

'They Threw Me, Bleeding, Into a Dungeon'

By Carol Weston

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay — The following is an interview with a lawyer from Asunción, Paraguay, now living in exile.

Question. Why were you expelled from Paraguay?

Answer. I was arrested, tortured and, after seven months of imprisonment, I was expelled to Argentina because I formed part of the *Frente Unido de Liberación Nacional* [United Front of National Liberation], which is fighting for the overthrow of the Stroessner dictatorship and for the establishment of a democratic government.

Q. How were you tortured?

A. I resisted arrest and two po-

licemen in civilian clothes began to strike me with pistols. They fired two shots at my head, wounding me on the eyebrow and on the head. Then they took me to a police station where I was beaten with fists and kicked. In the police station they threw me, bleeding, into a dungeon and then threw two shovelful of excrement on me. Later they tied my hands and beat me with sabers. After that I was thrown into a dungeon of the secret police which was crawling with roaches, spiders and rats. The dungeon was so narrow that it was impossible to stand up. I was continuously questioned and threatened with tortures. I was asked who the leaders of the *Frente Unido de*

Liberación Nacional were and where they lived.

Q. How was your wife treated?

A. My wife was also arrested and jailed in another part of the police station. She immediately began a hunger strike and she also refused to drink any water in order to save my life and to secure my freedom. Three days later, when she was very weak, the chief investigator, Erasmo Candía, beat her with his fists. This same Candía was a dealer in narcotics. My wife, badly wounded, was thrown into the Argentine Chaco.

Q. And didn't she know how you were faring?

A. She knew they were torturing me and that they could kill

me. She is a well-known literary figure in Latin America and that is why they did not dare kill her. In the meantime — taking advantage of a moment when the police became careless—I was able to send my bloodstained clothes to my family. My family presented my clothes to a court. Then the court ordered an investigation of the forceful entering of my home, of my unlawful arrest and of the mistreatment of my person. The police arrested the defense lawyer and paid no attention to the investigation. They threatened to arrest the judge.

Q. How long were you in the jail?

A. I was in jail seven months in all. In one of the prisons I

was one of eleven political prisoners. Among us were professors Antonio Maidana and Julio Rojas — leaders of the teachers union. There also were accountants, workers and students. Many of them were suffering from dysentery and asthma. All of us ate and slept on the floor. We were kept incommunicado in a dark and narrow dungeon and we could not go out into the fresh air or sunlight. The two professors are still in jail. They have been there four years now despite a court ruling ordering their release. Law 294 authorizes sentences of up to ten years for political crimes. The judge, who ordered the release of Antonio Maidana and Julio Rojas, (Continued on Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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Publishers Invite to Worthy Sharp Slap at Att'y General

In a direct and unmistakable slap at Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) has invited foreign correspondent William Worthy to address its annual meeting on Saturday morning, June 23, in Baltimore.

The President's brother will speak at the same conference on the previous evening, Friday, June 22.

The Attorney General is responsible for the criminal indictment of Worthy for returning to his country of birth last October 10 "without a valid passport." When Robert Kennedy appears at the conference to speak, he will be "greeted" by Negro and white pickets protesting the novel indictment as an attempted interference with freedom of the press and as an act of racial discrimination against a Negro newsman. None of the numerous white citizens who have come home "without a valid passport" has ever been indicted.

William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore *Afro-American*, pleaded "not guilty" in Miami on Friday, June 15, in United States District Court. On April 24 Worthy had been indicted in Miami for re-entering his native land from Cuba last October 10. The newsman lost his passport in 1957 as a result of his trip to China in defiance of a State Department travel ban.

Following Worthy's arraignment Friday before Judge David W. Dyer, defense attorney William M. Kunstler of New York argued in behalf of a motion to transfer the case from Miami to either Washington or New York.

Kunstler contended that Worthy could not obtain a fair trial in Miami because of the presence of Cuban counter-revolutionaries and the hostile atmosphere generated by their presence and political activities. The lawyer also maintained that Worthy's life would be in danger if he were forced to stand trial in Miami.

A government prosecutor told the court that the trial should be held in Miami because the "crime" of re-entry was committed at Miami International Airport when Worthy flew there from Havana



William Worthy

aboard a regular daily flight of Pan American World Airways.

Judge Dyer reserved decision in order to study the laws and ascertain if he has the legal authority to transfer the case out of

(Continued on Page 2)

Strike Wave Spurs Political Opposition To Franco Regime

By Hedda Grant

Both left and right-wing opponents of the Franco regime in Spain have been spurred to increased activity by the strike wave of the last nine weeks. The June 21 issue of *Reporter* magazine claims that 17,000 strikers are still holding out while 100,000 have returned to work. However, the lingering quality of the strikes has caused serious disagreements on tactics among Franco's ministers and has led Franco into a new tough policy, aimed at curbing possible opposition leaders.

A right-wing group of Spanish oppositionists met in Munich during the first week of June. Over 100 attended, including Gil Robles, head of the Christian Democratic Movement, a former minister of war, Franco supporter, monarchist, fascist and conservative; right-wing Socialist Party leader Rudolfo Llopis, who created quite a stir by shaking hands with Robles; Joaquin Satrustegui, leader of the Spanish Union, a group dedicated to the restoration of Don Juan to the throne; Dr. Jesus Prados Arrarte, a Republican with monarchist leanings, who heads Spain's leading private bank; and also representatives of the Basque and Catalan separatist movements. They reportedly agreed on joining forces to oppose the Franco regime.

On their return to Spain on June 9, Robles, Satrustegui and Arrarte were arrested and offered the choice of forced residence (banishment to a remote section of Spain and constant surveillance) or self-exile. Robles and Arrarte chose exile. At the same

(Continued on Page 2)

8-Page Militant Fund

We Made It—With a Bit to Spare!

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

We made it! As you can see from the scoreboard on page 3 we not only made it but went over the top by one per cent!

One per cent may seem like a very small amount to boast about but the truth is that this little one per cent is enough to pay for a part of one issue of the new 8-page paper. So, as some wag has said, "It ain't hay!"

This fund, the largest we have raised since 1948, succeeded for two basic reasons: (1) the time for *The Militant* to expand is right; (2) hard work on the part of everyone.

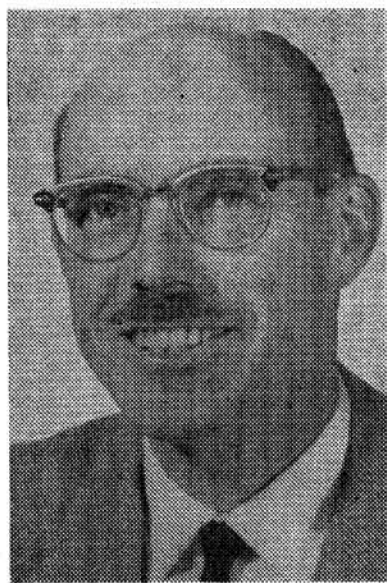
Its readers have proven by their generous contributions, often at great personal sacrifice, that they think it is time for *The Militant* to expand. *The Militant* staff accepts this mandate to continue

printing the truth, to report on world and national events which the daily papers often exclude entirely from their columns, and to serve as an educator for a newly awakening generation of the youth.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank, once again, all those readers whose contributions put *The General* up there third from the top. This is the first time in our history of fund raising that this category has fulfilled or over-subscribed its quota. Significantly, almost \$400 of the \$599 came in ones, twos, fives and sometimes ten dollar bills.

Much of it came from Social Security pensioners, responding to an appeal to help provide the means of educating the youth.

(Continued on Page 2)



Wendell Phillips

Phillips Case Wins Support of Leading Academic Figures

LOS ANGELES, June 14 — Over 75 academic figures from 17 Southern California colleges and universities have become sponsors of the Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee in the past ten days in response to a letter signed by Dr. Linus Pauling, Attorneys A. L. Wirin and Robert W. Kenny, and Professors John Caughey, Kurt Bergel and Alfred Nicols.

New supporters in California of the civil-liberties case, which involves the right of a welding instructor at Fullerton Junior College to hold minority political views and not to be an informer, include Hallock Hoffman, Arthur Carstens and Irving Howe. First responses supporting the case from outside California include Dr. Edward U. Condon, past president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Harvard Professor Reginald Isaacs.

Wendell Phillips was first questioned and later fired under California's Dilworth Act. He demanded the hearing be public and answered questions freely, stating that he had previously been a member of the Communist Party and is at present a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a holder of socialist and democratic beliefs. He refused, however, to name past or present political associates.

The letter to academic figures, signed by Dr. Pauling, Wirin and others, states: "While we do not take a position in favor of or against any political point of view, in our opinion the main problem presented by this case is Phillips' position that he should not be compelled to become an informer, even as to persons with whom he may be in political opposition."

The letter concludes: "It is our

(Continued on Page 2)

N.Y. Hospital Union In New Walkout for Bargaining Rights

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, June 20 — While the wealthy businessmen and politicians who sit on the board of trustees of the Beth-El Hospital in Brooklyn are still trying to break the strike of their non-professional employees, workers at another hospital in the city have struck on the same issue — union recognition.

Picketing began June 18 at the Manhattan Eye, Ear and Throat hospital for recognition of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union. The 150 nurse's aides, porters, dietary and cleaning workers there — almost all of them Negroes and Puerto Ricans — now average \$47.00 a week in wages.

"The money is little enough," said one picket on the line today, "but the real issue is just plain union recognition. We work hard and don't get any rest and get pushed around and we don't have any rights or dignity at all in there. That's why we voted to strike."

Representatives of the city's labor movement and the management of the city's 45 non-profit hospitals met June 19 to discuss the strike at Manhattan Eye as well as the three-week-old walk-out at Beth-El. So far, the city's top labor officials have been silent on the Beth-El strike, but pressure for action is building up.

Twenty-four young persons, mostly college students, were arrested June 5 for a sitdown in the

(Continued on Page 3)

Baltimore Law Bars Restaurant Jim Crow

BALTIMORE — On June 8 the mayor signed a measure making this the first Southern city to bar racial discrimination in restaurants. The measure does not cover bars, cocktail lounges or restaurants, 50 per cent of whose total receipts come from liquor sales. Enforcement of the equal public accommodations ordinance is entrusted to a commission which will endeavor to negotiate all complaints, going into court only if complaints continue and the restaurant proprietors are recalcitrant.

The restaurant owners' association is shrieking that their right to eject "undesirables" has been infringed and that people will flock outside the city limits to eat segregated hamburgers.

The weaknesses of the new ordinance are obvious. Nonetheless, the Solid South has cracked a little. Now the State Department has another "safe" city for African diplomats motoring between Washington and New York — that is as long as they just get hungry and not thirsty.

Arizona Teachers Fight 'Loyalty' Oath

By Peter Allan

Three teachers who challenged the state's recent loyalty oath law are continuing to teach without pay in the schools of Tucson, Arizona. Their salaries were cut off for declining to sign the new oath, but they refuse to give up the jobs, for which they are well qualified, in order to strengthen their legal rights in the coming court cases.

The Arizona Communist Con-

trol Act of 1961 requires a loyalty oath of all public employees and officials, most of whom have already taken such oaths. The particularly odious feature of the new oath is a "disclaimer" section saying that the signers cannot be, remain, or become members of the "Communist Party of the United States or its successors or any of its subordinate organizations or any other organization having, for one of its purposes,

the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the State of Arizona or any of its political subdivisions . . ."

The Act doesn't specify what those "successor" and "subordinate" organizations are and so opens the door wide to arbitrary persecution and intimidation of a broad range of groups.

Another section of the Act defines as "sedition," membership in the Communist Party, "or its successors, or . . . its subordinate organizations," with penalties of up to \$20,000 fines and 20 years in jail.

A test case on the "disclaimer" oath filed by a Tucson teacher, Mrs. Barbara Elbrandt, is now before the state supreme court and will be appealed to the highest federal bench if necessary.

Young Mrs. Elbrandt is a junior high school teacher who, as a Quaker, personally opposes such oaths, although she has not refused to sign the simple affirmative loyalty oath required of all teachers. Quakers have a long history of opposition to sworn declarations.

"I do not think that taking oaths makes people loyal," said Mrs. Elbrandt in an interview with the *Tucson Daily Citizen* (June 6, 1961). Her lawyer, W. Edward Morgan, contends that the oath, along with other sections of the Act, "is unconstitutional primarily because it violates the Bill of Rights of both the federal and state constitutions in attempting to convict a person and impose a penalty without a trial."

The Arizona Communist Control Act of 1961 was passed unanimously by a panicky state legislature, whose liberal members ducked for cover during a red-baiting crusade. Arizona was already considered secure as a bastion against communism through the unflagging efforts of its raucous contribution to the U.S. Senate, Barry Goldwater. However, supporters of the Senator mounted a spectacular "anti-red" campaign last year, featuring "Schools of Anti-Communism" and touring "experts" like Birchite leader Robert Welch and Dr. Fred Schwartz.

Resistance to the Act is currently gaining ground. Many prominent citizens, including Rev. J. C. Fowler, an Episcopalian minister and a member of the Mayor's Human Relations Committee in Tucson, have refused to sign the oath.

The "Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employees" is carrying on the legal fight against the vicious new law and requires funds for that purpose. Additionally, a "Conscience Fund" has been set up recently to aid those who are financially victimized, including the three teachers who are working without salaries.

Contributions, either as gifts or loans, can be made to the committee through Richard Gorby, Treasurer, at 2648 N. Fair Oaks, Tucson, Arizona.

...Negro Publishers to Hear Worthy

(Continued from Page 1)

Miami. He asked the local prosecutor to find out why Mrs. Alta Beattie, whom the Department of Justice in Washington has assigned to handle the prosecution, wants to travel down to Miami for the trial. The judge pointed out that the trial could be held in Mrs. Beattie's home city of Washington at greater convenience to herself and also to the defendant, who lives in New York.

Mrs. Beattie, apparently so confident that the judge would rule immediately against Worthy, had not bothered to journey to Miami for Friday's arraignment. Two days earlier her superior, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, had rejected a written request by Worthy and his attorney for protection in Miami by FBI agents or federal marshals.

The Department of Justice maintained that the protection of the defendant and his attorney from violence in Miami was a matter for the local city and county authorities, even though many of the local police there are known to double as well-paid bodyguards for Batistianos and other wealthy counter-revolutionaries.

It has been learned that one invited guest of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association has informed his colleagues by letter that he will not attend the June

22 meeting because he will not cross the picket line protesting Worthy's prosecution. Other publishers have privately urged Louis Martin, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to intervene with the Attorney General in an effort to persuade him to drop the unconstitutional prosecution.

Within the publishers' association, militant members are exerting mounting pressure to withdraw and cancel the months-old invitation to Robert Kennedy. If the invitation is withdrawn, the worldwide embarrassment to the Kennedy administration would be great, and the political consequences among Negro voters would be serious.

The invitation extended to Worthy this past week is especially significant because the Negro publishers tend to be quite conservative, and usually seek to remain on friendly terms with every incumbent administration in Washington, whether Democratic or Republican. As owners of profit-making businesses, they share many of the political and economic views of white publishers who, of course, are much wealthier and wield enormously greater political power, locally and nationally.

But the indictment of Worthy on a flimsy charge is such an obvious attempt at intimidation that the Negro publishers are demonstrating considerable solidarity and are rallying to his support. For the past two years the globe-trotting newsman has vexed Washington by telling his readers that "just 90 miles off our shores" lies the island of Cuba where racial equality became overnight a living reality.

Even propertied Negroes who do not like the economic reforms of the Cuban revolution feel attracted to Premier Fidel Castro for having established a model to which civil-rights fighters in the United States can aspire.

Supporters of the Negro cause in other countries are organizing protests to coincide with the June 21-23 conference of publishers in Baltimore. Demonstrations will take place outside U.S. embassies and consulates, and delegations will visit U.S. diplomats, especially in Africa and Asia where Worthy has traveled extensively on three round-the-world assignments for the *Afro-American* newspapers.

...8-Page Militant Fund

(Continued from Page 1)

Many letters made the point that no socialist, no matter what his age, could feel he had done his full share until he had provided a successor, had made sure that some would pick up the cudgels the oldster has had to lay down.

I want to close out this fund campaign on another note. We have raised the necessary money to expand the paper to eight pages. Now we have to keep it that way. A steady flow of Truth Dollars will make that possible. *The Militant* dedicates itself to the task for which it is published: making this a socialist world of peace, plenty and security for all!

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Spain and Portugal — What Next? Speaker, Harriet Talan. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE MILITANT SOCIAL. Special remarks by V. R. Dunne, recently returned from New York. Music, refreshments. Sat., June 30, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave.

NEW YORK

Summer Film Series. Sun., June 24: Eisenstein's classic POTEMKIN and Cuban documentary, DEATH TO THE INVADERS; Sun., July 1: Dovzhenko's powerful anti-war film AFRICAN MUSICIANS (Congo). Showings at 7:45 and 10 p.m. at 116 University Place. Contrib. 99c. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

WILLIAM F. WARDE, Marxist author and lecturer, discusses *Where Is America Going?* Fri., June 29, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1, Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

...Interview With Paraguayan Exile

(Continued from Page 1)

was removed from the bench and these people are still kept incommunicado. They are not even allowed to read.

Q. What happened to you after that?

A. I was transferred to a jail where criminals, thieves and other delinquents are kept. There I was still kept incommunicado and the guards wanted to force me to do hard labor. I refused to do it and as a result they threatened to transfer me to the concentration camp at Tacumbú where work in the quarries is carried on. Later the judge ordered my release. Once again the police did not obey the court's order and they transferred me to another jail where there were four political prisoners: a well-known painter, Alberto Barrett, two students and a worker. There, too, we were not allowed to leave the cell. We had to carry out our physiological functions right there in the cell. We protested against this unbearable situation. Then our hands were tied and we were beaten with sabers. We went on a hunger strike and addressed a letter to the public at large asking for their solidarity. Within six days we were expelled to Argentina. We were in a very weakened condition.

Q. What happened to you at the frontier?

A. We were helped by the exiled Paraguayans who live along the frontier. From that moment we have become part of the movement formed by all prisoners from Paraguay against the Stroessner dictatorship which is responsible for the murder of *campesinos* and patriots and for the regime of terror which reigns in our homeland. The dictatorship is hated by

all the people and it will have to fall as a result of the united struggle of those sectors which are fighting in the cities and in the countryside.

[We are not printing the name of the Paraguayan who gave the above interview. Similarly we shall not give the names of several other Paraguayans whose interviews we shall soon print. *The Militant* has their names but wishes to protect these people, living in precarious exile, from persecution by the Committee on Security Against the Subversive Action of International Communism.

The witch-hunt committee bearing that long-winded and hypocritical name was set up at the last Punta del Este Conference as a corollary to the exclusion of Cuba from the OAS and its creation was similarly brought about by U.S. pressure and bribes. Not only does General Stroessner, the Paraguayan dictator, have a representative on that committee, whose task includes, among other things, compiling a continent-wide political proscription list, but its whole composition represents the most sinister elements in Latin America.

Speaking of this committee as the "International of Swords" and of the popular hostility it is evoking, Prof. Ronald Hilton, editor of the *Hispanic American Report*, comments (May, 1962): "Had this committee consisted of moderate civilians of high repute, it might have enjoyed international prestige. It is made up instead of army officers (with the possible exception of the Costa Rican delegate)." — EDITOR.]

...Spanish Struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

time, a general decree was put into effect banning all free travel within Spain and giving the government the right to assign forced residence to "anyone suspected of hostile activities."

Arrests were stepped up and an AP dispatch from Barcelona on June 15 reported the sentencing of eight university students by a military court on charges of "rebellion." The controlled Spanish press headlined a minor bombing, stressing violence and Communist plots to remind the Spanish people of the terrors of the Civil War. The Munich meeting was red-baited too. Ironically, the Spanish Communist party and other leftist groups were barred from the Munich "united front" meeting by its organizers.

In a letter in the June 18 *New York Times*, Rev. Joseph F. Thorning, Associate editor of *World Affairs*, challenges the veracity of reports that "the Catholic Church is courageously supporting the demands of the strikers and demonstrators." He cites statements by a number of Spanish prelates specifically denying pro-striker pronouncements attributed to them by the foreign, including the U.S., press.

...Wendell Phillips Case

(Continued from Page 1)

opinion that this case may result in an outstanding court victory establishing the right not to inform as a significant principle of constitutional law."

At issue in court on Sept. 5 will be the legality of the Fullerton Junior College board's firing of Phillips. He will be represented by Attorney Marshall Ross and by A. L. Wirin, as a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union. Both sides state they plan to appeal an unfavorable verdict.

The Academic Freedom Committee estimates that it will cost from \$7,000 to \$10,000 to take the case to the California Supreme Court. It is appealing for donations to cover this cost.

A complete transcript of Phillips' original hearing is available from the Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee, Box 33176, Los Angeles 33, for a minimum donation of \$3. The bound volume includes a statement from the ACLU on why it has entered the case and a legal analysis of the case by the Oakland firm of Edises, Treuhaft, Grossman and Grogan.

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Monday, June 25, 1962

Only 'Certified' Peace Fighters?

On June 8 Prof. J. D. Bernal of Britain, chairman of the World Council of Peace, through advertisements in the U.S. press, invited American organizations concerned with disarmament to send delegates to a World Congress for Disarmament and Peace in Moscow July 9-14. On the sponsors' list were notable figures from the Soviet-bloc countries and such eminent Westerners as Linus Pauling, Bertrand Russell, Canon Collins, Somerset Maugham, Jean-Paul Sartre, Lazaro Cardenas, Albert Schweitzer and many others.

The *New York Times* of the very next day carried a statement by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy denouncing the World Peace Council as a "Communist" organization and citing SANE executive director Homer Jack, Norman Thomas and Alfred Hassler as authorities for this characterization. Dr. Jack, moreover, was reported by the *Times* as declaring that "the Moscow group's [sic!] organizers were trying to go over the heads of American peace organizations to recruit political innocents to attend the July sessions."

The question raised is whether anyone can get into the fight for peace or whether a special license from SANE is required.

Homer Jack's statement means that his group has arrogated to itself the right to pass on the politics and respectability of all opponents of nuclear testing and war. Those meeting its standards will be certified as bona fide, approved, non-dangerous, house-broken, peace advocates and their rumps can be stamped to show that they have been duly inspected and have met U.S. government specifications.

This franchise to inspect and approve comes to SANE directly from Senator Dodd, the Witch Hunter-in-Chief. By purging and abasing itself, SANE met Dodd's exacting standards and now wishes to apply them to all others.

... New York Hospital Union Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Beth-El Hospital corridors in sympathy with the strike. At the same time police arrested nine pickets outside the hospital. Twenty more youths were arrested June 12 for staging another sit-in. State Assemblyman Mark Lane, a lawyer, is defending a number of them.

Leon J. Davis, president of Local 1199, is still in jail serving a 30-day sentence for refusing to order Beth-El strikers back to work under an anti-strike, anti-picketing injunction obtained by the hospital.

An editorial in the June 9 *Amsterdam News* — the leading Negro weekly here — expressed a widespread attitude toward the hospital workers' struggle. The editorial, entitled "Liberals" said: "... we unhesitatingly say now that the only reason why the president of the hospital local is in jail and the only reason why these people are being kicked around and shunned by both labor and management is the fact that they are Negroes and Puerto Ricans who are at this time on the bot-

tom of the ladder in the trade union and management circle.

"The very people who have had this trade unionist thrown in jail for exercising the right of collective bargaining are the same people who piously pose as great liberals and friends of labor and minorities.

"For an example one of the trustees of Beth El Hospital is Brooklyn Boro President Abe Stark and another is Congressman Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn. Both men pose as 'Liberals.' Both of these gentlemen will mount a platform at the drop of a hat and declare to the world that they are the greatest friend of the working man the world has ever known.

"Yet they sit on the board of this hospital while the hospital pays these people starvation wages and refuses to bargain . . . One certainly would think that both of these men would be moved to action in some definitive way but, if they cannot act there is nothing in the world to stop them from resigning from the hospital board in protest."

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	\$ 20	\$ 25	123
Berkeley-Oakland	635	733	115
General	530	599	113
Cleveland	600	670	112
Allentown	155	155	100
Boston	750	750	100
Chicago	1,000	1,000	100
Connecticut	200	200	100
Denver	200	200	100
Detroit	800	800	100
Los Angeles	6,300	6,300	100
Milwaukee	320	320	100
New York	5,700	5,700	100
Newark	190	190	100
Philadelphia	320	321	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
San Diego	360	360	100
San Francisco	720	720	100
Seattle	600	600	100
Twin Cities	1,500	1,500	100
Totals through June 15	\$21,000	\$21,243	101

Interview With Carl Braden

Prospects in the Fight for Racial Equality

By Marilyn Levin

DETROIT — When Carl Braden, veteran civil-rights and civil-liberties fighter, was recently in this city, we asked if we could interview him for *The Militant*. Despite his hectic schedule, he talked with us for over an hour and a half. A wide range of subjects was covered — the prohibition of his scheduled campus meeting by Wayne State University officials, his prison sentence for using the First Amendment, the April civil-rights conferences in Birmingham and Atlanta, his work as field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and his general views on the struggle in the South.

Throughout the interview, Braden's main theme — the vital connection between civil rights and civil liberties was restated and emphasized repeatedly. "The FBI," he said, "works with local police authorities to thwart voter-registration drives. The House Un-American Activities Committee has sub-committees in all the Southern states. They issue lists of militant activists and subpoena professors on campuses."

Statement

He showed us a statement by Bob Moses, a field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), when he was on trial in Magnolia, Miss. "We are not yet here in Mississippi fighting for civil rights," Moses had then said, "but for those civil liberties that provide an alternative to armed struggle." Braden added: "This expresses my feelings and explains my involvement in the fight for the First Amendment."

He then took up the question of red-baiting in the civil-rights movement, explaining why he and others in the South reject it. "My feeling is that anyone working for integration is an integrationist, regardless of his politics. We [the SCEF] follow a political non-exclusion policy. People who give in to red-baiting are doing a disservice to the movement. SNCC and SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference] are not affected by it [red-baiting] either."

Braden described SNCC as "the most militant organization in the South today. They aren't a discussion group. In order for a local group to become affiliated with SNCC, it must have at least ten members and have taken part in some direct action within the past year." He added that "SNCC is also hard-pressed financially because they don't have the Northern contacts and sources that the adult organizations have."

Northern Students

Since some young Detroiters intend to spend the summer in the South, we asked Braden his opinion about Northern students participating in the Southern struggle. While approving such plans and agreeing that people could be more effective after getting a "first-hand picture of conditions in the South," he also had some general comments about the role of Northerners.

"Many Northern students," he said, "come down on Freedom Rides, get thrown in jail and expect to be bailed out immediately. These self-styled experts then return home and aren't heard from again. These people are more of a hindrance than a help."

Braden felt that most Northerners could be most effective in supporting the civil-rights struggle by staying home, publicizing and raising money for the South. "If they are going to take part in the struggle," he continued, "they will have to be fully committed and willing to take the consequences. This means being prepared to stay in jail."

Our next question was about Southern reaction to Robert F.

An Unflinching Rights Fighter

Carl Braden, one of the outstanding figures in the struggle against Jim Crow, is a resident of Louisville. He worked for a newspaper there until in 1954-55 he served eight months of a 15-year sentence after he had helped a Negro family buy a house in a so-called white neighborhood. He was freed when the U.S. Supreme Court voided the state sedition law under which he had been convicted.

Braden's wife, Anne, has written a famous book, *The Wall Between*, giving the details of the Louisville case in which the home purchased for the Negro was bombed and its would-be defenders framed in the course of a hysterical witch hunt.

Braden recently completed a year's prison sentence for refusing to co-operate with the House Un-American Activities Committee. He had declined to answer questions of the committee on the ground that it was trying to discredit him and hamper his work for integration. He based his refusal on the First Amendment guarantee of free speech, press, association and petition.

Last month Alabama's attorney general obtained an injunction in the circuit court at Talladega barring a number of organizations and certain individuals, including Carl Braden, from integration efforts in that city where Negro college students have been conducting sit-ins and other demonstrations.

On June 14 Braden, contesting the injunction, officially informed the State of Alabama that his conduct in Talladega had been perfectly lawful and that "for reasons of conscience and political and moral conviction he has for many years in the past supported the struggle to do away with racial segregation and hopes that for many years in the future he may continue to do so." He further declared his intention "as a citizen to exercise his right by speech, by press, by petition, and by taking part in peaceable assembly to persuade his fellow citizens to a belief in integration and the lawful political action which flows therefrom, in Alabama or in any other state, and in Talladega City or County, or in any other place in the United States to which he sees fit to go."



Carl Braden

Williams and the events in Monroe, N.C. He answered that "the forces of the South consider Monroe just another place where the fight is going on. People are armed all over the South. Right now people involved in non-violent direct action are moving. When they are stopped, there may be other Monroes."

Braden attributed the greater publicity accorded Monroe to "Robert Williams' leadership and his knowledge of how to make news." "There are others who share Williams' ideas but lack his organizational capacity and training and are unable to break the news barrier surrounding the South."

He further commented that "most people confuse Williams' tactics with armed aggression. He [Williams] followed a policy of non-violent direct action and self defense when necessary. This is not in contradiction with the sentiment of many in the movement. There are plenty of people working in the non-violent movement who use it as a tactic, not as a philosophy. They are going ahead with non-violent direct action because it is working at this point."

We then discussed the prospects for unionization of the South. "Unionization," he stated, "will come from and be a further projection of the integration struggle. Economic organization is the next step. Everything prior has been preliminary work. If there is sufficient advance preparation and the people are determined I feel the employers and the authorities in the South can be stopped from committing violence." He cited an instance of a group of students in Mississippi who have already begun to organize Negro workers

into a union. "They haven't made any demands yet," he explained, "the students are looking around for international unions to affiliate with." He said "many of these students feel that the Teamsters Union is where they are most likely to get support."

At the end of the interview, since we were representing a socialist paper, we asked Braden if he would make any general observations about the broader political questions of socialism and capitalism in relation to civil rights. In response he described his father as a "militant socialist, a follower of Eugene Debs." He told us that he has continued in the same tradition. He reiterated his belief that a change to socialism is necessary if humanity is to progress. "I don't think the Negroes will ever be free under capitalism," he concluded, "and I'm one of the few who isn't afraid to say it."

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Speech by Robert Williams

Cuba vs. the U.S. on Race Relations

[The following account of a speech by Robert F. Williams is translated from the March 18 issue of *Verde Olivo*, magazine of the Cuban Revolution's armed forces.]

An illuminating and dramatic presentation of the insupportable situation suffered by the Negroes in the United States because of discrimination was presented by the North American integrationist leader Robert Williams who managed to escape some months ago from the country of his birth and find refuge in Cuba. Ku Klux Klan elements in complicity with police of the county on more than one occasion threatened the lives of Williams and his family.

At the beginning of his talk, Williams asked: What kind of free world is it in the United States which denies liberty, full citizenship and the protection of the law to Negroes? What kind of representative democracy is it that oppresses 20 million Negroes who account for 70 per cent of the unemployed and who can't even use the same public telephones as white citizens?

Fine Words

Commenting on the discrepancy between the fine words of the Constitution on equality and respect for the human personality and the impunity with which racists abuse North American Negroes, Williams said:

"The Constitution of the United States is very fine but it is considered like a scrap of paper. For the Negro its provisions do not hold despite the Fourteenth Amendment, added after the Civil War, which recognizes the absolute equality, the equal right of all to jobs, to recreation, to education, to public services; equal rights for whites and blacks."

Fighting Back

Nevertheless, Williams affirmed, the Negro is fighting back. "He is organizing, preparing to make effective the rights which are his as a human being. The powers that be seek to keep the people misinformed in order to maintain capitalist exploitation and deny the exercise of human rights."

Williams maintained that the "North American Negro is struggling to overcome his present status of social discrimination" and

to "assert his rights as a human being." Recent years have provided abundant testimony that the North American Negroes more and more are tenaciously fighting against the measures of discrimination which put them at the level of pariahs. The protests against racial segregation in the restaurants, the tireless struggle for racial equality in the schools and for equal pay in industry are impressive examples of the mounting struggle of the North American Negro to break through the barriers of prejudices which make their lives a living hell of persecution and bondage.

An Appeal to Washington

Bertrand Russell on Cuba

[The original English version of this statement apparently never was published. The following translation from the Havana daily, *Revolución*, appeared in the summer, 1962, issue of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba bulletin.]

The hysteria which has been created in the U.S. about the Cuban Revolution is a grave danger to the peace of the world. Those responsible for the creation of that psychosis ought to consider carefully whether they will always be in positions of power to control it. Already the U.S. supported an invasion of Cuba which was destroyed because the great majority of the Cuban people decidedly defended the government of Dr. Fidel Castro. It appears possible, moreover, that the U.S. contemplates a plan of imposing on the Cuban people a regime that is against their wishes.

The problem before the world today is grave and inescapable. Ought the nations of the world be permitted to settle their disputes by means of war, which inevitably leads to a nuclear holocaust which would destroy humanity; or ought all the nations together renounce war? An attack by the U.S. on Cuba could lead to a nuclear war and for this reason, if for no other, one must oppose it resolutely. No state has a right to dictate to Cuba or to any other nation how to direct its own affairs. Cuba, at last, after half a century of North American dom-

In reply to questions as to how he liked Cuba, Robert Williams responded:

"It is pleasant to live in Cuba because there's freedom here, because there's equal justice for everyone, because there's no discrimination against the Negro, because there are responsible, free and respectful courts. In Cuba a Negro is a human being, not a dog. Here in Cuba there are neither classes nor races — there are men, brothers, all beings are equal. In the U.S., on the other hand, hate rules as well as discrimination, subjugation, barbarity, injustice and slavery for the Negro."

ination, is in a condition to build homes and schools, to encourage education and culture, to abolish poverty and disease and human misery. The Cuban Revolution deserves confidence and encouragement and not blind hostility. The huge corporations, such as United Fruit are afraid of losing a lucrative empire in Latin America. The military-industrial combination continually needs armaments and preparations for war if they are to preserve their position, their power, and their profits. Those forces in the U.S. with their paid liars — scientific, industrial, or congressional — have created a pathological hatred against the Cuban Revolution, which constitutes a grave threat to the independence of Cuba and a grave threat to world peace.

I appeal to the government of the U.S. to let Cuba resolve its own problems without interference. I appeal to the people of the United States to pay no attention to the hysterical speeches of their leaders. I appeal to the governments and the peoples of Latin America to reject inflexibly any measure against the Cuban Revolution. Cuba is an independent and sovereign nation with its inalienable right to resolve its problems as best pleases it.

An action by the U.S. against Cuba could lead to a nuclear war. Such a war would destroy civilization and perhaps all the human race. Let us remember our humanity and let us forget the rest.

but that of "two eyes for one, two teeth for one."

Flying High — It cost taxpayers an estimated \$10 million last year to send government officials on "champagne flights." That was the cost of unnecessary first class flights made last year by military and civilian officials when lower-priced tourist accommodations were usually available on the same plane, according to a Congressional committee. Rep. Findley (R-Ill.) explained: "The main difference between economy-tourist and first class fare is the free bar service often available to first class customers."

Police Transport — A New York police sergeant was kicked off the force June 15 and a patrolman was fined 30 days' pay for using their radio car to transport whiskey. It was charged they had been caught buying 40 quarts of untaxed Canadian whiskey from a steward on a German freighter.

"Sellelevision" — In a new book, *The Great Time Killer*, Harold Mehling scores the deterioration of television programming. If the trend continues, he warns, the medium should be renamed "sellelevision." In the hope that it will bring a change for the better, he urges letters of complaint to pro-

gram sponsors. Ad men generally agree Mehling's proposal is "ludicrous" and "unsophisticated." Snorted one agency man, "No one here pays any attention to this sort of mail. As long as the product sells, we don't pay any heed to letters that come in."

Working the Angles — "DALLAS — Private survey crews working for the state of Texas found that all seven out of seven oil wells they have tested in the East Texas Field were slanted illegally to tap oil from under adjoining leases." — The June 6 *Wall Street Journal*.

Limited Faculty Ability? — Embarrassed Memphis school officials are trying to explain how Kingsley High School's 1962 year book happened to include the Marxist concept, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Principal John Crothers said, "It got in because of the ignorance of one of the year book's student editors and an oversight on the part of the faculty sponsor."

Socialism, Anyone? — A billion people in Asia, Africa and Latin America "are homeless or living in housing which is a health hazard and an affront to human dignity," according to UN Acting Secretary General U Thant.

Letters From Our Readers

Fan Mail

Indianapolis, Ind.
Today's the deadline on the 8-Page *Militant Fund* and I sincerely hope the goal is attained.

The paper is invaluable in bringing relevant facts and truths to the workers and in clearly emphasizing the real issues of today's complex and rapidly deteriorating social-economic situation — shattering the myths and capitalist propaganda propagated to confuse and subdue the workers. The paper presents the class struggle, no holds barred, frank and truthful.

More and more, serious workers will come to understand the international situation through education from *The Militant* — especially with added coverage and Marxist-Leninist discussion.

J.M.

The Alter-Erich Case

New York, N.Y.

Two weeks ago I sent a letter to *The Worker* in reaction to the shameless defense by labor editor George Morris of one of the most heinous crimes of the Stalin era.

The letter was not published but instead Morris wrote another article justifying the murder of Erlich and Alter by the Soviet Union's war emergency. [The Morris articles referred to appeared in the June 3 and 10 issues of *The Worker*.—EDITOR.]

It seems to me that the matter deserves your attention and I am enclosing a copy of my letter which *The Worker* did not print.

* * *

Being a steady reader of your paper — which I consider being lately very informative and interesting — I was shocked by a casual remark in Morris' coverage of the last convention of the ILGWU.

I agree completely with Morris' evaluation as far as he condemns Dubinsky in his rabid cold-war frenzy with which he instills his union and the labor movement. It seems that Mr. Dubinsky and his ilk have in their old age enough zeal only to fight the Soviet Union and not the employers — with the result that the wages of the long-organized garment workers are now on the lowest level in comparison with other organized workers.

Unfortunately, Morris found as appropriate to write ironically that "a special section of the (convention) document revives the cry over two Socialists of old Poland, Erlich and Alter, first raised by Dubinsky in the mid-war period, charging the two were 'murdered' by the government under Stalin."

As a matter of fact Erlich and Alter were leaders of the "Bund" in old Poland and they represented more or less the left wing in the pre-war socialist movement, promulgating the idea of uniting of all the socialist tendencies (the Communists included) in the fight against fascism and capitalism.

The murder (without quotation marks) of Erlich and Alter with charging them of being agents of Hitler Germany was one of the most cruel and revolting crimes in Stalin's abuse of power in the first workers' state. Khrushchev's castigation of Stalin's rule of terror covers by implication also the Erlich-Alter case. Your paper agreed with the critical re-evaluation of the Stalin era and therefore Morris' remarks seem to me as a relapse into the old disease which poisoned the whole workers' movement.

Mr. Dubinsky, who decries the peace fighters against the atom bomb as "serving the interests of

the Kremlin" would certainly reproach now the left-wing Socialists, Erlich and Alter, as "Communist agents" if they were alive. Today, like a ghoul, he feeds on their dead body for his cold-war propaganda in the service of the State Department defiling all the ideas and principles Erlich and Alter were standing for. I wonder only why should you — even now in the de-Stalinization period — make Dubinsky's task easier by holding to the rejected old lies and crimes?

A.B.

Horrible Thought!

Bronx, N.Y.

I wish I could donate some money to help *The Militant*. I meant to, but I haven't got a spare buck lately. I'm just a student.

If it wasn't for *The Militant* I would have to rely on Nixon and Stevenson and the like for my information on Cuba. What a horrible thought!

H.L.

Communism and Science

Chicago, Ill.

Communism was founded just 44 years ago, with the birth of the Soviet Union, and now possesses the minds and souls of half the world. It is winning converts in increasing numbers. Recognizing no gods, it preaches the self-perfectibility of man and his capacity to comprehend the innermost secrets of life without supernatural aid. It glories in the advance of science and looks to it for salvation.

It is not against traditional religions. It ignores them. Scientific communism is a powerful rival of capitalism and its religions. Powerful because its aims are man-made and unequivocal, powerful because it is at home in the pervasive secularity of 20th Century life, powerful because history is on its side.

As science reaches further into space, the easy idea that God is "out there" seems more remote. As science learns new ways to combat disease, famine and early death, these plagues seem less the will of God than penalties for man's ignorance.

As science probes deeper into matter and into the creation of life itself, men find it more and more difficult to discern the hand of God in the workings of capitalism and its religions.

C.E.

No Fake 'Detachment'

Cambridge, Mass.

Enclosed is \$10 for your fund. One thing that I appreciate especially, and that I think deserves special mention, is *The Militant's* excellent editorial policy.

To my knowledge you have never tried to report on events unless you had actual, verifiable facts to present. You never guess at what a situation may be and then invent "facts" to support your position — a favorite trick of the capitalist press, to which the real facts are, so often, unacceptable.

You are, of course, frankly partisan. But, as Trotsky so frequently pointed out, true objectivity lies not in trying to convince the reader and yourself that you are a disinterested and uncommitted observer, but in stating one's position clearly and in interpreting events openly, honestly and thoroughly in the light of this position, without unprincipled attempts at "detachment" that, so often, is simply camouflage for ruthless slanting and distortion.

I would say you have lived up to Trotsky's principle. All the more power to you.

J.R.L.

Thought for the Week

"It has been estimated that, among other things, four million babies use up during their lifetime: one billion pairs of shoes, 25 billion pounds of beef, 63 million suits and dresses, 11 million new cars, 91 billion gallons of gasoline, 6½ million refrigerators, 200 million tons of steel. So the next time you hear a baby cry, don't let it annoy you. Today's babies are our customers of tomorrow."—Thomas F. Patton, president of Republic Steel Corp.

It Was Reported in the Press

New ACLU Counsel — Melvin L. Wulf has succeeded Rowland Watts as legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Wulf had been assistant legal director since 1958. Watts resigned after seven years of service to return to private practice but will continue as special counsel to the liberties group. ACLU executive director John de J. Pemberton, Jr., said: "There is not another lawyer in the country who has devoted so much of himself to the defense of constitutional rights as Rowland Watts."

Assurance of the Week — According to a June 13 AP dispatch from West Germany, a high-ranking U.S. Air Force official there says control over atomic devices in Europe is foolproof. "No man can unwittingly set off an atomic device," he said. "It takes at least two men."

Wants Higher Exchange Rate — Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister of South Vietnamese dictator Diem, is put out because the U.S. didn't rush its troops from Thailand to Laos, reports *New York Times* correspondent Homer Bigart. She said the U.S. should have gone into Laos to apply to the "Communists" not the doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth