, whose scabs have killed one striker and run down and assaulted scores more around the country. Now Currey has filed a \$30 million "racketeering" suit against the union,

Greyhound salaries*

Average pay of drivers, 1983 - 1990



* Estimated using 77,344 miles driven

** Buying power of 1987 salary

Source: Constructed from mileage rates by the AFL-CIO Department of Economic Research

AFL-CIO Graphic

and is calling on the feds to take over the union's Atlanta and Charlotte locals, all on the incredible grounds that the union is extorting "wages and benefits from Greyhound through violence!"

But the destruction of the drivers' pay is an even more devastating indictment of the union bureaucrats who have throttled the Greyhound workers' struggle for the last seven years. Betrayed by the no-fight labor traitors in the 1983 strike, Greyhound workers took a \$2,500 yearly pay cut. When Currey bought the company in 1987, the union tops handed him another \$4,000 per head, without so much as a whimper of protest. All told, taking inflation into account, capitalism's labor lieutenants have forked over 45 percent of Greyhound drivers' wages!

When will it stop? When the ATU strikers throw out the labor misleaders who have taken the union to the brink of destruction. Now the bureaucrats and their fake-left apologists are burying the strike with an impotent consumer boycott, empty "solidarity" rallies every couple of weeks, and reliance on Democratic Party politicians and the bosses' courts. At a New York rally on April 6, Teamster Local 111 president Dan Kane solidarized with the police, who have been making sure the scab buses keep running. ATU president James La Sala responded to Currey's RICO suit by denouncing as "common criminals" those who have made desperate attempts to stop the scabs out of frustration and despair at the bureaucracy's sabotage of the strike. Meanwhile the capitalist state protects the real criminals, like the scab who brutally killed Robert Waterhouse in Redding, California and isn't even being charged.

After an ATU Local 1202 member was hit by a scab driver at New York's Port Authority terminal, one of his union brothers pointed out the union should have responded with pickets and "closed this place down." Damn right—the Port Authority and every bus terminal should have been ringed with hundreds and thousands of pickets! Greyhound strikers must fight for elected strike committees that will appeal to the rest of labor to join them in building mass picket lines that can win this strike. ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 3)

is no doubt much higher.

The fall of the Avril regime has sparked a wave of strikes, particularly in public services and government-owned enterprises, as workers demand the ousting of their incompetent and corrupt Duvalierist managements. The new president promptly counseled them to stop their "internal squabbles and settling of accounts" (*Haiti-Observateur*, 21-28 March). But it will not be so easy to head off the struggles of the workers, whose organizations have been greatly reinforced in the last four years. Avril's 18-month reign was marked by powerful political strikes against the IMF-imposed austerity measures and Duvalierist terror. Last November when three opposition leaders were arrested and savagely beaten by the police, the militant CATH (Autonomous Haitian Workers Federation) called a two-day general strike which virtually shut down the country.

It is striking how, even in a country as cruelly impoverished as Haiti, the working class has demonstrated its preponderant social weight. These powerful strikes underline the fact that only the working class has the social force and cohesion to lead the rural and urban poor in overthrowing capitalism. It is a central tenet of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution, graphically confirmed in the

crucible of the Russian Revolution of 1917, that in the underdeveloped semi-colonial countries such basic democratic gains as land reform, a complete break with imperialist exploitation, and democratic freedoms can only be accomplished by the proletariat, supported by the peasantry and all the oppressed, taking power and setting up its own class rule.

In Haiti today, the defense by workers and peasants of meetings, demonstrations, strikes and land occupations is a matter of life and death. But petty-bourgeois oppositionists follow in the wake of the bourgeois/reformist Twelve in calling for a program of "democratic" reform. Thus the Committee Against Repression, in a statement reported uncritically by the SWP's *Militant* (23 March), proposes a provisional government headed by popular Catholic priest Jean Bertrand Aristide, with a proposed "minimum program" to purge the state of Duvalierists and organize free elections. From Spain in the 1930s to Allende's Chile in the early '70s, this policy of "popular front" with the "democratic" bourgeoisie has proved to be a set-up for bloody defeat.

Haitian workers must not be taken in by the hoax that the "democratic" oppressors will be any less ruthless in defending their class interests than the hated Duvalierists. The tiny bourgeois layer living in luxury in the hills above Port-au-Prince can only rule over the

wretched *bidonvilles* with the backing of U.S. imperialism and the guns of their military guard dogs. The way out of this misery for the masses is a fight for a workers and peasants government. But the social base for a working-class revolution is exceedingly narrow in a country as economically backward as Haiti. To triumph, the struggle must be taken up by workers in neighboring Caribbean countries and above all in North America.

Haitian workers in the diaspora, from Montreal to Miami, can play a crucial

role as a bridge to the rest of the American proletariat, particularly black workers, who follow events in Haiti with keen interest. A quarter million Haitians reside in New York City alone, where Haitian and Dominican garment workers are currently waging a bitter struggle for union recognition in the Domsey strike. The Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League, appeals to these and other class-conscious workers to join in building a multiracial vanguard party to lead the international struggle for socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist  Forums

No to German Fourth Reich!

For Class Struggle Against Capitalist Pillage in East Germany

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Peter Atkins, Spartacist League Central Committee

BERKELEY

Thursday, April 26, 4 p.m.

UC Berkeley
81 Evans Hall

For more information: (415) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, April 19, 6 p.m.

SF State University
Student Union, B112

For more information: (415) 863-6963

Capitalist Reunification Means Misery

DDR Workers Protest

Fourth Reich Bankers' Plan

In the final spurt of the campaign for the March 18 elections in East Germany (DDR), West German chancellor Helmut Kohl vowed at a Leipzig rally that, if they voted for a quick reunification, DDR citizens' savings would be exchanged for Deutschmarks at a rate of 1:1. This pledge had a significant impact on the voting, including with many workers, who went for "the quick mark."

But less than two weeks later, the directors of the Bundesbank, West Germany's central bank, decided in a meeting behind closed doors in Frankfurt that in a currency union, DDR marks should be exchanged for D-marks at a rate of 2:1. When news of this leaked out, there was outrage in East Germany. *Berliner Zeitung* (2 April) headlined: "2:1! The Bacon Laid Out for March 18 Is Taken Back."

The East German trade-union federation, the FDGB, called for demonstrations against the projected exchange rate, charging election fraud. On April 5, hundreds of thousands protested in cities throughout the DDR. In East Berlin, up to 100,000 marched from Alexanderplatz to the Lustgarten, opposite the Palace of the Republic, where the newly elected Volkskammer (DDR parliament) was meeting in its first session.

In Dresden there were a reported 70,000 demonstrators, in Leipzig 50,000, some 20,000 each in Halle and Rostock, tens of thousands more in Cottbus, Gera, Magdeburg, even 5,000 in the provincial town of Quedlinburg. There were many DDR flags to be seen, but the leaders were pushing German nationalism with repeated statements that "we are one people." In Halle a prominent chauvinist slogan was "we are not half Germans."

In Berlin, the speaker of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) was drowned out by the angry crowd. Gregor Gysi of the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the Stalinist SED) was cheered when he called for "something better than the DDR but also better than the BRD [West Germany]." Yet the PDS deputies had just voted together with the SPD and Christian Democrats to eliminate any reference to socialism in the constitution of the DDR!

The PDS and FDGB only want to bargain over the price of the capitalist buyout. What's needed instead is hard class struggle. Successful struggles to

Trade-union rally in East Berlin on April 5 denounces plan by West German central bank to slash wages and savings by a currency union at a 2:1 rate.



defend jobs and livelihoods can be key to halting the drive to capitalist reunification and give the working class time to regroup for a political counteroffensive.

We print below translated excerpts from the speech which was to be given at the Berlin rally by our comrade Renate Dahlhaus of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, which was submitted for publication to the FDGB.

Comrades and fellow trade-unionists,

Well, we have just been given the first taste of what the bitter defeat of March 18 will mean. The people who thought they were going to get a land flowing with D-marks have now gotten the sobering shock that what they voted for was Latin American-style living conditions. The Bundesbank says they're going to cut our wages, pensions and savings in half. The working people say no!

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany says: For class struggle against the plundering of capital! We must not allow the school lunches or day-care centers for our children to be eliminated. We must

not allow our elderly to be driven to rummaging through the garbage like they are forced to do in the cities of the "golden" capitalist West in order to find leftovers to eat.

But the working people will not be able to defend their social achievements if our trade unions restrict themselves to pressure tactics over what price we will be sold for. Even on the basis of 1:1, the introduction of the D-mark together with Western prices will effectively mean an immediate 40 percent drop in wage levels for workers here in the DDR. And that's only the tip of the iceberg.

The Spartakist Workers Party was the only party which stood openly and clearly in the Volkskammer elections against capitalist reunification, with no ifs, ands or buts. We warned, as I did myself at the Treptow anti-fascist demonstration on January 3, that the SPD was a Trojan horse for counterrevolution—and the SPD has certainly demonstrated that. We also warned that the capitulation by the PDS to Kohl's call for "Germany, one fatherland" paved the way to a victory for Kohl and his puppets.

The Fourth Reich won in the Volkskammer elections. And with that comes racism and anti-Semitism. The working class must prepare now for the defensive struggles we face. And the force to carry out that fight is represented in the 8.6 million members of the trade unions. From Bergmann-Borsig [metal plant in East Berlin] to the Leuna works [chemical plant south of Halle], every worker knows that we are facing layoffs as the capitalists move in to buy out our VEBs [state-owned plants]. The same Stalinist bureaucrats who over the years wastefully mismanaged our enterprises are today the managers making deals with the capitalists behind our backs for a fast D-mark. At our expense!

Fight to protect our socialized property! Struggle against the plant takeovers and shutdowns! In every enterprise, begin organizing plant assemblies to demand full and detailed reports and to hammer out a strategy to fight the attacks. In every factory, begin organizing

delegations to go to the other factories to plan common struggle. We must seriously prepare for the necessary strike actions, when and where indicated, and organize them to win.

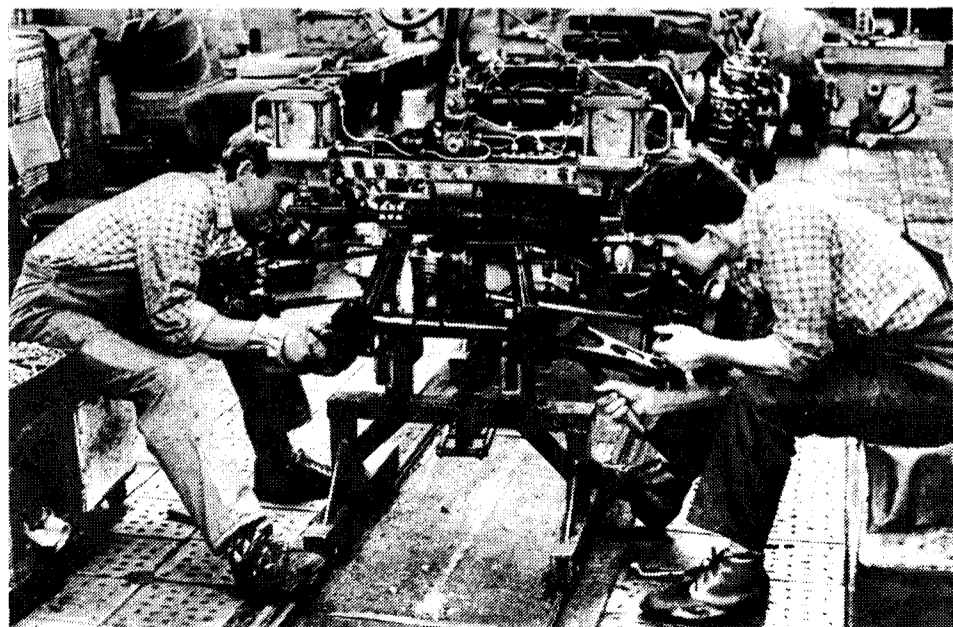
Make sure to defend our foreign worker colleagues against discriminatory treatment—national chauvinism is the weapon of the right, internationalism is our strength! Make sure students and pensioners are not left to fend for themselves. Make sure women are not forced out of their jobs. An injury to one is an injury to all!

Let our trade-union organizations begin now to seek allies with our class

Wir sind ein Volk
1:1 PDS

Bargaining over the terms of capitalist reunification, the former DDR ruling party (PDS) declares, "We are one people."

brothers and sisters in West Germany, who are themselves preparing for strike action against the bosses. Let us reach out to our class brothers and sisters in Poland, who are being forced to eat in soup kitchens while their country is sold to the international bankers. Let us look to our comrade workers in the Soviet Union, to the miners in Vorkuta and the Donbass who have waged hard strikes to defend their livelihoods, to the Red Army soldiers who smashed the Third Reich and today guard the border against the revanchist designs of Bonn and NATO. Let us prepare to fight, relying on our social power as a class. For a solid front in action of the workers against the bosses. Defend our jobs! Defend our living standards! Defend our social gains! Defend our socialized property! ■



Eric-Jan Ouwerkerk

Building Trabant auto: highly skilled East German working class with primitive equipment now faces mass unemployment in drive to capitalist reunification.

Stalinist Show Trial in Cuba

The Execution of General Ochoa



Bleibtreu/Syigma

General Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez

"This Revolution struggles, too, not to destroy any who have been its children.... Struggles so that any man can be corrected, so that any revolutionary who makes mistakes can rectify them.... The Revolution is patient, and tolerant, and it tries to help comrades and not destroy them."

—Fidel Castro, 13 March 1966

* * *

"Did Ochoa have the opportunity to save himself?... If the man had sincerely repented, there might have been arguments against his execution and even against his being sent to prison.... there were moments when the Revolution could be, and was, generous without hurting itself. Today, the Revolution cannot be generous without really hurting itself."

—Fidel Castro, 9 July 1990

Last June 14, Division General Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez was arrested in Havana, Cuba on charges of corruption and misuse of funds. Two days later, the charges were raised to include dealing with international drug traffickers and possible drug smuggling. On June 24, General Ochoa was brought before a military tribunal of honor composed of 47 top generals and admirals of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR). Stripped of his rank and honors, on June 30 Ochoa was placed on trial together with a group of officials of the Ministry of Interior (MININT) headed by Colonel Antonio de la Guardia.

After a trial that lasted three days, Arnaldo Ochoa, Tony de la Guardia and their two top aides were sentenced to death; ten others were sentenced to jail terms of up to 30 years. The day after the military court's verdict, the sentences were appealed to the Cuban Supreme Court, which immediately rejected the

appeal. The next day the Council of State met and confirmed the sentences. The sentences, the appeal, its rejection and confirmation of the death penalties were all reported on July 10 in the Cuban daily *Granma*, and on July 13, barely one

headed the Cuban military missions in Ethiopia and Nicaragua, commanded the Western and Central armies in Cuba as well as the Havana district, and was slated to become commander of the key Western region. He was sent to Venezue-



Tasnadi/AP

Raúl and Fidel Castro

month after the first accusations appeared, the executions were carried out by firing squad.

This drumhead trial and rapid execution were unprecedented in Fidel Castro's Cuba. This was the first time that leading government officials were subjected to capital punishment. For that matter, since 1959 not even a counterrevolutionary *gusano* has been executed in Cuba. But in this case, General Ochoa was the former head of the Cuban military mission in Angola and one of the very few FAR officers to receive the award of Hero of the Revolution. Ochoa had also

la to aid the guerrillas in the early 1960s. He fought with Fidel and Raúl Castro and Che Guevara in the Sierra Maestra against the Batista dictatorship.

Arnaldo Ochoa was truly a child of the Cuban Revolution. Tony de la Guardia came from an upper-class Havana family and had worked in the MININT since 1960. After 18 years in the elite Special Troops, he was appointed head of Department Z (later changed to MC) which was in charge of circumventing the U.S. embargo by obtaining goods on black markets around the world. His brother Patricio, also convicted in the affair, was a brigadier general in the Interior Ministry, headed the MININT mission in Angola while Ochoa headed the FAR there, and was head of Cuba's Special Troops in Chile, with Allende right up to the coup. With such prominent Fidelistas on trial, the whole country sat glued to their sets as testimony was broadcast over TV. Walls in Havana were painted with "8A" (in Spanish, "ocho-a"), in support of the popular general.

The Ochoa case, "Case 1/89," was a classic Stalinist purge of the top levels of the ruling bureaucracy, complete with show trial, abject confessions and an appeal by the defendant that the maximum penalty be applied against him. It was followed by Case 2/89, in which the chief defendant was Interior Minister Division General José Abrantes. Altogether eight MININT generals as well as a number of colonels and majors were jailed, fired or resigned, including the heads of the intelligence department, customs, immigration, border police and deputy heads of the political department. Also jailed in a linked "morals" case was the vice president of the council of ministers, Transportation Minister Diocles Torralbas, formerly a Comandante of the Revolution and head of FAR air defense.

So the entire top echelons of the police apparatus were cleaned out. This was

followed in the fall with a check of Communist Party cards, with 400,000 members interviewed, 6,000 disciplined and 2,000 expelled. The Ochoa case became the centerpiece of the Castro brothers' "rectification" campaign. In his 1988 July 26th speech, Castro declared that because of Cuba's geographical location—"ninety miles away from the most powerful empire on earth," or even "two millimeters away...right there at the Guantánamo naval base"—the party "can make no mistakes that will weaken it ideologically." And shortly after the Ochoa execution, Cuba banned the Soviet publications *Moscow News* and *Sputnik* as anti-socialist (see "Bush Targets Cuba," page 1).

With Washington increasingly aggressive in its provocations, and Cuba increasingly isolated as a result of the international crisis of Stalinism, the Castro regime is hunkering down. Yet as itself a bureaucratically deformed workers state, Cuba is experiencing many of the same pro-capitalist social pressures as East Europe and the Soviet Union. Beyond the individuals involved, Cases 1 and 2/1989 showed a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic layer prone to corruption and ready to cut personal deals with the capitalist enemy. As a Stalinist, Castro's only answer is to intensify moral/ideological exhortation and police repression while seeking to appease imperialism. Under siege, the regime is showing a bunker mentality; congenitally alien to workers democracy and proletarian internationalism, the regime espouses a nationalist ideology which is a caricature of "barracks socialism."

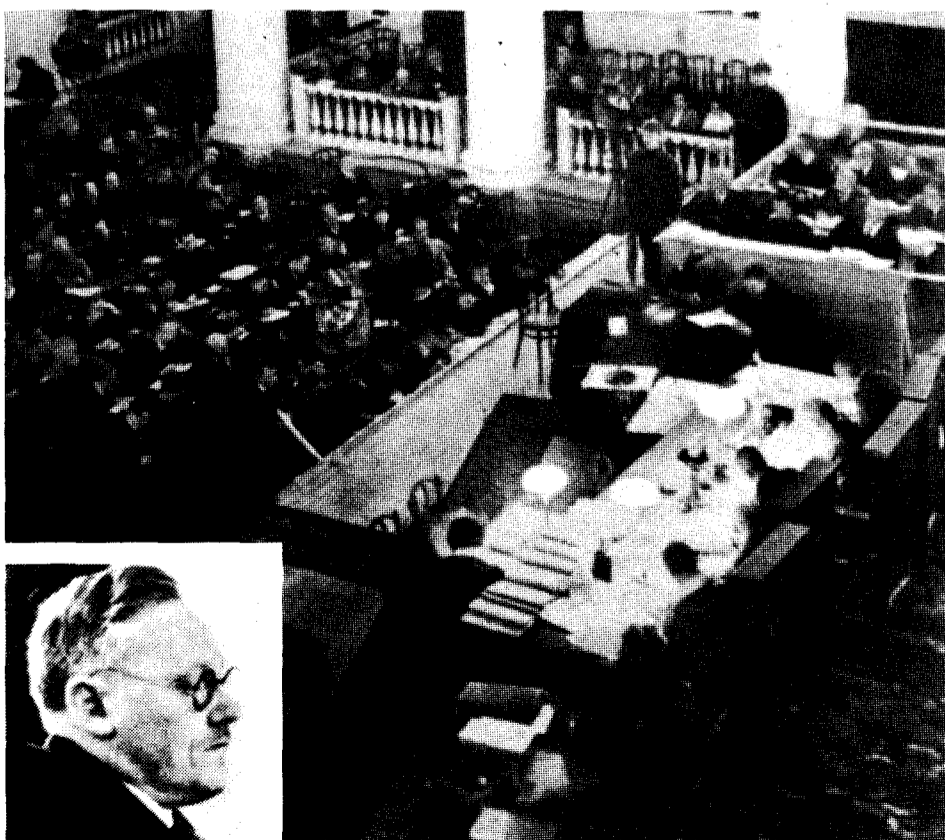
Ochoa, the Castros and the Angolan War

These are some of the effects of the Ochoa trial, which signaled the most serious internal crisis in the three decades of Castro's Cuba. But what brought it on? What were the charges, the evidence? We have to say from the outset that *we don't know what happened*. We weren't there, and we only have one side of the story to go on: the prosecution's case and the "confessions." And the main defendants were summarily shot.

When General Ochoa was arrested, he was accused of corruption, essentially dealings on the Angolan black market. During the "trial," the prosecutor claimed Ochoa and his aide Captain Jorge Martínez (also executed) were selling sugar in order to get dollars to deposit in a Panamanian bank account. Ochoa said they changed dollars into local currency to buy materials to build an airport in southern Angola. This was a real triumph; they built an airfield to handle jet fighters in just seven weeks. This was key to providing air cover for Cuban and Angolan troops that defeated the South African apartheid invaders at Cuito Cuanavale. If Ochoa turned to the black market to get what he needed, when he needed it, that's hardly a crime.

The charges over black-marketeering are dubious in the extreme: Ochoa is accused of selling sugar and buying elephant tusks; he replies that tusks were freely sold like television sets on the

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Acme

In the infamous Moscow Trials of the late 1930s, prosecuted by Andrei Vyshinsky (inset), Stalin exterminated the old Bolshevik cadre.



Der Spiegel

Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism!

Continued from page 1

unarmed Cuban-chartered freighter in international waters carrying a load of chrome ore to Mexico. Claiming the cargo ship "fit the profile" of a drug-running vessel, the Americans demanded to board it. When the crew of the *Hermann* refused, the Coast Guard gunship opened fire—on explicit orders from Washington—with machine guns and 20-mm cannon. They kept on firing inside Mexican waters, but the Cubans escaped. When they finally docked in Tampico, Mexican authorities searched the ship and found only ten tons of chrome ore.

Demonstrating utter contempt for the norms of diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies, during the bloody invasion of Panama U.S. troops besieged the Cuban embassy, kidnapping two Cuban diplomats and blockading the ambassador's residence. In December, Cuban soldiers were fired on by U.S. troops at the Guantánamo naval base, on Cuban territory seized by American forces during the Spanish-American War almost a century ago and forcibly occupied ever since. The recent visit of the battleship *Wisconsin* and an assault aircraft carrier at Guantánamo underlined the threat.

Then last month the U.S. began broadcasting TV Martí into Cuba as an escalation of the propaganda war. The Cubans immediately and effectively jammed it, showing off to the press their 160-foot antennas, microwave dishes and specially equipped helicopters. But American broadcasters are far more worried that Havana might retaliate with its million-watt transmitters. In March, Cuba beamed a Castro press conference deep into the U.S., on six different frequencies, reaching 30 states and affecting up to a thousand radio stations.

Following the Sandinista defeat in the Nicaraguan elections in February, Republican Senate leader Robert Dole declared, "As I see it it's two down, Panama and Nicaragua, and one to go—Cuba." Visiting Brazil in March, Vice President Dan Quayle proclaimed, "Cuba is the last serious problem on the continent," underscoring both his ignorance of geography and Washington's aggressive designs. U.S. rulers imagine in their swaggering arrogance that the Cubans too will bow down to their tanks and their dollars. The

gusanos (worms) in Miami are sporting bumper stickers reading "Next Christmas in Havana," and arguing about how to divide up the spoils of counterrevolution on the island.

If they try, it will be a bloody affair. Cuba is not Grenada, nor Panama or even

up in their militia uniforms, and tens of thousands came out to greet the courageous crew of the *Hermann*. This shows again that any military aggression from the north would meet fierce resistance on the part of an armed and defiant populace. Thus the U.S. imperialists, in their

when supplies of Soviet grain and flour had not arrived, reportedly because of a shortage of ships from Poland, East Germany and the USSR. Feed grain for cattle was unavailable, and its use for poultry was cut back drastically; buying this on the world market then drove up the price of eggs. Lack of hard currency credit has reduced Cuban trade with the industrialized capitalist countries by 40 percent. And a recently proposed austerity plan would mean cuts in electricity consumption of up to 50 percent, a freeze on most construction, and factory shutdowns (*Washington Post*, 7 April).

"What socialist camp can we speak of today?" asked Castro in a March 7 speech to the Cuban Federation of Women. "The socialist camp, indeed, is gone." Addressing the Cuban trade-union federation in January, he worried openly: "For decades, our plans... were based on the existence of a socialist camp... with which we worked out agreements and had close economic ties.... We don't even know what government will be ruling over those countries, we don't know who will be there in 1990.... What about 1991? Can you imagine the 1991-1995 five-year plan?" (*Granma Weekly Review*, 11 February). COMECON trade has accounted for 82 percent of Cuba's imports and 87 percent of exports.

It is not hard to understand why the Cubans are nervous these days—even Soviet aid, which has been vital for Cuba to survive despite the imperialist blockade, may be jeopardized. Following out the Stalinist logic of appeasing imperialism, Gorbachev is giving away the store in East Europe, and Cuba is a long ways away. In the "enrich myself" perestroika atmosphere of Russia today, *Izvestia* reported last August that because "cooperation with Cuba has become unprofitable for many Soviet enterprises," some were "endeavoring to get out of the Cuban market." What is the point, it continued, "when in exchange it is going to get effectively the same rubles... merely at the cost of a greater headache?"

Nonetheless, the Soviet Union is reportedly continuing to provide military hardware vitally necessary for Cuba's defense, like the MIG-29 jets delivered recently, to the consternation of imperialist spokesmen.

As the Stalinist regimes of the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states follow the logic of their market-oriented reforms into the throes of capitalist counterrevolution, Castro portrays himself as the guardian of socialist principles. "If destiny assigns us the role of one day being among the last defenders of socialism in a world in which the Yankee empire has succeeded in embodying Hitler's dream of world domination," he vowed, "we will know how to defend this bulwark to the last drop of blood" (*New York Times*, 9 December 1989).

Before the Cuban trade unionists Castro denounced the "apprentices of capitalism," warning: "There is much talk of private property and market economy. If you join private property with a market economy, you get capitalism or a process of building capitalism." In an effort to seal off the Cuban people from the effects of *glasnost* and perestroika, two popular Soviet magazines, *Sputnik* and *Moscow News*, were banned last August, charged with "justifying bourgeois democracy" and being "filled with venom... against socialism." Thus the seeming maverick of the 1960s, the darling of the New Left, has come to symbolize the last hurrah of Stalinist orthodoxy today.

As the disastrous consequences of Gorbachev's policies are played out, we find that not only Stalinist hardliners such as Gus Hall's CPUSA but also ostensible Trotskyists (Socialist Action) as well as the Sandinista-Castroite SWP

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Spartacist contingent in 1982 NYC protest against U.S. support to Salvadoran death squad regime.



Nicaragua. The present generation freed the country from its former Yankee masters, and Cuban workers remember how they defeated the CIA-backed *gusano* invasion at the Bay of Pigs. Moreover, they have much to defend: while the Sandinistas' "middle road" of conciliating the capitalists (urged on them by Castro) meant hunger for the Nicaraguan masses, the abolition of capitalist exploitation in Cuba made it possible to eradicate the slum poverty that is endemic throughout Latin America. The literacy rate in Cuba is higher than in the U.S., and the infant mortality rate is half that of Washington, D.C.

Cuba's territorial militia has more than one million members, out of a total population of ten million. At a trade-union conference in January, delegates showed

unrelenting, bipartisan hostility to the Cuban Revolution, are likely to intensify their economic and propaganda war and their provocations. It is the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere, and particularly in the U.S., to unconditionally defend Cuba against the threat of counterrevolution.

Castro: Last Hurrah for Stalinism

At an April 7 "U.S. Hands Off Cuba" demonstration in New York City, the main banner proclaimed "Viva Fidel." But defending the Cuban Revolution does not mean being cheerleaders for Castro. From our inception as a tendency, the Spartacist League has insisted, in the words of a December 1961 resolution by the Revolutionary Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party:

"Taken as a whole, the process going on today in Cuba is that of the formation of a deformed workers state—that is, the creation of a society like that which exists in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. By minimizing the influence of the working class in the revolution, by limiting the appeal of the revolution to workers in other lands, by tending to give power to an uncontrolled bureaucracy, and by subjecting the future of Cuba to the counterrevolutionary diplomacy of the Kremlin, this process raises the danger of capitalist restoration in Cuba."

—reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 2, July-August 1964

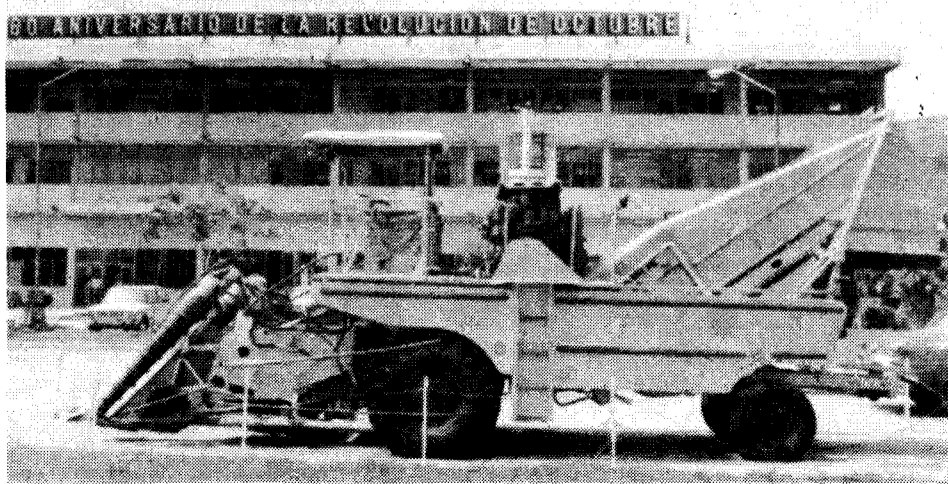
The Cuban people have lived with the imperialists' sabre-rattling for three decades now, and remain undaunted. Today, with the crumbling of Stalinist rule over much of Eastern Europe, there are new dangers. The impact of Washington's economic blockade, for 30 years the source of great scarcity and suffering, is now amplified by the disruption of trade and assistance from many of Cuba's former allies. There have been massive shortages of essential supplies caused by trade dislocations among COMECON members, some of whom now demand hard currency for their exports. Soviet oil supplies have already been cut back by about \$500 million a year.

In January daily bread rations were cut



Star/Picture Group

Gorbachev, meeting with Castro last year, is cutting back Soviet economic support to Cuba, exemplified by the Soviet-built sugar cane harvester factory (below).



Mel Rosenthal/Impact Visuals

Defend Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

portray Castro's Cuba as a revolutionary beacon. In reality, Castro is a petty-bourgeois nationalist long since become Stalinist, as the show trial in Havana last July amply demonstrated (see "The Execution of General Ochoa," page 6). But it is Stalinism under the guns of Yankee imperialism, which dictates Cuba's sometimes more militant stance. And as Fidel clings to Stalin's anti-internationalist dogma of "building socialism in one country"—his country, of course—this leads to some pretty strange international bedfellows.

Listening to Ronald Reagan or George Bush, one might think that Castro is forever fomenting revolutionary ferment throughout the Americas, not to mention Africa. Yet according to a *Prensa Latina* dispatch about a press conference at the inauguration of Brazil's rightist president Fernando Collor, Castro opined that "Brazil faces a tremendous challenge and the new president is willing to tackle it" (*Granma Weekly Review*, 19 March). This was just as Collor was preparing a brutal anti-working-class austerity program! In recent years, a central theme in Castro's bids for "peaceful coexistence" with the Latin American bourgeoisies and their North American overlords has been to offer to join in a "common war" against drug trafficking. This was a central theme of the Ochoa trial.

Building "socialism" in one Caribbean island, under conditions of extreme scarcity exacerbated by the U.S. embargo, has meant demanding continuing sacrifices from the working people of Cuba.

Castro rejects material incentives as corrupting and anti-socialist, relying instead on "moral" exhortation to motivate the workers toward ever greater efforts. As Castro's regime finds itself further isolated, politically and economically, its answer is "socialist rectification": anti-corruption campaigns, volunteer labor drives, and social repression to sell austerity to the population.

But in a world dominated by the capitalist marketplace and the poverty it engenders, the flip side of Stalinist voluntarism and repressive moralism for the masses is corruption and privilege for the bureaucracy. This has given rise to a parasitic layer that sits atop the collectivized economy, precariously seeking to

balance between the workers and imperialism. As Trotsky predicted 50 years ago, it is this layer that has spawned the capitalist-restorationist elements at work today. What is needed in the Cuban workers state is a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and establish the rule of organs of workers democracy—soviets—which can fully mobilize the proletarian masses' will, their strength, their heroism.

The anti-socialist poison spewed out by the likes of *Moscow News* and *Sputnik* can and must be defeated not through bureaucratic censorship but in political struggle for a proletarian internationalist program. Yet this is antithetical to Castro's nationalist Stalinist regime. As for

TV Martí, an internationalist leadership in Havana would take the battle to the enemy, recalling the short-lived "Radio Free Dixie" over which the voice of black civil rights militant Robert F. Williams was beamed into the U.S. South in the early 1960s.

An Argentine newspaper asked last year, "Is Castro the last Mohican of the Kremlin's old program for the Third World? Can Cuba survive by itself when the subsidies are shrinking and the objective dangers from the North are growing?" (*Clarín*, 28 July 1989). The Cuban Revolution cannot survive alone, merely on the masses' will to resist the Yankee colossus. Illusions of capitalist abundance have enormous attraction on a population condemned to penury by decades of blockade. The gains of the revolution can be defended against a vengeful imperialism, and a communist future of freedom and abundance secured, only through an international fight for socialist revolution, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard.

A proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union, returning to the internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky, would afford vital assistance. Instead of treacherous "alliances" with cutback capitalists as in Brazil, and dangerous illusions of a "peaceful solution" to civil war in Central America, workers revolutions across Latin America would rapidly break down Cuba's excruciating isolation. And the problems of underdevelopment will finally be ended when vast technical and material resources are liberated for humanity by a victorious workers socialist revolution in the United States, "in the entrails of the monster," as José Martí so graphically expressed it. ■



Bush (center) in "drug-patrol" speedboat. "War on drugs" is the latest cover for Yankee imperialist aggression against Latin America.

Show Trial in Cuba...

(continued from page 6)

market. Of course: money was worthless, trade was reduced to barter, the Cubans had surplus sugar, the Angolans had tusks. And the total amount that the prosecutor claims was deposited in the Panama account (which Ochoa denies was personal) was a piddling \$46,000. In answer to the charges that he purloined \$160,000 from the Nicaraguans intended for grenade launchers, Ochoa replied he couldn't get them so instead he sent 2,000 grenades, costing as much or more. And the Nicaraguans weren't complaining. As for charges of greed and corruption, Ochoa says to the military court, "those who know me and knew how I live are aware that I've never been selfish or that I have anything." And no one contradicts him.

The black market charges are all window-dressing, as Fidel Castro's July 9 speech before the Council of State shows. He starts off his diatribe by attacking Ochoa at length (more than 4,500 words!) over *disagreements they had over military policy* in Angola. But Ochoa *wasn't charged with anything* concerning these disputes. What were they about? Castro has blamed the Soviets for seriously overextending the Angolan army in the south, making them vulnerable to a devastating South African counterattack. From his remarks, he evidently saw Ochoa as siding with the Soviets. Who was right? We only have Castro's account. Cuban forces did eventually win a major victory in southern Angola, defeating South African forces at Cuito and then driving them back to the Namibian border. And it is clear from Castro's dispatches that he ran the military campaign out of Havana.

But that in itself tells a lot about the Castro regime. The commander in chief dictated battlefield instructions in minute

detail from 5,000 kilometers away. This is how Stalin and Hitler directed their armies. And sometimes they were right. In North Africa, Rommel kept begging Berlin to send more fuel so he could chase the British to Cairo, but Hitler saw that for all the brilliant general's exploits, this was essentially a harassing and delaying action. Stalin managed to stiffen quite a few local commanders' backs through sheer terror, as the Red Army held out against tremendous odds. But that was only after he brought the Soviet Union to the brink of defeat: his collapse following the Wehrmacht's June 1941 Blitzkrieg attack, his criminal trust in his pact with Hitler, and his bloody purge of the Soviet general staff *cost millions of Soviet lives*.

Ochoa's real crime was evidently that he talked back to *El Jefe* and to his immediate boss, Raúl Castro. Before the military tribunal of honor, Raúl absurdly accuses Ochoa of being a wiseacre, claiming it was "difficult to discern his real thinking under his constant joking"! According to American journalist Julia Preston, in a televised speech General Castro said that "people raise complaints against the commander-in-chief...more than ever" and that Ochoa complained of "lousy decisions" made in the Angola war ("The Trial that Shook Cuba," *New York Review of Books*, 7 December 1989). For his part, Ochoa "confesses" to the Court of Honor:

"One begins by uttering grunts when given an order and ends up thinking that everything that comes from the high command is wrong. And along that path one begins to think independently and comes to believe that it is one who's right...."

So the general was "guilty"...of "independent thinking."

Fidel Castro declares to the Council of State that in carrying out internationalist missions, "it is inconceivable to allow any military chief, however bright or capable, to have the power to make strategic decisions...and, on many occasions, the power to make important tactical decisions." These powers are the purview of "the leadership of the Party" (Fidel) and "the High Command of the Revolutionary Armed Forces" (Raúl). With such a megalomaniacal view from the Castro

brothers, it's easy to see how Ochoa fell afoul of his superiors.

Ochoa, the Castros and the "Drug War"

So what about various other charges against Ochoa? Some were just unsubstantiated character assassination playing on Stalinist prudery, such as the talk of sex scandals: "street gossip included tales of wife-swapping, sex with a mistress' 13-year-old daughter, and arranging for Cuban lovelies to travel to Angola as *internacionalistas* to service the soldiers," reports *Cuba Update* (Fall 1989). And despite much speculation in the U.S. press—emanating from former Cuban general Rafael del Pino, who defected in 1987—no evidence has emerged to support theories that Ochoa was the leader of a pro-Moscow wing of the military which supported perestroika reforms, and that there was a power struggle with Defense Minister Raúl Castro.

But the accusation that General Ochoa was involved with drug traffickers and covered up the existence of a drug-smuggling ring operating out of the Ministry of the Interior is a different kettle of fish, some of them pretty rotten. That there was such a ring, headed by Tony de la Guardia, is affirmed not only by Castro but also by the U.S. government, which had infiltrated it. And while the prosecutor and the Castros assiduously conflate the MININT ring with Ochoa, all agree that he made contact with the Colombian cocaine mafia through the de la Guardia brothers. About sending his aide Martínez to meet with Medellín cartel kingpin Pablo Escobar, Ochoa said, "of all the outrages I committed, to me this is the most serious. I haven't the slightest doubt of it."

The de la Guardia ring was apparently identical with the embargo-busting Department MC. Because of the clandestine nature of their work, they could count on the cooperation of their customs and border guard MININT colleagues, no questions asked. Because they dealt with shady figures, capable of smuggling goods out of the U.S., they necessarily came in contact with drug and arms traffickers. Over the years, they doubtless accomplished much for Cuba. But they

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got too chummy with some of their more dubious contacts, and that evidently developed into drug smuggling in conjunction with Miami-based *gusanos*. Over three years, the MC ring ran a series of drug transshipments through Cuban waters and the military airport at Varadero, totaling several million dollars.

Even by the prosecution's account, Ochoa never carried out any drug deal. He says he planned not to run drugs through Cuba, but to invest money in Cuban tourism which a friend would launder in Panama for drug operations via Mexico. Such an arms-length arrangement would be safer, he figured, than de la Guardia's "two-bit operation." However, in the course of his negotiations, Ochoa sent Martínez to Medellín, Colombia where he met with Pablo Escobar. (The latter didn't need money laundering; he was more interested in anti-aircraft missiles.) And two of Escobar's people were brought to Cuba for negotiations together with de la Guardia. Castro and the prosecutor both ask what would have been the consequences if Martínez had been arrested in Colombia. Ochoa commented on "the political implications of all this for Cuba":

"While the commander in chief was saying that we were not involved in drug trafficking, we were involved in drug trafficking, that we were negating what the commander had said. I think nothing can be more serious. We jeopardized the position of the homeland."

In arguing for "an exemplary punishment and the most severe sanction," Fidel declared: "they were drastically weakening our defenses, they were depriving us of our moral weapons. They were presenting to the enemy, on a silver platter, the possibility of collecting evidence to discredit Cuba. What would revolutionary Cuba be without interna-



Cuban soldiers near Cuito Cuanavale, Angola, where they decisively defeated South African forces in 1988.

However, the phony "drug war" is at the moment the central refrain in Washington's drive to repress the ghetto population and labor at home and to intervene militarily as a gendarme in Latin America. A member of the Cuban Council of State observed, "The United States could have been able to prepare armed aggression against Cuba under the pretext of repressing drug trafficking" (*La Jornada* [Mexico], 12 July 1989). This is certainly true, but it hardly justifies summary execution.

"His Pure and Noble Children"

The real charge is treason, but of what? The prosecutor spelled it out in his summation. "It is clear that over and

And in every other respect, "Case 1/1989" eerily recalls the Stalinist show trials of the 1930s. Ochoa rebukes his defense attorney for even raising the question of motivation, declaring, "I didn't want to go into explanations that might look like justifications." Most sinister were the references to Ochoa's children, his "pure and noble children" as Raúl referred to them in a menacing demand that Ochoa cooperate in his public testimony. This was clearly the operational point: his "confession" in exchange for a guarantee in open court of his family's safety. And this is given by Fidel, saying that the "noble and generous" Revolution "will never discriminate against the children of the culprits."

To the military Court of Honor, Ochoa declares: "I know I betrayed the homeland—and I tell you in all honesty, treason is paid with one's life." And if he is shot, he adds, "my last thought will be for Fidel, for the great Revolution he has made for his people."

They Would Have Loved the Moscow Trials

Leftist admirers of Castro fell all over themselves justifying the Ochoa trial. Debra Evanson, president of the National Lawyers Guild, declared it was "neither a sham nor a 'show' trial," since confessions were evidently given voluntarily and at times "the defendants even appeared eager to clarify the facts and events for the court...." She would have loved Bukharin on the stand, or Zinoviev. "Although time was obviously extremely short," she notes—right, *two days between being charged with treason and going on trial!*—still, "defense lawyers had opportunities to review the evidence gathered by the investigators and to interview their clients." Of course, she adds, "culpability was not an issue in this case," since they all confessed (*Cuba Update*, Fall 1989).

The reformist Socialist Workers Party, among Fidel's most shameless apologists, praised the executions. Shooting Ochoa was a "resolute response" for which "working people everywhere owe a debt of gratitude to the Cuban government and army." They also applauded "Cuba's decisiveness in confronting the scourge of trafficking in drugs" (*Militant*, 11 August 1989). Back in 1987, the SWP opposed extraditing Nazi war criminal Karl Linnas to the Soviet Union because he might face execution for his crimes as commandant of an Estonian death camp. Another "scapegoat" the SWP wanted to protect from execution was former SS butcher of Lyon, Klaus Barbie, who helped the U.S. hunt down and murder Che Guevara. These armchair Fidelistas save their civil libertarian concerns for fascists.

Some of the less gung ho Castro backers among ostensible Trotskyists are more queasy about the trial. Janette Habel, a follower of Ernest Mandel, declares that "Ochoa was probably crushed by his own hammer." She sees

in reports of abuse of power, embezzlement, special clinics, and distribution of TVs, VCRs, cars and even yachts to the Cuban *nomenklatura* evidence of "a conflict between the Castroist leading nucleus and its supporters and the new generation of technocrats and officials, often influenced by Moscow." Habel rejects any analysis that "equates the Cuban leadership with the bureaucratic dictatorships of the East European countries," because the Castro group "has not come out of a bureaucratic apparatus, even if, through their method of functioning, they have produced one" (*International Viewpoint*, 13 November 1989). Yet Ochoa and de la Guardia were both from the Castroite Old Guard.

As the Spartacists have repeatedly noted, the "Castro group" has run a Stalinist bureaucratic regime from the moment it became a deformed workers state almost three decades ago, although it took a while to congeal. And this has always included attempts to find a *modus vivendi* with the U.S. In this same vein, *Ochoa and the others were executed in an effort to appease Yankee imperialism*, by offering up a sacrificial lamb. Shortly after the trial, Castro made a well-publicized offer to the U.S. to join its "war on drugs." With typical imperialist arrogance, the Bush administration refused on the grounds that it would lend him legitimacy. "He has turned to the United States for a life preserver," said chief customs cop William von Raab. "I feel we should throw him an anchor."

The claims by Washington that Castro was in on the drug dealing, claims repeated by Julia Preston in her *New York Review of Books* article, are absurd on the face of it. More than that, they are blatant war propaganda. In 1985, Castro declared: "I state categorically that not a cent of drugs money has entered this country, and I know of no case in the 26 years of the revolution of any official being involved in the traffic." Asked by Maria Shriver of NBC in February 1988 if the Colombian drug cartel has ever trafficked drugs through Cuba to the U.S., Castro answered, "Never. Never! We are the country that has fought against drugs most systematically in this hemisphere." It would be disastrous to stake Cuba's "credibility" and "prestige" on such statements if they were known to be false. For Castro to lie about this would be to invite an invasion.

Washington financed its Nicaraguan contra terrorists through drugs-for-guns trades, brokered by Cuban *gusano* traffickers, and for years kept their anti-Communist "secret armies" going by ferrying opium out of Southeast Asia. Yet today these same Yankee imperialists wave the banner of a "war on drugs" to justify their interventionism in Latin America. It would surprise no one if their next attempted invasion of Cuba is conducted under the same pretext. But trying to placate the U.S. rulers with a blood purge of some wayward officers can only whet their reactionary appetites. Washington demanded that Castro prove his seriousness by handing over Admiral Aldo Santamaría, former head of the Cuban navy, and Fernando Ravelo-Renedo, Cuba's ambassador to Nicaragua, for a frame-up "trial" like they are about to give General Noriega.

Any harm done to the defense of Cuba by Ochoa and the de la Guardia crew is far exceeded by the damage inflicted by Castro himself by legitimizing the Yankee war cry. Like sharks, the smell of blood sends the imperialists into a feeding frenzy. As the bureaucratically deformed Cuban Revolution devours its own children, Castro's program of clamping down on potential internal dissent and corruption with heightened repression, reinforcing ideological "purity" through Stalinist "rectification" campaigns, and offering to cooperate with imperialism in a "common war" on drugs is a recipe for disaster. The urgent need is instead for waging a class war together with the working people of Latin America and North America against their common capitalist-imperialist oppressors. ■



Bosio/Gamma-Liaison

Castro advised Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (right) to conciliate U.S. imperialism and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

tional credibility?"

Gangsters like Pablo Escobar are plenty unsavory: the private armies of the Medellín cartel have killed several thousand leftists in Colombia, repeatedly massacring peasants and assassinating Communist Party politicians. And it is stupid in the extreme to get entangled in an enterprise where the CIA has long been deeply involved. Drug trafficking has a long and sordid history—recall the Opium Wars of the last century, where British imperialism squeezed gold from the addiction of millions of Chinese. The harm wrought by the Medellín cartel's trade is magnified into a far greater social evil by criminalizing drug use, and by the militarization associated with the "war on drugs."

Before the 1959 revolution, Havana's image was sin city, playground of the mafia, warehouse of the West. The Fidelistas took a moralistic stance drawn from guerrilla military discipline, traditional Stalinist puritanism and the heavy weight of Catholicism in Cuban society. Castro's regime made much of its repressive measures against such supposed evidence of "capitalist degeneracy" as homosexuality. (In early years, homosexuals were jailed in Castro's Cuba, now AIDS victims are quarantined.) This is the hypocritical and oppressive "morality" of capitalist society, which communists oppose.

above any technicality of a legal nature," he says, "Ochoa's greatest offense is having betrayed his people." "The first person Ochoa betrayed was precisely Fidel," he continues. "Ochoa knew better than anyone that he was betraying a symbol, a history of honesty never clouded by a lie. By making an attempt against Fidel's credibility, Ochoa—and with him the rest of the accused—stuck a knife in the back of the country and the people. Fidel is our voice, he is our representative, to whom we turn in difficult times...."

In short, General Ochoa is accused of betraying...Fidel. Just as Castro identifies himself with the leadership of the party, and his brother Raúl with the leadership of the army, here El Líder Máximo is equated with Cuba, with the Revolution. Even the vile prosecutor in the infamous Moscow Purge Trials, the former Menshevik Vyshinsky (who as a minister for Kerensky in 1917 issued an order for the arrest of Lenin), had to be more circumspect in identifying Stalin with the Soviet Union. But the methodology is the same: because the *Vozhd* (Leader) is the Revolution, therefore failure to obey, much less opposition, is treason. To drive this home, Castro had 47 brigade and division generals and admirals put on the "tribunal of honor" as a loyalty oath implicating them personally in the execution.



Julio Etchart



WV Photo

Impoverished barrio in Pinochet's Chile (left); outdoor market in East Germany. Capitalist neocolonies of Latin America have a per capita gross domestic product of \$2,000 compared to \$5,000 for the East European deformed workers states.

Tokyo Stock Market...

(continued from page 1)

and Japan the world's biggest creditor. This dramatic turnaround is rooted in radically different rates of savings and investment in the rival capitalist countries. The U.S. has become the ultimate "buy now, pay later" economy, from the Pentagon's funding of Star Wars to yuppies with their BMWs and two dozen credit cards. The personal savings rate in the U.S., including the very wealthy, is a lowly 5 percent of income.

Japanese households save on average 15 percent of their income. This has enabled Japanese industrialists to invest *two and a half times* more in new plant and equipment than their American competitors, 24 percent of national output last year compared to 10 percent in the U.S. And there is plenty of money left over for Tokyo operators to buy up everything from iron mines in Australia and Brazil to U.S. Treasury bills and Rockefeller Center.

Japanese capitalism is structured to force working people to save a large fraction of their income. Consumer credit is limited, and Japanese corporations pay a large part of their employees' wages and salaries in the form of a lump-sum bonus twice a year. Moreover, social security benefits and pensions are so low that Japanese cannot survive in old age unless they have salted away much money during their working years.

Housing prices are astronomical—small, two-bedroom apartments in Tokyo sell for a million dollars—and mortgage terms unbearable. To make a down payment on a home, a family must save a large part of their income for many years. One Japanese bank has recently introduced a *100-year* mortgage so home buyers can pass the burden on to their great-great-grandchildren! The net result is that over the course of their lifetime Japanese manage much larger sums of money than do Americans and West Europeans.

Until the mid-1980s Japan had the most conservative financial system in the world, with a quite limited stock and

bond market. The traditional system went back to the Meiji era of the late 19th century when Japanese industrialization was based on financially self-sufficient cartels, the *zaibatsu* (e.g., Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo). The *zaibatsu* all had their own banks which channeled deposits into the cartels' industrial and commercial operations. As late as 1985, bank deposits made up 65 percent of Japanese financial assets and corporate stock only

70 times annual earnings (compared to 15 times earnings in the U.S. and 20 times earnings in West Germany). Tokyo securities analyst Akio Mikuni summed it up: "The bubble continues to expand as long as there are people who believe in the Greater Fool Theory—someone else will be willing to pay a high price."

Obviously, the bubble was bound to burst. But why now? The Tokyo crash was triggered by the financial blowback

wrote a rather bitter commentary for the op-ed page of the *New York Times* (1 April):

"Most Latin American countries have had private property and democratic constitutions for nearly 170 years. This in addition to the tens of billions of dollars in foreign aid and hundreds of billions of dollars in loans have not raised per capita gross domestic product over \$2,000 a year. Meanwhile, totalitarian socialism, which is proclaimed to have failed, offered Eastern Europeans \$5,000 a year."

Even the \$2,000 versus \$5,000 gross averages hide the profoundly greater inequality in Latin America. A general in the East German security forces, who had accompanied deposed DDR leader Erich Honecker on foreign visits, commented to Western reporters inspecting the country retreat of the former Stalinist tops at Wandlitz that the ruling elite in East Berlin lived like "orphans" compared to the president of Mexico.

Wall Street vs. Japan, Inc...

The reverberation from the Tokyo crash hits just when the U.S. economy looks like it's heading into a recession. Production is stagnant while corporate profits are down 10 percent from last year. Orders for machine tools—the core of industrial investment—are falling. The heady days on Wall Street ended with the crash of October 1987. The big news these days is not mega-mergers but multi-billion-dollar bankruptcies. Last year 68,000 U.S. firms filed for bankruptcy compared to 10,000 in 1981. So imagine what would happen to corporate America if billions of dollars of Japanese money were suddenly withdrawn from their portfolios.

Gorbachev's appeasement of Western imperialism has highlighted and heightened economic conflicts between Washington and Tokyo. The American ruling class views Japan less as a military ally against the Russians and more as an economic threat. Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings, an ardent protectionist, argues:

"If the old game was called 'Cold War,' the new game is 'trade war'; it is a no-holds-barred struggle among nations for market share and standard of living in a largely zero-sum world marketplace."

—*Baltimore Sun*,
17 December 1989

For years, Washington politicians, especially liberal Democrats, and AFL-CIO bureaucrats have blamed Japan—often appealing to "yellow peril" racism—for the decay of American capitalism.



Loftin/NY Times

Nissan auto plant in Smyrna, Tennessee. Japanese capital has flowed into the debt-ridden and decaying American economy.

11 percent. (In comparison, one-third of America's financial wealth was held in banks while the stock market accounted for a quarter of it.)

However, the explosion of Japan's financial wealth in the early '80s broke down the traditional system. The country experienced a classic speculative stock-market boom linked to out-of-sight real-estate values. (The market value of land in downtown Tokyo alone is greater than that of the entire United States!) The Nikkei stock index (equivalent to Wall Street's Dow Jones) went from 13,000 in 1985 to 38,000 at the end of last year.

Millions of white-collar workers and professionals started to play the market as their only hope of raising enough money to buy a house. Stock prices were bid up to a level that had no relation to real corporate profits. A few months ago Japanese stocks were selling for almost

from the disintegration of the Soviet bloc under the "liberal" Stalinist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev. Japanese capital is being channeled into the takeover bid for East Europe. Last January Tokyo prime minister Toshiki Kaifu visited both sides of the perforated Berlin Wall and promised \$2 billion in "soft" loans and aid to Poland and Hungary. A few months later, Japan's biggest cartel, Mitsubishi, signed a wide-ranging agreement with Daimler-Benz, Germany's biggest cartel.

A new Tokyo-Berlin axis in the making? *Business Week* (29 January) pointed out that "euphoria over German reunification and the opening of Eastern Europe has attracted a wave of cash into Frankfurt from every corner of the globe" and that the gap between interest rates and stock values "continues to attract billions of dollars' worth of Japanese investment into Frankfurt." In short, Japanese capital finds it more lucrative to invest in German *Anschluss* (annexation) than in the hyperinflated Tokyo stock exchange.

The projected capitalist takeover and exploitation of East Europe is already affecting global economics from the West Indies to the Far East. "Eastern Europe will be more attractive for direct investment and capital flows," predicts Erskine Sandiford, the prime minister of Barbados. "This will mean the diversion of resources from developing countries to Eastern Europe" (*Financial Times*, 12 December 1989). The money masters of Frankfurt, New York and Tokyo plan to turn East Europe into a giant cheap-labor sweatshop while putting the rest of the world on shorter rations.

So even sections of the Latin American bourgeoisie are not joining in the hallelujah chorus over the supposed "death of Communism." A liberal Peruvian businessman, Hernando de Soto,

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Millville, N.J. . . .

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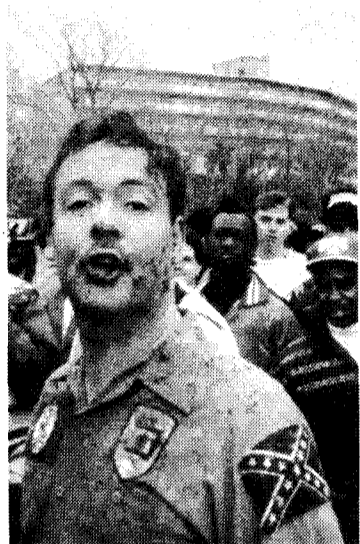
of the Klan, subjected to dozens of cross-burnings. Jewish synagogues have also been vandalized, and Hispanic and black leaders have received death threats.

Their white sheets splattered with mud, the race-haters fled the wrath of the people of Millville, who stood up for civil rights, equality and basic human decency. The Klan's protectors were the cops, who were enforcing the "law and order" of the racist capitalist state, while the grotesque civil libertarian appeals by the Klan's lawyers of the ACLU simply emboldened these racist terrorists. As Millville showed, mass mobilizations of labor and minorities can drive the fascists out of town. This battle must be waged above all in the metropolitan centers where the concentrations of minorities and the strength of labor can be brought out. The power of labor/black mobilization was shown in Philadelphia in November 1988, when the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a mass united-front action that stopped the KKK from rallying at Independence Mall. Supported by over 300 trade-union and civil rights groups and individuals, the anti-Klan mobilization was built from the black colleges and SEPTA barns, the Hispanic workers at RCA and the Campbell Soup plant (now closing) in Camden.

It was forged in struggle against Philly Democratic "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode, who in 1985 had ordered the hideous firebombing of the black MOVE commune. From the "city of brotherly love" to the farms and towns of South Jersey, black and Hispanic communities are targets of mounting racist attacks. Putting a stop to racist terror in this country means a break from the Democrats and Republicans—fighting for an integrated revolutionary workers party. ■



Above: Hispanic and black protesters turned out in defiance of "establishment" leaders who told them to stay home. Below left: Local Klansman splattered by mud. Below right: KKKers huddle behind wire mesh fence before fleeing under police protection.



no credits

Japan-bashing in the U.S. has provoked a nationalistic backlash in Japan, which also draws on notions of racial superiority. Polls show almost 60 percent of Japanese think the United States has too many racial and ethnic groups, while two-thirds believe American workers are lazy. "The Japanese believe Americans are overwrought crybabies, grousing about trade problems primarily of their own making—product of a flaccid fiscal policy, an inability to make goods anyone would want to buy" (*Newsweek*, 2 April). An anti-American diatribe by Sony chief Akio Morita and right-wing politician Shintaro Ishihara, *The Japan That Can Say No*, has sold over a million copies.

Conventional wisdom has it that Japan is becoming the dominant power in the Far East through peaceful, purely economic means. The chief economist for Deutsche Bank's Tokyo office, Kenneth Courtis, asserts: "What used to happen only on the battlefield, they [the Japanese] are doing through the stock market." But in the final analysis the stock market consists only of bits of paper. Japan's economic and financial wealth can be maintained and secured only by corresponding military power. The island nation's massive industrial plant is totally dependent on imported oil, iron ore and other raw materials. Its lucrative markets in East Asia can be cut off through state protectionism.

Mitsui, Mitsubishi & Co. are keenly aware of this vulnerability. During the past decade the Japanese military (called the Self-Defense Forces) has grown at 6 percent a year, the fastest rate of any major country in the world. According to the executive editor of *Air Force Magazine* (November 1989), the Japanese armed forces, "though small, will possess some of the world's most advanced aircraft, warships, ground combat weapons, and communications equipment." This rapid military buildup has nothing to do with self-defense.

The Japanese ruling class, like its counterparts in the West, foresees the

Soviet Union wracked by internal turmoil and breaking apart. This would open the way for the reconquest of the Kurile (Northern) Islands, which the Russians occupied at the end of World War II. The descendants of the *zaibatsu* are also dreaming of taking over the vast mineral wealth of Siberia. At the same time, economic conflict with the U.S. continues to intensify. Takehiko Kamo, a professor at Tokyo University, says "the profound changes occurring in the East-West relationship could create a vacuum that might tempt Japan to become a military as well as economic giant" (*Boston Globe*, 20 February). It wouldn't take much tempting.

...vs. a Fourth Reich

For years economic tensions between the U.S. and Japan have been the sharpest, most visible sign of interimperialist rivalry. However, another capitalist super-

power is now looming on the European horizon—a German Fourth Reich. While Washington has endorsed the capitalist reunification of Germany, the British and French ruling classes are understandably fearful. And the drive toward the Fourth Reich is already disrupting the financial world. To prevent a massive outflow of yen and dollars into Frankfurt, Tokyo and New York have been forced to jack up their interest rates. This helped precipitate the Tokyo stock market crash, while widening the U.S. federal budget deficit and upping the rate of corporate bankruptcies.

Whatever their conflicts of interest, the masters of Wall Street, Tokyo and Frankfurt believe that the capitalist reunification of Germany and capitalist restoration in East Europe is an about-to-be-accomplished fact, that nothing can stop it now. Certainly, Gorbachev is willing to give up East Europe while the

local Stalinist bureaucracies have simply collapsed. And after decades of Stalinist oppression and mismanagement in the name of Communism, the masses have plenty of illusions in Western-style parliamentarism and a market economy.

However, the working class in East Europe and the Soviet Union will resist the actual measures of capitalist restoration. In Poland, workers are fighting the effects of the economic "shock treatment" dictated by the world bankers, of the kind usually carried out by Latin American juntas. In East Germany, there are mass worker protests against the Frankfurt bankers' plan to slash their wages and savings through a currency union. And in the Soviet Union, the Gorbachev regime has repeatedly postponed raising consumer prices for fear of provoking widespread popular unrest.

The notion that capitalist restoration in the Soviet bloc will lead to democracy, economic prosperity and peaceful relations between nations is a terrible illusion. The turmoil in world financial markets and the heightened interimperialist conflicts point to the real effect of counterrevolution in East Europe. The trade war between the U.S. and Japan, the interest-rate war between Frankfurt, New York and Tokyo, prefigure a new imperialist world war for the division of markets and spheres of exploitation.

Under the impact of the imperialist slaughter of the First World War, millions of workers in Russia, Germany, France and other European countries embraced Communism. And while the bankruptcy of the Stalinist perversion of Communism has been demonstrated, capitalism can survive only by drastic assaults on the livelihoods of the working class. Polish and East German workers are beginning to experience this bitter truth that Bolivian miners and Mexican steel workers, as well as American meatpackers and bus drivers, have suffered under for years.

Today more than ever, the struggle against a nuclear-armed capitalism is a struggle for the survival of civilization. ■



German nationalists push for capitalist reunification. Drive toward Fourth Reich is disrupting world financial markets.

Syigma

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hispanics, Blacks Chase Out KKK

Millville, N.J.

Some 300 people, mainly Hispanics and blacks, drove the KKK out of Millville, New Jersey, April 7, in a hail of mud, stones and jeers. The Klan had tried to rally in a baseball park in this rural South Jersey town to spew its race-hatred against Puerto Ricans, blacks and the "Jewish-controlled" media. But a steady rain had turned the ballpark into a mud field. So when the Klan began broadcasting its torrent of filth from behind a wire-mesh fence in the bleachers, the integrated crowd responded with a barrage of its own. After KKK "grand dragon" James Farrands got a mudball in the face, the two dozen cowering racists were forced to flee the park under police protection.

Riot cops had been mobilized from at least ten police agencies, and "responsible" black, Hispanic and Jewish leaders had told residents to stay home or go to church. But not everybody felt that way. Hundreds, predominantly minority youth, defiantly turned out. John Fuentes and Douglas Jones-Romero of the Hispanic Political Caucus told *El Diario-La Prensa* that their group had received scores of phone calls from Hispanic vets offering their services against the Klan. After the crowd chased off the fascists, Jones-Romero said, "After this reception,



300 protesters in Millville force Klan to flee under a barrage of jeers and mud.

I doubt that this band of racists will return here. And if they do, they know we're waiting" (*El Diario*, 9 April).

Millville is situated in Cumberland County, N.J., about 50 miles south of Philadelphia. John Fuentes told *WV* the KKK threat in this area began a couple of years ago when his group started a campaign which registered 1,700 new voters, resulting in the election of 22

Hispanics to official positions. This enraged the Klan, whose local "grand dragon," John Doak, lived in the county. In April 1989, the KKK got a permit to march in Millville, but the Hispanic group went to the mayor, who rescinded the permit. The Klan, represented by the ACLU, then went to court, and a federal judge ruled the KKK could rally in the Millville baseball park.



no credits

Jones-Romero told *WV* that Latinos are now 13 percent of the population in Cumberland County, and about a quarter of the nearby town of Vineland. Many are industrial workers and agricultural laborers working for the local growers, who are a powerful lobby in the area. The black population, about 20 percent of the county, has been a constant target

continued on page 11

Outrage Over Cop Killing of Black Youth

Teaneck, N.J.

Teaneck's black community erupted in anger April 11 after the shooting death of 16-year-old black youth Phillip Pannell, Jr., cut down by a cop's .38 calibre bullet in the back the night before. The killing of a black teenager by a white cop shocked many in Teaneck, both black and white, because the town of 40,000 had cultivated an image of a decent liberal integrated NYC suburb just four miles west of the George Washington Bridge.

Around 6:30 p.m., two squad cars came careening onto the basketball court across from Bryant High School, rushing a group of teenagers. As the youths scattered, the cops chased after Pannell, saying that he fit the description called in to them of a youth brandishing a pistol. Teaneck cop Gary Spath cornered Pannell in a nearby yard. He later claimed the youth was reaching for a "Saturday night special" as he gunned him down.

The police story immediately began unraveling. At least ten eyewitnesses said Pannell was pleading "Don't shoot," with his hands in the air, as he was shot in a cold-blooded execution. Just after Spath shot Pannell in the back, another cop hollered, "Look at the ---- you got us into now!" and disgustingly threw his radio against the fence, breaking it (*Newsday*, 13 April).

Teaneck blacks poured out of their homes the next night in an angry, 1,000-strong protest rally outside the Cedar Lane police station. Phillip Pannell, Sr. told the crowd, "They killed my son for no reason. They're not going to get away with it. How can you shoot a man in

the back?" As the crowd was dispersing, riot cops from neighboring towns roared into the parking lot. This provoked a riot as youths stomped atop squad cars and metal trash cans were heaved through storefront windows.

To cool things out, the next day the killer was relieved of police duty. But Spath, who had been suspended once before for firing his weapon, is still drawing pay. Clearly, this trigger-happy cop should be behind bars for murder!

The *Jersey Record* (15 April) wrote in a front-page story, "It wasn't supposed to happen in Teaneck. This was the town that integrated itself in the 1960s and became synonymous with suburban racial tolerance." Once lily-white and "overwhelmingly Christian," as blacks and Jews increasingly made their homes in Teaneck it became in 1965 the first predominantly white city in America to voluntarily adopt a busing plan. Its black population went from 4 percent in 1960 to about 30 percent today.

Beneath the surface tranquility was simmering anger and oppression. Most of Teaneck's blacks live northeast of New Jersey Route 4: at Bryant High School, the north door is known as "the black door," because black students leave by this exit to walk home. Minority teenagers say there is constant harassment from the cops: "If they see more than two of us standing on a street corner, they tell us to get off the street and go into the house," one said.

Middle-class blacks and whites who have settled in Teaneck were deeply shaken about the racist cop killing. But despite the liberal social consciousness that prevailed in Teaneck, and its relative affluence, there is no escaping the hard reality of this deeply racist



Agins/NY Times

Photograph of slain Phillip Pannell, Jr. is held by his 13-year-old sister Natasha.

country. De facto segregation, youth joblessness, racist police terror—these are the conditions of life for blacks in capitalist America, and it will take a socialist revolution to change that.

What's needed is an integrated working-class fight led by a revolutionary party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. In Teaneck, the local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers is a scrappy union which has struck often, and many teachers have individually come forward to comfort distraught friends of the slain teenager. These unionists could be in the forefront of uniting labor and blacks in a fight against racist terror. ■