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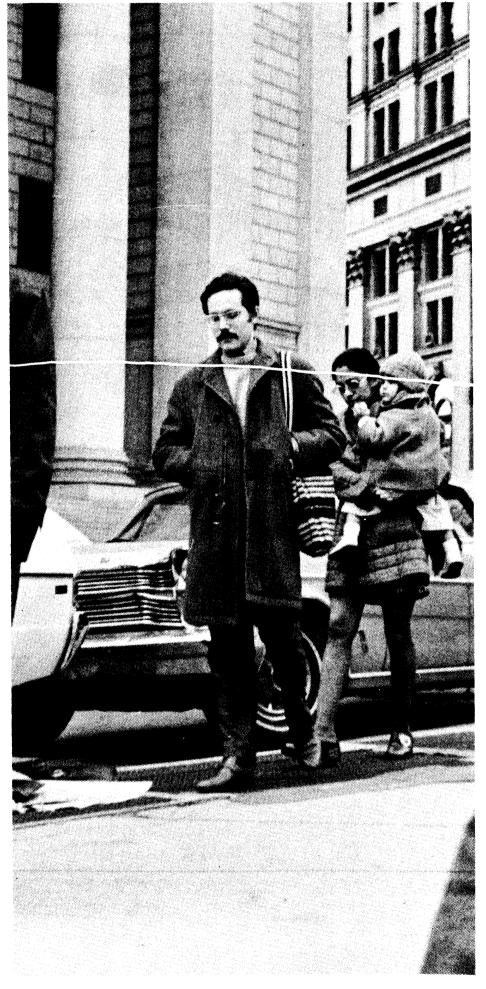
BOOK REVIEW **Aptheker Embraces** The Church



JUAN P. FARINAS CONVICTED ON PHONY **EVIDENCE** His Only Crime **Was To Oppose**

The Vietnam War **Defense Mounts** Fight For Appeal Four Page Insert

NY Docks Explode: ILA Shop Steward Speaks Out



Juan Pedro Farinas leaves court after verdict, accompanied by his wife Helena and their daughter, Marianna. A massive campaign is being launched against this frameup.

Leroi Jones Unionbusting: **Exclusive Interview With** Orrie Chambers, Organizer Newark Teachers Union

TARRYTOWN UAW BUREAUCRATS ATTACK RANK AND FILE CAUCUS

BY A UAW LOCAL 664 MEMBER

local union leadership prevented the Rank and File Committee, UAW Local 664, from holding a meeting in the union hall.

The bureaucrats' tactic of charging certain unnamed members of the Rank and File Committee with threatening to bomb the union hall is failing. majority of workers here see that behind this lie is the great fear of the leadership of the ranks.

The meeting was called to plan union action demanding the reinstatement of three rank-and-filers, Dennis Mora, Joe Wilson and Karl Saindon, fired by General Motors for their active stand last month against the rotten auto contract.

These three were picked out because of alleged mistakes in their job applications. Although the bureaucrats managed, with protection from the police department, to shut down the union hall about 100 workers rallied in the rain on the sidewalk outside the hall for the defense of the three victims. They were determined to hold another meeting and if necessary to call a mass rally of all 4,000 workers in the factory parking lot.

VICIOUS

Today the bureaucracy replied to their demands by filing vicious charges of

N.J. Mayor, Cops Fabricate Plot

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The so-called "bomb plot" which was supposedly responsible for the tremendous explosion at the Humble Oil Refinery in Linden, New Jersey on December 5, has been mysteriously dropped from the newspapers. The Daily News has not uttered a word since December 7 when they carried screaming headlines about the suspected

The answer is simple. The entire plot was completely fabricated by the mayor and police of Linden from the very beginning. Mayor John T. Gregorio announced that "In the opinion of the Commissioner of the police department and in my opinion, with the facts at hand, we feel this was a deliberate act of sabotage." Just what were the "facts?"

The day after the explosion and fire which injured a number of the 200 workers who were at the refinery, the police chief reported that the police had received a phone call that a bomb was about to go off. They claimed to have investigated the plant without finding anything.

HYPOTHESIS

Then four hours later someone allegedly phoned from the United Socialist Revolutionary Front (which doesn't even exist) claiming credit for the explosion. Then, in the most absurd hypothesis, the police claim that the bomb could have been dropped from a helicopter which was seen over the plant. This would have meant that the helicopter and its occupants would naturally have been destroyed in the explo-

Yet on Monday, December 7, a company spokesman said the blast was due to a "malfunction." He said that someone would have to have knowledge of refining to be so effective "unless he was very ' Since then no new evidence has been produced. Perhaps Humble Oil has told Gregorio to cool it.

FABRICATED

It is not just a coincidence that this story was fabricated in Linden where auto workers were recently on strike and where different socialist groups, especially the Workers League were very active distributing leaflets and selling newspapers to the workers.

Gregorio and his cops, unable to prevent these groups from reaching the workers, seized on the explosion as a way to try to discredit militants. The incident at Linden is part of Nixon's campaign to frame and jail militants like Angela Davis, to whip up a racist, anticommunist hysteria.

Gregorio's phoney talk of sabotage is aimed at the working class in Linden. It is his fear of the power of the workers demonstrated in the auto strike and the fear that they would link up with a socialist perspective that prompted him to make up the story about sabotage at Humble Oil.

NORTH TARRYTOWN, N.Y., Dec. 14-Last Wednesday the

"coercion and threats of violence" against the Rank and File Committee in Civil Court. This same bureaucracy was caught stuffing the ballot box during last month's

vote on the contract.

The mass rally of all workers of this plant in the parking lot, as suggested by Bill Scott, Chairman of the Rank and File Committee, must be immediately built.

RALLY

The rally must be a springboard for a campaign to reach the entire rank and file of both Local 664 and the UAW as a whole to demand the immediate reinstatement of the three workers and the immediate dropping of all charges against the Local 664 Rank and File Committee. These attacks on the committee are part and parcel of General Motor's attack on all militants which accompanies the new speed-up the company is attempting to introduce in the wake of the sellout contract agreed to by Woodcock.

The complicity of the local bureaucrats in these attacks makes them nothing more than out and out finks for GM. It is THEY-and not the Rank and File Committee-who should be "taken to court," the court of the workers.

This defense campaign must be seen as part of the struggle to dump this sellout local leadership in the May 1971 elections. More and more, the ranks are coming to the conclusion that not only is a rank and file leadership needed on the local level but on the national level in opposition to Woodcock & Co. as well. The formation of a national rank and file caucus in the UAW is now urgently needed to build the alternative leadership.

What The Editors Think...

Consciously hidden in the New York Times of December 15 was an article reporting a very important meeting which took place on December 14 at the home of William F. Buckley.

Attending this meeting were Spiro Agnew and the heads of 15 of the largest corporations and banks in the U.S. including Edgar B. Speer, president of the United States Steel Corporation; James M. Roche, chairman of General Motors: George S. Moore. chairman of the First National City Corporation; Floyd D. Hall, president of Eastern Airlines, and George Spater, president of American Airlines.

This "private luncheon" once again points up sharply the meaning of the elections. Can there be any question about the relationship of the biggest corporations and banking concerns and the Nixon Administration? Can there be any doubt about the relationship of James Buckley's election to the plans of these giants who rule the U.S.?

Agnew reportedly told his company that he found the idea of his running for President "repulsive." This is only, of course, because Nixon is doing such a fine job for the capitalist class today. Behind Nixon the capitalist class is preparing its strategy and weapons against the working class. It is no accident that those attending this meeting included corporations which have taken on or are preparing to take on the trade unions to drive back the wage offensive and the fight for jobs.

It is precisely these bankers and corporate heads who have been crying for blood from the American workers. Behind Nixon stands the real face of the capitalist class in the person of Buckley who openly calls for the smashing of the trade union movement.

No doubt these men had plenty to discuss as they make their preparations for war against the working class. It is time that the labor movement broke up



Buckley, Agnew, big business: big plans.

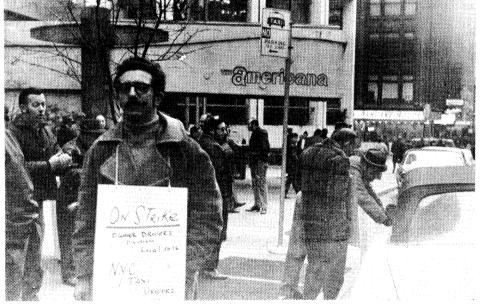
this cabal with the fight to thrust its weight politically against the entire capitalist class and all its plans.

TROTSKY FUND DRIVE RAISES OVER \$12,000

We are happy to announce that the Trotsky Memorial Fund Drive has gone over the top and \$12,000 has been raised. Started originally with a goal of \$10,000, it has been expanded in the course of the drive both as a response to the growth of the movement as well as to our expanding needs.

We wish to thank all our readers and supporters for their help in this campaign. Our important pamphlet publications project is already well underway with equipment purchased out of this drive, the security of the movement has been strengthened, and plans are now being worked out for the improvement and expansion of the Bulletin.

Lindsay, Fleet Bosses Direct Slander Campaign At Cabbies



Striking cabbies picket midtown hotels to stop scabs as taxi strike enters second week.

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK-Hack drivers continue to wage an all out fight against a contract sellout, as the taxi strike rolls into its second full week.

The Lindsay Administration and the fleet bosses have launched a massive and vicious publicity campaign aimed at demoralizing

Newspapers every day comment on the ease of driving in New York streets during the strike, the lack of noise from horns and traffic, and the improvement in the city air—as if the taxi driver, who spends nine to twelve hours a day working the streets, isn't aware of these problems! As if the taxi driver didn't want to solve these problems!

What these articles do not say is that the removal, certainly, of any 11,000 automobiles would improve the city's transportation problems. But the removal of 11,000 taxis immediately prevents 36,000 men from earning their living.

Further, these articles hold the taxi drivers, who daily transport some 800,000 people, personally responsible for polluting the air. The newspapers never expose the automakers, the real villains.

On the other hand, cabbies are beginning to wonder if the union leadership truly represents their best interests. Gypsies and scabs, with the blessing of the Lindsay Administration, continue to roam the streets. Private limousines and automobiles have worked out elaborate call schemes with all the leading hotels. And the Local 3036 union leadership does nothing!

CAUCUS

During this strike the "3036 Rank and File Committee" has been formed. This caucus is distributing a leaflet calling for a \$200 per week guarantee for 35 hours and a one year contract. The Committee emphasized that parity with transit must be fought for in this contract, including holiday and medical benefits equal with transport workers. In addition it is raising demands for \$5.00 per hour for downtime, immediate installation of bulletproof shields, and full reimbursement for losses due to robberies

Taxi drivers themselves must prevent a sellout. The city must be closed up tight! Cabbies must demand of other transportation unions immediate and unqualified support.

Stop the scabs!

Fight for parity with transit! Beat back Lindsay and the fleet bosses!

MUST READING! Leon Trotsky On **Labor Party** 20¢

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Bulletin

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Newark Teachers Fight Unionbusting

The following is an interview by Bulletin reporter Dan Fried with Newark Federation of Teachers Organizer, Orrie Chambers.

Q. Why did the union call a press conference last week?

A. Because in Newark the Board of Education has hired Donald Saunders, the Board negotiator, who has repeatedly said in public that his only job was to come here to bust the teachers' union.

Leroi Jones and the entire crew that operated last year to bust the union are back in full force. We are going to expose them for exactly what they are doing, and we are going to try to point out the people who played their role last year in trying to break the organization.

Q. What happened last year?

A. Last year we had an election in October. In November we won and found ourselves pushed up against the wall having just two months to negotiate the contract. The Board refused to negotiate and so we were forced into a strike situation.

Before the strike, Leroi Jones and his whole crowd started trying to make the union situation out as racist, which wasn't possible because the president of the union is black, and many of the teachers are black. We could have settled before a strike situation last year, but what the Board wouldn't concede to was any raises for paraprofessionals or for the teachers who are not permanently certified. These are the black teachers and minority teachers who don't have proper certification.

So the whole campaign centered around the 'racist teachers' union,' making reference to New York, you know trying to make it a racial incident. We went on and we won anyway. Our teachers were strong and stayed out. There were mass arrests and intimidation; harsh sentences were given to the workers.

About three weeks ago, we won through binding arbitration the release of teachers from nonprofessional chores. At this point Leroi Jones and his whole crowd started out and said teachers must do nonprofessional chores.

One day after school at about quarter of four—normally all teachers would be gone by 3:15 anyway—a little girl got hit by a car crossing the street. They blamed this on us by saying that the reason she got hurt was because the teachers were released from nonprofessional chores, which has no relationship to it whatsoever. They found that didn't work too well, so immediately they seized another opportunity. They went and hired some "community" people—most of the people didn't actually live in the community. We exposed that too, and they wanted three white teachers transferred out of the school. They tried to create an Ocean Hill situation—involuntary transfers.

They had parents boycotting the schools for about a week and they carried on. Leroi came by and they sat in their cars and intimidated teachers and harassed teachers and threatened them with physical violence. At that school the teachers stood firm. They walked out on Wednesday and refused to go back until the situation was back to some kind of order. But they transferred the three teachers, and be-

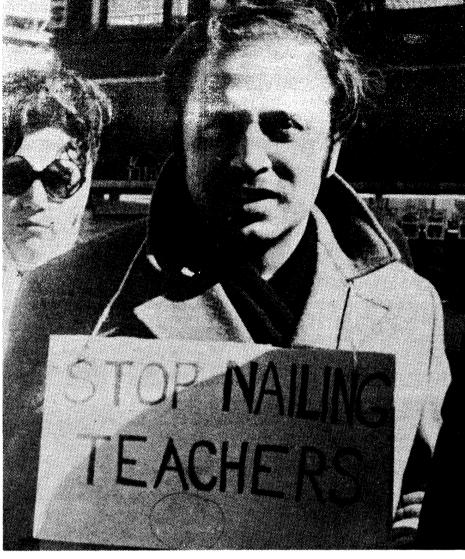
Unions Force Philly Mayor To Rescind Layoffs

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
PHILADELPHIA, PA., Dec. 15—This
morning which would have seen the start
of a massive strike of Philadelphia city
workers in opposition to layoffs planned

by the city administration, was greeted

instead by the victory of these city workers. The Philadelphia Inquirer this morning carried the headline: "Tate Rescinds His Order To Layoff 2500 Workers." There can be no question that Mayor Tate rescinded these orders in the face of the absolute determination of the city's 16,500 workers organized in DC 33, to "shut down the city" if one city worker were laid off

The workers of DC 33 must now take this victory forward in the fight for their new contract through a refusal to give any ground at all on their absolutely necessary demands for a \$2500 across the board raise in the one year contract and an ironclad guarantee against layoffs.



Newark teachers target of unionbusting last year (above), prepare fight on new contract.

cause our contract is written the way it is there was nothing we could do except take it through grievance procedure.

The contract expires January 31. We know the reason they have accelerated their attacks is because they're getting ready for the contract. We were supposed to begin negotiations October 1 and the Board has refused. They met with us once to establish ground rules but they refused to negotiate.

Q. They are preparing to force a strike,

and then use that to try to break the whole union with the strategy that this present attack is sort of a test run?

A. Yes. The union will be going down to the Board on Monday and they will sit at the table ready to negotiate. Of course the Board won't be there, they won't sit down with us. This is the campaign we are starting to expose how the Board refuses to negotiate in good faith. We've got the black press including Muhammed Speaks, and the Black Panther

Party who are going to do a full scale exposure of all these people in Newark who are what we call "poverty pimps"—union busters.

Q. This is very important to counteract this union busting, to campaign for support from groups like the Black Panthers. What about other unions and the Newark Labor Council?

A. On Friday we are calling a meeting of some prominent leaders of unions in the Newark area: Aberdeen Davis of 1199, Jacobson of the UAW, Connie Woodruff from the Garment Workers Union and others.

Q. In other words you are trying to get together with other sections of the labor movement?

A. Yes. There's a Board meeting on the 22nd. At that Board meeting they will have lined up a group of 25 or 30 speakers to blast the union and to counteract that we will have a press release on Wednesday morning of the trade unionists who give support to the teachers' union.

In addition we are having a membership meeting on Thursday night and we are accelerating our activity with rallies and so on involving the total membership.

Q. I'd like to ask you a couple of questions about developments in the labor movement. First of all the arrest of Cesar Chavez and also the whole question of the rail strike and similar developments. How do you interpret these attacks? How do you think it affects the teachers?

A. Certainly by arresting Chavez and trying to break the rail strike there is an indication that all unions are under attack. We definitely feel a kinship, especially with Cesar Chavez, and we've been trying to struggle for decent working conditions for all workers. As for the rail strike, the fact is that night I was in New York and forgot all about it and tried to get a train back and a reporter asked me how I felt about the strike. I said it's the best thing that ever happened. We support every movement of workers for any kind of liberation and decent working conditions.

Q. How do you view the Gibson Administration in relation to this?

A. We view it, and the union as a whole views it, exactly as with Adonizio. It's a trick simply to save a situation. At this point we can't accuse the man of stealing anything, but we feel that he's a carbon copy, cut from the same piece of cloth as any administration that's put in by big industrialists.

Q. Would you say in view of this experience in Newark and New York that the labor movement has reached a deadend with supporting Democrats as well as Republicans?

A. Right. You can't support any more capitalists.

Q. What's needed is a party of labor, of the working people, a labor party.

A. This is exactly how we feel. It has to be a movement of labor, a movement where you elect a worker. Stop electing a lawyer to represent us. This is how we feel. We're not going to support this any more.

Minnesota Supreme Court Denies Wage Increase To Union Teachers

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—The public school teachers here, who struck last spring in a magnificent display of militancy and determination, are now faced—point blank—with either the task of developing a new strategy to continue their fight, or the prospect of losing everything they have gained so far.

The compromise settlement that ended the teachers' strike last April provided that the 1650 striking teachers, led by MFT Local 99, would receive at the end of one year a lump sum equal to the raise non-striking teachers received over the year.

The settlement was supposed to be within the context of the Minnesota state law which freezes the wages of a striking public employee for one year at his or her prestrike level.

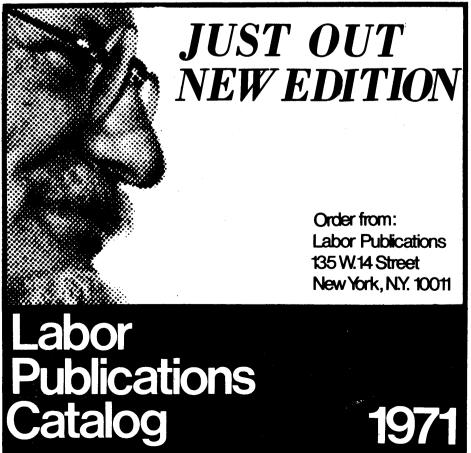
Very few teachers were actually satisfeid with this settlement but short of an all out fight against the state's no-strike law this arrangement "seemed" to be the only available course.

INVALID

Now all of that has changed. The Minnesota Supreme Court has just declared the settlement invalid and therefore the striking teachers are to receive no lump sum payment next spring. Also called into question is the ability of the union to negotiate with the school board questions other than salaries.

Even though the union's leadership is continuing to find some "legal" channel

through which to continue this fight, many teachers are coming to understand that the only road ahead is to tackle straight on the state's anti-labor law and to wage a campaign inside the state labor movement for its repeal.



Half Million Workers Strike Against Tories



Half a million British workers struck against Tory antiunion bill on December 8th. Whole sections of industry were shut down tight in one of the biggest political actions by the British working class since the 1926 General Strike.

BY PAT CONNOLLY

LONDON, Dec. 8—Over half a million workers demonstrated today throughout Britain in a political strike against the Tories' Industrial Relations Bill.

The bill which has passed its first reading in Parliament and which the Tories are hellbent on rushing into law, is aimed at smashing the trade union movement. Over 90% of all strikes in Britain are unofficial, and the bill would fine workers \$60 a day, and their unions \$12,000 a day, for unofficial strikes.

The Industrial Relations Bill means shackles for the unions. The Tories are out to smash the unions and make the working class more vulnerable to massive unemployment and inflation, to take away their basic organizations, to drive back their standards, and eliminate the most basic rights of the working class: the right to strike, the right to organize in unions, the right to a job and to a decent standard of living.

Over 30,000 marched here in London, and in Liverpool over 100,000 workers struck against the Tory bill. All of Britain's five major ports were at a standstill, with only 226 workers reporting for work at Merseyside docks where 10,500 are employed. Whole sections of the auto industry were shut down tight, and others were working with skeleton crews as more than 60,000 workers came out in auto plants across the country.

MARCH

Workers began arriving at the starting point of the march here at 8:00 a.m. Lining up behind their trade union banners from chapters and locals, 30,000 workers began the march, led by printing workers, dockers and construction trades workers. They were followed by engineering workers, post office workers, teachers, council workers, transport workers.

A big contingent marched behind the All Trades Union Alliance banner calling on the Trades Union Congress to force the Tories to resign, carrying hundreds of posters calling for "Smash the Tory Anti-union Laws."

Although marches and demonstrations were held in London, Manchester, Hull, Stockport, Nottingham, Bristol, Birmingham, and other cities, and thousands of workers struck in Scotland, North Ireland, and South Wales, bringing the total of striking workers to over half a million, the capitalist press and television tried to play down the size and implication of the strike.

The Tories are scared by this action, the most politically significant mass action by the British working class since the 1926 General Strike. It shows the potential for making the trade union leaders fight, bringing the ten million strong trade union movement into the fight against the Tory government.

The big turnout today was significant, showing that the working class is ready and willing to fight back against the Tories if given a lead. It was especially important because the Trades Union Congress (British equivalent of the AFL-CIO) fought tooth and nail against the one day action. The trade union leadership and the Labour Party leadership led by Harold Wilson, and Barbara Castle, joined with the capitalist press and Employment Minister Robert Carr in denouncing today's strike.

LEADERS

But today's strike shows that thousands

upon thousands of workers will come out on a political strike against the Tories. The TUC and trade union leadership could bring out millions of trade unionists if they took up the fight. Because of their position the union leaders are the ones who can swing the majority of the working class into action at this stage against the Tories. But like the Social Democrats of Weimar Germany before Hitler came to power in 1933, the union leaders proceed with the theory that if you do not hurt the Tories, the Tories will not hurt you. The more the union leaders retreat, the more aggressive and bloodthirsty the Tories become.

The right wing policy, followed by the TUC, is to hand out leaflets against the bill, to point out the bad effects the bill will have in industrial relations, to hold a public meeting in January, and to call a congress at the end of February.

Meanwhile the Tories are trying to rush the bill through. Parliament will come back early after a Christmas recess for the second reading on the bill. The third reading will be before February, and the bill could be law long before the TUC Congress.

The attitude of the TUC is best shown by Victor Feather: "Introduction of penal sanctions into relations between employers and workpeople would be unnecessary, irrelevant and unworkable." The Tories think otherwise. The bill for them is workable, relevant and necessary to smash the trade union movement and drive back the working class, preserving the interests of big business and the capitalist class.

STALINISTS

The Stalinists seek to confine the fight against the bill to impotent protest actions. After their treacherous betrayal of the

miners' strike, the Stalinists now scramble to head off the working class and its rising militancy. They line up with the "lefts" in the trade union leadership, and base their strategy on "pressuring" the Tories to retreat by protest action. But the Tories will not retreat under mere pressure. They are in a mortal crisis, and they will only be stopped by the consciously mobilized mass of the working class fighting to bring them down.



30,000 strong Lundon march steps off.

This is the policy fought for by the Socialist Labour League in today's strike and demonstration. From the start, the SLL, the British Trotskyists, have fought on the basis of the great strength of the working class in its mass organizations, the trade unions. They have fought day in and day out, with their daily paper, Workers Press, and in the trade union movement, and among youth for a political fight in the unions to mobilize the mass movement of the whole organized working class to defeat the anti-union The fight has been not just to organize protests of the most advanced sections of workers, which would allow the trade union leaders to get off the hook, but to force the unions into action, into taking up the fight.

STRATEGY

The Industrial Relations Bill is at the heart of the Tory attack on the working class. It is not simply a "Scab's Charter," but is aimed at breaking the back of the trade union movement, smashing the organizations of the working class, and paving the way for the trampling of every right won by the working class through long and bitter struggle.

The fight against this bill requires a strategy to go forward beyond today's strike. It requires a whole campaign to force the trade union leaders to fight, to make the TUC call a general strike, to force the Tories to resign.

The workers are ready to fight. This is shown not only the the turnout for the strike today, but by the big response to a meeting after the demonstration, called by the All Trades Union Alliance on: Make the trade union leaders fight the Tories, Force the government to resign.

MEETING

After a spirited march through London to Hyde Park, where "left" trade union leaders gave no lead to the fight, over 500 workers attended the ATUA meeting.

In a hall darkened by the electrical power workers' go-slow work action, by the light of two candles, a whole section of striking workers and youth heard Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, speaking on the strategy for the fight against the anti-union laws and the Tory government. Alan Wilkins, ATUA Secretary; Gerry Caughy, Chairman of the Pilkington's Rank and File Committee; and Terry Sweeney, Chairman of the London Councilworkers Liasion Committee also spoke on the fight against the Tory policies.

MOBILIZE

What was urgently required now, Comrade Healy stressed, was not another protest, or a number of protests, but a strategy to win. The only way to defend the interests of the working class is to make the trade union leaders mobilize the full strength of the trade union movement ten million strong, to force the government to resign. The fight now is to make January 12 not another day of protest, but the beginning of a General Strike to bring the Tories down.

My Lai Trial Reveals Cold Blooded Massacre

BY MELODY FARROW

The powerful political forces behind the scenes of the My Lai trial have prevented two key witnesses from testifying against Lieutenant Calley. Paul Meadlo, the man who participated with Calley in wiping out the inhabitants of My Lai has refused to testify on the grounds that it would incriminate him.

Alan Boyce, whose eye-witness account of the massacre is included in the earlier Army investigation also pleaded the Fifth Amendment. Both men were promised immunity if they testified for the prosecution

The reason for their silence is clear. It is not their fear of being implicated in the murders but on orders from the Army, and perhaps even higher sources, who want to see Calley acquitted. The New York Times reports a remarkable lack of hostility between the prosecution, the defense and the judge as if all regretted they were there.

Despite this, James Dursi, a rifleman in Calley's platoon, who had refused to fire and told Meadlo "I can't, I won't," related how Calley stood above the ditch into which men, women and children had been shoved and fired into it for 90 minutes.

SLANDER

Calley's lawyer, George Latimer, has attempted to discredit these witnesses by personal slander and by linking them with anti-war groups. As the defense opened its case last Wednesday Latimer's strategy became clear. He declared that he would show that the My Lai massacre was a "legal and justifiable act of war," that Calley was acting under superior orders to "kill every living thing in My He further stated that Calley's troops were told that all the villagers were Vietcong or sympathizers, that they expected tremendous resistance, were battle fatigued and wanted to retaliate for Vietcong atrocities.

This completely fabricated picture of the incident was elaborated on by a defense witness Captain George C. White, who said that the civilians were a "treacherous lot" and they were suspected of opening fire on the troops' flank and rear. However, this cannot hide the fact that the vast majority of Calley's men took no part in the massacre at all or the particularly cold blooded and calm way in which Calley shot them.

Latimer also stated that higher commanders observed the entire incident from the air, in particular, Major General Samuel Koster, commandant of West Point, who eventually radioed Calley to stop firing and take a "lunch break." While the defense seeks to place the blame on Calley's superiors, he knows full well that these officers will never be brought to trial.

It is the savagery of imperialist war, calmly and cold bloodedly planned by Nixon that creates the conditions for a man like Calley. His trial is being used to cover the guilt of the men in charge who knew what was going on and kept it quiet for two years. This is why it is reported that the former members of Calley's platoon have written "Remember My Lai" on their helmets. The feeling among the GIs is that they will always get the blame whether they obey an order or disobey it.

EXPOSURE

Whatever the outcome of the trial Nixon can never undo the change that the exposure of the My Lai incident has brought about. The slaughter at My Lai has created not just revulsion but an understanding that this incident is the rule, not the exception in Vietnam. Calley's acquittal will only bring home to wide sections of workers that what is legal and justifiable for capitalism is the slaughter and complete subjugation of an entire nation.

THE TRIAL OF JUAN P. FARINAS

BY BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—The trial of Juan Farinas began here the morning of December 10. Outside the courthouse close to 100 workers and youth demonstrated in support of Farinas.

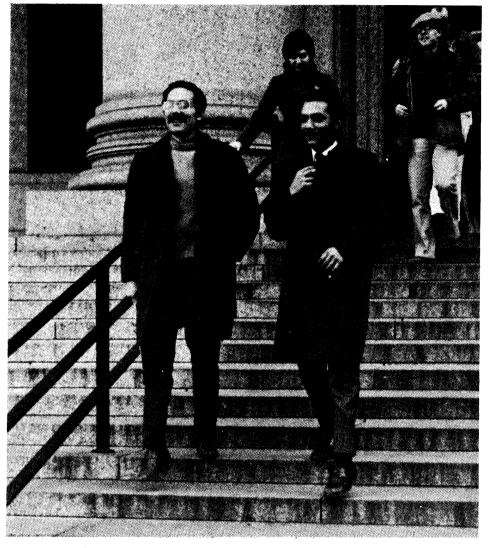
The charges against Farinas derive from an incident which took place on August 13, 1968, when Farinas attempted to distribute leaflets opposing the war in Vietnam to his fellow inductees. He was charged on five counts, three of which were consolidated into one, charging failure to cease and desist from speaking, distributing leaflets, and unruly and boisterous behavior. The other two charges were hindering and interfering with the Selective Service System and refusal to report and submit for

From the very beginning of the trial, which started with the selection of a jury, the political character of the trial became clear. As the defendant himself later put it in his testimony—there was a war going on outside and inside the courtroom itself. Judge Pollack, the presiding judge in the case, could not hide the job ne was doing for the government in making sure Farinas was convicted. His statement at the opening of the trial that "this trial would only last two days" was a warning of the way in which the case against Farinas would be railroaded

Pollack's role, his class loyalties were brought out sharply as he interrupted the proceedings of the trial to jail Juan to sign injunctions against the railway strike.

JURY

While the judge and prosecution throughout the trial insisted that the war in Vietnam was not an issue in the trial, every attempt was made to keep those who opposed the war off the jury. Two youth were quickly excluded by the government. The government also excluded a young worker, a bus driver who used to be a postal worker, from the jury. This reporter interviewed three of those who had been called for jury. One whose name had been called told us he would not serve



Juan Farinas, with defense witness John Ortiz, an auto worker, walks out of court during recess and smiles when greeted by enthusiastic demonstration of supporters.

on the jury because he was prejudiced in favor of Juan. Another who had been called but not interviewed said: "I wish they had called my name. I would have fought all the way for him. I wouldn't have told them my views ahead of time."

PROSECUTION

The selection of the jury took close

to two hours. It was sworn in at 11:20. After a brief recess the case resumed with the presentation of the government's case. The U.S. attorney, Peter Truebner, began by describing the demonstration that took place in front of the induction center on August 13, 1968. He said from the very beginning that day Juan had acted "wildly" and had been "disruptive." The

government stated that political and philosophic views and the war in Vietnam were not on trial. What happened at the induction proceedings "is the matter of the case here," he said.

These are "simple charges," he went on. He emphasized that what was involved was the "duties" incumbent on inductees, their willingness to go through the steps of induction and to obey "orders" of representatives of the armed forces. He contended that what was involved was the "disruption" of the selective service process. Truebner contended that the inductees Juan spoke to "did not know what was going on." While the prosecution contended that the charges were "simple," he admitted that this was "an important case." "Every criminal case is important for citizens of the United States.

DEFENSE

Sanford Katz for the defense said that the charges were not so simple. They involve freedom of speech. Katz stated that what was at stake was the rights of the First Amendment of the Constitution and that the jury would have to decide the meaning and significance of the First Amendment.

The prosecution called four witnesses. The first was Edward R. Morten Sr., a representative from Juan's Draft Board who placed on exhibit Juan's selective service file and a letter from Juan sent to the board condemning the war in Vietnam as imperialist.

INCREDULOUS

The second witness was Air Force Captain Kenney, a career reservist. Kenney's testimony was incredible to say the least. He contradicted himself on a number of occasions, had a very difficult time remembering things and stated he had virtually been at Farinas' side all the time although Farinas saw him for only a few minutes that day. Kenney was not even sure what year he had testified on this case before the grand jury. He could not remember whether it was in March 1969 or March 1970. At the trial he contended that he had met Juan at the door of the induction center and had taken him upstairs. However, at the grand jury hearing he testified that Sargeant Bereza had brought him

Working Class Action Vs. Ruling Class 'Justice'

The conviction of Juan Farinas on three counts of violating stand Nixon and Agnew who are right now planning their stepping the Selective Service Act is a complete frameup and a total travesty of justice in the interests of the American rulers. The court, far from being impartial, was the main prosecutor and persecutor in this trial. It took only two days for the court to railroad Farinas into what could be 15 years imprisonment.

it worked out. The prosecution fabricated evidence to prove that Farinas advocated the exact opposite of what he said in print at the time and has devoted his life to. The judge intervened at every point to back up the prosecution and to so instruct the jury so that it could do little else but convict. He interrupted his railroading of Farinas only long enough to sign injunctions against the striking railroad workers. Outside the courtroom the FBI, police and kindred employees of the state swarmed around snapping pictures of those who fought back in Juan's defense.

As Juan Farinas told the court:

"There is a war going on outside, and in this courtroom as well. I take sides in this war, with the auto workers, the rail workers, the postal workers and all those fighting the bosses."

On the one side: the prosecutor, the judge and as witnesses former army men and Military Intelligence. On the other side: Sanford Katz, a lawyer for the Panther 21, Juan Farinas, janitor at Columbia University and as witnesses, an auto worker, a hospital worker, and a welfare worker.

Behind the judge, a Democratic appointee, and the prosecution VENCEREMOS!

up of the war Juan fought legally and constitutionally in 1968 and since. The attack on Farinas is a political attack necessary to justify the war in Vietnam and the war at home against the working class.

It must be fought back politically. We cannot allow them to We said the attack on Juan Farinas was a class attack and so get away with railroading Farinas to prison. In its very first press release the Juan Farinas Defense Committee stated:

"In the course of a fight back against these charges it will be both possible and necessary to take up the fight against the war and the entire racist and anti-working class policy of the Nixon-Agnew Administration."

This is what stands behind the conviction of Farinas. This is what we must take up now.

We must reach out broadly to the millions of American working people and build a massive defense movement based in the trade unions and among black and Spanish-speaking working class youth and students. Now all can see the seriousness of the repression facing all who fight back against the ruling class.

But we also know that the repression is caused by the fear of the bosses of the fighting capacity of the working people and youth—the fear that men like Juan Farinas will not bend but will give political leadership to this fight.

Our strength for defending Juan Farinas comes from the same source which strikes fear in the hearts of the bosses forcing them to resort to repression—the movement of the working class.

With your help we will beat them back at the Court of Appeals!

unstairs.

Kenney claimed that the "defendant did not intend to cooperate" but when cross-examined he admitted that he never asked Juan whether he intended to submit to induction. Kenney throughout his testimony claimed that Juan was "loud and very unruly." He claimed he was called to the room where Juan was handing out leaflets. He said Juan was shouting. But when cross examined he admitted that the inductees were not more than 4 feet away from Juan. Thus, there was hardly a reason to shout.

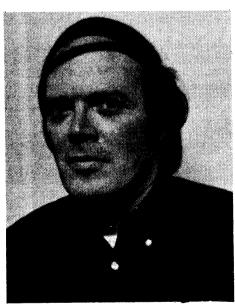
In an obvious fabrication Kenney stated that Juan told the inductees they "did not have to cooperate" and that "the war was immoral." His memory was supposedly good enough to recall these statements exactly. But when asked by Katz: "Did Farinas have an accent?" He said: "No." When he was asked: "Was there any rule against distribution of leaflets in or outside of the induction center?" He answered, "No." On cross examination he was forced to admit that when Juan was asked to leave, "Mr. Farinas was walking of his own free will." At no point, he admitted, was it necessary to call the MPs or the New York City police.

PROFESSIONAL

The next witness from the government was Elias J. Bereza who was a professional army man for 23 years and is now working for the Santa Fe Railroad. He was brought up from New Mexico for the trial. His last tour of duty was in Vietnam and at the time of the incident he was in charge of processing at Whitehall St. Under questioning from the government Bereza sought to give the impression that Juan was disruptive and boisterous. But under cross examination he made it clear that Juan was not interrupting the processing, that as Juan was carrying out his activities he was not hindering the men from processing. He specifically used the words "smooth flow" to describe the processing at the time. He stated that he removed Farinas from the room to protect him from physical harm because there might have been inductees or volunteers who disagreed with Juan's views. He said Juan was not belligerent.

In opposition to the testimony of Captain Kenney he said that it was against the policy of the induction center to distribute leaflets or anything else, even "U.S. savings bonds." He claimed he had tried to take the leaflets away from Juan but when Juan told him he had a constitutional right to distribute them, he did not attempt to interfere with him.

The last witness called by the prosecu-



Sanford Katz speaks out on legal case.

(The following is an interview, conducted by Fred Mueller of the Bulletin, with Sanford Katz, lawyer for the defense of Juan P. Farinas.)

Q: How was the jury selected in this trial, and what is the significance of this jury selection process?

A: In Federal trials the jury selection process is much more restrictive of the defendant's rights than in state courts. Although the defense has 10 peremptory challenges (where no reason need be given for the removal of a prospective juror), the defense attorney is usually not allowed to ask questions directly of the prospective jurors. In this case I had to submit questions to the judge and he himself questioned the jurors, eliminating some of the questions I wished to have put.

The jury selection took about one hour.

tion was a former Army Intelligence officer, Louis Travaglino who is now an inspector for the Treasury Department. Travaglino refused to reveal completely the nature of his work or exactly who he worked for claiming he "was not at liberty to say." The Secret Service is a division of the Treasury Department. He testified on an interview which took place with Farinas before induction at the office of Army Intelligence.

Travaglino produced a report he said he prepared on the basis of the interview. This report was a complete fabrication sealed with an official blue ribbon. He claimed that Juan stated that he would not serve, and if inducted, would disrupt the functioning of the American Army. Needless to say this witness had to "refresh his memory" on several occasions by referring to his typewritten report. He also claimed that Juan was "very intense." obviously trying to imply to the jury that Juan was a fanatic. The defense asked the judge to have this testimony stricken from the record as it had no direct bearing on the case. The judge denied the request.

The defense opened the case by calling Juan Farinas to the stand. Farinas testified that at the time of the incident he was a member of the Progressive Labor Party. Katz asked him: "What was the position of the Progressive Labor Party in relation to the draft?" Farinas answered that its position was that if drafted a member should submit to induction and go into the army to organize the GIs, to inform them of their rights, to oppose the war and to organize for better conditions in the army. He said he fully agreed with this position.

Farinas testified that on August 13 he had appeared at Whitehall St. to be inducted. With him he carried his bag of toiletries and underclothes, as advised by the Army. Farinas challenged the prosecution's assertion that he had raised his



Left: Judge Pollick reads his charge to the court based on prosecution's case. Right above: Judge Pollack and prosecution witness Kinney read leaflet Juan distributed in 1968 opposing the war. Right below: Defendent Juan Farinas listens to charges against him.

"There is a war going on outside, and in this courtroom as the auto workers, the rail workers, the postal workers as

voice or had been disorderly at any time. He also testified that not only had he not said he would refuse induction, he had repeatedly informed the authorities that he would not refuse but he would also take full advantage of his constitutional rights to oppose the war, to speak out against it and to fight along with his fellow GIs against the war.

This is what he told the Army Intelligence in the interview as well as the officers at Whitehall. Farinas said at no point did he disrupt or stop the induction process, that he spoke to the inductees in the same tone he was speaking to the court. Farinas said he told the inductees: "The war is the bosses' war. It is not in the interests of the American working people or the workers and peasants in Vietnam. GIs have the right to organize in opposition to the war and to better the conditions in the Army."

Farinas testified that he was fully prepared to serve in the Army and that he had been married days before induction so that his wife could get the benefits for servicemen's families.

HARASS

The prosecuting attorney attempted from the beginning of his cross examination to harass Farinas. He asked him if he had not been informed of the steps of processing in induction. Juan answered that no he had never been informed specifically of the steps.

The Case, The Law, The Constitution

A number of jurors who were probably sympathetic to Juan Farinas were either excused or peremptorily challanged by the prosecution. The youngest person on the jury was an individual in his thirties. There was one black person.

This points up the impossibility of getting a trial by a jury of one's peers. The entire process is weighted both in state courts and even more in Federal courts, against workers, young people and minorities.

Q: What were the specific counts in the indictment of Juan Farinas?

A: Farinas was charged originally with five counts which were consolidated into three. The separate counts of refusal to cease and desist from speaking, distributing leaflets, and engaging in boisterous and unruly behavior in the induction center were combined into one count at the trial. The other two counts were hindering and interference with the administration of the Selective Service Act, and refusal to report and submit for induction.

Q: Could you explain the legal basis of the defendant's case?

A: There are a number of aspects to this. On the most fundamental level, both the statute (from the Military and Selective Service Act of 1967) and the section of the Selective Service Regulations involved in this case are unconstitutional.

The Regulation says that all inductees must "obey the orders of the representatives of the Armed Forces" in the induction center. The statute then makes the violation of these regulations, including the above, a crime. Without in any way spelling out what is and what is not permissible, the law itself subjects the inductee to criminal prosecution and penalties for disobeying any order, no matter how minor, vague or arbitrary.

One of the landmark principles of criminal law is that criminal statutes must be

certain. In other words the individual must know in advance what behavior violates the law.

Q: Could you discuss the specific counts with which Farinas is charged, that is the interpretation of the statute in this case?

A: On the first count we insisted that the government had to prove that some hindering, interference or disruption had actually taken place in the induction center. This could not be based simply on the opinion of one or two army officers who may not have liked the aims and views of the defendant. We asked the court to instruct the jury that it could find the defendant guilty on this count only if the government had proved disruption. Otherwise the charge was a completely arbitrary one which infringed on Juan Farinas'

constitutional rights of freedom of speech.

The court refused to charge the jury as we requested. This amounted practically to a directed verdict of guilty on the judge's part, since we did not deny the defendant's attempts to speak and distribute leaflets in an orderly manner.

Q: What about the second count, of hindering and interference with the Selective Service Act?

A: The statute reads as follows with regard to this charge: "...any person who shall knowingly hinder or interfere, by force or violence or otherwise, with the administration of this Act..."

After several hours of deliberation the jury was obviously having difficulty in concluding that there had been any disruption, by force, violence, or otherwise. It asked the court whether the terms force and violence were to be interpreted literally. The court said no. I at this point objected strongly that the term "otherwise" had absolutely no meaning if the phrase "force and violence" was not to be understood literally. Obviously it has to be taken literally and "otherwise"

is meant to cover other actions, which while not involving force, do result in disruption.

The point is that the jury was hard put, once again, to see how any disruption was involved. There simply was no evidence to that effect. One of the major government witnesses said that the induction processing was proceeding in a "smooth flow." No police or MPs had to be called, by the government's own admission. The entire incident took only 15 to 30 minutes.

The judge thus urged the jury to convict on this count although there was no proven case of hindering or interference, which is exactly what the law stipulates.

The last count charged Farinas with refusal to report and submit for induction. In spite of the defendant's own testimony and that of his three witnesses, the government tried to suggest that he intended to refuse. Yet the prosecution failed to cross-examine any of the three witnesses who stated that Farinas had gone down to the induction center that day intending to go in, and certainly prepared to go in, if he was inducted.

Q: Could you summarize the grounds for appeal of this verdict?

A: We will challenge the constitutionality of both the statute and the regulation, as I have indicated. We will challenge the interpretation of the statute in this trial. Finally we shall insist that there was insufficient evidence of the charges to convict.

This case is particularly important because the defendant did nothing but take advantage of the Bill of Rights, of his First Amendment Rights. Precisely for that reason the charges and the conviction represent a political attack, an attack which is based upon the defendant's antiwar and socialist views, not any illegal conduct



something from a book so fast that the only thing he heard was something about years in jail and a \$10,000 fine.

The prosecution then said: "You heard the testimony of Travaglino yesterday" to the effect that Juan had said he would refuse to serve. Juan said he remembered him testifying but that he had not said that to Travaglino. Truebner then said: "Are you saying the government witness is lying? Are you calling them liars?" He did this at a number of points at which the defense objected to the hostile method of question-Truebner then asked: "Are you excited? Are you excitable, Mr. Farinas?" When the defense objected to this question. the judge overruled it and directly intervening, leaning towards Juan, said: "Are you excitable, Mr. Farinas? Answer the question."

Juan answered by saying: "I am excitable, yes, like any human being made out of flesh and blood.'

This was a clear attempt by the government and the judge to aggravate the defendant to make him appear "wild" and "disruptive" to the jury.

Truebner continued in his cross examination by asking Juan about the leaflet he distributed to the inductees. He specifically referred to the section of the leaflet that said: "I am against wars waged by U.S. bosses against my fellow workers ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. I refuse to fight to defend Rockefeller's money or any other millionaire's money." Truebner asked Juan if he thought this war was a war for millionaires. Juan said: "Yes, of course. But it is not just this war. There is a war going on outside and a war going on in this room. In this war I take sides. I stand with the rail workers in the rail strike, with the auto workers in the auto strike and with the postal workers and all those fighting the bosses." The prosecuting attorney completely taken Mt. Sinai. John Ortiz testified that he had met Juan in January of 1968 and that they were friends at the time Juan was called for induction.

John said that the night before his induction he had visited Juan and his wife and that they had discussed the fact that Juan was going into the army. John also testified that he had gone with Juan the day of induction and that Juan had carried his bag of personal items in anticipation of induction.

In his summation the defense attorney Sanford Katz brought out sharply the real nature of the attack on Farinas. He pointed out the weaknesses in the government's case, the contradictory statements made by the witnesses, the fact that both said that at no time was the induction process disrupted and that in fact there was a smooth flow. Katz said that the real reason he was being tried was for his political views. "Juan Farinas is being tried because he opposes the war, because he is a revolutionary, a socialist, a communist." Katz said that Juan was not overjoyed about being inducted, he did not volunteer, no more than any of the thousands of youth are that are drafted into the army to fight this war. He said however that Juan believed it was necessary to go into the army to talk with the GIs about opposition to the war and to form a union in the army.

Katz reiterated that the charges were not as simple as the government contended but that they challenged the basic right of the constitution, of freedom of speech. Thus the Constitution was at stake in this case. The First Amendment, said Katz, "can not be exercised in a closet."

The prosecution contended that the war in Vietnam and the right of free speech were not involved in this case. It was a case with "simple charges" and concerned only with what happened at the induction proceedings. He then went on to repeat that Juan had been disruptive and wild, disobeyed the representatives of the armed forces and never intended to go into the

Raising his voice to the jury he said: "Juan Farinas had no intention of going into the army, no more intention than Cassius Clay when he refused induction." This obviously racist remark exposes the whole political character of the attack. When the defense objected to this statement, the judge was forced to order it stricken from the record. But it had been said.

While Truebner had said that the right to free speech was not involved in this case, he went on for some time about it. Taking a page from Spiro Agnew he said the right to free speech was not absolute and that disrupters could not be tolerated.

In other words, and this is the essence of it, opposition to the war and this system will not be tolerated but smashed.

CHARGE

At this point the judge charged the jury. He took the charge lock, stock and barrel from the prosecution. (Charges in all cases are presented to the judge by both the prosecution and defense. A judge can take one or the other or combine aspects of both.) This charge was a virtual



Plainclothes police and federal agents were all over the place photographing protesters.

directed verdict of guilty, since it stressed total obedience to the officers in the induction center and stated that once the officers had counseled the defendant, he was guilty if he took virtually any action such as the distribution of leaflets.

The key-point is that although the government had been unable to prove its charge of disruption, the judge stated very strongly that simply not keeping one's mouth shut in the face of vague and arbitrary directives was tantamount to disruption and refusal to submit. Judge Pollick in his charge also spoke about the virtues of the Selective Service Act and how it had to be upheld.

The judge pursued his backing of the government in answering questions from the jury during their deliberations. Even with this strongly pro-government charge, the jury deliberated for nearly four hours. When the verdict came Farinas was convicted on three counts of violating the Selective Service Act. Sentencing is now scheduled for January 22 and Juan faces a possible five years in prison and \$10,000 on each count.

While the government and the judge got their verdict, the fight is far from over. This attack which was consciously prepared by them must be thrown back.

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He said of course he knew that you did not just arrive there at 7:00 and be inducted by 7:01 but that he had never been specifically informed of the processing procedure. Truebner then asked him a number of times if the officers at Whitehall had warned him about the consequences of being uncooperative and had used the word uncooperative with him. Farinas said no he did not remember them saying anything like that. The only thing that was done was that the sergeant had read aback, then said: "In other words you take sides with whoever suits you." Juan then said, "Of course."

DEFENSE

Following the cross examination of Farinas, three witnesses appeared for the defense. They included John Ortiz, an auto worker at the Tarrytown GM plant. Enid Osten, a caseworkers for the Department of Social Services in New York, and Helena Farinas, a hospital worker employed at

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Minneapolis Local Vanguard Newsletter National Caucus of Labor Committees Harlem Unemployment Center Workers League

Chris Wiley, Black Workers Council Spark newspaper Guardian Lou Renfrow, New Party of Ohio Wisconsin Alliance, Madison

INDIVIDUALS:

Jack Newfield, Village Voice (for identification purposes only) Rowland Watts, Workers Defense League Michael Hirsch, Radical America Henry diSuvero

Margaret Bates, Minnesota Symphony Jack Pilder, Veterans for Peace, Cincinnati

Ev Kalambokidis, member, National Executive Committee, Inter-American Federation for Democracy in Greece, Minn. Cathy Hartman, Publishers for Peace Pete Link, SMC-YSA, Detroit Frank Grimm, (YSA), Atlanta, Georgia Tom Sibbs, YSA, New York

ACADEMIC:

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Monroe Bales, Director, AIM program, State University at Stony Brook Prof. Archie Green, History Dept., Uni-

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is meant to cover other actions, which while not involving force, do result in disruption.

The point is that the jury was hard put, once again, to see how any disruption was involved. There simply was no evidence to that effect. One of the major government witnesses said that the induction processing was proceeding in a "smooth flow." No police or MPs had to be called, by the government's own admission. The entire incident took only 15 to 30 minutes.

The judge thus urged the jury to convict on this count although there was no proven case of hindering or interference, which is exactly what the law stipulates.

The last count charged Farinas with refusal to report and submit for induction. In spite of the defendant's own testimony ment tried to suggest that he intended to refuse. Yet the prosecution failed to cross-examine any of the three witnesses who stated that Farinas had gone down to the induction center that day intending to go in, and certainly prepared to go in, if he was inducted.

Q: Could you summarize the grounds for appeal of this verdict?

A: We will challenge the constitutionality of both the statute and the regulation, as $\, I \,$ have indicated. We will challenge the interpretation of the statute in this Finally we shall insist that there was insufficient evidence of the charges to convict.

This case is particularly important because the defendant did nothing but take advantage of the Bill of Rights, of his First Amendment Rights. Precisely for that reason the charges and the conviction represent a political attack, an attack which is based upon the defendant's antiwar and socialist views, not any illegal

- The Sponsors —

TRADE UNIONS:

Steve Zeluck, President, Local 280, American Federation of Teachers Stanley Hill, President, SSEU-371 Al Evanoff, Vice-President, District 65 Eliseo Medina, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee

Sidney Lens, Chicago Peace Council Jack Spiegel, United Shoe Workers, Chicago

John Anderson, former President, UAW Fleetwood Local 15, Detroit Sam Pollock, President, District 427, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Cleveland Ed Cross, President, Local 147, Com-

pressed Air and Tunnel Workers Peter Baldino, Recording Secretary, IBT Local 522

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John Zupan, Vice President, AFSCME Local 1497, Detroit Pete Kelly, United National Caucus, Vice President, UAW Local 160, Detroit John T. Williams, Vice President, IBT Local 208, Los Angeles

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Lois Rosen, Machinists Lodge 459, St. Paul Shirley Krogmeier, Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, Local 59 Charles L. Adelsman, Minneapolis Fed-

eration of Teachers, Local 1182 Mark Pilder, Steelworkers Local 2175, Gary Rolstad, AFSCME Loc

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Carole D. Lohmar, American of Musicians, Local 34-627, lage, Kansas

Ann Draper, ILGWU, Californ Murt Duskkes, Business Age

Services Employees Union,

Northern California Committe Union Action and Democracy Jack Kurzweil, AFT, San Jose S Ola Kennedy, Sec-Treas, Nati Committee of Concerned St Local 1273, Hammond, Ind. Steve Zorn, Teaching Assis ciation, Madison, Wisconsin.

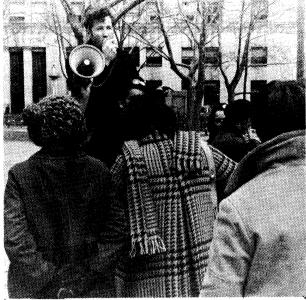
PEACE GROUPS: 5th Ave. Peace Parade Comm Student Mobilization Commi the War in Vietnam Wayne State University SMC DeKalb SMC Dave Dellinger James Lafferty, National Co **National Peace Action Coalit**

Jerry Gordon, NPAC Westchester Peace Council Columbia Presbyterian Med Coalition Against War, F Repression

Peace and Freedom Movem **Island University**

SPANISH COMMUNITY: Young Lords Party Puerto Rican Student Union Hermanidad, New York City College Manny Rodriguez, Latin All







The Demonstration

BY BRIDGET ELLIOTT

NEW YORK, N.Y., December 10-As Juan Farinas went on trial here today, a hundred of his supporters demonstrated outside the U.S. courthouse at Foley Square.

As Juan and his wife Helena went into the courthouse at 9:30 a.m., the demonstration began with a picket line which circled and chanted, drawing more support from workers and students who joined the line later in the morning and at lunch time.

Marching around a huge banner stating: "Defend Juan Farinas, U.S. Out of Vietna, Stop Repression Against Workers and Youth," the demonstrators chanted "Free Juan, Jail the Judge;" "Free the Panthers, Jail Nixon;" "U.S. Out of Vietnam, Out of Puerto Rico;" "Hands off the Unions, Free Cesar Chavez;" "Avenge Julio, Free

Leaflets were distributed to people as they passed by, many of whom watched the demonstration and with some joining The picket line was also joined by a group working to free Irish political prisoners.

At least four different plainclothes cops

Above left: Pickets march in front of Federal Court House. Above center: Speaker from the Puerto Rican Students Unions Above right: Dennis Cribben of the SSEU-371 offered trade union support. Right: Juan talks with supporters at break.

with cameras, one with telephoto lens, kept busy taking pictures of the marchers for their records, and trying to intimidate those demonstrating.

Taking part in the demonstration were members and supporters of the Puerto Rican Students Union, American Servicemen's Union, Workers League, Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, Spartacist League, Vanguard Newsletter, Social Service Employees Union Local 371 AFSCME, and students from Cooper Union, CCNY, New School, Columbia, NYU, and NYCCC, and Brooklyn College, and



Queensboro Community College in N.Y. Students from SUNY at Stony Brook were also at the demonstration.

The first speaker at the noon rally was a representative of P.R.S.U. who condemned the U.S. government for using the island of Culebra for its Navy's target practice and for demanding that Puerto Ricans fight another country's imperialist war when the people of Puerto Rico

are not free and are forced to live in intolerable conditions in the U.S.

Dennis Cribben of the SSEU Committee for New Leadership said that at that moment the U.S. government was considering bringing troops in to break the railway workers' strike. Farinas' fight inside the courtroom was the same fight that the railway workers were waging. This is the fight against the government's political attack aimed at the growing militancy and consciousness of the working class.

Lucy St. John of the Workers League said that Juan's fight for which he was arrested two years ago is now coming to the fore in the opposition of the GIs in Vietnam. The Army today cannot get its soldiers into battle because of their hatred for U.S. imperialism.

Jon Rothschild spoke about the tremendous growth of the opposition to the war in Vietnam. Pat Connolly of the Workers League said that the prosecution of Farinas should not be seen as separate from the question of My Lai and the political lynchings of the Panthers, Bobby Seale and Angela Davis. This fight must go forward, she said, to mobilize the working class for political independence, away from the capitalist parties, and to build a labor party. Helena Farinas, a hospital worker and member of Local 1199, then called for support from all workers, militants, youth and minority groups for the Farinas Defense Committee.

When the rally was over, the demonstrators returned to the steps of the courthouse to welcome Farinas as he came out of the building for the court's lunch break. As we saw him on the steps, spontaneous clapping and chanting broke out from the crowd. Farinas then spoke about the proceedings up to that point.

Helena Farinas Tours West Coast

BY HELENA FARINAS

* At the last moment the government prohibited Juan Farinas from going to California to speak on his case. As a result of that I went on a national speaking tour, in order to bring the meaning and importance of this defense to new layers of youth and workers.

Immediately after I arrived in San Francisco on December 6 I attended a meeting of the UAW United Action Caucus. This is a group of auto rank and filers organized to fight against the rotten sell-

out policies of the Woodcock leadership. I presented Juan's case to them, emphasizing the political nature of this attack. I pointed out that this attack is not an isolated instance of repression but is part of the government's attack on workers and youth. It must be seen in the same light as the attacks on the Panthers, Los Siete de la Raza, Angela Davis, the use of troops against striking workers, the jailing of Cesar Chavez and the rising unemployment and inflation. I also stressed that the way to fight

Helena Farinas speaks at SF State College.

these attacks is to take them to the youth and the workers and organize as broad an opposition to them as possible.

CAUCUS

Because of their recent experience with governmental authorities during the auto strike, the members of the caucus knew very well whose side the government and the courts are on. They knew the injunctions and troops are used against the workers and that the way to fight back is to organize and mobilize the strength of the working class.

All these points were brought up in the lively discussions that followed my presentation. The United Action Caucus is a sponsor of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee and is waging a fight to get their local to also officially sponsor the defense. They have taken this fight in a spirited and serious way and are spreading it among their fellow workers.

In the following days I spoke at meetings at different colleges in San Francisco, San Jose and Berkeley. They were attended by both students and trade unionists together with many high school students and Chicano and black youth. Many members of the Black Panthers came to the meetings

One of the liveliest meetings took place at San Jose State College on the night of There were around 50 December 7. students and trade unionists with many high school students present. This was in spite of a delay of one hour in the meeting. The discussions following my talk centered around the question of the relationship of the students and youth to the struggles of the working class and of Nixon's and Agnew's attacks on students and radicals.

I pointed out again that all these attacks against students and radicals must be seen as an attack on the working class, as a preparation for greater attacks on the workers and youth of this country. The spirit of the meeting was expressed by the willingness of youth there to take forward this defense. After the meeting one youth, on his own initiative, arranged for me to speak at a Chicano fiesta where there were around 1,000 persons. We also had meetings at San Francisco State College and at Berkeley.

Even though the Communist Party has refused to sponsor the Defense Committee I was interviewed by the People's World, which is the CP's paper on the West Coast. I also was interviewed by Basta Ya, monthly organ of the Raza Unida group in San Francisco.

Throughout the whole trip people expressed their willingness and determination to fight back against the government's attacks on youth, militants and minorities. This determination must be sharpened and strengthened now that Juan has been convicted.

DEFEND JUAN FARINAS

You may list me as

- .A sponsor of the Juan Farinas
- Defense Committee.
- Enclosed is--tion to the defense.
- .I would like to work with the Com-

mittee.

School or Union--or other Org. Affiliation

Juan Farinas Defense Committee 135 West 14th St., Sixth Floor New York, N.Y. 10011



ILA Shop Steward Speaks Out

The following is an interview with an assistant shop steward in the International Longshoreman's Association. The interview took place during the wildcat strike in New York and Newark.

Q. What is the background on the present work action?

A. It all started about May or June with the five man committee from the shipping association and five man committee from the union, which was made up of the union presidents. They decided to make it the policy for the longshoremen to be given jobs where they wanted them to go, if they did not call up the day before. Actually, the reason for this is that we have what they call section seniority, which means that you go to your particular hiring hall, in your section, and shape for a job. If there is no job there, you really don't have to accept a job anywhere else. If you're on the guarantee, then you can collect. So the whole thing was set up to prevent as many men as possible from collecting the guarantee by a phony loophole system of debiting men two days for every one day they refuse to go where they are sent.

They selected a dispatcher at each center. These men were paid \$300 per week. This dispatcher was picked by the union, by each local, but paid by the shipping association. So, it appears that he (the dispatcher) was supposed to represent the men, but actually, his job is to get men to go where the shipping association wants them to go and create a situation in which the men can be docked on their guarantee.

Q. How is this related to the shrinking number of jobs on the docks?

A. I'll give you an example. The delegate who is responsible for giving out the guarantee made a statement at one of our meetings, that he didn't want any man collecting the guarantee who was able to work. I agree with him. If a man is able to work, he should. But what happened was that the delegates have made so many different rules with the different companies on the Brooklyn waterfront. For instance, on certain piers, they have taken some men from the gangs and made them do driving work. If you take a man from an 18 man gang, and you allow him to do driving work, that means that there is a driver in the hall who could be working, who is not.
But the real reason that they allow it

But the real reason that they allow it is that there are about 22,000 men on the waterfront, and they really need just over 12,000. How to eliminate 10,000 men is the problem.

Q. What do you see as a solution to the problem? If the shipping bosses want to bring containerization to the docks, which cuts down the number of jobs, why not let the men benefit from the containerization, and fight for a shorter work week, at full weeks' pay?

A. That would be an ideal thing, but

the companies, trying to make more profit, don't really have that type of feeling for the working man. In the desire to make more profit, we see not only the longshore industry, but all industry eliminating the working man at the expense of the workers, not at the expense of the company.

They can get away with it in a country like America because of differences in nationality, in race, class, and all that, and it actually works for them.

Q. How do you see breaking through that?

A. If a guy's working and doing well, he wants to keep working and keep doing well. He more or less goes along with everything until it directly affects him. At the same time, he doesn't see how another pier has closed, and people are out of work, and he doesn't really want to see it. So sometimes you can say this desire of the working man to look for an easy way out, when there's really no easy way, really holds him back.

What happened recently on the docks, the checkers showed the longshoremen the way by going out. They weren't going to stand for that kind of setup. The reason that the checkers won out, I believe, is that they got the 200-300 checkers from Brooklyn to go along with the checkers from New York, and they stood pat. Therefore, the wildcat strike was really on.

Q. What were the conditions of the return to work?

A. All 13 hiring areas will be reopened for the next two weeks, and the shipping association and the union will get together and renegotiate the money that was supposed to be put in the fund.

Q. But the shipping companies claim that they're \$8 million in the red. What do you think Gleason's going to do to help the shipping companies off the hook?

A. He's going to sell out the men every chance he gets. I have no doubt about that. That's all the waterfront has ever done. The only difference between the leaders of today and the leaders of yesterday, like Ryan, is that they're getting even more deceptive today. I actually believe that the shipping company would never have tried it if the union, the different locals, hadn't first tried to cut the benefits of the men.

Q. What do you think will happen with the guarantee as far as the younger men are concerned, with the deal that's in the making now?

A. The younger men are going to be the future on the waterfront. But it now seems that there is a division between the younger men and the older men. The industry wants the older men out. In order to get them out, the industry will probably have to offer a little more money in the next contract. But it wouldn't matter, because what would happen after a certain period of time, is what happened with this wildcat strike this week. They would soon find that there was no money in the funds. The old longshoremen, in

their desire to get out, and get something big, are really going to be holding the bag, because they may be getting \$400-500 per month, but it won't be lasting long.

Q. What is your perspective for a real fight against the union leadership of the docks?

A. Well, if we were united, we could make those men do what they're supposed to do for the working men. But there's a lot of fear on the waterfront, and rightly so. If you hear some of the corrupt things that happen on the waterfront, you would understand why at least 80% of the men are in great fear for their jobs and lives

Q. How do you see overcoming that fear? The task is really to fight the present union leadership and replace it with a leadership which can really bring the struggles of the workers forward. In order to do that, you have to have a rank and file organization which is willing to take on that fight, regardless of the dangers.

A. That's true. The only way you can get rid of anything corrupt is to get over your fear of it. In order to do that, you have to recognize that you're suffering anyway, no matter how you look at it. It is better and viser for you to suffer for fighting for weat is right, than suffer for being a fool for someone else.

Q. What's your opinion of the demand for nationalization of the shipping industry under workers' control as an answer to the poverty cry of the shipping bosses and the corruption of the union leadership?

A. Well, the only way I see to stop it, is what happened last week. There has to be a spontaneous eruption of wildcat strikes. The men on the waterfront are not really ready for nationalization. People still don't really want that change deep

down inside because America seems to offer opportunities—overnight somehow you can become a millionnaire. A lot of people still live in that dream.

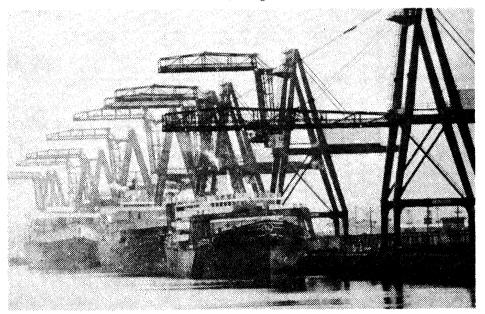
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Q. But you just stated that the companies are pleading bankruptcy, and are trying to take back the benefits that the men have won in the past period. That is what is behind the wildcats. The men realize they have to fight back.

A. You seem to think that socialism may be the answer. Well, that very well may be. I was talking to an efficiency expert years ago. He told me, "I learned how to watch the lazy working man. The way they eliminated their job, that's what I would recommend." You know, I saw that man about three years later, the company had used him to come up with these ideas of eliminating jobs, and they no longer needed him as efficiency expert, and he was out of work too. So the entire working class should see the evils of the system.

Q. What is your opinion of the call for a labor party in this country? A party which can unite workers politically and pose an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans?

A. They should have had one a long time ago. Any fool can see, as long as you have a Democratic and Republican Party in America and you get sick of one and vote in another, you're just swapping one crook for another. Behind closed doors they're going to take care of each other as much as they can because basically they're the same thing. Until you get a party for the people, which has to be a labor party, because labor is the word which means active, an active, moving party for the benefit of the workers, until you get a party like that, then we will just be swapping one crook for another.



Containerization creates unemployment as bosses seek to cut down on dock jobs. This laid basis for wildcat which swept Port Newark (above) and other ports last week.

ILA Hacks Aid Bosses' Container, Job Cut Scheme

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, December 10—Wildcat strike action by International Longshoremen's Association checkers here, which was spread from checkers to the entire ILA membership, and only then supported by the ILA leadership, won a return to the old method of hiring checkers from five hiring halls, and ended at least temporarily the prior-day hiring system which cut down on workers' freedom to choose jobs.

While dockers went out last week to protest hiring practices, new opposition was developing among the ranks to the amount and method of distribution of the container bonus. Newark dockers, '69 men, are complaining that although they handle much of the containerized cargo, they are cut off from the container bonus. On Dec. 14 container money is supposed to be given out in Brooklyn, but it will be only a fraction of what is due. While the men should be receiving around \$600 apiece, they will probably only be getting \$135.

DEPTHS

Complaints about hiring practices, reduction in employment due to containerization, and beefs about the ILA bureaucrats' refusal to pay out container bonus money owed the men, lie behind the wildcats. The Journal of Commerce today revealed the depths the ILA leadership has sunk to in collaborating with the

employers.

The New York Shipping Association as of today owed the ILA more than \$7,000,000 under the 1969 contract! The NYSA has paid the ILA pension fund a measly \$252,000 and owes it about \$5,000,000! The welfare fund has been paid \$106,000 and is owed over \$2,000,000. The medical fund has received only half of the \$1,700,000 due it.

GLEASON

Now Teddy Gleason, President of ILA, steps forward without a word about the \$7,000,000 and begins offering bargains for a single Gulf and Atlantic coasts contract to cover all LASH ships. Gleason wants to smooth over the \$7,000,000 saying that the industry has had "a rough year", and giving assurances the money will be paid.

Gleason plans to accept LASH in full, and only haggle over how many jobs

will be attached to each ship and barge. Rather than fighting for the union as a whole and mobilizing the ranks, he is "demanding" that each LASH ship be given two longshoreman gangs of eighteen men each, and each of the 73 barges per ship, one gang each. This "demand" is not serious. The idea of several hundred longshoremen swarming over one LASH ship watching it unload, is not what Gleason has in mind.

Instead he wants to divide the ranks even further and create a special category of LASH men under the two-coast contract while the rest of the union slides into oblivion. This is perfectly in tune with the employers' need for a small, highly mobile dock force. Gleason and the shippers are merely haggling for the price to be paid for selling most ILA men down the river. It was in fact the need of a highly mobile dock force that led Gleason to accept the new New York computerized hiring and the closing of hiring halls. The assignment of men to other boroughs, which the checkers struck about, is not due to computer errors but to a conscious plan to introduce portwide flexibility of labor and reduction of employment.

PROGRAM

The opinion of the ranks on these questions is shown by the tremendous support given the checkers by the entire

ILA membership. This militancy must be carried forward by the rank and file with a program that can mobilize the entire union to defeat the bosses and deal a blow to Gleason's schemes.

The ranks must demand that Gleason l secret negotiations over LASH gangs, and that all LASH ships remain tied up until all ILA jobs and pay are guaranteed. If the shippers claim poverty prevents them from paying out a big wage increase next contract, on top of guaranteeing full employment, their books must be opened for inspection. The shipping and stevedoring companies must be nationalized without compensation and under trade union control if they cannot afford to pay. All money due the ILA must be paid in full at once. The Guaranteed Annual Income must be protected and extended with a \$1.65 an hour wage boost. Jobs must be protected through a program of thirty hours' pay for forty hours' work. This is the program to present the shippers with at the next contract negotiations.

The recent actions of the shipping bosses refusal to pay their full contributions to the guaranteed income and pension funds represent a declaration of war against the ILA. This is a sharp warning of what the bosses intend to take back in the next contract. The ranks must prepare for a bitter fight.

LSSP Welcomes Pope, Attacks Workers In Ceylon

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN COLOMBO, CEYLON-"His Holiness Pope Paul the Sixth is due to arrive in Ceylon tomorrow. We wish that his tour in Ceylon be a superlative success."

Thus starts the editorial of the Samasamajaya, the weekly organ of the LSSP, erstwhile section of the Pabloite United Secretariat in Ceylon on the eve of the papal visit to Ceylon.

In April, 1964 Mandel and Company and their partners in the Socialist Workers Party rejected a discussion on the degeneration of the LSSP, insisting that the LSSP leadership be given sufficient time to prove its good intentions. The LSSP in its own way did prove its intentions by joining a coalition government pledged to preserve the imperialist and capitalist property in Ceylon and to pay the debts accumulated by various preceding capitalist governments to the imperialists.



Revisionist N.M.Perera praying in 1964.

BY CARLOS OZORIO

-Eight hundred people, most

of them Puerto Rican, more than

half of them youth, marched

through this city today demand-

ing an end to the use of the

island of Culebra as a target

practice site for U.S. bombing

The march organized by the national

Pro-Rescue Culebra Committee saw as

its main aim the call to liberal Demo-

crats like Shirley Chisholm and Herman

This Committee has been racked by

political problems from its inception. The first march planned for Nov. 21

was called off the night before it was

to take place. The Committee then com-

posed of liberals together with the MPI

maneuvers.

Badillo for aid.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 12

demands movement of the Ceylonese working class has been out of power for the past five years. With the rising of the working class movement again in the subsequent period, the bourgeoisie has found it necessary to bring it back as its instru-

PRAISES

The Samasamajaya (Equal Society!) editorial proceeds to mention that the arrival of the pope should bring joy to everybody in this country. It praises the efforts of the government which did its utmost to make the trip a success. This pope it seems is a pope who has taken praiseworthy steps to reject the old conservative traditions of the Catholic Church! Steps which are progressive! What is wrong with the Ceylonese branch of this holy institution is that it has been slow in following the lead of the progressive Holy Father!

How ever much the Samasamajaya may wish that everybody be overjoyed at the magnanimous bestowal of his presence on this island, the fact is that among the working people, hardly anyone is thus affected. For the working class real material considerations have become more pressing.

By September after four months of coalition rule the cost of living figure has reached the highest ever at 137.9. The real wages of all government workers have registered an actual fall as compared to May when the coalition assumed power. Workers are being turned out of work in a large number of firms. More and more youth are gathering in the streets. There is no sign of solving the problem of the

PLAN

The coalition government made up of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the LSSP, and the Communist Party (Moscow) has now put out its plans to solve the crisis of capitalism. Its "Plan" for "national development" as stated in the budget speech starts from the reality of having to pay the debts to the foreign imperialists and having to continue to rely on them for further economic "aid."

It is the masses of the people who will have to sacrifice. N.M. Perera's budget speech explicitly states that the "sacrifice by the many in small amounts is

800 March Against US Operations In Culebra

A split then occurred with the liberals

on one side and the MPI and PRSU on

the other. The latter organizations went

on to form an anti-imperialist front made

up of Puerto Rican organizations. The

anti-imperialist front abstained from the

march, leaving prey to the liberals the

hundreds of youth and workers who came

from all over the eastern seaboard. They

came to Washington not to beg Nixon or

the liberals but to take on U.S. imperial-

ism. Their slogans were not those of the Committee which talked about "ecology" and made pleas to "Mr. President."

Their slogans said: "The only way to

deal with U.S. imperialism, is to beat it

over the head with a club" and "Liberate

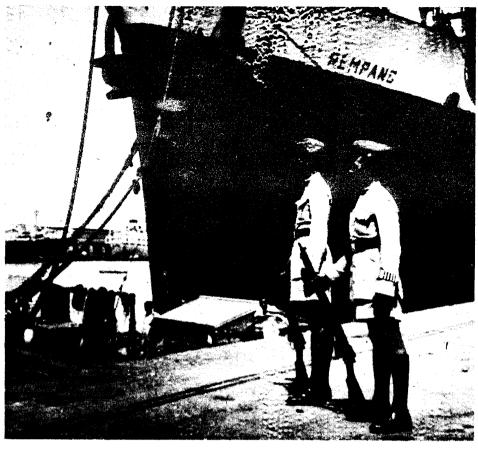
BANNERS

march with independent banners calling

for: U.S. Imperialism out of Culebra!

The Workers League intervened in the

Puerto Rico Now.'



Police guard Colombo Harbor in 1963 dock strike. Government continues attacks.

better than the sacrifice by the few in large amounts."

In carrying out these plans it is obvious that the coalition will meet head on the resistance of the working class which possesses the most organized trade union movement in all South Asia. Already they have tried to beat back this resistance with batons and bullets.

At Keenakalay estate, two estate workers were murdered by the police for having fought to defend their union organization. In the up country tea estates the workers have started a number of strikes. In the other sectors both public and private a number of workers are on strike notwithstanding open betrayals and brutal police attacks.

SHOWDOWN

The coalition government fearing a showdown with the working class in the near future is trying to range every reactionary force behind it. Sections of

Farinas! U.S. Out of Vietnam Now! Stop

Repression Against Workers and Youth!

thusiasm by many youth, who carried

them during the march to the White

up at the rally. Over 500 brochures were

distributed and donations were collected

House.

for the defense

The banners were received with en-

The defense of Juan Farinas was taken

the bourgeois press are rousing the extreme Sinhala communalists in support of the coalition.

A state of emergency which was ostensibly imposed against speculators is being continued with accompanying censorship and the banning of left wing meetings.

Members of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League and Janata Uimuksi Peramuna (a middle class protest group) have been arrested and harassed.

It is under these circumstances that the coalition government which entertained Schweitzer of the International Monetary Fund only a month ago now embraces the

The Samasamajists are in the forefront with anti-communist glee in this campaign.

TRAITORS

Recently at a meeting in Kandy these traitors attacked the Revolutionary Communist youth who raised embarrassing questions and shamelessly hauled them before the courts.

The remainder of the Samasamajists which split away from the LSSP in 1964 and maintained their affiliation with the United Secretariat have disintegrated into three factions under Bala Tampoe, Edmund Samarakkody and Karalasinghan. latter has returned to the LSSP.

Tampoe and Edmund in their separate groups are finding different paths to adapt to the coalition.

Only the Revolutionary Communist League confronts the reformists as a growing challenge inside the working class.

Hussein's Visit To Nixon Prelude To New Attacks On Arab Masses

BY MARTY JONAS

Last week, King Hussein of Jordan came to Washington to confer with Nixon on Mideast affairs. At the top of the agenda was the request for \$200 million worth of military aid.

This would include principally F-104 Starfighter jets and M-60 tanks—the most modern and powerful yet developed by the United States.

Hussein was also reported as enthusiastic in talks with Nixon over the resumption of the "Jarring talks" which were interrupted by the hijackings and the Jordanian civil war. Hussein subsequently welcomed the idea of a joint U.S.-Soviet "peace keeping" force in the Middle East.

Israel's Defense Minister, Moshe Dayan, visited Nixon later in the week. He requested \$1.5 billion in aid and conveyed the commitment of the Israeli cabinet for the resumption of the "Jarring talks."

Both of these visits take place as the Arab masses open a new offensive in Jordan.

CLASHES

The heaviest fighting since the civil

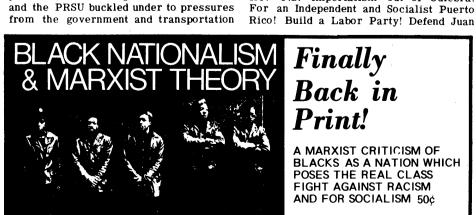
war is now taking place between the guerrilla forces and the Royalist Army in Jordan. Fierce clashes are continuing throughout Jordan, especially in Amman, Ajloun and Jerash in the north, and Irbid, which the guerrillas have held since the civil war. The liberation movement is showing that they are by no means satisfied with the compromises worked out by Arafat with Hussein to stifle the

PRELUDE

Hussein's trip must be seen as a prelude to new and greater attacks on the Palestine liberation movement. Only a small portion of the \$200 million Hussein requested will go towards replacing the armament destroyed in the civil war; the major portion is to beef up and modernize the Jordanian Army.

The guerrilla movement must see these trips to Washington by Hussein and Dayan as filled with danger.

Not only have these two met with Nixon to map out the ways of fighting their real enemy-the Arab masses-but with the new pro-Egypt regime in Syria also coming around to the U.S. "peace proposals," there is a great danger that the guerrillas will not be able to rely on military aid from the north as they have in the past.



by Tim Wohlforth

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Aptheker Embraces Church

REVIEWED BY
MARK ROSENSWEIG
THE URGENCY OF MARXISTCHRISTIAN DIALOGUE: A
PRAGMATIC ARGUMENT FOR
RECONCILIATION. New York:
Harper and Row, 1970. Paperback \$1.95, 196 pages.

Herbert Aptheker's contribution to Stalinism's international campaign for a "Marxist-Christian dialogue" is truly an affront to the entire working class movement, a slander levelled against the whole history of the struggle for Marxist theory.

His hands still dripping with the blood of the Hungarian workers whose brutal repression he glibly justified in his book The Truth About Hungary, Aptheker is not the type to shrink from carrying forward Stalinism's overtures to the clergy, the religious intelligentsia and the papacy at the expense of the international working class and its most precious possession, the theory for which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky fought all their lives.

Naturally the church receives such overtures with open arms to embrace the intellectual hatchetmen of Stalinism, forgiving them with Christian charity their four decades of bloody betrayals of the working class. The working class however cannot afford to forgive Stalinism its history for any reason and must see its movement for Marxist-Christian dialogue as very serious preparation for still more bitter betrayals.

These betrayals require the wholesale revision of Marxism by Stalinism. Aptheker's very plea for reconciliation is diametrically opposed to Marx's and Lenin's conception of the relation of scientific socialism to religion. But since Aptheker clearly begins, not at all with the perspective of taking forward the struggle for socialism, but with the pragmatic necessity of such a reconciliation for world Stalinism, from the start he must distort the views of Marx and Lenin in order to lay the basis for a reconciliation. Unlike Aptheker, Marx and Lenin, uninfluenced by the diplomatic demands of Stalinism, understood religion and socialism as completely irreconciliable. Lenin says for instance in "The Attitude of the Workers Party to Religion:"

"Marxism is materialism. As such, it is as relentlessly hostile to religion as was the materialism of the Encyclopedist of the 18th century or the materialism of Feuerbach. This is beyond doubt... We must combat religion—that is the rudiment of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism."

TAILOR

But Aptheker, for his part, rushes to assure his clerical friends that Marxism steadfastly opposes what he calls "professional atheists" and explains that "Marxists will argue their historical materialist position of course and will seek through their work and writings to show its validity, and socialist states will seek to educate their population in an historical materialist direction." This is a blatant attempt to tailor Marxism-Leninism to the dubious requirements of the Stalinist bureaucracy, going so far as to make it seem that Lenin shared Aptheker's aversion to offending the clergy!

A scientific approach to religion is necessary according to Lenin not to provide grounds for dialogue with the clergy but to enable the revolutionary party to win the working class away from the clergy. Lenin, like Marx, saw the roots of religion in the oppression of the working class and called it a form of "spiritual oppression." Because of this Lenin did not start with the struggle against religion but with the class struggle, through which the workers must be taken to destroy their religious illusions. Lenin, in his analysis and in his practice, went right to the roots of the oppression of which religion is a reflection.

Lenin, of course, realized the necessity of anti-religious atheistic propaganda, quoting in one of his articles Engels' advice to the German Socialists of translating and widely distributing the litera-

ture of the French atheists of the 18th century. The difference between Lenin's and Aptheker's approach to religion is that the former always put the struggle against religion in the context of the class struggle while the latter, denying the objective struggle, puts everything into the context of international class collaboration.

In the article previously quoted Lenin defines the nature of the revolutionary approach to religion.

"We must know how to combat religion, and in order to do so we must explain the source of faith and religion among the masses materialistically. The fight against religion must not be confined to abstract ideological preaching or reduced to such preaching. The fight must be linked up with the concrete practical work of the class movement, which aims at eliminating the social roots of religion."

And in his article "Socialism and Religion," he said:

/"...we must not under any circumstances fall into the abstract and idealist error of arguing the religious question from the standpoint of 'reason,' apart from the class struggle—as is not infrequently done by bourgeois radical democrats."

DISTORTAptheker's book disregards the class



Pope Paul VI: Impetus for social change?

essence of all of the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on religion. By selectively quoting only the relatively inessential, all the while playing down or distorting the essential, he tries to convince the representatives of the Church that Marx, Engels and Lenin, like he Aptheker, too wished to co-exist with the Church and the society of which it is a product. But nothing is further from the truth! For Marxists the struggle against idealism is part and parcel of the class struggle. The Church and its apparatus are one of the main conveyor belts of idealism into the working class. Religion is a major road block the ruling class throws up in front of the working class to try to prevent it from realizing its tasks. There is no compromise with such a reactionary institution as the Church nor with its reactionary ideas.

A person who begins with the conception of ''dialogue'' with the Church and writes a ''pragmatic argument for reconciliation'' with it, is certainly not one to defend any of the principles of Marxism. Therefore all of Aptheker's feeble attempts to defend his atheism fall into ''abstract ideological preaching'' of the worst sort, always making sure to leave room for the other man's ''point of view'' (that is, the capitalist's). Aptheker's ''atheism'' is, in the context of such a dialogue, merely agnosticism and opens the door for religious idealism.

SCEPTICISM

It is agnostic sceptism and pragmatism which truly defines Aptheker's anti-Marxist approach to religion as it defines the whole ideology of Stalinism. His "defense" of Marxism in the dialogue is really limited to a defense of Stalinism and therefore is no defense at all. For the methodological roots of Stalin-

BOOKS

ism lie also in the soil of idealism. Aptheker therefore has to keep a little topsoil covering the rotten roots of Stalinism and that topsoil is the phraseology of Marxism. It is Aptheker's scepticism about Marxism which makes him such a capable agent for its ideological distortion in the service of Stalinism.

The very idea of Marxist-Christian dialogue exposes the rotteness of this scepticism. One should not be misled by his quotes of Marx and Lenin. Such scepticism necessarily serves reaction regardless of its appearance. So it is not surprising that Aptheker defends the dialogue with the Church on the basis of totally reactionary pragmatic conceptions, and completely retreats from the struggle against religious idealism by using varieties of the very pragmatist argument for religion which Lenin polemicised against in Materialism and Empirio-criticism, justifying "a God for practical purposes, and only for practical purposes, without any metaphysics, and without transcending the bounds of experience."

Aptheker says on page 29, after quoting with approval from The World Council of Churches 1966 document:

"As for the 'presence of theological considerations in Marxist thought,' yes, if such considerations are defined in the terms brought forward by Vatican II and the 1966 conference of the World Council of Churches. And as for Marxism functioning in part in a way similar to a religious perspective again, yes, if that perspective is defined in terms such as those quoted from the 1966 conference."

It is surprising that Aptheker sees the Vatican, the largest capitalist concern in the world, as expressing the essence of Marxism in its recent pronouncements. But then Aptheker's only "criterion" for potential allies of the working class is the purity of their ideals and there, of course, the Vatican's hypocritical moralists are second to none. And on page 21 he writes:

"...all of us—whatever our motivations and truths, religious or scientific, spiritual or material—we must act together for great ends and must discuss our differences with dignity and with a predetermination not to aggravate them but to delimit them, clarify them and, hopefully, learn from them."

Aptheker's search for common ground with religion is not without an objective basis. But it is Stalinism and not Marxism which shares its ideological foundation with religion. Both religion and Stalinism are chains fettering the backward worker and all of the idealist talk of acting together for "great ends" is just so much hypocrisy.

Aptheker's attempt to identify Marxism with the "pure" side of religion is nothing short of nauseating. He notes "high moral concern" as one of the characteristics of all modern religions and tries to equate the realization of the "religious ideal" with the goals of Marxism. Lenin on the other hand said:

"A million physical sins, dirty tricks, acts of violence and infections are much more easily discovered by the crowd, and therefore are much less dangerous, than the subtle, spiritual idea of god dressed up in the most attractive ideological costumes."

What a fitting description of what Aptheker is doing, dressing up religion in the costume of militancy. But of course Aptheker would say Lenin was prone to exaggerations, as he actually does say in his book, on the question of religion's bankruptcy. He goes so far as to say that Lenin was only referring to the foulness of religion in Czarist Russia and not to the nice clean high sounding religion of today's churchmen. But does not the above quote make clear where Lenin stood, just as the heavy-handedness of Aptheker's distortion of Leninism makes clear where he stands?

Aptheker revels in the identity of Stalinism and the Vatican on the question of peaceful coexistence:

"The unprecedented challenge of general war with thermonuclear and bacterial and chemical weapons presenting the real possibility of the extermination



Herbert Aptheker, Stalinist theoretician. of man, induces reconsiderations of tactics vis-a-vis other human beings and other social orders no matter what their character."

Whipping up frenzied fear of annihilation is not only a very effective way of diverting the working class from the urgent task of rescuing civilization through the establishment of their independent power but also throws the workers right into the clutches of the priests who thrive on such anxieties. After all the major threat to the Church and the Stalinist bureaucracy is not thermonuclear war but revolution. Aptheker's "reconsideration of tactics" boils down to a renunciation of the necessity of fighting for socialist revolution.

Perhaps Mr. Aptheker would have us believe that, despite this, the Vatican's pronouncements, given that they are liberal enough, can be the "impetus for social change" and that in fact the Church can replace the party in the vanguard of the working class! But the Church is tied to the past, it lives in the past, it is representative of the past in the present. It has no independent life of its own and is propped up only by a crisis ridden bourgeoisie with the aid of Stalinists like Aptheker. The Church is a puppet of the bourgeoisie, and its engaging in a dialogue about "social change" with the Stalinists is a diversion which allows the forces of reaction to prepare the working class for crushing defeat. But Aptheker, examining religion's reactionary record in the epoch of imperialism is willing to excuse even their support for fascism!

"Whatever may have been the policies of concession and adjustment, or even at times support vouchsafed fascism by religious institutions, these policies were usually grudging or shamefaced and more or less coerced. Perhaps it will be agreed that in any case such policies of concession and/or support are regretted in hind sight."

REVOLUTION

With the highly developed scepticism of the professional intellectual headmits that Marx and Lenin might be wrong and that religion might exist forever and that "the worst that can happen is that one of the two, the religious person or the Marxist, will have been proven in error. Each then will be wiser." In those few sentences Aptheker completely departs from the historical materialist method and leaves behind the working class to its fate (which given the defeat of socialism could only be fascist barbarism) as he transcends the class struggle to spiritually aspire with his coterie of priests and liberal politicians to greater ''understanding.''

Now, we can see clearly what is the significance of Aptheker's ideological capitulation to religious idealism. In the context of the role of Stalinism internationally, the search for common ground with the clergy is the expression, in a most pernicious form, of the Popular Front, which means the welding of the working class to the political, religious and social institutions of the bourgeoisie and its immobilization in the face of reaction. The essence of Aptheker's contribution is the offer to the Church of the kind of ideological advice which will enable them precisely to maintain their grip on the workers. The ideology he offers the Church is that of Stalinism and they accept it in their crisis as a means to give their putrefying church a coat of red paint.

Reagan Freezes All Hiring Mass Layoffs Threatened

BY A CSEA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO-Last week, after leaving an emergency meeting with economic advisers and other officials, Governor Reagan of California announced an immediate freeze on hiring for all state civil service positions. Job vacancies due to resignation, termination, or retirement will not be filled.

With 7% unemployment throughout the state, the Governor has completely eliminated state government as an employer for the jobless, while those workers remaining in the departments are forced to take on extra workloads. But the real danger to these existing jobs was revealed when a state budget specialist answered a reporter's question about mass layoffs: "I cannot promise that there will be no layoffs."

The real key to Reagan's budget cutbacks is now exposed. By cutting welfare and medical programs each by 10%, the Governor plans to institute mass layoffs in these departments. The old belief that civil service status means job security is being shattered in this period. Already the cuts are being implemented in the state's correctional institutions. One southern California prison with over 1,000 inmates is being closed down, throwing 190 clerical workers, maintenance personnel, guards, and others out of their jobs. The inmates, many of them disabled, are being transferred to other institutions already overcrowded. This is only the beginning. Every department, from one end of the state to the other, will be affected.

The major organization of state workers in California is the California State Employees Association, with about 100,000 members statewide. Its leadership has confined its activity in the past to lobbying in Sacramento, begging for crumbs from the table of the state legislature and the Governor. In fact until last year, CSEA was forced to operate with a no-strike pledge in its constitution.

Now in this period of extreme inflation and unemployment facing state employees, CSEA bureaucrats reveal their worst treachery. After drawing up a fairly decent wage bill for last year's budget calling for an average raise of 13%, they refused to call any work actions to fight for the

which, due to inflation, was a wage cut. This year CSEA general manager Loren Smith revealed the proposed bill would only be for 6%, again not enough to cover the rise in the cost of living. Instead of fighting to make up our losses of past years, CSEA is forced to plead for what Smith calls a "reasonable" wage demand.

This is nothing but a shameful capitulation to the pressures of Reagan and his administration. The bankruptcy of this strategy of conciliation with the state can be seen in New York City where labor leader Victor Gotbaum pooh-poohed threats of mass layoffs saying "After all, this isn't the thirties." Just last week, Mayor Lindsay laid off 500 city workers and has threatened to impose the infamous "payless paydays" scheme.



Gotbaum is right; this isn't the thirties. It is the seventies, and the Lindsays and Reagans are determined to make the seventies worse than the thirties. The state is telling its employees "either your jobs or your pay," when it clearly intends to both keep wages down and institute mass layoffs. The strategy of CSEA officials is to ask for a measly 6% in the hopes that Reagan will be nice and let us keep our

jobs, in return for our taking a pay cut. We must turn Reagan's attack on state workers around full circle, and initiate a drive for wages and jobs as the only way to defend ourselves. In order to do this a fight must be waged in every CSEA chapter against the 6% sellout, against acceptance by the bureaucrats of any layoffs, and for the strengthening of CSEA in-preparation for a strike next July.



BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY-In line with the overall government policy of repression, the student movement in Berkeley is being systematically attacked.

Five SDS leaders have been sentenced to jail on charges stemming from last spring's anti-ROTC demonstrations. These jailings underline the meaning of recent changes in university policies.

Regulations concerning student activities have been drastically strengthened, the police force has been increased, all old "liberal" administrators are being replaced by strong conservatives.

There can be no doubt that this is only the beginning, as the crisis of capitalism intensifies the government will be less and less able to ignore opposition, and will be forced to deal with it with increasingly more open repression.

These developments pose the necessity for the building of a class defense for all political prisoners.



Regan's budget cuts in medecine and welfare mean mass layoffs for state workers.

Leading Scientist Denounces Nixon's Cutbacks in Research

BY JOSE REYES

The president of the National Academy of Sciences, Dr. Phillip Handler, charged that the Nixon Administration has allowed scientific research, particularly in the "life sciences," to lag. As he aptly stated on December 2, "the system is squealing with pain."

Dr. Handler headed a commission that prepared a report on the life sciences. Among its conclusions are that current appropriations for research "are approximately 20% less than required to ensure that the nation's truly qualified academic life scientists are fully and usefully engaged," that Federal funds now spent on biological research are at the same level as five years ago, and that higher education was being hurt by the reduced aid. Dr. David, President Nixon's science adviser, has yet to comment on the report

It is quite clear that the cutbacks that were foretold by Nixon, the U.S. Congress, and by the appointment of Dr. David are part of a general policy based on considerations flowing from the economic state of U.S. capitalism. The cutbacks and "reverse brain drain," the mounting unemployment among scientific and technical personnel go on while reactionary and destructive projects such as ABM and others of its ilk are spared.

CRIMINAL

The cutbacks on research in the "life sciences" at a time when it is known that the U.S. is still researching and developing biological warfare weapons and using technology and science to perpetrate criminal acts against the Vietnamese, are part of what world imperialism has in store for humanity...

At the end of Handler's report it is stated that "only by using the fruits of

with the problems posed by a growing population, an advancing technology, a deteriorating environment, and dissipation of the bounty of great natural resources of our land." But the point is precisely that these fruits will be few and bitter.

The scientific and technical sectors of the forces of production must, of necessity be turned inward against society in general, against humanity, and most particularly against the main productive force which is the working class.

PROFITS

This must occur because the postwar boom is definitively coming to an end and the ruling class must make a choice between the growth of productive forces for the use of humanity, which means a planned economy and socialism, and the preservation of their profits to the detriment of humanity. This is the key consideration for capitalism in the use of science and technique. This, scientists

Curran Refuses To Fight Layups; Marine Engineers Strike U.S. Lines

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-At the November port meeting here, the National Office of the NMU prevented any discussion or motion from the floor to deal with the layups of ships and catastrophic loss of NMU jobs. Port Agent Labaczewski and the other bureaucrats promised that a meeting with ILA and other maritime union bureaucrats would produce results.

The hollowness of these maneuvers is exposed again by Curran's latest letter to Marvland Representative Garmatz, in which he approves of the sale of the laidup passenger liner Atlantic. Curran stated that unless the owners, the government, and the NMU could agree that this sale would be no "precedent" for other sales, "the entire matter be laid over and made part of the general hearings on passenger ment, are to begin early in the Congress." In other words if you have to, but give us some promise to hold back the ranks.

ACTION

Job action by the ILA checkers in New York port, backed up by the rest of the rank and file, won a rollback of the Waterfront Commission's plans for changing hiring rules. Job action and not Curran's deals, is the way to win job security in

The ranks must go on record in ships' meetings and port meetings to demand that the NMU contract be reopened to guarantee full manning scales on every ship; that the passenger liners be brought out of layup; that two full crews each one to sail six months on and six months off with full pay for the year, be put on each ship; and that the NMU prepare to strike to win these demands. If the owners cannot afford the union demands, nationalize the lines without compensation and place them under maritime union control.

SUPPORT

Meanwhile the Marine Engineers Benevolent Association strike against United States Lines must be supported. The MEBA is calling for two additional engineers on U.S. Lines ships and is striking freighters as they pay off in New York. Full support to the MEBA! The ranks must demand that no U.S. Lines ships move until MEBA and NMU jobs are guaranteed! The pending sale of U.S. Lines to R. J. Reynolds Industries, the owners of Sea-Land, is part of a vast job cutting scheme throughout maritime. NMU jobs must be protected!

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