

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 30

Monday, August 13, 1962

Price 10c

Short Work Week Demands Growing, Goldberg Worried

Labor Secretary Goldberg's principal worry at present is that a shorter work week with no reduction in pay may become a serious issue in collective bargaining if unemployment continues at high levels. Goldberg revealed this in an interview with the *New York Times* printed Aug. 3.

He revealed further that past calls by top labor leaders for the shorter work week were not couched in terms to make him take them seriously. The *Times* reports: "Mr. Goldberg senses a shift in labor's mood about shorter hours in recent months. Formerly, calls by union leaders were ritualistic, but lately these appeals have taken on an air of urgency. . . . Unions are under pressure from their members to do something about jobs, he said."

Over Protests Gov't Tries Wm. Worthy

AUG. 8 — Disregarding protests from Negro leaders, civil-liberties spokesmen and law professors, the federal government yesterday began its trial of *Afro-American* foreign correspondent William Worthy on a charge of having re-entered the United States, his native land, from Cuba "without a valid passport."

Though the trial in the U.S. District Court in Miami formally opened yesterday, Judge Emmett C. Choate adjourned it almost at once till later in the week because of the court's crowded docket. Paul C. Vincent of the U.S. Department of Justice informed the court that there would be seven prosecution witnesses. Attorney Howard W. Dixon stated that the defense would present only one witness.

Fifteen prominent judges, attorneys and law professors on Aug. 2 called upon Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to discontinue the prosecution of Worthy, the first American ever indicted for re-entering his own country. They questioned the constitutionality of the McCarran Immigration Act under which he is being tried, saying: "The whole theory of citizenship and domicile is the place to which one can return, unimpeded, (Continued on Page 4)

Goldberg knows that the fight for the shorter work week will be a real one, with serious resistance on the part of employers and hard-fought strikes if the demand is to be won by the unions. That would upset the Kennedy administration's plans to improve the profit-picture of corporations by

(Continued on Page 3)

Start SWP Drive For N. Y. Ballot

The New York section of the Socialist Workers Party has announced a goal of 24,000 signatures on nominating petitions to secure a place on the ballot in New York state for the November elections. Signature gathering begins August 11 and continues on a campaign basis until mid September. Volunteer petitioners, office help and money are urgently needed. Campaign headquarters is located at 116 University Place, New York City. Phone AL 5-7852.

The SWP slate includes Richard Garza for Governor, Carl Feingold for U.S. Senator, Sylvia Weinstein for Lieut. Governor, Leroy McRae for Attorney General and Allen Tappin for Comptroller.

Kennedy Dodges Defense Of Negroes in Albany, Ga.

By Fred Halstead

AUG. 7 — While white racists in the area of Albany, Ga., meet the attempt of Negroes there to exercise their constitutional rights with legal subterfuges, mass arrests and violence, the Kennedy administration is studiously avoiding any effective action to defend the civil-rights fighters.

The direct-action demonstrations of Albany's Negroes, however, have put the administration on the spot and forced President Kennedy on Aug. 1 to make a timid statement favoring one of the Negroes' demands — that the Albany City Council negotiate with the Negro community. Beyond this, Kennedy has done nothing, hiding behind lawyers' contrived arguments that federal officials will act "if their investigations show any violation of federal law."

Mass Arrests

This in the face of over 1,100 arrests of peaceful, orderly civil-rights demonstrators in Albany since last December! In the face of over 300 arrests since the current wave of demonstrations began July 11! In the face of the jailing of Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, on the usual subterfuge of "parading without a permit"! In the face of repeated beatings, jailings and acts of intimidation against voter-registration workers in the counties around Albany!

This is the same Kennedy administration which was able to move with lightning speed and great power when its plans to control collective bargaining in the steel industry were embarrassed by U.S. Steel's price rise. Kennedy has more than enough legal basis to act decisively in defense of civil rights in Albany if he wanted to. Kennedy wants nothing more than to sweep the whole Albany problem out of the limelight and to continue his cordial relationship with the Dixiecrats in his party without embarrassment.

Racist Judge

An example of these relations was Kennedy's recent appointment of segregationist J. Robert Elliot to a federal judgeship. It was Elliot who ruled in favor of the Albany City Council's request for an injunction against Negro demonstrators on the grounds that the rights of the white majority were being violated.

No federal official, however, has taken the racists to task for the brutal beating of a young white integrationist, William Hansen, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Hansen was arrested with Negro demonstrators and received a broken jaw after guards in the country jail in Albany threw him into a cell with local white prisoners, telling them, "Here's a nigger lover." When a Negro lawyer sought medical attention for Hansen, he too was beaten.

The SNCC office in Atlanta sent the following telegram to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, July 28: "We demand that you investigate the brutal beating administered to SNCC Field Secretary William Hansen in the Dougherty County jail, and the unwarranted attack on Albany Attorney C. B. King. Sheriff D. C. Cambell of Dougherty County broke a walking stick over King's head. We also demand that you protect SNCC voting instructors in Lee, Terrell, and Dougherty Counties. Our workers there have been jailed, threatened, and beaten. When will the Federal Government act to halt the Nazi-like forces operating against democracy in Southwest Georgia?"

A delegation of over 100 minis-

(Continued on Page 4)



Wreckage in Casa Cuba, New York social club, after attack by counter-revolutionaries. The Batistianos at least demonstrated political logic — they tore down not only pictures of Fidel Castro and other leaders of Cuba's present revolution but also those of José Martí and Antonio Maceo, heroes of Cuba's war of independence from Spain.

Effective Protest Follows Raid on N. Y. Cuban Club

Friends of the Cuban Revolution and defenders of civil liberties in New York City are indignantly protesting the open campaign of violence being carried on by Cuban counter-revolutionaries against pro-Castro Cubans and Cuban-Americans.

This protest took physical form on July 28 when some 200 people picketed City Hall to protest the wrecking of Casa Cuba, the city's second oldest Cuban social club, two days before and to demand police action. Other protests from groups and organizations have been lodged with city and police officials.

Counter-revolutionaries had chosen July 26, the anniversary of Fidel Castro's historic attack on the Batista regime's Moncada Barracks, as the date for their attack on Casa Cuba. Late at night, when everybody had left the club, they broke in, accompanied by press photographers and TV cameramen, and made a shambles of the place. Furniture, dining equipment, TV sets, other furnishings and partitions were

smashed; books, flags and pictures were trampled.

Symmetrical with the politics of the counter-revolutionaries is their petty larceny. They carried off the club's funds, a typewriter, a cigarette-vending machine and a pay-station telephone. Also stolen were the club's files and records.

Earlier that evening Casa Cuba representatives had called the attention of police to the presence outside the hall of menacing groups connected with counter-revolutionary organizations known to have engaged in violent political acts.

The speedy and militant action of Casa Cuba in calling a picket line at City Hall and demanding protection and the arrest of the hall-wreckers — recognizable from the TV-news films showing them in the act — brought some immediate results. Within a few days police announced one arrest and when the Cuban social club held a gala re-opening party Aug. 3, a hundred cops were seen on duty in the vicinity.

Part II

An Answer To "Hoy's" Slanders

[Recently a series of articles appeared in Hoy, the daily paper of the Cuban Communist Party (PSP), attacking "Trotskyism." Part I of this answer, which appeared in our July 30 issue, dealt with the typical Stalinist slanders about Trotsky and such falsifications as that Eusebio Mujal, Batista's chief labor czar, had been a Trotskyist leader. Citing contemporaneous accounts from the U.S. Trotskyist press, it showed that under Batista Trotskyists had been ruthlessly imprisoned and murdered.]

By Joseph Hansen

It may seem odd that Hoy would venture to refer to the historic record in attacking Trotskyism. Great as the risk may appear, Hoy's need is greater. To make the attack appear impressive, learned-sounding, if falsified, references to history are required. The "lessons of history" pitch is a convenient guise for pushing current interests. Besides, the risk is not too great. The Escalantes were instrumental in suppressing the Trotskyist newspaper in Cuba. The victim is thus hampered in

meeting the slander and in pointing out the falsifications. Nor can he easily call attention to the real lessons of history in opposition to the aims of the slanderers.

The ax which Hoy is grinding is plain enough. The Trotskyists, Hoy affirms, work "to combat the Revolution by presenting themselves as more revolutionary than the Revolution itself."

"Their labor," the Stalinist newspaper continues, "is to try to sow confusion, to divert people from serious revolutionary work in order to launch them into senseless discussions and discussions, to sow doubt in the future of the Revolution and to create whatever obstacles they can to its development."

In brief, Hoy stands against the right of revolutionists to discuss freely whatever they feel needs discussing, even if for the moment they may sound more revolutionary than the Revolution itself, and brands those who might wish to discuss or debate policies — whether with the aim of clarifying, modifying or changing policies — as sowers of doubt and

confusion and creators of obstacles.

From this it follows by a not-so-strange logic that Hoy, whose discussions, as we see, offer impeccable examples of lack of confusion and avoidance of diversionary topics, should have the right to block or to censor any thoroughgoing discussion of such sensitive subjects as the meaning of the obstacles to the Revolution created by Escalante and his tendency.

While Hoy, in its campaign against "Trotskyism," does not go so far in its series of articles as to demand that discussion be put in a strait jacket, it nevertheless cites with strong approval the way Stalin ended the right of free speech in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin under guise of putting a stop to "anti-Soviet activities."

Hoy puts it this way: "The Trotskyists complain that in the Socialist States they have no freedom of action. "In the Soviet Union they had it until 1927. "What did they use it for? "To attack the Party, to foment

division, to distract militants from constructive revolutionary work with interminable discussions, to weaken confidence in the possibility of the Soviet Revolution triumphing in face of its enemies and constructing socialism among the peoples of old Russia, to conspire and sabotage.

"The Soviet people, because of this, had to end their freedom of action."

The inference of this repetition of old, long-ago exposed Stalinist slanders is that under guise of fighting "Trotskyism" today Stalin's course should be emulated in Cuba.

But the Cuban revolutionists are inclined neither to admire nor to emulate Stalin. This thoroughly healthy inclination has been strongly reinforced by the exposure of Stalin's crimes undertaken at the Twentieth and Twenty-second Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Thus it is not so easy to put over a Stalinist line in Cuba today.

What Escalante's former comrades need to make up a plausible case is some current material.

(Continued on Page 2)

... An Answer to the Slanders in "Hoy"

(Continued from Page 1)

Where to find it? The main stream of world Trotskyism does not appear very vulnerable. It is not only strongly for the Cuban Revolution, it could with some justification even be called "Fidelista." Nevertheless, *Hoy* is not without resourcefulness. Scouting around for possibilities, *Hoy* ran into a singular piece of luck.

The world Trotskyist movement happens to be split into various tendencies. Among them is a minor one, the "Latin-American Bureau," which has adherents in Latin-American countries. This current stands way out in the ultra-left field.

It, for example, considers the Socialist Workers Party — which helped found the Fourth International in direct collaboration with Leon Trotsky — to be so opportunist that it "has had nothing to do with Trotskyism or with Marxism for a long time."

The Latin-American Bureau is so "pro-Soviet," as *Hoy* might put it, and so little critical of Khrushchev that it hailed the resumption of nuclear testing by the Soviet government and even condemned those who expressed disapproval of the abrupt and arrogant way in which Moscow disregarded the feelings of the world-wide peace movement.

The Latin-American Bureau is even farther to the left on the crucial issue of war. Maintaining that U.S. imperialism will inevitably plunge humanity into atomic war no matter what the opposition may be, the Bureau seriously proposes that it would be more to the advantage of the Soviet Union and the socialist cause if the Soviet government struck the first blow. Members of this group believe, something like the end-of-the-worlders, in a final Armageddon in which the international class struggle, taking geographic form, will be settled with nuclear weapons. They believe that humanity will survive this hell of modern science and construct a new civilization on the radioactive ruins left by the final war of capitalism.

The adherents of the Latin-American Bureau are defenders of the Cuban Revolution and there is not the least reason to doubt their word that they would die for it. As might be expected, they are also critical of the leadership, especially Fidel Castro. (They seem to regard Che Guevara with a more comradely eye.) They work out in considerable detail numerous measures which they think ought to be put into effect in Cuba — at once.

A current like this can be found typically in all revolutions and



Shown above (2nd from right) is Farrell Dobbs in Cuba where he went in 1960 to see the revolution for himself in preparation for the election campaign in which he was Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Dobbs is the only candidate to tell the truth about the Cuban Revolution which he defended on radio and TV and on a nationwide speaking tour.

broad revolutionary movements. The Russian Revolution was no exception. The ultra-leftists added to the complications facing the central leadership. Lenin, however, not only opposed the ultra-leftists. He also recognized them as a legitimate current. The reason was thoroughly practical. While generally their proposals were bizarre or utopian or could lead to disaster if put into effect as policy, still their observations and criticisms might contain a grain of truth well worth noting. If they were wrong on a question they put forward it was better to argue the question openly so that everyone would understand why they were wrong. In any case, as people basically loyal to the revolution, they had a right to voice their opinions in accordance with proletarian democracy, to bring their views to the attention of other revolutionists, to be handled honestly and fairly, and to receive reasoned, if firm, answers.

That was Lenin's way. It is not *Hoy's* way. *Hoy* saw the position of the Latin-American Bureau as something that could be fitted — with the right tailoring — to its own peculiar needs. And so the artists went to work.

Instead of presenting the position of the Latin-American Bureau in an honest way and debating it on its merits, *Hoy* set out to present it as serving American imperialism.

The technique, however revolting, is simple enough. A speech made last January in Brazil by J. Posadas, a leading figure of the Latin-American Bureau, constitutes the raw material on which the operators bring their knives and scissors to bear. They do not name Posadas. They do not name the newspaper from which they took his speech. (The text is available in the March 7 *Voz Proletaria*, published in Buenos Aires.) They slice out phrases for quotation, glue them into new connections, trim them, "interpret" them in the light of the Moscow frame-up trials, and then assign them, not to Posadas, but to "the" Trotskyists.

An example or two will show how these Cuban practitioners of Stalin's methods operate.

"For them," says the June 23 *Hoy*, speaking of "the" Trotskyists, "the policy of the Cuban leadership continues to be that of

limiting the extension of the Latin-American revolution."

"Why?"

"Because 'in all the speeches, in all the Cuban press, not a word appears indicating that the definitive victory of the Cuban revolution depends on the triumph of the world socialist revolution or of the triumph of the colonial revolution. Everything is placed exclusively upon the construction of socialism in Cuba.

"This is the conception of Socialism in one country.'"

Hoy then goes on to "interpret" this to mean that the Trotskyists hold that the Cuban Revolution cannot triumph at all until the world socialist revolution first triumphs. From this it draws a series of ridiculous alternatives: the Cuban Revolution must be renounced, or the struggle for socialism in Cuba must be given up, or revolutions must be made elsewhere before a revolution can be undertaken in Cuba. Against these absurdities, *Hoy* advances powerful arguments which, of course, are devastatingly sensible in comparison with the idiotic Trotskyist position which they "quoted."

But Posadas was not that absurd. Here is the first phrase used by *Hoy* above as it appears in context in the concluding paragraph of the speech made by Posadas:

"We can conclude, affirming that Cuba is part, but only part, of the permanent process of the world and Latin-American revolution. If the revolution does not advance and if Cuba does not intervene in order to make it advance, the dangers for the Cuban Revolution will be immense every moment. It will be that much easier to defeat imperialism to the degree that its aggression occurs under conditions of extension of the Latin-American revolution. But to the degree that the policy of the Cuban leadership continues to be that of limiting the extension of the Latin-American revolution, the task of imperialism will be that much easier." (We have placed the phrase torn out of context by *Hoy* in italics for easier identification.)

The rest of the quotation cited by *Hoy* is taken from a much earlier part of Posadas' speech in which he is contending that "in Cuba" a "serious advance of the revolution and of socialism" can-

not occur unless a similar advance occurs in other places.

In this completely different part of his speech, Posadas is simply wrong factually when he declares that "not a word" appears in the Cuban press or in speeches indicating that the "definitive victory" hinges on victories outside of Cuba. He is also wrong factually when he declares that "everything is placed exclusively upon the construction of socialism in Cuba." The truth is that the Cuban revolutionists are following an active international policy, especially in Latin America where they correctly point to the revolutionary example which Cuba has set for all the other countries.

Here is another example of *Hoy's* method of presenting the views of revolutionary opponents, this time dealing with Posadas' insistence on the importance of freedom of discussion:

"With this propaganda," says *Hoy* (again in the June 23 issue), "they contribute directly to the campaign of imperialism on the lack of liberty in Cuba.

"In consequence they demand: 'the masses of the continent must get the feeling that a revolutionary opposition exists in Cuba.'

"Neither the masses of the Continent nor the masses of Cuba need in the least way the existence of an opposition in Cuba which, whether with phrases of the left or with arguments of the right, would serve imperialism in its aims of promoting disturbances in our country and preparing favorable economic-social conditions for their criminal plans of new armed interventions against the Revolution."

Here is the original phrase, again italicized for easier identification, in the context from which *Hoy's* artists extracted it:

"The Trotskyists must be permitted to publish their newspaper and the masses must be permitted to organize freely. It is in this way that the North American masses can be influenced, since they will be able to compare this situation with the 'democracy' of their own country, which does not permit the printing of a Communist daily. *The masses of the continent must get the feeling that a revolutionary opposition exists in Cuba* which, while fighting to the death in defense of the workers' state, holds an ideological

position that seeks to carry the revolution forward. The Cuban revolution is on the rise, but it still does not meet the principal problems of this stage in which the Cuban revolution, the Cuban workers state and the Latin-American revolution are the same thing."

Despite the simplifications and the exaggerations, is there not a grain of truth in this? Would not fair consideration of this view help to enrich discussion among Cuban revolutionists? But *Hoy*, as representative of the Escalante tendency, has other purposes in mind than discussion of such questions. It passes by in silence the real points which Posadas makes and instead of taking them up — which should be easy enough for genuine Leninists — it doctors a single phrase so as to make it appear to be "proof" that "the" Trotskyists "contribute directly to the campaign of imperialism." Isn't this procedure a disservice to the Cuban Revolution if not worse?

Continuing in the same way, *Hoy* makes out that "the" Trotskyists are ignorant of some of the stages of the Cuban Revolution. (Posadas makes some factual errors concerning the course of the agrarian reform.)

Taking up a different issue, *Hoy* makes out that "the" Trotskyists were against the victory at Playa Giron over the counter-revolutionary invasion mounted by Eisenhower and Kennedy. (Posadas makes the mistake of trying to weigh in a pair of balance scales the relative importance of the victory at Playa Giron and the extension of proletarian democracy in Cuba.)

This is not all in *Hoy's* roundup. With "quotations" the editors prove that "the" Trotskyists are against the huge mass mobilizations that have marked the Cuban Revolution. (Posadas, not seeing too clearly through the ultra-left smoke in his glasses, misses the importance of these mobilizations and tends to brush them off as "plebiscites.")

Still another success is *Hoy's* demonstration that "the" Trotskyists are against the Second Declaration of Havana. (The North American and European Trotskyists translated the Second Declaration and distributed it around the world; but Posadas believes that, editorially he could improve on it and that politically it is a step backward.)

Finally — this is a real bombshell — *Hoy* establishes with nothing less than quotes from an original source that "the" Trotskyists are against Fidel Castro. (Posadas believes that Castro still has a long way to go before he can be trusted with the red charter qualifying him as a simon-pure Marxist-Leninist; and Posadas has the further quirk of believing that Castro is not an initiator and mobilizer but simply a reflector of pressure from below.)

In brief, *Hoy* takes an ultra-leftist, who is a sincere defender of the Cuban Revolution, deliberately misrepresents his views, grossly inflates his factual errors, calculatingly twists his remarks to make him look like an agent of imperialism, hides the fact that it is dealing with the opinion of one person, or at most a minor tendency, and then offers this literary frame-up to its readers as an analysis of the position of the world Trotskyist movement on the Cuban Revolution.

This is the way *Hoy* seeks to put pressure on those who are concerned and worried about the Escalante tendency and its weakening effect on the Cuban Revolution. With such means, learned in the school of Stalinism, it seeks to get them to back up. *Hoy* says to them in effect, "Watch out. You are playing into the hands of Trotskyists. And look where that can lead you!"

(To be concluded next issue)

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

The African Revolution. Speaker, John Austin. Fri., Aug. 17, 8 p.m. Poverty and Deprivation in the U.S. Speaker, Dorothy Breitman. Fri., Aug. 24, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Times Square Peace Demonstration to protest further nuclear testing by any nation and to present positive actions for peace. Sat. August 11, 2:30 p.m. at Duffy Square section of Times Square area. Assemble 12:30 p.m. at Union Square for walk to Times Square. Ausp: Individuals For Peace, 647 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Phone: AL 4-9929.

WEST COAST

Socialist Educational Encampment, Big Bear Lake, Calif. Sept. 1 to 9. Lectures, classes, sports, recreation. Co-operative, Interracial. Labor Day Weekend Youth Encampment. Hear William F. Ward on: The Thirties and the Sixties. What can the two generations learn from each other? Student rates for weekend. For brochure, further information write: West Coast Vacation School, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles 33, Calif. or call AN 9-4953.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except for omission of five summer issues, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 26 - No. 30



Monday, August 13, 1962

Bank Holdup in Peru

During the campaign preceding the recent election in Peru, which ended in an army coup, the public was stirred by an event which reflected another side of the political scene in this mediaevally run area of the Andes. In Miraflores, a suburb of Lima, a group held up a bank and got away with 2,600,000 soles (26 to 27 soles = \$1).

The press reported this as the biggest robbery in the history of Peru. (They left out of consideration the robbery of the Incas committed by the Conquistador ancestors of today's bank owners.) However, much more sensational news was soon splashed on the front pages.

Three of the participants sent a letter, which was mailed from Rio de Janeiro, to the well-known Lima newspaper, *Expreso*, admitting the deed and explaining that it was a political act; the money was destined for guerrilla fighters. (See text of letter elsewhere on this page.) The three participants — Jorge Tamayo Flores, Oscar Joel Silva Espino and Fernando Lopez Aliaga Ledesma — were young engineering students with brilliant scholastic records. They said that they belonged to a revolutionary organization named Túpac Amaru in honor of the heroic Cuzco Indian who led a rebellion of 70,000 against the Spaniards in 1780. By the time their letter appeared, they added, they would be safe in Colombia.

However, it turned out that they were still in Peru and the police managed to locate them. In Cuzco, in the heart of the peasant area, the police also arrested others, charging them with involvement. Front-page stories said 424,000 soles were recovered when this group was taken into custody after a gun battle. Some of them had been known as prominent Peruvian Trotskyists, but they now adhered to the Túpac Amaru organization.

Those arrested included Alberto Pereyra Pérez, an Argentinian who had previously been deported from Peru for revolutionary political activities, José Martorell Soto, a Spanish revolutionary who lives in Venezuela, Adalberto Fonkén, Víctor Argote Sánchez, Raúl Rodríguez Luna, Juan Nuñez Marchand, Salustio Jiménez, Raúl Terzi Zegarra, and Leoncio Bueno Barrantes, a Peruvian poet.

According to information received by *The Militant*, the police beat the young revolutionists upon arresting them and then, after throwing them into cells, used torture. No more money was recovered through such means, however. One of the students insisted that it had "all been spent."

Public opinion favored the daring young idealists who had launched their careers as guerrilla fighters in this spectacular way. *Expreso* noted this in an editorial in its April 20 issue: "The letter sent to our daily by the students who held up the Banco de Crédito, has produced a genuine commotion. It is natural that this should be so since it is an exceptional deed, without precedent in Peru. A group of youths deliberately placed themselves outside the law and our moral code in dedicating themselves to their revolutionary ideal." *Expreso* drew the conclusion that the action showed how indispensable it was to "immediately initiate the transformation of the country."

While the bank holdup occurred as a political act during an election, the real background appears to be a certain rise in the peasant movement. In the past months reports have appeared of land take-overs, one of them involving a skirmish in which Peruvian army forces had to abandon the area. How extensive and profound this movement is, we are unable to judge.

The Peruvian magazine *Vanguardia*, in its May 8 issue, sought to connect the bank affair with the peasant forces headed by Hugo Blanco. In noting such reports the June *Hispanic American Report*, published by Stanford University, said that the money was destined for Blanco's movement. It described Blanco as "a Peruvian Trotskyist who had studied in Argentina and who was reportedly operating in the valley of Convención in the department of Cuzco."

Although the Peruvian Trotskyist movement is split into various currents, all of them would probably agree with the attitude toward the holdup expressed by Ismael Frias, editor of *Obrero y Campesino*. In a statement published in the May 2 *Expreso*, he held that any action undertaken in isolation from the masses is an "adventure," but at the same time he offered his "full moral solidarity to those who act in accordance with revolutionary motives even though we reject their methods as mistaken."

Actions of this kind, in which anger at social injustice and fervor for change lead inexperienced fighters to attempt to bypass an unfavorable relation of forces, are bound to occur where objective conditions for revolution are as ripe as they are in Peru and where a powerful mass revolutionary-socialist party does not yet exist.

But the revolutionists will learn from their mistakes — cost-ly as they may be — and turn more and more toward what is most essential: the construction of a party in which youthful enthusiasm and energy, the burning wish to win freedom, equality and the new world of socialism can find the means adequate to the task.

Peru Students Explain Bank Robbery

[The following is the text of a letter sent to the press by three students who participated in a bank holdup during the recent election in Peru. See editorial — EDITOR.]

Rio de Janeiro
April 21, 1962

To the workers, *campesinos*, students of our country:

To our dear and unforgettable comrades of the Engineering School:

To our friends, parents, and brothers and sisters:

Having already accomplished the task which as revolutionary militants we set for ourselves, completely safe from persecution by the police, since when you receive this we shall already be in Colombia, we want to give you all the reasons for our attitude and for the creation of our organization.

Our people are among the most miserable and exploited of the entire world. Malnutrition, tuberculosis, inhuman exploitation, unemployment and illiteracy accompany the Peruvian from the cradle to the grave. The other side of the coin is the foreign and native bankers and businessmen who reap their harvest, winning riches and luxuries on the basis of exploiting our fellow workers.

The July 26 Movement in its time gave an example to all the peoples of America of how to rise against a regime that exploited the country. Fidel's uprising was carried out against all the opinion of the traditional left which held that it was necessary to wait until the masses rose and took up arms. Various peoples of America are al-

ready following Fidel's footsteps, "replacing the arms of criticism with the criticism of arms." These are Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Paraguay.

In our country the traditional left — Communists, Socialists, Trotskyists — with distinct variations, in whose ranks some of us have fought so that we gained close knowledge of their people and their line, continue to hold the same opinions as in Cuba before the defeat of Batista: now is not the time for action.

In order to propose passivity and coexistence in face of the regime, they advance various pretexts: the FLN [National Liberation Front of Peru] and the Communist Party say that objective conditions do not exist for the revolution.

The Socialists and the Social Progressives have a positive program. But in participating in the current election they bring doubts to mind. All those who utilize revolutionary declarations to win seats in parliament, are they revolutionists or opportunists?

The FIR [Left Revolutionary Front], the Trotskyists and the various workers parties, even having Trotskyist leaders, make brilliant and revolutionary analyses of the present regime but believe that you have to wait until the masses go into action by themselves while we, the revolutionists, stay with them and lead them. When will they realize that the masses of our country at the present time are not ready for struggle and that consequently

they have to be given an example?

All these reasons brought us to the conviction that it was necessary to constitute a new organization which we have called TÚPAC AMARU and whose first manifestation you already know.

Our next one will be to struggle with the guerrilla fighters of our Colombian and Venezuelan brothers in order to learn in action how to struggle and to die to liberate our dear Peruvian country and its working people. But, in order not to go with empty hands we have recuperated from the bankers — thieves and swindlers of the public — a bit of what they have stolen from us.

This money will be utilized to give an impulse to the revolutionary struggle of the Latin-American peoples.

Fellow patriots, heroic descendants of Túpac Amaru, if we should die in our enterprise, we are sure that we have blazed the trail which other students, workers and *campesinos* will follow — that of the definitive liberation of all the Peruvians and of our dear country.

Long live Peru! Long live the Peruvian Revolution! Death to imperialism! Down with the oligarchy, International Petroleum, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation and the bosses!

To the revolutionists and the exploited of Peru a fraternal embrace.

(signed)

Jorge Tamayo Flores
Oscar Joel Silva Espino
Fernando Lopez Aliaga Ledesma

Rally Hits McCarran Act

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Three prominent civil-liberties spokesmen addressed a joint protest rally at the Militant Labor Forum here July 21. Theme of the meeting was well expressed by a large banner behind the rostrum reading: "Defend the Communist Party Against the McCarran Act!"

The speakers were Attorney Frank Pestana, representing the Constitutional Liberties Information Center, Rose Chernin, executive director of the L.A. Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and Milton Alvin of the Socialist Workers Party.

Pestana told how in drafting the legislation Senator Mundt and Nixon had got together to formulate a law making "communism" itself illegal. He emphasized that the Communist Party as such has never been charged with an act against the U.S. government.

Rose Chernin declared the McCarran Act "not aimed primarily at communists or the Communist Party but at freedom . . . an attempt to intimidate Americans from expressing any ideas except official ones."

"Throughout the country," Alvin said, "the SWP has offered its facilities — such as our meeting halls, if they are needed — to the Communist Party, and that offer still stands." He expressed regret that "because of political differences" the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation had rejected CP leader Gus Hall's bid for joint work against the McCarran

Act. "Of course we have political differences," the SWP spokesman said, "but it is necessary to form a united front in defense of civil liberties."

A collection of \$43 was turned over to the CLIC fund to aid McCarran Act victims.

Debs Memorial

The Eugene V. Debs Foundation, organized in 1961 by a group of Indiana State College teachers, has purchased the Debs home in Terre Haute and is restoring it as a memorial to the great socialist leader. Debs received nearly a million votes for U.S. president in 1920 while in federal prison for his opposition to imperialist war.

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only \$1.00. Send this coupon with payment to: **The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.**

Name

Street

City Zone.....

State

By Mail Order Only

HOMAGE TO NATALIA SEDOVA-TROTSKY

By Marguerite Bonnet, Andre Breton, Isaac Deutscher, Pierre Frank, Joseph Hansen, Livio Maitan, Pierre Naville, Laurette Orfila, Michel Raptis, Alfred Rosmer, Laurent-Schwartz, Jack Weber, Sara W.

plus

PORTRAIT NOTES by Leon Trotsky and

ASSASSINATION IN COYOACAN by Natalia Sedova-Trotsky

Order from: **Les Lettres Nouvelles**
30 Rue de L'Université
Paris 7, France

Price: 10 New Francs (\$2.00)
Text in French 124 pages + 9 photos



Arthur J. Goldberg

...Short Work Week

(Continued from Page 1)

getting unions to settle for little or nothing.

It would also upset the comfortable lives of many union leaders who prize their cordial relations with the employers and capitalist politicians. But where harder lives are lived — at the point of production — automation is causing unemployment and insecurity, with threats of more to come.

The shorter work week with no reduction in pay is the most practical collective-bargaining demand to meet this problem of the replacement of workers by machines.

R. F. Williams on Radio

HAVANA, Cuba, July 25 — Afro-American leader Robert F. Williams, who escaped into exile here from framed-up kidnap charges by police and KKK elements in Monroe, N.C., has announced a series of weekly radio broadcasts beginning July 27.

Williams said his program, "Radio Free Dixie," will be broadcast over a 50,000 watt, long-wave station, 690 on the radio dial, and will be heard every Friday night from 11 p.m. to midnight, Eastern Standard Time. It will consist of commentary, interviews, news, Jazz and Afro-American folklore.

MOVIE REVIEW

Sanctimonious and Perverted

ADVISE AND CONSENT with Henry Fonda, Charles Laughton, Don Murray, Gene Tierney, Walter Pidgeon and Burgess Meredith. Directed by Otto Preminger.

The clever marquee gimmick of *Advise and Consent* shows the Capitol dome swung open like the lid of a washing machine, presumably to let the viewers see how Congress does its dirty linen. But even with a second rinsing by so able a director as Otto Preminger, the story just won't wash.

The basic thesis of the original novel by Allen Drury is that good, kind-hearted and peaceable America is surrounded by evil Russians, two-faced neutrals, and shifty allies. Moreover, at home, naive liberals want to appease the Kremlin, and the sinister "peace movement" seeks to betray us altogether.

This paranoid theme, too posterous for a major film destined for export, is somewhat toned down in the movie version. But it retains the vicious calumny against proponents of disarmament and peace with the Soviet world. In addition, the real political situation in America is turned completely inside out.

The villain of the tale is a ruthless and demonic senator, Fred Van Ackerman, who demagogically arouses, not another anti-Communist crusade, but a mass peace

movement. This fantastic concoction of a left-wing liberal who McCarthyizes America for peace is matched only by the incredible figure of the Southern "statesman," played by Charles Laughton, whose occasional flights of spurious rhetoric are deemed forgivable in view of his basic integrity as a "champion" of American democracy!

The Senate is in uproar over whether to "advise and consent" to the president's nomination of a prominent "egghead," Robert Leffingwell (Henry Fonda), for Secretary of State. Before a senate subcommittee, the nominee denies a charge that he participated in a "Communist" discussion group on campus in the 1930's.

With the warm support of the demagogic senator, Leffingwell goes on to challenge the "outworn principles" of "big stick" diplomacy in the nuclear age, calling for negotiated settlements as the only alternative to mutual destruction. However, as a cold-war liberal — and here the movie, for once, hits the mark — he is very vague about what new principles and concessions he would introduce if his nomination were cleared.

Furthermore, liberal careerist that he is, he has accepted the premise of the witch hunt and cannot afford to admit publicly that once in his youth he was,

indeed, attracted to the ideals of a classless society. As a concession to the liberals, the script here laments the witch hunt, but only because the resulting hysteria has forced a sincerely devoted anti-Communist intellectual to become a liar.

The subcommittee's idealistic young chairman (Don Murray), having discovered that Leffingwell lied about his past, determines to block the nomination. Instead, he commits suicide when Van Ackerman's infernal "machine" of young peace advocates threatens to expose his past, as a homosexual. The resulting scandal, together with the president's death, prevents the confirmation of a man so unsuitable that he would tell a lie before the U.S. Senate.

Despite fine acting and masterful direction, the untenable story line makes the skullduggery of an unbelievable character the axis of the drama and reduces it almost to a grade B thriller. More specifically, this sanctimonious and incredibly perverted tribute to the big-business government responsible for the invasion of Cuba, thought-control legislation, Jim Crow filibusters, and the unremitting H-bomb tests, fails to be a significant movie because of its dishonesty.

—Peter Allan

... Wm. Worthy Trial Starts

(Continued from Page 1)
from wherever he may be." The four-page legal petition, submitted to the Attorney General, was drawn up by Prof. Harrop Freeman of Cornell Law School.

AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph convened a meeting of Negro leaders July 31 in the office of his union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to consider the Worthy case. It resolved to back the Negro newsman and a committee was formed.

In support of the legal petition, a delegation headed by Richard Parrish, treasurer of the Negro American Labor Council, and Clifford Mackay, editor of the nation's largest Negro paper, the *Afro-American* newspapers of Baltimore, went to the Justice Department in Washington.

An explanation of Attorney General Kennedy's disregard of the protests and his determination to try Worthy may be found in a statement made by the Negro journalist to the *New York Post* (Aug. 1). "I feel this whole business," he said, "stems from the articles I wrote and the lectures I made upon my return from Cuba." In addition to crediting the Castro government with many achievements, Worthy was outspoken in criticism of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI in connection with the Monroe, N.C., "kidnap" case.

Though given little or no space in the U.S. press, the Worthy case has been featured by papers abroad — particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Among protests sent to Attorney General Kennedy is the following from British philosopher Bertrand Russell:

"Restrictions on William Worthy and his indictment under the McCarran Act evidence disappearance of your civil liberties and disgrace America in the eyes of reasonable men. I urge you to quash the indictment."



William Worthy

... Albany, Ga.

(Continued from Page 1)
ters to the White House Aug. 6 asked that the president make a nationwide TV address in defense of civil rights for Negroes in Albany, that he investigate the jailings there, that he call the Albany City Council and Albany Negro leaders to Washington for negotiations.

The ministers, whose spokesman had attempted in vain for a week to get an appointment with the president had to be satisfied with seeing White House aides. On the same day, however, the president found time to speak about music appreciation at a concert on the White House lawn.

The Albany movement began in October 1961 when SNCC workers set up voters' registration classes and nonviolent training groups in Albany. In December over 700 persons were arrested in a series of marches protesting the arrest of several youth who had attempted to sit integrated in the interstate rail and bus terminals in Albany. The demonstrations were called off on the understanding that the arrested persons' bail would be returned and the cases dropped. The racist city officials, however, prosecuted and it was the sentencing of several of the December demonstrators—including Rev. King — which touched off the recent round of mass actions.

It Was Reported in the Press

Shape of Things to Come? — "One of Britain's leading germ-war scientists has died from a mystery disease which War Office experts fear was caused by a Middle Ages plague germ on which he was experimenting." — Opening of lead story in *London Daily Mail* Aug. 3.

Cuba? "I am not aware of any action which the United States has taken since the end of the second war which has not been in the direction of securing peace. We have not been guilty of aggression against our neighbors." — President Kennedy speaking to visiting group of Brazilian students Aug. 1.

Guantanamo Bay? — "We occupy no territories. Any troops of the United States which may be

stationed abroad are there at the request of the country in order to participate in their defense." — President Kennedy, ditto.

Foreign Aid — "Ravello, Italy, Aug 2 (AP) — This cliff-top resort town's thirsty population will drink a hearty toast to Jacqueline Kennedy when she arrives here next week for her Italian holiday. The toast will be in water, which is scarce this scorching summer . . . Trucks started hauling thousands of gallons to fill Ravello's reserve tanks. They'll be kept full, at least during the two weeks Mrs. Kennedy is here. Her visit is proving a blessing for the townsfolk in other ways, too. The twisting three-mile road to Ravello from Amalfi is being resurfaced and repaired."

That's Bad? — "There are lots of things we don't know about," said Elijah Erkloo, an Eskimo translator and interpreter, who is helping Canada's Northern Affairs Department prepare a book aimed at introducing natives of the North to the complexities of civilization. "Eskimos don't know anything about laws, life insurance and taxes." — *Canadian Press* dispatch.

Aftermath — Seventeen years after World War II many soldiers who suffered combat fatigue still have symptoms such as tension, nightmares, irritability, anxiety, insomnia, or continuing headaches, reports Dr. Herbert C. Archibald, Veterans Administration psychiatrist in San Francisco. In some cases, the repercussions are persistent and severely disabling.

Letters From Our Readers

Another Book

Detroit, Mich.

May I correct a statement made in my review of *The Negro Revolt* by Louis E. Lomax (*Militant*, July 16)? I said this was the first book dealing with new moods and movements in the Negro community. Actually there was at least one book on this subject published earlier: *The New Negro*, edited by Mathew H. Ahmann, Fides Publishers, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Ahmann is executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, which held a national conference in Detroit last August, at which reports were given by Stephen J. Wright on "The New Negro in the South," by Kenneth B. Clark on "The New Negro in the North," and by Diane Nash on the sit-ins and freedom rides. To these were added two other articles and the text of a very interesting radio symposium, held in early 1961, by James Baldwin, Emile Capouya, Lorraine Hansberry, Nat Hentoff, Langston Hughes and Alfred Kazin.

G.B.

From the Caribbean

Kingston, Jamaica

We are very grateful to be receiving a copy of *The Militant* every week and recently a copy of *International Socialist Review*.

It is regrettable that we have not subscribed to your 8-page *Militant* fund. Despite the official closing of the fund, we will be sending a subscription to *The Militant* shortly and look forward to receiving more copies. The many readers of the copies we have been receiving were disappointed when *The Militant* made no coverage of recent developments in Venezuela and Brazil, as this is our only source of knowing the truth about the struggles of the hungry nations of this area oppressed by North American imperialism.

Nevertheless, we must congratulate the publishers of *The Militant* and Art Preis in particular for positively and consistently bringing to your readers the facts and implications of the current stock market tumble. The stock fall, signaling recession in 1963, is already having adverse effects on Jamaica's economy. In the present crisis, we hope an 8-page *Militant* will play an effective part in developing the class struggle for the transition to socialism in the United States. The victory of socialism in the U.S. will mean the end of world capitalism.

George Vassel

Peoples Freedom Movement

Protest Muslim's Murder

Newton Centre, Mass.

On April 27, 1962, Ronald T. X. Stokes, Secretary of the Muslim Mosque in Los Angeles, was killed, and six other Negroes, all unarmed, were shot by the police outside the Muslim Temple in Los Angeles.

The policeman who shot and killed Stokes and testified before a coroner's jury that he "shot three or four others" has since been cleared by this jury which brought in a verdict of "justifiable homicide in the performance of duty," even though it was clearly established in the hearings that the Negroes were unarmed and not engaged in any unlawful activity but simply assembled outside the Temple.

A picture in the *Los Angeles*

Thought for the Week

"The second chapter [in the Congo], which is not concluded, has been the effort to induce the Congolese under Adoula in Leopoldville and under Tshombe in Katanga to unite. But the Congolese leaders alone are capable of doing this only if the non-African powers on whom they depend push them into some kind of union. Behind Adoula the main power is the United States government. Behind Tshombe the main power consists of large private interests in Great Britain and Belgium. The keys to peace in the Congo are in London, Brussels and Washington." — Walter Lippman, July 26.

Times the day after the shootings showed the Negro victims lying on the ground, wounded and handcuffed. The accompanying article said the "scene outside the Muslim Temple at 5606 S. Broadway resembled a modern-day street scene in Algiers."

An all-white grand jury has since indicted nine Muslims for "criminal assault against the police."

The Negro community in Los Angeles and Negro organizations all over the country have rallied in protest against this brutal killing. As Roy Wilkins, National Secretary of the NAACP, said in a press release, "National Office supports fully the protest which the Los Angeles Branch has lodged in the brutal police killing of Ronald Stokes. Police brutality against any segment of the population demands vigorous action."

We who are not Negroes believe that we cannot stand aside and allow the protest against these brutal acts to remain the responsibility of the Negro community alone. We believe that it is particularly important for white Americans to take a stand in this instance precisely because the Black Muslims advocate the separation of the races on the ground that Negro-white relations in this country over the centuries have made their integration impossible.

We appeal to others to take a similar stand for justice and decency and to preserve the right of minority groups to assemble peaceably and to speak freely, whether or not we happen to agree with their convictions.

Kathleen G. Aberle, anthropologist, Newton Centre, Mass.; Grace C. Lee, editor, Detroit, Mich.; David Aberle, anthropologist, Newton Centre, Mass.; Eunice Burton Armstrong, housewife, Scarborough, N.Y.; Virginia Bate, housewife, Rockport, Mass.; Rutledge Bate, artist, Rockport, Mass.; Edmund C. Berkeley, businessman, Newtonville, Mass.; Sue Berkeley, housewife, Newtonville, Mass.; Ruth Gage-Colby, UN correspondent, New York, N.Y.; Filomena Daddario, office worker, Detroit, Mich.; Gloria Goodman, housewife, Boston, Mass.; Leonard Goodman, technician, Boston, Mass.; Robert Hemstreet, theological student, Medford, Mass.; Leo G. Huberman, publisher, New York, N.Y.; Charles C. Lockwood, attorney, Detroit, Mich.; Truman Nelson, writer, Salem, Mass.; James R. Oliver, mechanic, Rockport, Mass.; Freddy Paine, office worker, Los Angeles, Calif.; Lyman Paine, architect, Los Angeles, Calif.; Paul M. Sweezy, publisher, New York, N.Y.; Charles Huebner Wellman, private tutor, Rockport, Mass.; Maud Wellman, housewife, Rockport, Mass.

Bedtime Story

Baltimore, Md.

A local radio station was interrupting its commercial with a "Who Said It?" They attributed this one to N. Lenin: "Give us a child for eight years and he will be a Bolshevik."

I called the station and corrected the announcer.

A.R.K.