## Indiana Defense Movement Spreads Across Continent; Case to Court March 20

Bloomington Students (CABS), the nation-wide committee to defend Ralph Levitt, James Bingham, and Tom Morgan, is growing rapidly. The three students, officers of the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at Indiana University, were indicted last July for "sedition." CABS is now sponsored by over 450 professors, authors, civil rights and peace lead-

The public exposure of the Bloomington story through tours by defendants, distribution of literature, and the work of the increasing number of local CABS chapters is being felt across the country and in Indiana itself.

The pre-trial hearings are scheduled for March 20 and CABS is working energetically to raise the \$5000 estimated to be necessary for trial expenditures. (Funds and requests for information should be sent to CABS, p.o. box 213, New York City 10003.)

The first count on which the students were indicted was attendance at a March 25, 1963, meeting where Leroy McRae, a national leader of the YSA and a Negro, spoke on civil rights. CABS has published the "subversive" speech and has made the facts of this indictment widely known. The result has been that the local witchhunter, Thomas A. Hoadley, completely left out any mention of this meeting in his answer to the judge who required him to submit a bill of particulars.

Hoadley thus admits that there is no basis in fact for the first of his two indictments. But it has not been dropped.

The protest movement against the Indiana witchhunt is developing into the strongest and most widespread defense effort since the days of McCarthy. Back in the early fifties, when the McCarthy witchhunt was at its height, a few courageous students at I.U. launched the "green feather" movement which rapidly spread throughout the midwest.

Robin Hood

The "green feather" movement was launched when the Indiana state government was asked to ban the book Robin Hood as subversive. Students then began wearing green feathers and distribut-

ing them on the campus.

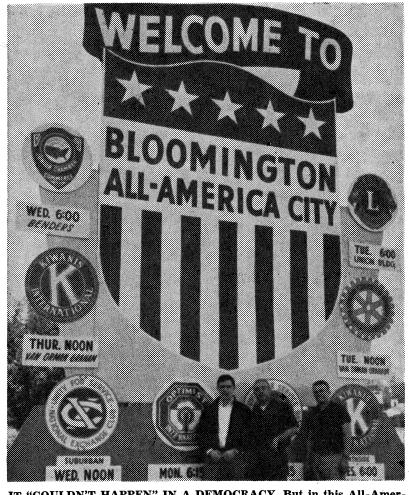
It is no surprise that the students of the sixties are rallying behind the courageous I.U. students to defend academic freedom.

The events in Bloomington have come under sharp fire also from elder civil-libertarians. From England, Lord Bertrand Russell, made the following statement on the

"The attempt to persecute independent political thinking in the United States is indicative of the extent to which those who are pushing mankind towards nuclear annihilation are unprepared to allow independent and critical consideration of the alternatives. The persecution of the Bloomington students is the most naked authoritarianism . . . The danger to survival today is intimately related to the inability to speak out effectively against governments, East and West. I hope that there will be an international demand for justice in the case of the Bloomington students, whose example should inspire everyone who follows individual liberty."

The Executive Board of the Milwaukee American Civil Liberties Union recently stated its support to the defendants' "move to quash the indictments in this case. It was our unanimous feeling that this prosecution represents a distinct threat to basic American freedoms.'

As the defense movement grows. Hoadley is getting cruder and cruder in his attempt to stifle free thought, speech and assembly. The "sedition," of which the students



IT "COULDN'T HAPPEN" IN A DEMOCRACY. But in this All-American city three students were indicted because of political activities on campus. Today students across country are rallying to support Tom Morgan (1), Ralph Levitt (c), and Jim Bingham.

are allegedly guilty, no longer involves advocating the violent overthrow of the federal government, but just the state of Indiana. Hoadley claims his purpose to be the development of a method of prosecuting radicals strictly through state laws.

The first indictment was leveled against the YSA officers May 1 of last year, but was thrown out last summer by the judge on a technicality. The students were then hit by two indictments, the second one being based on a May 2 meeting which they had held to discuss defense work. The students face three years imprisonment apiece on each count.

Hoadley's evidence for the May 2 "sedition" is the testimony of a landlord, by name Mr. Wilkes, who eavesdropped on the meeting in a private apartment and heard, Hoadley charges, a New Yorker giving a "violent anti-capitalist speech." Wilkes, who appears to be getting an introduction to "subversive" politics by eavesdropping, was introduced to Hoadley on May 11, after which date he did not resort to his ears, but used a tape recorder.

Hoadley also has indicated that he will attempt to enter as evidence in the trial 12 pamphlets and a song sheet taken by Wilkes from the apartment. These pamphlets include: "Too Many Babies?" (the population question) "The Long View of History," "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?", and a Pioneer Publishers Catalog. Wilkes need not have taken the pamphlets. Law-abiding citizens can obtain copies quite easily for a small charge from Pioneer Publishers (116 University Pl., New York City 3).

The pamphlet-taking eavesdropping were admitted under oath by Wilkes before the House Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC stated that it was interested in the Indiana witchhunt because it may want to increase the list of organizations that must register as Communist organizations. Thus HUAC, a permanently established federal witchhunting group, has taken note of the Indiana prosecution as an index of whether it can or cannot expand its activities.

#### MORGAN, LEVITT TOUR ON CASE

As the date for pre-trial hearings in the Bloomington case approaches, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has stepped up its activities to an even higher and more productive level than before. A central part of this work has been the speaking tours of the three defendants, Tom Morgan, Jim Bingham, and Ralph Levitt.

The three indicted officers of the Indiana chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance have spoken from coast to coast, to dozens of campus and non-campus audiences, on numerous radio and TV channels, and in endless news interviews. Below we will indicate just a few events of Morgan's tour last

In the first leg of his tour, Tom

(Continued on Page 3)

# SOCIALIST

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## **High Schoolers** Help Organize Massive Boycott

By Allen Kimbrell

The author of this article, a high school student in Brooklyn and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was on the committee that coordinated the youth participation in the citywide boycott

 ${\tt BROOKLYN}$  — The clicking of typewriters, the ring of telephones, the constant sound of the mimeograph machine made up the background of the scene at Siloam Presbyterian Church. The first floor had been converted into the center of boycott activities. Here the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools laid the final

In a back room a score of Negro and white youths worked day and night to complete the thousands of picket signs that would be needed. As stacks of leaflets were finished they were carried by volunteers into the hearts of the ghettoes which fester in the body of the metropolis.

Three areas were concentrated on: Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn and South Jamaica in Queens, where the worst of the segregated schools are located. Here educational standards are usually two years or more below average. Here you find high school students who can't read, junior high students who can't tell time. These schools would be left untouched by the "integration" plan of School Board president James Donovan.

As the day of action approached the School Board increased their harassment. Telephone connections of Bronx and Queens CORE and Brooklyn CORE were cut for extended periods. Donovan appeared on TV and radio at regular intervals warning parents to send Feb. 3. Calls came into Siloam Church from worried parents who had heard over the various radio stations that the boycott was off, that all picketers would be arrested, etc.

Donovan pushed the contract signing date of teachers and substitutes up to Feb. 3: if they were absent for the boycott they would lose their jobs. Students were expelled from several schools for distributing leaflets and were reinstated only after a struggle.

But the boycott was still on. Freedom schools were organized in every community. Thousands of sandwiches were donated by ghetto restaurants for use in these

At 6 A.M. on the morning of Feb. 3 people poured into the Siloam Church to be assigned as picket captains and pick up signs.

Thousands of Negro, Puerto Rican, and white youths, most on the picket line for the first time, marched, chanted and sang freedom songs into the gusty winds. Scores of schools opened to nearly zero attendance. Teachers and students worked together in the huge protest.

At noon the picket lines began to converge on three pre-arranged targets: The building of the Board of Education in Brooklyn, City Hall in Manhattan, and Governor Rockefeller's New York office. At the Board of Education, the marching and chanting line of Negro and white students grew into the thousands by mid-after-

Suddenly — a huge cheer! Over the Brooklyn Bridge from Manhattan came new hundreds of boy-

Then Donovan made a brief appearance at a window looking down on the crowd. Thousands of angry fingers pointed at him and the air was filled with shouts at this man who had called the boycott leaders "extremists" who were out to set off violence.

School attendance figures were announced: 450,000 students out of one million enrollment were absent. Then slowly the largest protest in the history of the Negro movement ended.

What was accomplished? Not much in the way of direct results. But the core of the problem doesn't lie in the schools or the system of education, although they are powerful evidence that there is a problem. As long as profits can be made by setting white workers against black, instead of against the employer from whom they both must wrest their wages; as long as Negroes or Puerto Ricans can be super-exploited and that super-exploitation be rationalized by their lack of education, so long will segregated, inferior schools be an American reality.

But for the first time in recent years, the Negro community here acted together. Large sections of Negro and white youth, previously uncommitted, were brought into the struggle and made conscious of the possibilities of change.

Donovan called the boycott a "fizzle." We are planning another boycott and we have already given it a name: Fizzle No. 2.

## La. "Sedition" Law Hits SCEF Workers

By Helen Mason

Louisiana's Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law was used Jan. 29 to indict two officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and the law partner of one of them.

Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF's treasurer, was indicted on three counts: 1) participating in the management of "a subversive organization, SCEF"; 2) being a member of SCEF and failing to register as such with the Louisiana Department of Safety; and 3) being a member of the National Lawyers Guild and failing to register. Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF's executive director, was indicted on counts 1 and 2, while Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner, was indicted on count 3.

The Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee had instigated raids Oct. 4 on the homes of the three men. They were arrested at that time but the charges were dismissed Oct. 25 by a state judge who saw no evidence of wrongdoing, he said.

SCEF, headed by the Rev. Fred-

erick L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Ala., is a Southern interracial group active in the struggle for civil rights.

After a court battle over the constitutionality of the law the seizure of SCEF's records during the raids, the new charges were brought against the three men. A three-judge Federal Court voted 2-1 to uphold the constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Act, thereby paving the way for the indictments. The judges dissolved a temporary order restraining the state from prosecution under the act. These rulings are being appealed to the Supreme Court.

To show their solidarity with all people fighting injustice, in particular, the injustice that flows directly from use of thought-control "sedition" laws on the state level, the three students indicted "subversion" in Indiana — Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan, and James Bingham — recently sent a donation and a telegram of support to the indicted SCEF workers.

## YS Interviews DeBerry

The following interview was granted to Young Socialist correspondent Dave Goodwin by Clifton DeBerry, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. In a statement last month, the Young Socialist Alliance declared its support for DeBerry in his campaign to forge a political alternative in the interest of the working people.

What do you consider the major domestic and international questions which the government and the people of the United States will have to face in the coming

Unemployment, civil rights, and civil liberties are the most important domestic issues, because stands on these basic issues are reflected in the questions of foreign policy, war and peace, and the question of real freedom.

The major international needs today are freedom for the colonial peoples, unconditional aid to the emerging independent nations, and easing of world tensions.

The struggle of the Negro people for Freedom Now is spreading to all arenas, all aspects of Jim Crow — housing, schools, job training, the right to vote. This dynamic struggle focuses on the struggle for civil liberties and challenges the present capitalist social order.

Young freedom fighters in the South are being penalized for dissenting against the Southern wav of life, just as the youth of the North are being victimized for their dissent, for holding socialist ideas.

In many areas of the world colonial peoples are throwing off their capitalist oppressors and achieving freedom. These new nations are rejecting capitalism and accepting socialism. They learned that to get their freedom it was necessary to break with capitalism and Jim Crow which is inseparable from capitalism.

#### Why do you feel the Democrats and Republicans cannot solve these questions?

Both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans, are committed to maintaining the capitalist order. Their foreign policy is to stop the colonial revolution abroad by supporting "democratic dictators" who suppress the masses, financing a world police force (stationing U.S. troops abroad), and denving nations their rights and sovereignty. Recent examples can be found in their attitude toward Cuba and Panama.

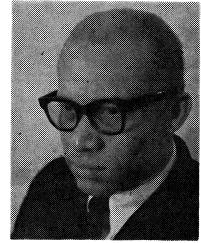
Both parties support gradualism at home: They are long on promises for civil rights but short on deeds. Although it is 100 years since the signing of the emancipation proclamation, the Negro people are still fighting for human dignity and elementary rights.

When there is mass protest for civil rights the politicians hold back as long as possible, then do as little as possible.

Neither party is interested in or concerned about the rights and eedom of the Negro people.

Slum housing exists because it is profitable. Inferior schools exist because such a condition justifies white supremacy. With inferior education Negroes and Puerto Ricans are denied job training,

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 23 -Pennsylvania supporters of Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President went out today to collect signatures of registered voters to put the SWP on the ballot. They now have 7,000 of the 13,500 goal. State law gives them only three weeks, of which 12 days remain. But working people — especially Negroes are glad to give other workers a chance to run for office and the response is good.



Clifton DeBerry Socialist Candidate

thereby constituting the largest segment of the unemployed. They also represent a reserve labor force outside the organized labor movement, which the capitalists use to keep the workers divided.

In the recent period, the Negro people have demonstrated their dissatisfaction with gradualism; they have shown how mass direct action can force some concessions: and they are in the forefront of the move towards independent political action.

The granting of full civil rights, of real equality, would undermine the foundation upon which the capitalist superstructure rests. In short, these hypocritical demagogues would vote their class out of existence. This is not likely.

At the present stage a section of the Negro people are projecting an all-black party, stemming from their immediate need for a political arm to give expression to their demands for civil rights.

#### Do you think this points the way for a solution?

The Black Revolution points the road toward a break with the two capitalist parties in the form of independent political action. And this move is important for all of us, but of particular significance to the labor movement.

Since the New Deal era the labor movement has been saddled with the Democratic Party, with a leadership committed to maintain the status quo. Defensive strikes mark the blind alley which labor finds itself in. The whole struggle has been for labor to keep what it has gained rather than achieve more.

Labor can no longer make real economic gain while supporting the Democratic Party. In order to survive, labor must revert to the basic principles of unionism: all for one and one for all; an injury to one is an injury to all.

Labor must ally itself with the Negro people in their struggle for freedom, break with the party of the bosses, and build a Labor Party. As a united class, it should support the struggle for freedom abroad and defend the right of the oppressed peoples throughout the world to choose their own social system.

At home, the labor movement should defend the civil rights of the Negro people and the civil liberties of all, particularly those youth in Indiana who are being victimized because they hold socialist ideas. The right of every person to hold whatever ideas he chooses is reason enough. This is one of the basic rights the working class has won and must defend.

These are steps toward a solution. However, the real solution lies in eliminating the source of inequality, insecurity, exploitation, Jim Crow, poverty, and war. This source is capitalism.

The replacing of this outmoded capitalist social system, which places property rights above human rights, with a socialist system which places human rights above

property rights, can alone guarantee security, plenty, equality, and freedom for all.

#### What do you expect to win in this election?

If someone would say that the powerful capitalist parties can be defeated in this election, I would tend to disagree.

But we will win in the sense that we are able to educate and provoke thinking among the American people, to convince them that they can do something to stop the war drive, support the freedom struggle of the colored peoples, and bring about economic security.

Also, as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, they can cast a protest ballot by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

As a Negro worker and socialist I believe the struggle for freedom - for civil rights, better housing, better schools, equal job opportunities, peace and economic security are all inseparable from the over-all struggle for socialism.

#### Do you see any obstacles in your campaign?

Yes, there are obstacles in undemocratic election laws which are designed to maintain the monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans. These include provisions for equal time only for these two parties and petitioning to obtain over 100,000 signatures in some states just to get on the

In spite of these restrictive laws, we are working to get on the ballot in as many states as possible. We have been receiving aid in the massive undertaking from youth and adults who support our right to be on the ballot even if they differ from our ideas. We have also been receiving aid from many youth who are socialist-minded.

### Young Socialist

Jay Garnett, Editor

Dave Goodwin, Circulation Manager

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March, 1964

## 'Force and Violence' Is Just a Smoke-Screen

One of the pillars of academic freedom on American campuses is the right to confrontation of ideas unrestricted by artificial limitations. This right is at stake in the recognition fights of college clubs across the country.

The most recent such fight has occurred at the University of Minnesota. The Young Socialist Alliance chapter there is seeking campus recognition, although the Student Senate appears reluctant to grant it and continues to postpone the question.

The student newspaper, the Minnesota Daily, however, came out Jan. 30 with a cryptic editorial the gist of which was the-democraticthing-would-be-to-recognize-the-group-even-if-they-might-use-democracy-to-violently-overthrow-the-government. The Young Democrats, however, passed a resolution supporting the YSA's right to recognition. And a number of others are fed up with the Student Senate's vacillation.

The Minnesota University Young Socialist Alliance does not tremble at the word "revolutionary," it is true, and George Tselos, YSA campus representative, explained very clearly in a letter to the Daily that their worries about revolutionaries' alleged advocacy of "violence," etc. are unfounded.

It doesn't, however, need too much penetration to discover that this "violence" talk is so much smoke. It has been used many times before and will be used again. The pressures of the outside community seem to pass to the Student Senate and student paper with the administration acting as a very unresisting transmission belt. And, although the whole state is not opposed to campus civil liberties, a number of influential groups and persons have been stirring up a witchhunt.

We would like to remind our readers that the Bloomington, Ind. witchhunt began in this way. Because of exceeding sensitivity to local backwardness, the student government rejected the YSA's application for membership three times before it was finally accepted. This fight took half a year. But the ground had been laid for neighborhood fairhaired boy Tom Hoadley to step onto the scene with his "subversion!"

What is at stake in these cases is the right to try to win a majority through education and persuasive arguments, and the right for a point of view — once it has gained a majority — to take measures which will alter the economic form of our society, in this case to establish a

planned economy with jobs and personal security for all. The right of minorities to dissent from the majority decision, to try to persuade the people to go back to a system the premises of which are cut-throat competition and an industrial reserve army, is in no way challenged.

It is time for students and their representatives to stop "defending" democracy in such a way as to compromise it at the start. Only if they take a firm stand against the ideology of hysteria, which says social change and violent destruction are identical, will they successfully be able to put their energies into the fight against the witchhunt. -Feb. 10

## Fight Witchhunt At Minnesota U.

By Lew Jones

MINNEAPOLIS — The clash between the University of Minesota and local conservatives initiated last summer by the American Legion — took a turn for the worse recently when the state legislature authorized a subcommittee to study the "hiring and firing" practices of the university. But the student body and the faculty have counter-attacked with such speed that momentarily the right-wing has been kept off balance in its red-baiting designs.

This latest action grew out of a recent debate on academic freedom at the university between pacifist professor Mulford Q. Sibley and conservative St. Paul Public Works Commissioner Milton Rosen. Roughly 2000 students cheered Sibley at that time when he stated that the state was obligated to promote complete academic freedom at the university. In contrast, Rosen was jeered and mocked for his irrelevant remarks.

Down but not out, Rosen immediately fired off a letter to the state legislature demanding an investigation of the university, because men like Sibley were allowed to teach their "filth" there. Conservative leader Sen. Donald Wright obliged Rosen and proposed the subcomittee investigation. The proposal was passed.

Student reaction was quick. The student newspaper, the Minnesota Daily, came out with an editorial attacking the proposal and gave the entire development close coverage. Prof. Arnold Rose of the sociology department at the same time filed a libel suit against two members of a right wing group, Christian Research. The Minnesota Student Association mobilized 500 students into training session in preparation for establishing "truth squads" which will go throughout the state to "tell the truth about the University of Minnesota."

The growth and vitality of the University Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students also indicates the resistance of the student body to the witchhunters' cam-

The Twin Cities press likewise editorialized against the investigation. A series of letters to the editor has indicated widespread community opposition to Wright, Rosen and company.

In the face of such quick and effective action the subcommittee leader Sen. Robert Dunlap was forced to step back. He announced that the action would not become a trial committee for Prof Sibley All he wants, he says, is to study the rules and let the public know them. That this is subterfuge is indicated by the fact that this information is already easily available to the public.

The local "red scare" began last summer when the American Legion passed resolutions attacking two Minnesota campus groups and the World Affairs Center, and asking for an investigation of the university. Later the Minnesota Baptist Convention passed resolutions attacking, among others, Minnesota spokesman of the Young Socialist Alliance George Tselos, Twin Cities organizer for the Socialist Workers Party Joseph Johnson, and Prof. Sibley. Since then the attack has continued in various forms, including personal slanders and threatening phone calls to Sibley.

#### RECOGNITION FIGHT WON **FEBRUARY 14**

The U. of Minnesota YSA encorporated a specific statement opposing the initiation of violence and giving the campus group autonomy in order to satisfy the University Senate Committee on Student Affairs which then granted it recognition Feb. 14. Howthe local YSA agrees the University chapter of the American Association of University Professors which condemned the practice "of making recognition . . . conditional on approval of specific policies and principles."

#### **Bound Volumes** YOUNG SOCIALIST

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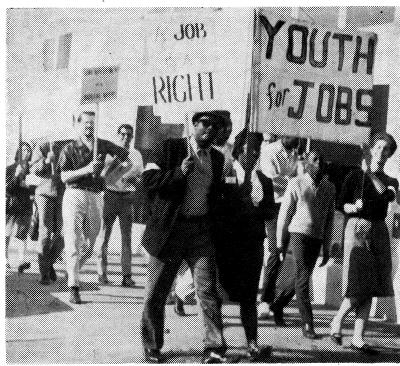
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DEMAND PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM. Youth For Jobs demonstrates at the State Employment Office in Oakland, Calif., Feb. 7 to protest growing unemployment and bleak outlook for today's young workers.

## West Coast Youth Picket For Jobs

By Lawrence Shumm

OAKLAND-BERKELEY - The upsurge in the Negro struggle for equality during this past year has brought to public attention the existence of widespread poverty in the United States. Mass protests at construction sites in Philadelphia and New York and the demands raised in the massive demonstrations in Detroit and Washington during 1963 have underlined the fact that growing unemployment is one of the major factors behind this poverty.

The demand for jobs and job equality is becoming central to the struggle against Jim Crow. With the unemployment rate for youth around 15 percent, young people — especially Negro and other minority youth - are finding the lack of jobs a brutal and severe problem. Many face a bleak future of insecurity and poverty.

In the face of automation which is wiping out 40,000 jobs a week, the major political parties come forward with no adequate program. Young people are realizing that only through their own action can the problem even be approached. Youth will have to rely on their own strength and organization rather than on the donothing politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties.

In Oakland and Berkeley, California, an organization of black and white unemployed youth -Youth For Jobs — has come into existence. It participated in protests against the bombings in Birmingham last fall and organized a successful drive against discrimination in hiring at Mel's Drive-In in Berkeley.

On Friday, Feb. 7, Youth For Jobs held a demonstration at the State Employment Office in Oakland to protest the lack of jobs. Close to 100 young people picketed the building for about two hours. A Youth For Jobs leaflet handed out at various places in the community before the protest presented the main demands of the demonstration: (1) a statefinanced public works program to provide jobs for youth and paid training and apprenticeship programs without discrimination; (2) unemployment insurance for firsttime job seekers; (3) support for the demand for a shorter work week; and (4) state-sponsored scholarships for youth in all fields of study.

The Young Socialist Alliance salutes those youth who are coming to find a medium for their struggle in mass organization. We urge the supporters of Youth For Jobs to join us in support, if critical, of the only party that will voice opposition to the Democrats and Republicans in this election year. Support the Socialist Workers Party, whose candidates support your leaflet's demands. The parties of the capitalist system dare not even mouth your kind of basic opposition to the unemployment which is, after all, a phenomenon of that system.

#### THE BURNING QUESTION

Instead of a column by a YS music critic, we have decided to print the following letter from a Chicago reader on a subject that seems to be of intense interest of late.

"Youth papers in this country and abroad are coming up heories as to why the Beatles are so popular.

"One idea, I think, has more truth in it than people expressing it realize. One 'specialist' says: 'The Beatles are different, and we have to get rid of our excess energy somehow.' Dorothy Kilgallen, in an interview over a radio station which plays the top rock-and-roll songs, hit it more closely when she noted that with the increase of world tension — in Vietnam, Cuba, Panama, Africa, the peace and civil rights fronts American youth find in the Beatles a way to divert themselves.

'Kilgallen's statement has a two-pronged meaning. In the first place, if such fads perform a function of providing an escape valve for the tensions of a modern industrial society motivated by a blind individualistic ethic, I can't begrudge that.

"But I think such 'diversions' are also used to channel human energies from criticism and organization against a restrictive social system to a bland and, on the surface of it irrational, harmlessness to the present 'order.'

"Personally, I like the Beatles. But I object to the millions of dollars going to their publicity agents and the record companies who are exploiting them instead of this money's being used to develop the talents of the many working-class songsters whom our frozen social structure ignores."

# (Continued from Page 1)

spoke to Midwest audiences. He related his story to a record crowd at Rockford College in Illinois. Following this was a four-hour question period in which the students explored many aspects of the case and the ideas which Prosecutor Hoadley finds so subversive. Turn-outs and response were similar at Shimer College and Roosevelt University.

The receptions underlined the eagerness of students to discuss the principles of civil liberties and socialism, quite in contrast to the contention of their elders that American students are satisfied with the conventional liberal ideas of academia. A number of frontpage newspaper articles accompanied Tom wherever he stopped.

Similar receptions characterized the meetings at the Universities of Minnesota and Wisconsin. The Madison Capital Times carried a front-page article by Miles Mc-Millin, which included the following: "It was inevitable that the greatest of American Socialists. the late great Gene Debs, would be produced in Indiana . . . Indiana seems determined to produce another Debs, also a Socialist from Terre Haute. He is Tom Morgan, a handsome, soft-spoken young man, . . . looking like he has just stepped off Fraternity Row."

Speaking of the CABS sponsors' list, McMillin said: "As an American, I am ashamed that my name isn't on it." Shortly thereafter, Mr. McMillin became one of the almost 500 sponsors of CABS.

Next stop for Morgan was the Detroit area where the local CABS group had a busy schedule for him: In all, 500 students heard Tom at Michigan State University, the University of Michigan, the University of Toledo and Lake Shore High School in a Detroit suburb. There was wide newspaper and radio coverage; substantial funds for CABS were collected; and there are now CABS supporters at all these schools.

#### Canadian Students

Then a Bloomington defendant received the first opportunity to address audiences outside of the U.S. No one could be sure how Canadian students would respond to a witchhunt case across the border. But every expectation of CABS and Tom was proven pessimistic. The crowds were the biggest and most enthusiastic to date.

One of the high spots was Tom's speech at the University of Toronto. In his own words, "235 overwhelmingly, overwhelmingly, overwhelmingly enthusiastic students responded with \$120 . . . I could hardly finish a statement without being interrupted by huge bursts of applause." The president of the student body there is heading the local CABS.

Moreover, Tom appeared three times on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation system. He also visited York University, Hull University and the University of Waterloo. At York over one fourth of the student body was present.

Then, back in the States, Tom spoke to over a hundred students at Indiana University — the first time for any defendant — and to launch t CABS into more vigorous activity are now under way.

Parallel with Morgan's tour, Ralph Levitt began another national tour making two stops before the commencement of a largescale campaign in the Northeast. Denver and Colorado universities set up successful meetings, as did the Denver Militant Labor Forum. Ralph was on seven radio and TV stations and articles on the case appeared in four leading newspapers there.

On a return trip to the East, Ralph stopped at Penn State University, at State College, Pa. Over 300 students attended the meeting and the response was very favorable. He addressed a constitutional law class on the legal issues in the case, had a number of radio interviews and spoke to several smaller meetings.

## ... Indiana Touring Racist Met By Minnesota Pickets

NORTHFIELD, Minn. — For a small college that, to quote a student there, "is still breaking out of feudalism," Carleton made a place for itself on the map of the civil-rights struggle Feb. 17. Over 150 of its students joined other Minnesota youth in a picket of Gov. George Wallace of Alabama in Minneapolis at the University of Minnesota. Carleton dominated the 200-person picket line which was described by one participant as "the most spirited I have ever seen."

As a counter-demonstration to Wallace, students from Carleton and St. Olaf colleges flocked to the Twin Cities airport to greet NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. From there the Carletonians proceeded to the University of Minnesota's Northrup Auditorium where they were joined by the University Ad Hoc Committee on Human Rights.

The Minnesota committee had split prior to the demonstration, black nationalists, YSAers, and other militants favoring an outside picket and conservative integrationists wishing simply to wear black armbands inside the auditorium where Wallace was to expound his white-supremacist line. But with the Carleton addition the "outside" line lacked neither size nor enthusiasm.

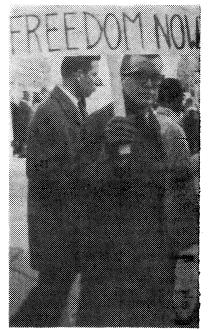
One item of special note was the originality of the signs in this protest. While the students sang freedom songs and chanted, "Jim Crow Must Go!", they held high slogans such as "Wallace — the White Man's Burden," "We're Not in Your 'Great White Race', Gov. Wallace," "When Wallace Moves In, Values Go Down," "Support Rent Strikes," "Racism Travels and Grows and Kills," "Understand, Don't Tolerate," "No Compromise with Human Dignity!", "Would You Like a Police Dog to Bite Your Daughter?" "Down South: Wallace; Up South: [Democratic Sen.] Humphrey."

Inside, Gov. Wallace charged that many Communists were involved in leading the Birmingham sit-ins and demonstrations. He said he didn't think that all the people in the NAACP and the March on Washington were Communists, but that some of the leaders were.

Wallace has been touring the country trying to drum up moral and economic support for the racist regime in his and several other states. Almost everywhere he has gone, he has met firm counterdemonstrations.

Barry Sheppard, YSA national chairman, joined the picketers. He too is on a national tour, but for the opposite reason. He has spoken thus far on campuses in the East and the Far West to emphasize the need for a fight against the Northern counterparts of Wallace (who first attack civil liberties) as well as Wallace himself. He is urging youth not only to oppose Wallace and his ilk on the picket line but in the election campaign, to vote for socialist candidates instead of the power structure's Republicans or Democrats.

As a St. Paul high school girl who picketed Wallace put it, "Wallace has a right to express his views, but we have a right to express ours. This is how I'm doing it." John Steele, a university student and Ad Hoc leader, was quoted as saying, "I refuse to sit and listen to an academic discussion about somebody else's rights. I'd rather do something about it."



Barry Sheppard

## Youth in Action

#### SUPPORT CONGO GUERRILLAS

In Belgium, the left-wing Federation of Brussels Socialist Students has come out in support of the Congolese freedom fighters. On January 29 they distributed a leaflet on a broad scale appealing for solidarity with the guerrilla forces.

The leaflet pointed out that the guerrilla forces were being led by the former minister of education in the Lumumba government of 1960. Contrary to the fact that they've been characterized by the capitalist press as "terrorists," an American missionary wrote that "young African villagers sought refuge with her and another missionary out of fear of the soliders."

"So it is not so much the guerrilla fighters...as the praetorians [hoodlums and other lumpen elements] of Mobutu who are sowing terror." The youths urged an end to neo-colonialism and the lifting of the ban by the Americanbacked Adoula government on the Lumumbist party.

#### NEW CANADIAN PAPER

FEB. 20 — The second issue of Young Socialist Forum, a paper of Canadian young socialists, is in the hands of subscribers by now. The appearance of a youth paper expressing a socialist point of view for the benefit of our neighbors to the North is indeed welcome and the Young Socialist wishes it the best of luck.

This paper presents a chance for

American youth to follow the very important struggles of Canadian young people: The fight against unemployment, foreign economic and military intervention; and the task of transforming the working-class New Democratic Party into a socialist party to solve the problems besetting Canada.

Obtain a sub: ten issues for 50c from Box 939, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto, Ont.

#### JAIL SPANISH STUDENTS

FEB. 13 - Ten students, of ages ranging from 18 to 21, in the science college at Madrid University were arrested and await trial for belonging to a students' organization called the Spanish Democratic University Federation. The federation is an underground movement opposed to the statedominated students' union to which all Spanish students must belong

All activities toward creating a free student union are illegal in Spain.

#### PROTEST MISS. ARREST

FEB. 13 - A petition from Vassar College, bearing the signatures of 986 students and faculty members, was given to the Dept. of Justice today. Requesting a Federal investigation of intimidation and harassment of voter registration in Mississippi, it was presented on behalf of a member of the Vassar class of 1962, Carol Merritt of Cincinnati, who has been in jail in Canton, Miss., since Jan. 24.

# YSA Parley a Success

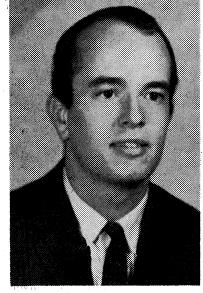
By Charles Taylor

Over 150 socialist-minded youth and a few older co-thinkers attended the second Midwest Conference of the Young Socialist Al-- the largest and most successful regional gathering of the YSA to date. Participants from 14 cities from Ohio to Minnesota, representing 19 colleges and universities and three high schools, came to Chicago for the Jan. 25-26 meeting.

The conference achieved its purpose: it gave the new generation of socialists a chance to meet one another, to exchange views and experience, to hear some of the leaders of their own generation and to learn from adults with years of experience in the socialist and trade union movements.

More than half of those there had never before participated in any socialist event outside local activities. Groups of people came from areas not represented before at YSA functions — including Ohio, Shimer College, Toledo, Nashville, Tenn., Frankfort, Indiana, Southern Illinois U. at Carbondale, and Bowling Green and Kent Colleges in Ohio. What struck most of the "old timers" who had participated in the first Midwest Conference just over a year before was the unexpected size of the meeting and the number of

Primarily educational, the conference focused on American problems and on the prospects of solving them. The two most dynamic



Jack Barnes

aspects of the struggle which, if carried through with determination, leads to socialism - the Negroes' struggle for equal rights and the fight for civil liberties were the main discussion topics.

Robert Vernon and George Breitman, contributors to the Militant and the International Socialist Review, spoke on the Negro struggle. Breitman's talk on "What a Minority Can Do" drove home the fact that the Negro people were the very vanguard in the struggles of the working people and would probably lead the white workers in making the American socialist revolution. It was received with a standing ovation.

Jack Barnes, midwest organizer of the YSA, stressed the important role of civil liberties and general democratic rights in the fight for social progress. He presented an historical analysis of the witchhunt from the first Smith Act trial in 1941 — against the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party — to today's Bloomington case. The importance of the Bloomington case lies, he said, in the fact that it is the first time in American history that students have been indicted for their campus activities.

After the talk, a panel discussion on the Bloomington case was held. Tom Morgan and Ralph Levitt, two of the defendants, and Paulann Groninger, secretary of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, answered questions from the audience about the defense work.

Barry Sheppard, YSA national chairman, described the development of the Algerian liberation struggle into a social revolution. Starting from the simple demands for democratic reform and national independence, he indicated. Algeria has found that it must carry through profound socio-economic changes in the direction of planned economy and workers' control in order to realize them.

A talk by Frank Lovell, a trade unionist with many years of experience and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, concluded the conference. He reviewed the history of the U.S. labor movement, described its current stagnation, and discussed the possible forms of its revival.

## News of Southern Freedom

LIBERTY, Miss. — On Friday, Jan. 31, a Negro man who had witnessed the murder of another Negro active in the voter registration drive was shotgunned to

Louis Allen, shot three times, was found dead in his front yard. In Atlanta, the Student Nonviol-Coordinating Committee (SNCC) asked the Justice Department for "a complete investiga-

Allen had witnessed the slaying of Herbert Lee, a 52-year-old farmer, at a Liberty cotton gin on September 25, 1961. Lee, who worked with SNCC vote workers in Amite County, was shot by E. H. Hurst, then a member of the state legislature. Hurst was acquitted by a coroner's jury before Lee's lifeless body was removed

have been moved from a jail in Canton, Mississippi to the Jackson city jail and are being held "incommunicado" according to work-

gaged in anti-segregation and voter registration activities under the direction of the Council of Federated Organizations, a coordinating body of civil rights groups working in the state. The Canton rights workers had been urging a boycott of discriminatory busi-

HATTIESBURG, Miss.—Shortly after the arrest of nine ministers picketing for voter registration rights for Negroes, the state circuit judge issued a temporary injunction on Jan. 28 to halt picketing, demonstrations, and "acts cal-

demonstrations will be allowed as long as "restricted areas" are not involved. The ministers were ar-

## Learn Lessons For Life Or For the Classroom?

"We learn our lessons not for life, but for the lecture room." This cynical maxim, from the Roman philosopher Seneca, is quoted approvingly by C. L. Sulzberger in a Jan. 25 New York Times article.

He breathlessly relates how since 1960 masses of students tried to storm Korean dictator Syngman Rhee's palace and forced him to resign; demonstrated in the streets of Ankara and Istanbul, Turkey, and helped topple the corrupt Menderes regime; massed in Tokyo to protest the signing of a U.S.-Japan military pact; rallied to the cause of persecuted Buddhists in Hué and Saigon, Vietnam; demonstrated in Panama against the Canal Zone inhabitants' violations of the flag pact; and [African students] picketed in Red Square in protest of racial discrimination.

However, he concludes, the U.S. "may be thankful that its student millions, although occasionally preoccupied with issues such as civil rights, tend to local, controllable means of expressing themselves . . . Undergraduates live on isolated campuses and, when they break bounds, it is not to overthrow governments in bloodshed but for fifty-mile hikes or panty

It is not accidental, that Sulzberger lumps together 1905 ("Russian students helped Trotsky attempt an abortive revolution"), 1956 ("Rebellious classes . . . submitted freedom demands to Hungary's Stalinist Government and touched off bloody revolution"), and 1964 (Panama).

From these events, he draws the lesson that "for student political protests to have profound effects . . it is necessary for these to be helped by tacit encouragement and eventual support of [older] agitators." Trotsky is one of his examples, although it so happens that in 1905 Trotsky was 26, no older than many grad students.

Yet the fact will not be hidden from American youth that not "agitators" but the people themselves make history; that the working class set up revolutionary soviets in Petersburg in 1905 and Budapest in 1956 and last January supported the Panamanian students. In each case, the economic oppression of the working people corresponded to the social or political oppression over which the conflict may have been sparked. So when the students went into action, they did so for a reason and with allies.

The fact remains, however, that American students are not a political force equal to those of many other countries. And the truism that they are not thrown into action out of economic desperation does not explain this. Not only does the social and cultural environment militate against student self-expression, but there are legal and institutional limitations imposed on them by their university and local community in violation of the fundamental precepts of a democracy.

limita place to place depending on the nature of the community, the financial sources and resources of the university, and the kind of fight put up by the students and faculty in defense of their rights.

The first rule of thumb is to know your rights; the second is to organize to fight for them when they are under attack. The activities of the Bloomington defense work provides many lessons on the latter. And the American Civil Liberties Union has published a short pamphlet, "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities," which is helpful in the former.

The democratic norms enunciated in the pamphlet deserve considerable attention: (1) the autonomy of the college in relation to its local or state community; (2) unrestricted freedom of expression, assembly, circulation of petitions and leaflets, demonstrations; (3) the right to a real student government, elected by the entire student body and directly representative of them, not of clubs or other associations; (4) the use of campus facilities for meetings, extensive availability of bulletin boards; (5) the right to club advisors who advise but do not control; (6) the right to invite outside speakers who cannot be vetoed by the university administration; (7) due process in discipline cases, with a right to a review committee after the decision has been made; and (8) the right to expect that statements or opinions expressed on campus will not be reported to outside employers or government agencies.

Most of these and many other specifics are provided for in many universities. But they are usually honored in the breach. Too often, ignorant of his rights, the student can be railroaded under the catchall violation of "conduct unbecoming to a student." Such "elastic clauses" should be protested until they are done away with.

When liberties are under attack. ACLU says, the faculty and students should back each other up and the university should protect its students against legal injustices by the community, up to and including the provision of counsel for students arrested, say, in civilrights demonstrations.

Those who have had experience with "faculty committees on student conduct" may be aware that administration and even outside business or government interests often take precedence over academic ones. But the contradiction between the democratic norm and the reality must not be taken as occasion for despair, but for action.

The power structure covers infringement on democracy under the pretext of "order" and "moderation." But a democratic atmosphere is not a moderate one. In such an environment all those tensions arising from economic and social sources come to the surface and are given voice in a free and open manner. They become conscious, political; and only

(Order the ACLU pamphlet for 10c from 156 5th Ave. NYC 10.)

## East Side Tenants Join Rent Strike

By Karen Stone

The author of this article, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, has been helping the tenants of New York's Lower East Side organize to fight the root cause of slum concentration — the rent-hungry landlords, most of whom are connected with the world's biggest financial interests located in New York City.

NEW YORK - More than one million families here live in substandard housing — the majority of these Negroes and Puerto Ricans who subsist in the ghettoes. No one can ever remember the time when the landlords gave even the most minimal service or repaired the buildings to make them fit for humans to habitate. Many of the buildings were built as long ago as 1880 and are so deteriorated that even extensive renovation could not improve them.

For the past several months the tenants of Harlem and other ghetto areas have been on the most widespread and successful rent strike this city has seen. The initial strike was organized and led by Jesse Gray, whose group, the Community Council on Housing, is based in Harlem.

Now, from 350 to 400 buildings have been organized in Harlem, another 50 in the most recently organized Lower East Side (a predominantly Puerto Rican community), and another hundred or so in Brooklyn and the Bronx. The courts have ruled that no tenant has to pay rent if he does not get service. The tenants pay their rent into an escrow account and the landlords will not get that money until he comes across with all the repairs and services provided for in the rent contract.

The Lower East Side Rent Strike was kicked off by a mass rally held Jan. 30. Beginning with a torchlight parade through the streets, hundreds of adults and children marched, sang and chanted such slogans as "No Rents for Rats!", "Slumlords Must Go!", and "Join the Rent Strike NOW!" Then they all crowded into an auditorium in the area. All the younger children were on the stage holding poster slogans in Spanish and English.

Jesse Gray, the main speaker pledged the support of the Harlem tenants to the rent strike downtown and declared they would allow no evictions. This was especially meaningful in that Gray had just come to the aid of the first victim of the landlords' counter-attack, who lived on the Lower East Side.

When a building is organized, two people from the Rent Strike one Spanish-speaking, the other English-speaking — meet with the tenants of a building in one of its apartments. Most of the organizers are from the community; they explain procedures and answer questions. The apartment is small with rooms barely large enough to turn around in.

A bathtub is in the kitchen, for use if there is ever any water. There is usually one small radiator in the entire apartment with rarely any heat. The walls are cracked, with gaping holes near the sinks and stoves through which the rats and mice enter and leave. Plaster falls from the ceiling and roaches abound.

In one of the buildings I recently helped organize, a father caught a rat in his baby's crib at 3 a.m. Luckily the child wasn't in the crib at the time. A week later another rat was caught in the same apartment.

The slumlords know the people of the ghetto tenements are determined no longer to pay rent for inhuman conditions. And they are afraid. They are trying to smash the rent strikers through illegal evictions — even to the point of using city police to break in and throw tenants' possessions onto the street. They are trying to divide the tenants by threats and bribery, The tenants are put-ting up a stiff fight and are remaining united.

The tenants know that the police were conscious of the fact that they were carrying out illegal evictions and making illegal arrests of those rent-strikers who barricaded themselves in the apartments in an attempt to prevent the evictions. The tenants know what the law is and are determined to have their rights.

the Forrest County Courthouse one of the restricted areas.

AMERICUS, Ga. — A Federal Court has premanently enjoined fifteen local white men - including seven public officials — from interfering with voting and voter registration in Terrell County.

The Department of Justice sought the injunction in 1962 after more than a dozen armed white men broke into a voter registration meeting, sponsored by SNCC.

The leader of the group, Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Matthews told reporters at the church meeting, "We want our colored people to go on living like they have for the past 100 years. We're a little tired of this voting business."

RULEVILLE, Miss. Feb. 13 — Ten tons of food and clothing were distributed here Lincoln's birthday to dispossessed families in Leflore and Sunflower Counties.

The shipment, which arrived by truck was collected by the New England Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in 31 towns in and around Boston, Mass. It represented, a SNCC worker noted, "an attempt to deal with reprisals from local officials when voter registration drives are under way." chairman John Lewis said, "many Mississippians lose their jobs and homes each year because they try to vote."

Struggle

tion of Allen's murder."

from the street.

JACKSON, Miss. - Six persons ers from SNCC.

The rights fighters were ennesses.

culated to breach of peace."

City officials claim that orderly rested while picketing in front of