

# Freedom Riders Press Fight Despite Jailings

By Fred Halstead

MAY 31 — Local officials in Mississippi and Alabama are continuing to violate federal laws by arresting wave after wave of Freedom Riders using interstate travel facilities on an integrated basis. The intrepid Freedom Riders are going ahead with their trips and their leadership has refused to bow to a May 24 request by Attorney General Robert Kennedy for a "cooling off period."

Uriah J. Fields, president of the Montgomery Improvement Asso-

ciation, wired Robert Kennedy: "Isn't ninety-nine years long enough to cool off, Mr. Attorney General?"

Over 50 riders have so far been arrested in Jackson, Miss., terminals, tried and given 60-day suspended jail sentences and \$200 fines. Most remain in jail working off fines at \$3 a day. Richard Haley, Congress of Racial Equality field representative, reported that Freedom Rider Rev. C. T. Vivian of Chattanooga, Tenn., had been beaten by a guard at the Hind's County penal farm near

Jackson for failing to call him "sir." James Farmer, national CORE director, was among those arrested in the Jackson bus terminal.

Jackson police charge the riders with "breach of the peace," and claim that officials are therefore not violating federal laws prohibiting forced segregation in interstate travel facilities. Attorney General Kennedy has not ordered them to stop this.

Eight riders were arrested in the Jackson railway station May

30 after alighting from the streamliner *City of St. Louis*. "So far the emphasis has been on bus depots, to the exclusion of train depots," said Haley. "We want to give them all a fair shake." Four of the train riders were from Cornell University in Ithaca, N. Y. A committee there plans to send two more groups south.

Rev. William S. Coffin Jr., chaplain of Yale University in New Haven, Conn., was in a group of Negroes and whites arrested May 25 in a Montgomery, Ala. bus sta-

tion. Out on bail delivering his Sunday sermon — others in the group went on a hunger strike in jail, Coffin revealed that the U.S. Attorney General's office had asked his group "most circum-spectly" not to make the trip.

Conner, a member of president Kennedy's Peace Corps Advisory Council, said: "Why should the Negroes be asked for a return to normalcy? Why shouldn't Governor Patterson of Alabama be asked? Why should the Negroes have to be the ones to make the concessions?"

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## Students Urged to Volunteer For 'Peace Corps' to Cuba

NEW YORK — The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has issued a call for relaxation of the ban on travel to Cuba to permit 500 student "peace corps" volunteers to spend the summer working in Cuba.

Bert Wainer, of the FPCC Student Council newsletter, said the call was issued in response to several hundred students who had expressed a deep sense of shame

for the recent CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba.

The unofficial "peace corps" would repair some of the damage inflicted by U.S. planes and tanks during the recent ill-fated invasion.

Wainer said that many students had expressed a wish to visit families of Cubans murdered by CIA-armed mercenaries and of those killed by explosions and sabotage within Cuba.

As Cuba has achieved complete integration of society, including public accommodations and travel systems, the "peace corps" would, of course, be an integrated one, he added.

### Would Improve Relations

"This volunteer non-official group of students eager for friendship and understanding with our small neighbor in the south would do much to improve U.S.-Cuban relations," the Fair Play spokesman said.

He called on President Kennedy to relax the travel ban to permit the "historical friendship" between the Cuban and American people to be rebuilt.

Students interested in participating in such a volunteer "peace corps" were asked to write to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

## Socialist Workers' Candidate Defends 'Equal Time' Rule

NEW YORK — Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, declared he would fight the proposal by Frank Stanton to suspend the equal-time provision of the Federal Communications Act until 1963 so that minority candidates for state and local offices would be denied equal access with major candidates to free radio and television time.

Stanton, president of Columbia Broadcasting System, has urged Congress to extend the waiver on equal air time which it adopted just prior to the 1960 presidential election.

Refuting the claim that barring minority candidates from the air opens the way for "free debate" by the major party candidates, Garza said: "In the presidential election, the voters were promised a debate on the issues and were treated instead to a double feature

## Himmel Urges Detroit Labor to Fight New Tax

DETROIT, May 24 — Robert Himmel, socialist candidate for mayor, tonight handed out an open letter to the Wayne County AFL-CIO Council delegates as they entered their meeting, urging them to preserve the good name of labor by flatly opposing all variants of a city income tax.

An income tax was narrowly prevented last year because of labor's opposition. Then the city council set up a 12-member Citizens Income Tax Study Committee, including AFL-CIO Council president Al Barbour and three other union representatives.

Instead of fighting against all forms of higher taxation on workers, Barbour and the other union officials, following a mistaken notion of "responsibility," have maneuvered themselves into a position where they are supporting one income tax proposal on the ground that it is "a lesser evil" than others being proposed.

The open letter, also signed by Himmel's running mate, Sarah Lovell, candidate for city council, said: "This [support of an income tax] may please the conservative elements in the Democratic Party (the so-called 'friends of labor'). But it will disgust and embitter ordinary working men and women, thus generating anti-union sentiment and making it much more difficult for labor to organize the unorganized. . . .

"We think this development is a sad commentary on the political policy of the AFL-CIO leadership. We think that instead of continuing to adapt yourselves to the Democratic Party, you should break with both old parties, and run independent labor candidates for city office this year on an independent program, including opposition to all income tax schemes." (The socialist candidates had urged the unions to do this last month.)

of almost identical opinions. One question among many that interested the public was the future policy of our government toward the government of Fidel Castro. Both major candidates were agreed on the desirability of overthrowing that regime.

"The only apparent disagreement was over the secrecy or openness of such an action. . . . Nixon expressed 'shock' at Kennedy's proposal for open intervention and suggested instead that the overthrow be accomplished "indirectly," like the U.S.-organized coup in Guatemala.

"The American people were given no real opportunity to weigh the issue," Garza continued. "One factor that emboldened Kennedy in sponsoring the invasion of Cuba was the knowledge that the American people had heard only one side of the story — and that to the saturation point."



Harry Philo

## Rally To Map Fight On Bias in Hiring In New York Area

A conference on the high rate of joblessness among Negroes in New York City will be held by the local chapter of the Negro American Labor Council June 10. A. Phillip Randolph, the council's national chairman and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, said in announcing the conference that the rate of unemployment among Negroes was twice as high as among whites because discrimination kept Negroes in those jobs most heavily hit by automation.

### Job Exclusion

The conference will discuss the exclusion of Negroes from skilled jobs in a number of industries in New York including garment, printing, transportation and some construction trades.

The Greater New York NALC issued a statement saying: "The united labor movement has not dealt with the problem facing Negro workers and in some areas has reinforced the discriminatory attitudes of the employer.

"These general conditions are reflected more sharply in New York City, because of its deteriorated wage level. New York City, once a forward-moving union-minded city, is now number 19 of a list of 21 major industrial cities in wage earnings. Contributing to this downward trend is the large number of Negro and Spanish speaking workers subsisting on a low wage level. The effects of this situation are being increasingly felt in the Negro community, and the Negro worker as the direct victim of these vicious circumstances has had enough!"

### Conference

"The NALC calls upon all Negro workers and their trade unions, churches and civic organizations to address themselves to this problem by attending a Negro Unemployment Conference to project a Program of Action."

A rally June 9 at 8 p.m. will precede the conference which will be held June 10 from 9 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. at Salem Methodist Church, 7th Ave. and 129th St. in Manhattan.

## Stellato Smears Rivals in Local UAW Election

DETROIT, May 28 — The filthiest union election campaign in many years is now being conducted by Carl Stellato in his effort to win re-election as president of UAW Ford Local 600 on June 7-8.

Negro-baiting, red-baiting, McCarthyite lies, stoolpigeon testimony arranged by the House Un-American Activities Committee — nothing is too dirty for Stellato if he thinks it will hurt the strong "Job Security Slate" headed by Harry Philo.

The campaign reached a new pitch last week, after Stellato had refused to let the Job Security Slate mail its campaign literature, as he mails his, to 18,000 retired and unemployed members of the local. Philo took Stellato to court and a judge ordered him to give the Philo slate equal access to the mailing lists.

### Red Baiting

Stellato did all he could in court to smear Philo and his slate as "communist." Under direct questioning by Philo, he was forced to admit that he has no evidence, knowledge or information that Philo is a communist or a member of any organization that would make him ineligible for UAW office. But Stellato got wide publicity for his innuendoes about Philo's alleged record.

At the same time he put out a four-page tabloid that ranks with anything McCarthy ever did.

In a signed statement, Stellato says: "All who have read the campaign literature of our opposition must have become aware of their constant plea that we have no red-baiting and no race-baiting. Whenever I hear this sort of campaign plea I begin to look into the records and backgrounds to see what someone is trying to hide."

### Savage Attack

Then comes a savage attack on the Trade Union Leadership Council, local affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council, an organization dedicated to eliminating bias in the plants and unions.

Stellato falsely claims that the TULC's primary purpose is "to create disunity between rank-and-file Negro and white members of all UAW locals in the same manner and in the same fashion as the (Continued on Page 2)

## A 'Mortal Sin' to Tell The Truth in Malta?

The Catholic hierarchy in Malta, a British possession, has decreed it a "mortal sin" to support the island's Labor Party or its press.

In response to a Labor Party challenge to debate the issue, Archbishop Conzi declared: "The invitation is the gravest insult that can be leveled at ecclesiastical authorities."

Maybe the bishop has a point. A reasoned presentation of issues would look strange on the same platform with reactionary mumbo-jumbo.

# Jurisdictional Fights Reveal AFL-CIO Leadership Crisis

By Tom Kerry

Will there be a split in the AFL-CIO? This question kept popping up during my recent tour of the country while speaking at meetings on current problems of the American labor movement.

Speculation over a possible split arises from numerous reports of sharp dissension in the top circles of the union leadership over trade-union and political policy at home and abroad.

Jurisdictional conflicts, disputes and raids have, in many instances, erupted into open warfare between the old-line craft and the industrial unions.

George Meany, president of the national organization, has publicly snubbed the Reuther-led CIO unions by turning down an invitation to speak at a recent Industrial Union Department legislative conference held in Washington, D.C.

## "Backbone"

Several weeks later Meany did appear as guest speaker at a similar conference staged by the Building Trades Department where he lauded the craft unionists as the "backbone of the labor movement."

This was taken as added proof that Meany, who came out of the Plumbers Union, was openly aligning himself with the AFL craft unions against the industrial unions of the CIO.

The building-trades crafts are charged with spearheading an organized drive to raid the industrial unions. The Reuther wing of the AFL-CIO has charged that the craft unions are acting in collusion with building-trades contractors in a bid to take over all maintenance work in industrial plants.

Circulars are being distributed to corporations under contract to industrial unions promising "no seniority problems, no retirement

or costly insurance plans to administer, no vacation schedules," to worry about if repair and maintenance work is turned over to the building-trades crafts.

The steel and auto industries have been made special targets of such appeals. At the recent Detroit convention of the United Automobile Workers, Reuther devoted a section of his opening speech to an attack on this particular raiding device. In a recent speech at Dayton, Ohio, I. W. Abel, secretary-treasurer of the United Steel Workers, launched a bitter tirade against the building trades, openly accusing them of "scabbing" on the steel workers.

Building-trades officials reply in kind. They accuse the industrial union chiefs of "strikebreaking" for withdrawing their support of a proposed craft union-sponsored amendment to Taft-Hartley covering "situation picketing."

This deals with a National Labor Relations Board ruling of long standing that outlaws picketing of building sites which would affect workers not directly involved in the dispute.

The industrial union heads contend that the advantage gained for the crafts through such an amendment would be used to raid more effectively their jurisdictions. They insist that any such revision be broad enough to protect the rights and interests of industrial as well as craft unions. And so it goes — with the conflict spreading deep and wide on a national, state and local basis.

The eruption of jurisdictional warfare is a manifestation of a deep-seated affliction for which the union hierarchy will find no cure by promoting the spread of cannibal unionism. In an article dealing with inter-union warfare, the May 28 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, puts its finger on the root cause of the problem.



Meany

Jurisdictional strife has been spurred by the growth of chronic unemployment due to automation-mechanization which has resulted in reduced membership for the unions. "Jobs are at stake," says the *Journal*, which then adds:

"Automation and other changes in factory operations have sharply reduced the need for assembly-line production workers, backbone of such weakening ex-CIO giants as the auto and steel unions. Technicians are in demand now, and both industrial and craft union groups want to supply them. The old AFL craft unions have banded together, too, to take over many plant maintenance jobs at a time when jobs are dearer than ever to the industrial unions."

It is a sad commentary on the pathetic quality of the union leadership. Instead of initiating a campaign of joint action to unite all

sections of the labor movement in a serious struggle for the shorter work week to create more jobs, they engage in a dog-eat-dog scramble for jurisdiction over the constantly diminishing number of jobs in industry and trade.

The united labor movement has indeed come to a sorry pass. When the unification of AFL and CIO took place in 1955 there were high hopes of a reversal of the trend toward decline in union membership and influence in this country. There were those who saw in the mere fact of unity the answer to the problem of expanded labor power.

The workers were told that unification would bring an end to jurisdictional strife; that it would lead to the organization of the unorganized, especially in the open-shop South; that it would raise the prestige and power of the organized labor movement in the political life of the nation; that labor would expand and flourish and grow up to its rightful stature as spokesman and champion of the exploited and oppressed.

We warned then that numbers alone would not solve the problem. That unless there was a decisive change in policy the end result could only be further retreat, demoralization and defeat. That "labor-management harmony" on the economic front and subordination to the Democratic party in politics could bring no better results in the unified organization than it had in the separate groups.

The experience of the past six years has driven home the lesson: The most critical problem confronting the American labor movement is one of policy, program and leadership. After six years the united AFL-CIO has failed to fulfill any of its bright promises.

Jurisdictional warfare is more bitter and widespread today than

it was six years ago. Union membership has declined. Instead of organizing the unorganized, the top leadership is now engaged in disorganizing the organized. The Democratic Party-ruled South has become a haven for the runaway shop and remains a bulwark of anti-unionism and Jim-Crow reaction. In politics the influence of organized labor is at its lowest ebb.

The union leadership has no answer to the most critical problem of chronic unemployment induced by expanding automation-mechanization of American industry.

## With Cutthroats

In the field of foreign policy the labor lieutenants of capitalism identify themselves with the most reactionary gang of counter-revolutionary cutthroats in the world.

Their policy of cuddling up to the corporate heads of industry and clinging to the coattails of the American State Department brings only discredit, demoralization, frustration and retreat to the union movement.

The end product of this policy of class collaboration can only be further retreats and defeats. Nor would a split be any cure for the disease that is crippling the potentially powerful American working class. A split in which both sections continued to follow the same basic policy could only deepen the crisis of American labor. For the crisis is primarily one of leadership.

The correction must come through action of the union militants in the ranks who, through the organization of an effective opposition based on the theory and practice of class struggle, could begin to reverse the suicidal policy to which the present misleadership appears to be unalterably committed.

## Weekly Calendar

### CHICAGO

What Next for Cuba? Speakers: Howard Packer, socialist writer and lecturer, and Juan Del Rosario, 26th of July Movement. Thur., June 8, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Room 210, Contrib. 50 cents. Unemployed free. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

Shooting for the Moon! An analysis of the first four months of the Kennedy administration by Tom Kerry, labor editor, *The Militant*. Social evening to follow. Sat., June 10, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Unemployed and students 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

Richard Gibson, acting national secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, will be guest of honor at a gala banquet Sun., June 11, 6 p.m., at Baces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont Ave., \$3.50 per person. For reservations call IMA 6-2574 or NO 3-0387. Ausp. Los Angeles FPCC.

# ... Stellato Smears Rivals in Election

(Continued from Page 1)

Harry Bennett gang did at the Ford Motor Company in 1941" (when Local 600 struck for recognition)!

Stellato has been gunning for the TULC for some time because it is critical of his soft attitude toward the anti-Negro elements in the local, which resulted in the elimination of all Negroes from the top four local offices two years ago.

In an effort to regain Negro support last year, Stellato publicly announced with great fanfare that he and the other three top officers had agreed one of them would withdraw in this year's election in order to support a Negro candidate for one of their posts.

Since then he evidently has decided to violate this pledge and appease the anti-Negro forces. Although one of the top officers, financial secretary W. O. Grant, is not running for re-election, the

top Stellato slate is all-white. Hence the present attack on the TULC as an allegedly divisive, anti-white force. Hence the attack on the Job Security Slate, three of whose top nine candidates are Negro.

To drive this point home to everybody, the back page of Stellato's tabloid is devoted to two sets of pictures. One set shows the faces of all nine Stellato candidates — all of them white. The other set shows the faces of the Job Security Slate, so arranged that the Negro candidates seem to dominate, and headed by a picture of Horace Sheffield, a TULC official who is not running for any local office! A more flagrant appeal to white prejudice has not been seen in the Detroit labor movement in a long time.

The rest of Stellato's tabloid stuff is anti-climax by comparison. Its main point against Philo is based on charges made by a stoolpigeon at a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in 1954, claiming that Philo had belonged to a "communist" group in Albany, N. Y. Stellato proudly refers to this garbage as "official records of the United States Government."

Among his other charges is that Philo "praised the Castro murders after his tour of Cuba."

The tile of Philo's answer to Stellato last week was: "We fight Ford just as we fight for union democracy. We will win job security and the fight against speedup just as we won the court decision."

Philo said Stellato had tried unsuccessfully to deny the Job Security Slate its democratic right to mail literature to the retirees because he didn't want them to be reminded that the UAW "promised in 1958 never again to bargain for the retired workers — Stel-

lato heading the negotiators from Local 600."

Saying that "Stellato plays McCarthy's game," Philo declared: "When McCarthy was seeing reds under every bed, Stellato red-baited and put five Local 600 officers on trial, guys he could not beat at the polls. When McCarthy was under attack, Stellato said, 'Redbaiting is the bosses' game.'

When the John Birch Society began calling Eisenhower a Communist, Stellato began redbaiting again."

None of the Local 600 leaders believe that Philo is a communist, he continued. "But I am not a coward either — I will not weaken in the fight against Ford or be diverted into fighting filth."

## Compressed But Available

If you want truthful reporting about the Cuban Revolution and haven't already subscribed to *The Militant*, we hope you will clip the special-offer coupon below. Reporting on U.S. press reaction to the April 17 invasion, the May 21 issue of the Cuban magazine, *Bohemia*, said this:

"What the *U.S. News & World Report* was proclaiming as a heroic deed, *The Militant* was indicting as a crime. This is a modest socialist tabloid edited in New York. Since it doesn't represent the interests of the monopolies, it lacks advertising and its circulation is limited. *The Militant*, of course, does not belong to the gilded circle of the S.E.P. [Society of Newspaper Editors]. Its truth remains compressed in four pages."

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## Local Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

**CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

**CLEVELAND.** Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

**DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California, Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

**DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

**LOS ANGELES.** Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop. Socialist Workers Party, 1703 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-8238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 1 a.m. to 5 p.m.

**MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.

**MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEederal 2-7781.

**NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

**NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

**OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. Phone OL 5-1764.

**PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

**SAN FRANCISCO.** Militant Labor Forum, VA 4-2321. For labor and socialist books, Spartacus Bookstore, 2331 Market St. UN 3-7675. Open 12 noon.

**ST. LOUIS.** Phone Main 1-0969. Ask for Dick Clarke.

**SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif.

**SEATTLE.** 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

# THE MILITANT

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Monday, June 5, 1961

## The Freedom Riders

Modern dictionaries do not carry it, but as long as capitalism lasts Dr. Johnson's famous definition of patriotism as "the last refuge of a scoundrel" will be applicable.

Just recall a few cases. In 1958 Reuther euchred the United Auto Workers into giving up its prime bargaining demand, adopted by the previous convention, for a reduced work week with no reduction in pay. The Soviet Union had just sent up the first sputnik and, wrapping himself in the flag, Reuther declared that Americans had to work harder and longer than ever before to catch up.

A month ago, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, after the government had dropped the tax case against him and he had received a House committee chairmanship and the patronage attached thereto, announced that he would not introduce the Powell Amendment this year and would fight anyone who did introduce it. This amendment, barring federal funds to segregated schools had to be abandoned, Powell said because the USSR had just orbited an astronaut and therefore the aid to education bill had to be passed even in a form which strengthened school segregation.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy wasn't fortunate enough to have some new Soviet space feat to point to last week when he patriotically urged the Freedom Riders to stop their integrated bus trips into Alabama and Mississippi. All he could invoke was his brother's forthcoming confab with Khrushchev in Vienna and the embarrassment it could cause the president if any of the Freedom Riders got themselves killed or got their heads bashed in by the police or racist mobs.

## Siren Song

The prompt rejection of the Attorney General's urging of a "cooling off period" (which was seconded by Northern and Southern liberals and practically all of the Northern press) by the leadership of the Freedom Riders movement is to be commended. It also sets a valuable example and precedent for days to come when the refrain, "Give up your struggle in the name of patriotism," will be frequently sung to militant Negroes and workers by all sorts of weaklings, fakers and scoundrels.

The same liberal elements who endorse the Attorney General's "cooling off period" proposal are unstinting in their praise of his "resolute" action in Alabama. But upon close examination this action is revealed as trifling and weak-kneed.

## Who Were Lawbreakers?

Forced racial segregation in interstate bus travel is against the law of the U.S. The Freedom Riders were simply trying to enjoy their legal rights in Alabama and Mississippi. The lawbreakers were the racist hoodlums, the Governors of Alabama and Mississippi, the Police Commissioners of Birmingham, Montgomery and Jackson as well as assorted state officials and judges. These people should have been arrested by the federal authorities. Not one has. The only legal action the Department of Justice has initiated is not a criminal prosecution but a limited injunctive proceeding.

The mission of the U.S. marshals briefly sent to Alabama by Kennedy was limited to seeing the Freedom Riders safely jailed by the local police.

The Attorney General's highly-touted directive to the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce bus desegregation simply passes the buck. The ICC has no police or troops, it can merely levy fines. It supposedly has been enforcing bus desegregation since 1955. The argument that it enforced railroad desegregation but neglected buses was exposed before it was a day old by the arrival and arrest of eight Freedom Riders in the Jackson railroad station.

## What Should Be Done

What measures would an administration, which really wanted to enforce the rights "guaranteed" to the Negro people by federal law, take? It would send federal law-enforcement officials, whether marshals in large or uniformed troops would not matter, to every bus and rail terminal in the South to rip down the "white" and "colored" signs over the facilities. It would station detachments in every terminal to see that no segregation took place. A federal squad would be assigned to ride on every bus to see that passengers were allowed to take any available seats. Such federal enforcement would be maintained as long as necessary. If state officials, national guards or racist mobs tried to interfere, then federal martial law would be proclaimed and enough federal forces sent in to subdue and jail the criminal racists.

An administration that will willingly undertake such action awaits the building of a labor party by the working people and oppressed minorities of this country. While working toward that objective opponents of Jim Crow must deafen Washington with demands for full civil rights legislation and real enforcement of what is already on the books. The big-business administration in Washington may yield only an ounce of enforcement for a ton of pressure, but if enough pressure is brought it can be forced to give.

# Mexican CP 'Answers' Toledano

By Joseph Hansen  
(First of two articles)

The editors of *Política*, a bi-weekly magazine published in Mexico City, reported in the April 15 issue that "an incident which occurred during the Latin-American Conference for National Sovereignty and Peace" that met March 5-8 in the Mexican capital, "has given rise to certain disagreements between the Popular Socialist party and the Mexican Communist party." Due to the interest which they might have for their readers, the editors published in their entirety a report made by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, general secretary of the Popular Socialist party, to the leadership of his party, and a reply to certain parts of it by the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist party.

One of the items in the dispute will, I think, be of interest to readers of *The Militant*. It involves a slanderous attack on "Trotskyism" by Lombardo Toledano and the accusation that the Mexican Communist party worked in common with, and under the influence of, Trotskyists at the Latin-American Conference.

### Excerpts

For the record, here are some excerpts from Lombardo's lengthy report:

"Trotskyism, which disappeared some time ago in various capitalist countries where it had a certain significance in the distant past, has reappeared especially in the countries of Latin America. Consequently it is necessary to examine its current character and its aims.

"When Leon Trotsky arrived in Mexico as a political refugee he was an agent of the Germany of the Third Reich in his political plans and the strategy and tactics proclaimed by him as well as his sympathizers Julian Gorkin, Victor Serge, Marceau Pivert and others in addition to his agents born in our country. The National Council of the Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico, in December of 1936, made a public declaration in this respect, revealing the role of Trotsky in this movement so dangerous for the future of all the peoples of the world. A little later Trotsky began his campaign, publicly holding responsible for the hostile environment that had formed toward him, the then general secretary of the CTM, Comrade Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

"When the assault on the home of Trotsky failed, in 1940, the latter declared to the chief of police and the prosecuting attorney that he held responsible for these deeds Stalin as director of the conspiracy against his person, and Lombardo Toledano in Mexico, as director of the campaign seeking to abolish him from the political scene.

### Lombardo's 'Logic'

"During the second world war the Trotskyists were arrested in all the countries that struggled against Hitlerite Germany and its allies, and placed in concentration camps while the conflict lasted. This fact was the logical consequence of the political thesis maintained by Leon Trotsky and his followers, because while national fronts, continental and regional fronts, and the world front against fascism were being formed everywhere, they continued to maintain the thesis of the permanent revolution against the bourgeoisie in each country, thus weakening the struggle against Nazi imperialism, which was the major danger, at that moment, to democratic liberties and social progress in all the nations of the world. . . .

"The death of Leon Trotsky liquidated the Fourth International and the happenings in the course of the war which culminated in the organization of the popular democracies in Europe and Asia, which are today constructing so-

cialism and have contributed to change the correlation of political forces in the world, liquidated the Trotskyist theses within and without the Soviet Union.

"Why is Trotskyism being reborn, twenty years after these events? The reply is given by the Trotskyist parties of Latin America themselves.

"The program of the so-called Trotskyist parties consists in proposing the organization of armed groups with the object of overthrowing all the governments of the continent. Political action based on the self-sufficiency of the working class in agrarian countries like those of Latin America, and similar nonsense. Its aim is that of serving imperialism in order to put brakes on the genuine movements of economic emancipation of the sister nations of America, impelling antidemocratic governments into the employment of repressive measures and violence that would impede the effective labor of liberation of our countries, under pretext that they want to create chaos in the hemisphere.

### 'Money in Abundance'?

"The Trotskyists have money in abundance for traveling. No government refuses visas for their passports. They present themselves without invitation at all public meetings, particularly those of an international character, looking for acceptance of their tactical line in order to confuse these assemblies and make them fail. Recent cases of this conduct were the First Latin-American Youth Congress, held in Havana in the month of July 1960, the Latin-American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace, carried out in Mexico City in the month of March 1961, and the Conference of Agrarian Plantations held in Havana the same month of March. . . . The Trotskyists present their points of view with genuine cynicism, and even though they were rejected in the most complete way, they obstructed the work of the meetings and enjoyed circumstantial alliances with the most disoriented elements. In the Latin-American Conference they made common cause with the elements of the Communist party and of the Revolutionary Movement of the Teachers, anarchistic faction of Section IX of the National Union of Education Workers. In this alliance, as a really curious thing, it could be observed that the elements of the CP did not influence the Trotskyists, but the reverse, all of them exhibiting themselves as genuine provocateurs.

### Frame-up Method

"In the trade-union movement the Trotskyists form small groups and publish newspapers like the so-called *Frente Obrero* (Workers' Front) and numerous pamphlets, in order to spread their concepts among ingenuous workers who are ignorant of their true links with reactionary forces, and the aims they pursue.

"Current Trotskyism is, consequently, a band of provocateurs kept and managed by the political police of the government of the U.S."

As anyone with the least political education will recognize at once, Lombardo Toledano, while adding contributions of his own, is repeating slanders made in the Moscow frame-up trials. Twenty-four years ago these were definitively exposed by the John Dewey Committee of Investigation as Stalinist concoctions. Khrushchev added further details about this dark chapter in Soviet history when he made his famous denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist party in 1956.

But the Mexican Communist party refers to none of this in its effort to answer Lombardo's attack. Here are some paragraphs

from its explanation of what led the head of the Popular Socialist party to cover himself in public at this late date with the old Stalinist filth:

"The immediate motive of such affirmations are the signs of discontent and disagreement with Lic. Lombardo which appeared at the Conference. Despite the fact that Lombardo Toledano and the leadership of the Popular Socialist party know that the Mexican Communist party did not promote these demonstrations — since there was no necessity of this, nor is it proper to use such procedures — they level this accusation against our party. . . .

"It is not only false and calumnious, but it drops into provocation, to sow the idea that the Mexican Communist party acts in alliance with 'the provocateurs with old links with North American espionage,' 'with the Trotskyists,' 'the franc tireurs of all kinds,' in order 'to try, without success, to cause the Conference to fail.'

"What is really the fact is that the leadership of the Popular Socialist party resorts to these procedures and mounts this provocation in order to create a smoke screen that might hide the loss of prestige in which its politics has fallen, in order to combat the Communist party and place bigger obstacles in the road of unity of action. . . .

### Attack not Isolated

"This attack on which we are commenting, however, is not isolated. It forms a part of the unfounded accusations which in recent times the leadership of the PPS has put into circulation against the Mexican Communist party and its leadership elected by the Thirteenth National Congress. And this form of action, systematic calumny against the Communist party, is nothing but a way of exhibiting an anti-Communist position. . . .

"Nor is it the first time it has occurred. On every occasion that the Mexican Communist party has disagreed with the line of Lombardo Toledano concerning fundamental problems of the national political life and the class struggle, it received the worst attacks and calumnies. . . .

"Every form of anti-Communism, no matter how well covered, has a counter-revolutionary essence, like it or not those who fall into this position."

As can be seen, the officials of the Mexican Communist party limited their refutation of Lombardo Toledano to denying that they had any alliance with "Trotskyists" at the Conference and indicating their calumniator's petulance over the least display of disagreement with him, especially hissing and booing such as greeted his name when it was first mentioned at the Latin-American Conference. But they are completely silent about the slanders that Lombardo Toledano levelled at the much abused Trotskyists.

I will take these up next week.

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## Pilot Project to Nowhere

# Acquired New Skills, But Not New Jobs

By Hedda Grant

The *Wall Street Journal* of April 17 hails Kennedy's new plan for retraining and relocating the unemployed and, "preparing them for a whole new life." It is due to be sprung on the public this summer when "a seasonal peak of unemployment caused by the student job search — could create a climate favorable to unusual approaches." It seems the administration now understands that unemployment is no longer only a symptom of economic downturn but has taken on a permanent quality as a direct result of new technological advances. The unemployed worker, it is now realized, is the "victim of deep changes in the economy" and temporarily extending unemployment compensation merely postpones the problem a few weeks.

It is encouraging to know that

the administration is calling a spade a spade, although the fact is that it would be a trifle difficult to ignore 3,200,000 or more people who have run out of unemployment benefits. But how successful can such plans be, assuming that they can pass unscathed through the not-too-cooperative Houses of Congress?

Actually, the *Wall Street Journal* had already answered this question a month earlier. In a March 21 article it examined an experimental retraining program sponsored by the Armour Meat Company, the United Packinghouse Workers, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union. This pilot program was tried in Oklahoma City, where the shutdown of a 50-year-old Armour plant threw 300 long-term workers out of their jobs. The experiment was designed as a model for management and unions all over the country and

for the edification of federal policy makers.

Directors of the half-million dollar program were enthusiastic about its morale-building effect on the workers and they even produced a prize retrained exhibit — a 53-year-old worker who has just embarked on a career as a real-estate broker and is happy over his retraining. But the total picture is bleak.

Of the 300 workers who lost their jobs when Armour shut its doors, only 58 enlisted in the retraining program. One reason might be that the fees for the retraining courses were only partially paid by the committee. The *Journal* tells of a 34-year-old father of six who complained about the \$100 he had to pay and his feeling that the company could have paid the whole fee for his auto mechanic's course. How a family's breadwinner could keep his kids alive while he retrained, if he had no savings, is not explained. In New York, for example, his unemployment compensation would be stopped.

Other problems developed. A laid-off Negro worker wanted to go to barber college but was unable to find one that accepted Negroes in all of Oklahoma City. A man, aged 37, completed a plumbing course only to be told he was too old to become an apprentice; union bylaws fixed 25 as the maximum age for learners. Thirteen men who completed a night-school course in retail butchering found little need for their newly-acquired skill. Only four found jobs in that field — and at greatly reduced wages and longer hours. Two of them now work as janitors, one is a helper in a warehouse, and six are still unemployed.

A spokesman for the Packinghouse Workers union summed it up, "all the retraining in the world is not going to do much good until we have an expanded economy so we can find places for these people to work."

There are few, if any, fields where there is a real shortage of manpower. The new trainee at age 40, 50 or 60, is competing as a beginner with 20-year-olds. That is, if he can afford to take the time out to study and find means to pay tuition when it is a problem paying his rent.

The West Virginia coal miner, who thinks he's luckier than most because in ten years he'll be 65, will not derive much hope from Kennedy's much-touted plan. Until jobs for all are guaranteed, this "solution" of despair — wishing for old age — will continue for all too many in this "land of opportunity."

made for them by others — and the change is painful.

It is not for us to judge or to lay down the rules by which other peoples may solve their problems. Nor can we expect that other nations will or want to model themselves upon the United States and its society. Moreover, we misread facts if we blame the "devil" communism for everything in the world which doesn't go according to US blueprints. This is self-deception of the worst kind.

We can't welcome the Indonesian freedom from Dutch domination, the Indian freedom from the British or the Indo-Chinese from the French while rejecting the Cuban freedom from the United States.

The Kennedy Administration has called upon every American republic to be "the master of its own revolution of hope and progress." Instead of boycotting and attempting to strangle this revolution, instead of fostering and financing counter-revolutionary groups here in the United States, we should try to understand what is going on in Cuba, why it is going on in this manner, and recognize, whether we agree or not, that the Cuban people have a right to make their own revolution. And we have to come to terms with this and with other colonial revolutions in the world.

US citizens should be permitted to travel in Cuba to see for themselves. Cubans should be welcomed in the United States. How else can we hope to influence the world of change and live in it with confidence and security? How else can we hope to use our abundance and good will to make a better world for ourselves and our children?

## 'Cuba Learned the Lesson of 1776'

At its convention in Honolulu at the beginning of April, the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union adopted by unanimous vote a *Statement of Policy on Cuba* which the rest of the labor movement would do well to emulate. The convention stand was later endorsed by the union's key Local 6 of San Francisco. Following is the text of the statement.

\* \* \*

The worldwide mass revolution against poverty and disease and for freedom and independence has broken out 90 miles from the border of the United States, in Cuba.

Each nation makes its own revolution in its own way. But no nation can hope to build a new and better life for its people unless it builds on the foundation stones of democracy, sovereignty and economic independence. Each colonial and semi-colonial country has learned this lesson. And not least of all in the chain of successful revolutions from which the Cubans learned this lesson was the American revolution of 1776. To read the English Tory comments on Washington, Franklin, Adams and Paine is to hear an echo of today's newspaper editorials and politicians' rantings against Castro.

The revolt of the colonial people — who are the ultimate heirs of 1776 — seems to be taking forms which are frightening and incomprehensible to the descendants of those who started it all at Lexington and Concord. More and more, history is no longer what Americans make for themselves but something that is increasingly

## Letters from Our Readers

### Tractors for Cuba

New York, N. Y.

When I first read that Mrs. Roosevelt and the others were collecting money for tractors to Cuba to get the prisoners back my first reaction was that I wouldn't give a dime. With reactionaries like Cardinal Spellman putting up money for it you can see that for them the whole thing is more anti-Cuban propaganda.

But the Cubans are entitled to payment for the damage done by the invasion and Kennedy's sponsorship of the tractor deal is an admission of U.S. involvement in the invasion. It also throws a monkey wrench in the claim that you can't negotiate anything with the Cubans.

H.C.

### Flim-Flam

San Francisco, Calif.

During Franklin D. Roosevelt's time an unemployed man reduced to the status of selling apples on the street was given federal help to augment his starvation earnings.

Under the present Kennedy administration policy such an appleseller is considered a self-employed business man and he is taxed 4½ per cent of his earnings for "Social Security." The Internal Revenue Department takes another whack at him for a 20 per cent bite if his income is over \$600.

Yes, there is a great difference between Franklin D. Roosevelt and the present president.

Most of this business called "social security" is a long way from any security and is a flim-flam by the federal government. Three out of eight people who have reached 65 are told they haven't worked long enough to be eligible for benefits. Yet the 4½ per cent is taken away from them in the misnomer of "Social Security." This is robbery!

H.I.F.

### Horatio Alger

Detroit, Mich.

Perhaps you have read many times the story of *Horatio Alger* in the capitalist-controlled newspapers. It's the fictitious tale of the poor boy who advances in life by hardship and the sweat of his brow and finally reaches the rainbow of great wealth.

This is repeated many times for labor's benefit to leave the indelible impression that we can all do the same. This is nothing but a capitalist melody that has been played so many times the needle is almost worn out.

The real purpose is to keep the "system" alive for the Barons of Wealth who know that their system does not guarantee a Horatio Alger ending for everyone. But that is their "dog-eat-dog" philosophy, or "the better man wins" (so to speak).

The capitalist would like us to believe that all humanity must struggle separately in order to reach our "ivory tower." Those who believe in the principles of righteousness will agree that all humanity must elevate together and share the fruits of life in order to obtain happiness, not the pursuit of happiness, so that all can be free from greed, poverty, war, insecurity and race hatred.

A.K.

### Staying 'Muddled'

Geneva, N. Y.

The TV and press, which twists the truth, says we're "muddled." Well, I have been for years and

will continue to stick by my "muddled" ideals — the Bill of Rights, opposition to war, race hatred, barbecue pit "bomb shelters" and all the rest of the "Onward Christian Soldiers" tune.

H.R.

### Socialism Gaining

Jenkins, Minn.

I am glad to see that socialism is gaining fast in Europe and Asia and that it is spreading in Africa. It even seems to be taking hold in Canada and Cuba. I sincerely hope that Latin America will go socialist which will make the "free" USA the only tyranny left to be coped with.

We are fortunate to have a courageous leader like Castro. All power and the best of success to Castro and the Cuban people who put down the brutal attack made by Dulles and the CIA. Shame on a large, powerful nation like the USA for such an atrocity.

R.S.

### Looks to the Youth

Santa Cruz, Calif.

When I was 17 I joined the Young Socialists. I believed that sufficient literature and education would make socialists because they would agree with the ideas and would organize for the change.

Some upsurges occurred during the Debs campaigns, even in unions, but this was really only tolerance of his politics because of his militant methods of organizing unions.

Much excellent literature was actually wasted on those who are now dead or too old. They didn't understand the purpose of international solidarity.

They let their own leaders defeat the slightest attempt at revolutionary change. The unions likewise let their misleaders tie them to the capitalist machine.

However, glory be to the youth. They are organizing in the universities internationally. Except for the youth and some older, experienced heads, I would say the adult movements earned what they have by their "patriotic" conformity to the laws and rules of a state that serves their enemy — Wall Street.

H.C.B.

### Military Coups

Santa Rosa, Calif.

The recent military coups in Turkey and Korea were frantic, desperate moves to stop the people, mainly the youth from taking over their own lives. And it will always be so as long as we allow any person wearing a uniform or badge representing some kind of authority over our lives to force us to obey their orders.

As long as the army of a nation is entirely supported by its own people all that is required to collapse it is for the people to refuse to support it.

But in cases like Hungary an outside army entirely removed from the economy and people of that country could move in and brutally suppress the attempt of the people to gain their freedom. In cases like Korea and Nationalist China the armies are entirely supported and maintained by the USA, and I don't have the slightest doubt but that the latest coup in Korea was planned and instigated by the United States.

We must absolutely refuse to accept any commitment made by government to government but accept only commitments of people to people.

E.L.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**One Solution** — The State Department is considering a plan to establish a ten-acre seashore playground where African diplomats can enjoy a discrimination-free weekend. A department spokesman explained that all "good and desirable" beaches accessible to Washington are segregated.

**Vacation Time** — "Several hundred thousand students seeking summer jobs are likely to find they will have to take a vacation after all. . . . Even the traditional openings for camp counselors, resort hotel employees and ice cream salesmen are down from past years. To the extent that more stable jobs are available, employers are indicating a preference for hiring more experienced workers from the ranks of the 5,000,000 already unemployed." — The May 25 *New York Times*

**Our Best Brains** — The Corning Glass Company and the American

Council of Learned Societies sponsored a gathering of "a small group of the finest minds in the world." This is one of the thoughts they came up with: "It may be very desirable that men live under tension, under a possibility of failure as well as success. Let's not force everybody to eat strawberries and cream. For some bread and butter is best."

**Sentimentalists** — A national promotion campaign was waged urging: "Send a birthday card to President Kennedy. . . . Tell him you are with him as an American." Sponsor? The Rust Craft greeting card company.

**The Bright Side** — Over 2.7 million people are drawing jobless compensation, 43 per cent more than a year ago. However, reports the *Wall Street Journal*, "High unemployment creates jobs — at state unemployment offices."

**None of that Socialism** — The American Medical Association complains that doctors are too free with drug samples, urges that instead of being handed out to patients they can be incinerated or flushed down the toilet. But, the AMA adds: "When a physician's thrifty nature balks at destroying drug samples, he can give them personally to the registered pharmacist at the corner drug store."

**Strategist** — Robert L. Garner, president of the International Finance Corp., says private enterprise isn't putting up an aggressive enough fight against communism. To rectify this he suggests that companies appoint another vice president. This one would be "vice president for private enterprise warfare."

**The Ultimate** — A New York builder offers the "splanch," a house combining "best features of the ranch and split level."

### Thought for the Week

"Officials at the school said that so far none of the pupils had been bitten by the rats. However, the appearance of the rodents in classrooms has been distracting, although the children have not seemed to be greatly frightened, one staff member said. The 1,300 pupils at the school come from the most depressed area of Harlem, Dr. Shapiro said, and many of them are used to seeing rats." — From a news report in the May 27 *New York Times*.