

# 3 Students Face Jail For Political Ideas

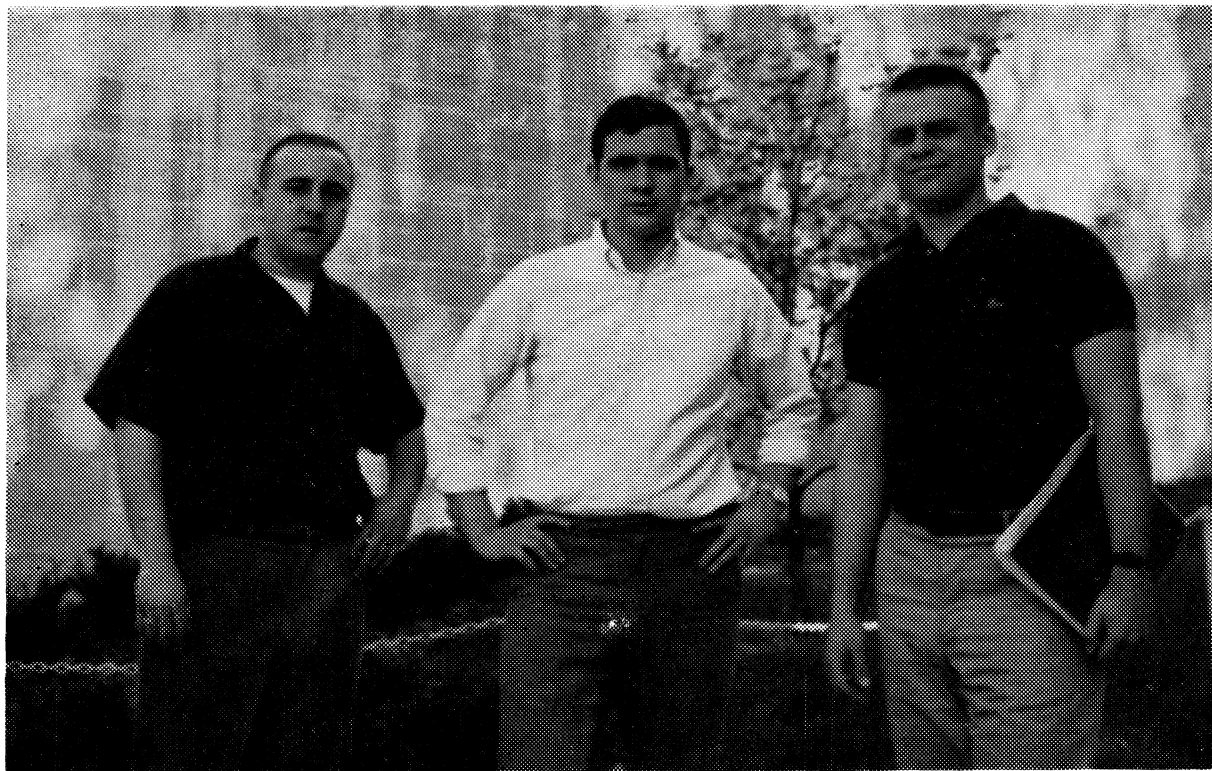
## THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 6 No. 6 (54)

May-June, 1963



INDICTED. Ralph Levitt (left), 25, Tom Morgan (center), 22, and Jim Bingham, 24, on the Indiana University campus. Three students face jail terms because they are socialists.

## Socialists at Indiana U Indicted for 'Subversion'

### Threatened With 3-Year Terms Under McCarthyite Law Designed To 'Exterminate' Dissident Views

Three students at Indiana University have been indicted on charges of subversion, and face 1 to 3 years imprisonment if convicted.

Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham, and Tom Morgan, officers of the Bloomington, Indiana branch of the Young Socialist Alliance, were charged on May Day with advocating the violent overthrow of the government by attending a meeting on March 25, where Leroy McRae, a national leader of the YSA, spoke on the Negro struggle for equality. Over 125 persons, including faculty and townspeople, attended this meeting.

The indictments are the first test of Indiana's Communism Act, which states that its purpose is "to exterminate Communism and Communists, and any or all teachings of the same."

The grand jury action came as a result of charges pressed by the local Prosecutor, Thomas Hoadley. Hoadley is a recent graduate of I.U.'s law school, and has threatened to indict YSA members on some charge or other ever since he took office in January. He has stated that the purpose of his witch-hunt is to get the YSA off the Indiana U. campus.

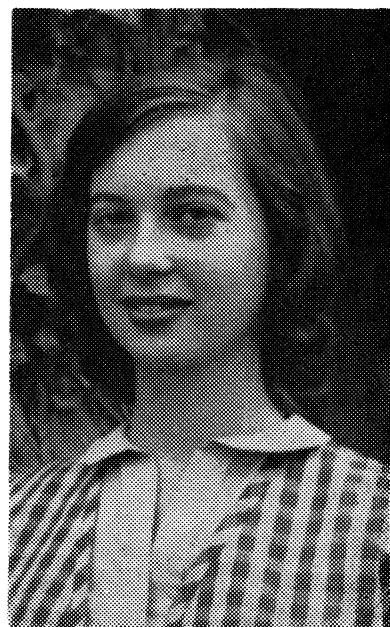
#### Changes Tactics

In January Hoadley said that he would possibly seek indictments of YSA members because YSAers took part in an anti-blockade demonstration at the time of the Cuban crisis. He has dropped this angle, apparently feeling that the speech made by McRae on the rights of the Negro people was subversive enough to warrant indictment under the state sedition law.

On the evening of May 1 the Bloomington YSA issued a statement exposing the absurdity of the indictment: "We would like to point out there were 125 persons attending this meeting, including university students, professors, administrators, and Bloomington townspeople, who did not then and there assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States, or of the State of Indiana, should be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means . . ."

Several hours after the indictments the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, which had been formed early in the year in response to Hoadley's threats against the YSA, stated that it "unconditionally" defends the rights of the three indicted students. The CABS began immediately to raise money for the heavy costs of the defense and to rally support to freedom of speech which is being attacked by the indictment.

Hoadley has raised all kinds of allegations in addition to his formal charges in press statements. One of his most ridiculous



PAULANN GRONINGER. General Secretary, Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students attends I.U.

is that the YSA in Bloomington was organized by a "Moscow trained agent."

At a May 6 press conference, Barry Sheppard, National Chairman of the YSA said that the YSA "does not and never did advocate the use of violence to overthrow the government." Sheppard also declared that the part of the indictment which said that the YSA is the "youth group" of the Socialist Workers Party is false. "The YSA states it is in basic political agreement with the SWP, but it is organizationally independent electing its own officers and deciding its own affairs and policies."

On May 9, Bloomington attorney James R. Cotner, retained by the defendants, filed a brief at the students' arraignment to strike that action of the indictment.

(Continued on Page 2)

## My Rights as a Negro

By Leroy McRae

Prosecutor Hoadley is basing his charge of "advocating the violent overthrow of the United States government" on a speech I made in Bloomington on March 25. In this speech, attended by the defendants, I advocated that the Negro people organize to fight for their rights.

I have been touring the nation's campuses, speaking for the YSA on this vital subject of the Negro struggle for equality, but this was the first and only time that anyone accused me of making a criminal speech by saying that my people have the right to organize and defend themselves from violent attack.

#### Racist Brutality

The racists use violence every day against the Negro people. We are beaten, lynched, harassed and humiliated continually by the racists and by the police. The recent events in Birmingham give evidence of this never-ending brutality, although the Birmingham story made the national press while the day to day violences done to the Negro usually go unnoticed — they are "normal," at least for this society.

Does Hoadley reserve the right of self-defense only for himself, as he does the right of free speech? Do only people of his color have the right to protect their families and lives from unlawful and violent attacks? Is it a crime for Negroes to resist being murdered?

Hoadley implies it's a crime for a Negro to even *advocate* self-defense! And this man is posing as the guardian of our liberties!

The press releases reporting the indictments against my comrades quote me as saying, "We want political power." Now, is there anything wrong with advocating that Negroes have some say in the government? Why is this "subversive?"

I don't think there is anything subversive about Negroes wanting political power and as much of it as we can get. That's the purpose of the voter-registration

drives, especially in areas like the Mississippi Delta where Negroes are a majority.

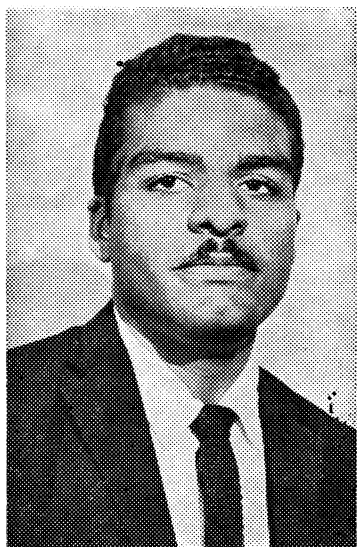
The YSA also favors the use of force, yes, *armed force* such as federal troops or marshalls to protect the voter registration workers. Is such "advocacy of force" to enforce the constitution a crime under Indiana's Communism Act?

#### Must Resist

Speaking on my national tour I had some harsh words for the purely pacifist approach, which Hoadley's stooges (who were also attending my meeting — are they as guilty as the defendants?) twisted into "teaching . . . violence" to overthrow the government. Non-violent tactics have proven to be very useful in certain situations, but there are times when you cannot just lie down and "suffer," hoping that the spirit of love will reach the racist beating you before he kills you.

Hoadley picked my speech on the rights of the Negro people in our just struggle for our freedom as the basis for his attack. We cannot view this as an accident, but rather as a deliberate and conscious act.

There are times when you have to fight back. We have been oppressed for 300 years — we cannot wait any longer. We are going to fight for our rights with any and all tactics, Hoadley and all the other Hoadleys in the country notwithstanding.



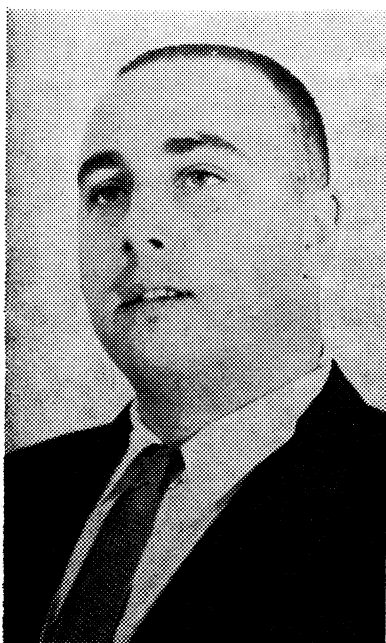
Leroy McRae

## What You Can Do

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students urgently needs the help of all who believe in democracy and free speech. Funds are needed for legal expenses and to publicize the case.

Join the CABS and help beat back the witch hunt. For more information, press releases, and the complete background of the case write to the CABS. Send all letters and donations to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 382, Bloomington, Ind.

# The Defendants



Ralph Levitt

Ralph Levitt, one of the three students indicted in Bloomington, Indiana, was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, July 5, 1938. He attended Shortridge High School in Indianapolis and graduated in 1955. He also won a Merit Scholarship the same year.

The University of Wisconsin was his choice for his college education and he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in 1960. While he was at the University of Wisconsin he was in the Pi Lambda Phi fraternity. He went to Indiana University graduate school and in 1962 he received his Master of Arts from that school.

He is presently working on a Ph.D. in history at Indiana U. During his studies at I.U. he was awarded a University Fellow for 1962-63. He was also a Phi Alpha Theta History honorary. In 1962, he received a grant from the Russian Institute of Indiana U. He has done extensive research on the Scottsboro Trial of 1931-36 and on Eastern European History.

During all of this studying, Levitt found time to travel and during his travels he learned a lot about the world that the universities didn't teach. He visited Canada, Mexico, Cuba (pre-revolution), Ireland, the United Kingdom, France, Spain and Italy. Other countries he traveled to were Switzerland, the Netherlands,

Belgium, Cyprus, Israel and the United Arab Republic.

A former member of the Young Peoples Socialist League, Levitt left this organization in January of 1961. He has also been a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Because peace is a vital question to this generation, he belongs to Students for Peace and the Student Peace Union.

After questioning, probing and acting with other groups, Ralph Levitt finally chose the Young Socialist Alliance as the one with the correct outlook and program for the students of America. He is the chairman of the Bloomington chapter of the YSA.

\* \* \*

Tom Morgan, 22, was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, the home of Eugene V. Debs, the famous American socialist leader. His father is a milk truck driver and a Teamster unionist.

Two years ago Tom Morgan went on an eleven month hitchhiking tour of Europe, the Soviet Union and North Africa. The result of this travel was a radicalization process. After bumping into many neo-fascists in West Germany, he became disturbed about U.S. military aid to a not-too "reconstructed" Germany. While in Spain he witnessed the brutal fascism openly supported by the U.S.A. and became suspicious of the U.S. role in world affairs and of just how free the "free world" is.

In Britain he found stimulating young people who referred to themselves as socialists. While there he became active in the 1960 anti-apartheid demonstrations in London. The same year he participated in the Aldermaston peace march.

In May 1960 he visited the Soviet Union and was amazed at the difference in what he saw and what U.S. propaganda had pumped into him for 20 years. He was impressed with the Russian people's overwhelming desire for peace. Although critical of much of the Russian political apparatus, he was very impressed by their economic gains and welfare and cultural programs available to the Russian working people.

Morgan had left the U.S. as the president of a liberal Republican student club but upon his return he was a convinced

bate honorary and his first contact with the Young Socialist Alliance was at I.U. where he had a public debate with an Indianapolis newspaper editor at a Fair Play for Cuba Committee meeting.

After learning that neither of the two major parties represent the American working people, Morgan became convinced of the necessity to build an American Labor Party. After examining groups that were in agreement with this idea, he became convinced that the YSA was the only youth organization theoretically and practically capable of working toward such an end. He is now the treasurer of the Bloomington group.

Tom Morgan plans to become a professor in the future but in the long view, like many of our generation, he wants to participate in labor organization and political work.

\* \* \*



Jim Bingham

James Bingham was born in Indianapolis, Indiana on February 2, 1938. He spent most of his 25 years growing up in a conservative Republican family. He attended the Shortridge High School in Indianapolis and graduated in 1955, the same year as Ralph Levitt.

In 1962 he received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Before this he had attended the University of Florence, Italy in 1958-59 and the University of Perugia, Italy in 1959; he speaks and reads fluent Italian. He is presently working on a Master of Arts degree in Modern European History at I.U.

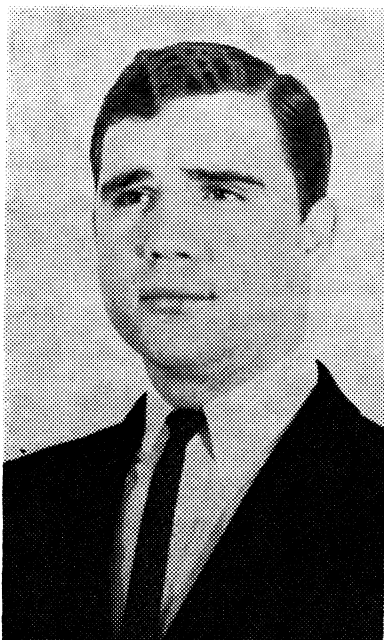
Bingham traveled to Spain, France, England, Switzerland and Mexico. Like the other two students indicted, Bingham's travels gave him a new insight into the real world and its problems.

Upon his return from Europe he joined the Young Peoples Socialist League. He resigned from this group in January of 1961. The most decisive thing in recruiting him into the Young Socialist Alliance was its policy toward Cuba and the entire Cuban issue.

Bingham has been involved in many activities. He was Treasurer and Chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Bloomington. During the summer of 1962 he was active in the Indianapolis NAACP Youth Council's struggle to get discriminatory signs removed from the Riverside Amusement Park. The struggle was successful.

He is presently a member of the FPCC, Students for Peace, Student Peace Union and the NAACP. He is an active supporter of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants and helped to organize the CAMD in Indianapolis.

Jim Bingham is the present secretary of the Bloomington Young Socialist Alliance.



Tom Morgan

but independent socialist with illusions about the Democratic party. He became the president of the Indiana State College Liberal Forum, and vice-president of the Indiana State Young Democrats. Besides this he was the national secretary of the E. V. Debs Foundation which succeeded in restoring Debs' home as a museum. He was active in the local SPU, ACLU, and CORE.

He was a Delta Sigma Rho De-

## Young Socialist

George Saunders, Editor  
Thadd Beebe, Circulation Manager

"A World to Win!"



SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00 a year. Bundle rate: \$7.00 for first 100 copies, \$5.00 for each additional 100. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly. P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York 3, New York. Phone GR 7-3640. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which are expressed in editorial statements.

Official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance

Vol. 6, No. 6 (54)



May-June, 1963

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1963. SUBVERSION CASE SPLITS INDIANAPOLIS. Prosecution of 3 Collegians is Halted and Denounced. INDIANA U. STUDENTS SUBVERSIVE CASE. Will Not Act on Indicted The Unit Law in Term.

THE STAR COURIER & BLOOMINGTON, THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1963. Students Indicted By Jury. Grand Jury Indicts Three I.U. Students Over YSA Activities. Hoadley Tries YSA Prosecutor Calls Action 'Courageous' in Effort to Quash Campus Reds.

THE HERALD-TELEPHOR, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA, FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1963. Say D.A. Violates Jury Secrecy To Distort YSA Stand. Bingham Surrenders, Posts Bond; Seek Others.

THE PLAIN DEALER, CLEVELAND, OHIO, THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1963. YSA's Levitt and Morgan surrender to county sheriff.

### ... 3 Indicted

(Continued from Page 1)

ment (see page 8) which characterizes the defendants as officers of a "Trotskyite communist organization, and the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party."

Cotner also stated his intention of filing a brief to quash the indictment on the grounds that the law is unconstitutional. Similar state laws have been struck down by federal courts.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's General Counsel, Leonard Boudin, has entered the case as a constitutional expert. The Indiana Civil Liberties Union is filing an *amicus curiae* brief in behalf of the defendants.

**THE DEFENDANTS WILL SPEAK**

Speakers will be available from the Young Socialist Alliance and the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students to explain the case and help organize defense work in your area. Where possible the defendants themselves will be available to speak. If your local organization wants a speaker write to the Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y. or to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 382, Bloomington, Indiana.

## Help Us Fight Back

Since the arrest of the Bloomington socialist student leaders the struggle for free speech, for a free exchange of ideas within the student movement, is focused on the Young Socialist Alliance. A victory or defeat for the YSA in this battle will be a victory or defeat for the freedoms and rights of the American people as a whole.

The YSA is the only nation-wide student organization that does not receive funds from adult organizations but finances itself totally from its own members and sympathizers. We have no Kennedys or Rockefellers supporting us. What we do have is the willingness of young workers and students to sacrifice.

We need funds desperately to answer the slanders which are being spread by Hoadley through the major press.

We do not only want to beat the charges levelled against us of "subversion" but to set the witch-hunt and its conservatizing atmosphere back. You can help by sending us a donation no matter how small.

Below are the donations we have received so far this school term.

The score board:

Area	Quota	Paid	Percent
Chicago	\$250.00	\$334.50	134
Boston	200.00	202.60	101
Madison	50.00	50.00	100
Baltimore	50.00	50.00	100
New York	350.00	320.50	92
Berkeley	225.00	198.90	91
Detroit	75.00	65.00	87
Minnesota	125.00	105.00	84
Seattle	75.00	45.00	60
San Francisco	150.00	50.00	33
Philadelphia	50.00	17.00	26
Los Angeles	75.00	17.00	23
Bloomington	150.00	25.00	17
Others	175.00	133.00	76
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,000</b>	<b>\$1,606.60</b>	<b>80</b>

## FUPI Attacks NSA Stand

The Pro-Independence Student Federation of Puerto Rico, FUPI, has begun publishing a monthly *International Bulletin* to help spread the cause of Puerto Rican independence. The first issue, printed in March, includes a complete report on the decisions of the Seventh Congress of FUPI.

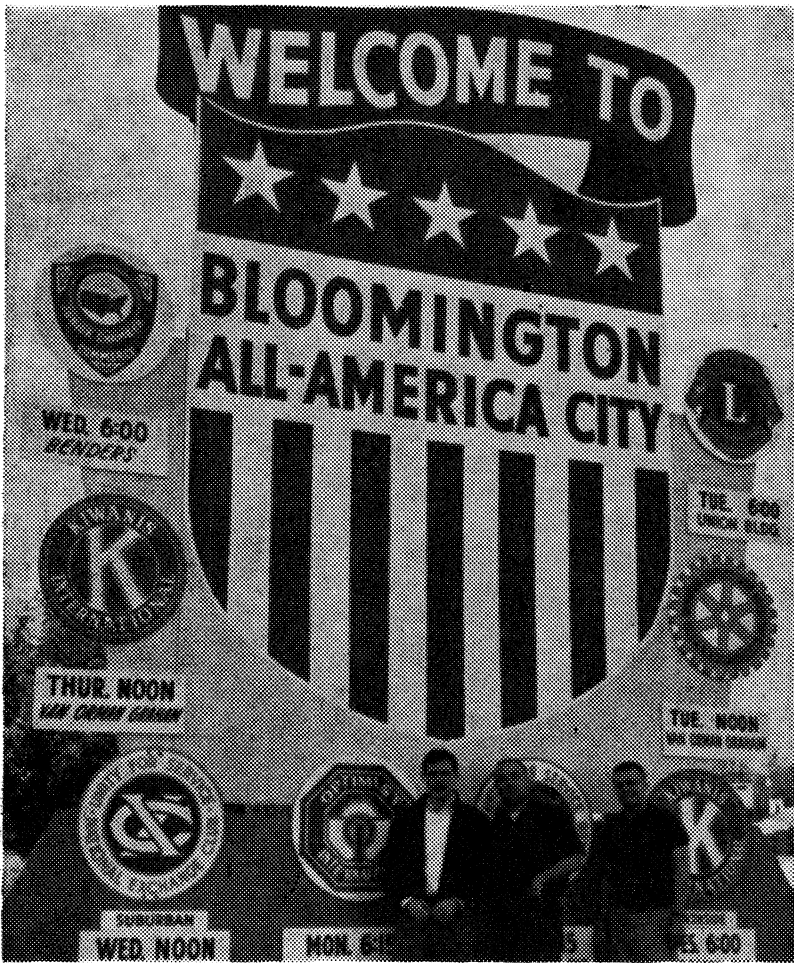
### NSA Wrong

The Puerto Rican students, through their bulletin, protest the treatment of their movement and its just cause by the U.S. National Student Association (NSA). At the Tenth Conference of the Student International the NSA opposed Puerto Rican independence. The FUPI bulletin points out that the French student movement supported the independence movement of Algeria.

The YOUNG SOCIALIST agrees with FUPI that NSA should follow the example of the French students and support independence for this nation colonized by the U.S. All those interested in contacting FUPI or receiving the *International Bulletin* should write to: Federacion de Universitaria Pro-Independencia; Apartado 1873 -U.P.R.; Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.



# YOUTH IN ACTION



SYMBOL OF DEMOCRACY? Three defendants in shadow of Look magazine award to the city of Bloomington.

## Confessions of a "Moscow Agent"

By George Shriver

The Prosecutor, Hoadley, told the press that his jury had "found evidence" that two Communist organizers—a man and wife, trained in Moscow (!) — had been sent from Boston to enroll as graduate students at Indiana University. This couple, supposedly, took only enough courses to qualify as students while they helped set up political clubs on campus, such as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) and the YSA.

Although he has not dared to use the names of my wife, Ellen, and myself — for fear, no doubt, of a libel suit — Hoadley could be referring to no one else with this absurd tale.

First, it must be made clear that these assertions have nothing to do with the legal side of the indictment. They are part of the political smear. If the jury really found such evidence, why did they not indict someone as a foreign agent or spy, instead of indicting YSA members for "unlawful assembly?" Hoadley's wild stories are only meant to create an atmosphere of intrigue and suspicion around the case for the benefit of gullible minds.

Ellen and I came to IU after I had graduated with a B.A. from Harvard, where I majored in Slavic Languages and Literatures. While in Boston we had helped found the Boston chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. Both of us had become socialists before that through our separate experiences of growing up in modern America. This had nothing whatsoever to do with "Moscow."

Our friends in the Boston YSA would have very much liked us to stay and help build the YSA there. Far from "being sent from Boston," we left the area despite the needs of our organization, so that I could continue my studies in the Slavic field — which I did at the Russian and East European Institute at IU.

Since we are dealing with a petty-minded prosecutor, let us point out a few petty distortions of fact. It is not true that both of us enrolled as students. Ellen, a "Boston-trained" secretary, got a job in her field at IU — the largest such employer in the area. Far from enrolling for the minimum number of courses — as

Hoadley claims — I took the maximum number allowed by university regulations for a graduate assistant.

When we came to IU in Sept. 1960, we were deeply troubled by the obvious war propaganda against Cuba that filled the U.S. press. Around November we decided to try and find students who would join us in founding a Fair Play for Cuba Committee to oppose this build-up for an attack on Cuba — an attack that came a few months later in April, 1961.

FPCC chapters were being formed at other campuses and we naively thought we would be able to present our views freely and find like-minded persons at IU. We assumed rational thought and free inquiry prevailed on campus if not elsewhere.

We were mistaken. I will not go into the details of the outcry and maneuvering that went into the effort to keep FPCC from being recognized at IU. We finally found a few people who felt as we did on the Cuba issue and won the right to exist as a campus group. We had constantly to defend that right against attempts, especially by the ultra-right on campus, to have recognition dropped.

We never made a secret of our membership in the YSA. Many who got to know us through the controversy over FPCC came to agree with our views on other questions. It was only on the basis of thus being convinced politically — and not on the basis of any "Moscow-trained" trickery — that IU students joined the YSA.

One last point on the question of being "trained in Moscow." While at IU, I spent much time studying the work of young Soviet writers, especially that of the well-known poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko. As you probably know, Yevtushenko is at present under heavy attack by the Soviet authorities — for speaking too freely.

Now it so happens I have been in Moscow. But not until I had left IU. Last summer I was in Moscow where I was able to visit Yevtushenko. If I ever got "training in Moscow" that was it. But it wasn't training by the authorities. No more than the example of official practice in Bloomington

### MASS MARCH AT ANTIOCH

550 students and faculty members of Antioch College plus citizens of Yellow Springs, Ohio, marched May 4 to protest a court decision that it is unconstitutional to apply Ohio's anti-discrimination law to a barber shop operation.

The decision stemmed from recent civil-rights demonstrations at Gegner's barber shop in Yellow Springs. Gegner refuses to cut Negroes' hair because he says he "doesn't know how." The Judge who made the decision said, "I have no doubt in my mind that (Gegner) has a very real prejudice against the Negroes, and for such prejudice I have no patience. This makes my task the more difficult."

Sit-ins were held during the demonstrations. When the demonstrators entered the barber shop half of the shop was roped off. They were told that the chairs on one side of the rope were for customers while the rest, on the other side, were "sit-in chairs." The shop was closed twice during the sit-ins. Once, fire hoses played on the street to clear the crowd.

Jeff Mackler, coordinator of the first sit-in group, was charged with conspiracy under the State riot act. He appeared in Greene County Common Pleas Court and posted a \$50 bond.

After the first Saturday's demonstrations, group leaders were encouraged by the support of many villagers. About 50 village residents attended the next day's meeting at which they applauded the group's actions and asked to be included in future activities. Other local groups had provided the picketers with refreshments.

The march of May 4 was organized by the Antioch Committee for Racial Equality, (ACRE) at a stormy meeting the night before attended by more than 400 persons. Suggestions to do nothing at all or to continue the sit-in action at the shop were rejected and the idea of the march was taken up and passed by the group.

### KENNEDY GO HOME?

Boston rejoiced on April 20 in anticipation of John F. Kennedy's address to an academic convocation celebrating the 100th Anniversary of Boston College. "Our boy, Jack," was also met by nearly 50 SNCC supporters outside the BC Stadium.

While waiting for Kennedy to arrive, the academic procession and 15-20,000 guests turned to watch and listen as the picketers chanted, "Freedom Now Let the Negroes Vote"; "Mr. Kennedy, What About Mississippi?" and sang "We Shall Overcome." Students ran after passing cars handing out "Support SNCC" leaflets despite police objections, but most pas-

has trained me in the concepts of free speech.

Yevtushenko trained me in courage, courage to oppose the authorities when they are wrong. That young poet is a bitter opponent of everything Stalinism represents. He is also a staunch supporter of the Cuban Revolution and admirer of Lenin. In his recent autobiography, published in France without benefit of Soviet censor, he declared that the Soviet young generation will overcome the dogmatic-minded heirs of Stalin and bring about the democratization of the Soviet Union.

It is ironic that Hoadley is trying to jail American socialist youth and prove hollow the U.S.A.'s pretensions to democracy at the same time that the Soviet bureaucrats are threatening their pro-Cuban, pro-Lenin young people. Far from being trained in Moscow, I would have as little to learn from the rigid-minded, non-revolutionary Hoadleys of the Soviet establishment as I do from the original Birch-minded Hoadley himself.

sersby seemed more interested in asking them, "Has HE come yet?"

The "respectable" press, TV, etc. ignored the demonstration in deference to the sensibilities of the President, although the Negro "Star" and "City News" gave it sympathetic coverage. One demonstrator was quoted as saying, "If Kennedy is so serious about having free elections in Cuba, why doesn't he allow free elections in the South?"

After Kennedy's arrival, 30 of the picketers left for the Woolworth store in Roxbury to demonstrate in the main Negro shopping district against segregation: "Woolworth Jails Negroes in Alabama — Don't Support Southern Justice."

Participating in the SNCC Supporter Group were the Boston Action Group, the Harvard Civil Rights Group, and the Boston Young Socialist Alliance.

### SPEAKER BAN DEFEATED

The "Communist speaker ban" instituted by the University of California Board of Regents in 1951 to prevent the appearance of controversial speakers on campus was challenged by a record turnout of student voters at the Berkeley campus on April 22 and 23.

The students also adopted a referendum measure demanding the removal of fallout shelter signs from the university campus.

A vote of 2,947 to 847 was registered in favor of changing Regulation Five — the rule prohibiting "Communist speakers." The total of students voting was 5,312.

Opposition to the ban has been wide. At the Berkeley campus the student government, *The Daily Californian* and a good number of the candidates for student office expressed opposition to Regulation Five. Off-campus student political groups have been working since the late 1950's for the abolition of the ban. SLATE, Berkeley student political organization, sponsored the initial petitions that successfully placed the issue on the ballot as a referendum.

Another group, Declare, first challenged the ban in February of 1962 with application for an on-campus debate to which they invited Mrs. Dorothy Healy and Ben Dobbs, Communist spokesmen, and two right-wing spokesmen. The lawsuit brought against the University by Declare is now waiting a hearing in the Fourth District Court of Appeals.

### SIGN OF FERMENT IN ITALIAN CP YOUTH

In the discussion period in the Italian Communist movement after the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, *Nuova Generazione*, central organ of the Italian Young Communist League, pub-

lished several articles on the true role of Leon Trotsky in the Russian Revolution, including a photo of the Red Army Commander.

Now in 1963, *Nuova Generazione* has published: first, on its front page Jan. 13 — a photo of Hugo Blanco, young Trotskyist leader of peasant guerrillas in the Valley de la Convención, Peru; second, in its Feb. 17 issue — a four-paragraph excerpt from Trotsky's 1905.

The latter item was smuggled in as part of a 2-page collection of writings on the winning of the 8-hour day. It constitutes the first time in many a year that a Communist Party youth paper has published any of the writings of Trotsky.

### BAG WINS WONDER BREAD FIGHT

The Boston Action Group and the Great Boston Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance have announced the end of their selective patronage campaign against the Wonder Bread bakery and urged supporters to resume normal patronage. Noel Day, BAG's spokesman stated, "It is our belief that the bakery has shown its good faith by employing Negroes in its sales department and by reporting to the Group on its policy of continued adherence to fair employment practices."

Agreement to the end of the selective patronage campaign came after a series of meetings between BAG representatives, ministers, and Wonder Bread officials. The agreement covers not only the Wonder Bread bakery, but all Greater Boston installations of the Continental Baking Company, the parent concern.

### BIRMINGHAM SUPPORT

"Call off the dogs," "Support the Birmingham protest," and "Some lunch counters serve all, why not all?" were among the slogans carried on a picket line in front of a Chicago Woolworth store, April 20. Sixty persons participated in the demonstration which the leaders explained was called in sympathy with the Birmingham action, but which was not intended as an economic boycott. The line was quite spirited at times, with the participants chanting "Jim Crow Must Go!" and "One Man One Vote!" and singing freedom songs, all of which are a recent phenomenon in the history of Chicago picket lines.

In addition to student support, representatives from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the United Auto Workers, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, United Service Employees and the Jewish Labor Council marched in the line. Other supporting organizations were CORE, NAACP, SNCC, and SPU.

## READ

# The Young Socialist

For the "other side" of the story and coverage on the struggles of young people for social justice no paper matches the YOUNG SOCIALIST. Written by students it has the largest circulation of any political youth paper in America. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is your weapon to help spread the truth about socialism. Use it.

In order to know the whole truth on the Bloomington frame-up "subversion" trial as it unfolds make sure to get your subscription to the YOUNG SOCIALIST in now.

Fill out the subscription blank on page 8.

# What They Fear About Socialism

By Barry Sheppard

National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

The ideas of revolutionary socialism have been indicted as "subversive" by Prosecutor Hoadley in Bloomington, Ind. and the right to hold those ideas has been called into question. One to three years imprisonment faces the Bloomington defendants, not for anything they have done, but for what they think and advocate. What are these ideas, which the reactionaries find so powerful that they call for their suppression by physical force?

There is a growing mood and movement on the American campus against the injustices in our society and the insecurity in the world. The Young Socialist Alliance is part of this new student movement, grouping together those students and young workers who see in scientific socialism the answers to the pressing problems of the day.

The central proposition of the YSA is that the system of private ownership of the means of production known as capitalism cannot solve the world-historic problems facing humanity — the problems of war, racism, poverty, and the subjugation of man by man. Capitalism is no longer able to advance the human race, as it once did in the turbulent period of its ascendancy, and in fact, capitalism threatens to destroy all the efforts of man through the ages in a nuclear holocaust. A new, more rational, and more humane society

has become the necessity of our time.

Capitalism is the last form of class society, and will end as the class societies of feudalism and slavery were ended. Just as the capitalist class overthrew feudalism in the great revolutions against the nobility, capitalism itself will be replaced by the new socialist order set up by the workers in their struggle against capital.

The society in which we live is split into two major economic groups, or classes, with a third class standing between them. On the one hand are the capitalists, who own the factories, mines, railroads, ships and other tools and means of production. On the other hand are the vast majority who must sell themselves to the capitalists as various kinds of workers in order to live. Between the two main classes stands the middle class of small businessmen, farmers, doctors, students and other professionals and intellectuals.

1.6 per cent of the population owns 80 per cent of all the stock of the country's corporations and companies. The small minority which makes up the ruling capitalist class is headed by a handful of powerful families who own the great American fortunes and dominate the giant monopolies. Their names are familiar to most Americans, and are taught to grade school children as the names of heroes: Rockefeller, DuPont, Mor-

gan, Mellon, Vanderbilt, Astor, Ford, etc.

The monopolists not only own and control the American economy, they have extended their economic tentacles over the whole of the "free world." The underdeveloped countries are economic colonies of the advanced capitalist countries, and since World War II the chief capitalist masters of the world have been the monopolists of the United States.

Capitalism is driven by the quest for ever more profit, and newly acquired profits in their turn become investments in search of still more profits. Their thirst for profit has driven the monopoly capitalists all over the world in search of new investment opportunities for their giant agglomerations of profits, new markets for their goods, and control over the world's raw materials.

The phenomenon of capitalist expansion, characterized by the economic domination of the underdeveloped countries by the advanced capitalist countries, is a modern form of imperialism, and the monopoly capitalists are properly called imperialists.

Imperialism has meant great profits for the monopolists and greater wealth for the imperialist countries generally. At the same time that it has made the rich nations richer, however, imperialism has impoverished the colonies, distorted their economies, and created immense misery for the colonial populations.

All over the world the colonial peoples are rising up against their former masters, and demanding political and economic freedom. The colonial revolution, aiming at real independence, tends to go beyond the limits of capitalism. In order to throw off the economic as well as the political shackles of imperialism the colonial revolution finds the socialist path a necessity — as the revolutions in China, Cuba, and Algeria demonstrate.

The YSA fully supports the anti-imperialist revolutions, the just aspirations of the oppressed people of the world for a chance to have a decent life with freedom from hunger, freedom from illiteracy, freedom from disease and exploitation.

As American socialists we take especial pride in our work in the United States in defense of the Cuban revolution, which occurred against the imperialist rulers centered in the United States who also oppress the people of the United States itself. As youth we are inspired by the example of the heroic and idealistic young leaders of the new Cuba.

## Imperialist Wars

Imperialism has not only exploited to an inhuman extent the majority of the world's peoples — imperialism has also been guilty of perpetrating the two most ghastly wars in human history, many "small" wars, and now threatens to engulf the planet in a war of extinction.

In their drive for markets and colonies the advanced capitalist countries are in a vicious competition with one-another. The first two world wars were a result of this competition, and give a measure by their brutality of the intensity of the capitalist drive to expand and dominate.

Since World War I a new force has emerged on the world scene. The Russian Revolution marked the establishment for the first time of a new type of economy, based upon economic planning and the nationalization of the means of production. In spite of the Stalinist bureaucratization of the revolution, the basic economic system remains and has grown. This economic system, since it is based on socially-owned property and planning, cannot allow private capitalist investment or unrestricted marketing within its borders.

Capitalism is shut out of the Soviet economy.

Since World War II, the Soviet-type economy has been established in Eastern Europe, and in China and Cuba. World imperialism, driven by the need to expand, has come up against a system that cannot allow imperialist expansion into it. This is the fundamental cause of the cold war.

Imperialism has attempted to meet the advancing socialist revolution with armed force. In Korea, Cuba, the Congo, Viet Nam — all over the colonial world — the colonial revolution is subverted, betrayed and attacked by the imperialists.

The overall strategy of the capitalist camp is to smash the Soviet bloc and re-open it for capitalist exploitation. To this end the warring imperialist powers have set aside their struggles with each other in the grand reactionary alliance.

We will never have peace on this earth until and unless the imperialist rulers are disarmed. The world will not be safe from nuclear destruction as long as atomic weapons are in the hands of people driven by their own economic system to ceaselessly expand their control and dominion.

The YSA supports all demands for disarmament and peace, and will continue to demonstrate with all others who desire peace. At the same time we point out that the root cause of war is the capitalist system, and that the peace movement must become an anti-capitalist movement.

Capitalism is at the root of another glaring evil, the vicious system of racism. In our country the Negro people, oppressed for two centuries by slavery, have endured another 100 years of second-class citizenship.

The Southern planters first introduced racism as a justification for slavery. Racism was initiated, then, as an ideological cover for the worst kind of economic exploitation. After the Civil War and Reconstruction wiped out slavery, the Northern industrialists and their Southern counterparts made the deal which re-instituted white supremacy in the South and began the racial oppression of the Negro as we know it today.

The capitalists introduced and maintain racism because it is profitable to them. The division between white and Negro workers means that the Negro worker, on the grounds he is "inferior," is forced into a low standard of living — in other words, is paid very little by the capitalist bosses.

Racism prevents or retards the unionization of the workers, the union of exploited white and black to fight for their common interest of raising their standard of living. It also keeps the two groups apart politically, and is the foundation of the whole Southern political structure.

Today the Negro people are waiting no longer, but are demanding Freedom Now. New and militant groups have sprung up — the Black Muslims, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and others — who are building a new Negro leadership. The YSA supports the trend toward independent Negro-led struggle organizations.

The YSA does not tell the Ne-



LEROY McRAE carries sign reading "JFK — Make Mississippi Safe for Negroes" while in Chicago on national tour.

gro people to "cool off" or wait until conditions are "favorable." We participate in the civil rights movement under the Freedom Now program.

The Negro people forced into the slums and ghettos are not the only section of the working class that is living in miserable conditions. There are also millions of migrant and other agricultural workers making 50 and 75 cents an hour, sometimes less, for seasonal work. There is the great army of unemployed, which remains over four million, and the underemployed. In the mine fields of Kentucky and West Virginia, in the rural South, in New York City — tens of millions of American families live in poverty.

## Wealth vs. Poverty

Every city has its slums and its hungry. Dirt, ugliness, disease and hunger exist in the country with the world's greatest productive capacity. The government stores food while some sections of the people go without — the economy stagnates while there are those in need.

In an economy based upon profit, goods are produced in order to enrich the few owners. What we need is to reorganize the economy to produce for people's needs, under a plan, and for the benefit of all.

In recent years gains and concessions have been wrested by the organized workers from the capitalist bosses. These gains have been won through struggle, in the continual battle between capital and labor. The capitalists granted these concessions in part because the super-profits they have been wringing out of the rest of the world enabled them to, and in part to placate the workers.

The witchhunt combined with these objective economic factors to conservatise the workers temporarily. Now the capitalists find that they can no longer afford concessions as international competition has again become sharpened, and as the colonial revolution cuts into the imperialist empire.

The employer offensive against

## YSA's Stand on Russia

The question of the Soviet Union has been the major dividing line between the different tendencies in the world working class movement. There are three major views on the USSR — the views of the Stalinists, the right-wing socialists, and the Trotskyists. The stand of the YSA coincides with the latter.

We see the Soviet Union as a very contradictory society. On the one hand there are the unprecedented and spectacular achievements of the Soviet planned economy, which have raised a backward nation of illiterate peasants to the level of a great world power in forty years.

On the other hand are the Moscow trials, the brutal police state, the privileged bureaucracy, the slave labor camps. The Soviet Union has at one and the same time "progressive" and "reactionary" aspects. The Stalinists see only the former; the right-wing socialists only the latter. A real understanding of the Soviet Union rests in understanding the history of the Russian Revolution.

In 1917 the Russian workers, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, overthrew capitalism and set up a workers' state. The Soviets (workers' councils) were the organs of that state.

The revolution set up a planned economy based upon nationalized property through the expropriation of the foreign and native capitalist class. This great economic conquest of the workers laid the basis for all the Soviet successes in the years since 1917.

But because the revolutions in more advanced western Europe were defeated, the world's first workers' state was isolated. This isolation coupled with the backwardness the Soviets inherited from Tzarist days and the ruin of the Civil War meant a crippling economic deprivation for the Soviet people — reaching the point of starvation in 1922.

Under these conditions of extreme scarcity, self-seeking types found their way into the government, and a privileged bureaucracy began to be formed. Stalin was the leader of this tendency, which because of the special conditions of backwardness and isolation was able to carry out a political counter-revolution, destroying the Soviets and physically exterminating the Bolshevik party.

The bureaucracy grew in power and prestige, taking more and more privileges for itself, and constituted itself as a group separate and apart from the workers, in whose name it ruled. To maintain its rule, the bureaucracy set up a police state ruled from above.

The YSA defends and supports the fundamental gains of the Russian Revolution — the planned economy and nationalized property. The Soviet economy stands as a victory for the world's working people, and has proved the efficacy of socialist methods.

We are opposed to any invasion of the Soviet Union by the capitalist powers, for this would destroy the Soviet economy, and represent a step backward for the Russian and the world's workers.

At the same time we are also opposed to the Soviet bureaucracy, which saps the Soviet people and distorts the Soviet economy. We are resolutely against the dictatorial Stalinist regime of the USSR, and call for its overthrow by the Soviet workers. We defend the aims of the Hungarian workers' revolution of 1956, which were the democratization of the state and the removal of the bureaucracy.

FOR the Russian Revolution, AGAINST the Stalinist betrayal of that Revolution — that's the program of the YSA.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED IN THE FIGHT  
FOR SOCIALISM

## JOIN THE Y.S.A.

- I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.
- Please send me a catalog of literature available on socialism and the YSA

Mail to: YSA P.O. Box 471, New York 3, N. Y.



labor is on — in Congress, on the job through automation and speed-up, and at the bargaining table. The counter-offensive of labor is only in its first stages, but must grow into a great upheaval as capitalism's economic and political problems grow more acute.

While the immense achievement of the radicalization of the workers in the 1930s was the organization of the industrial unions in the CIO, the next wave of radicalization must become political.

**Labor Party**

In order to fight Taft-Hartley, Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin, Right-to-work, and to combat unemployment and the effects of automation under capitalism the unions are going to have to organize a political party opposed to the bosses' parties. A clean break with the imperialist-owned Democratic and Republican Parties by the formation of a labor party is labor's next step, and that will be the end of the labor bureaucrats with the rise of a new militant leadership.

A labor party would rally the Negro people and the peace movement to its banner by fighting for labor's own needs — for a society free of economic injustice with full employment and a high standard of living for everybody, for equality and democracy, and for the peace all the world's peoples desire.

Such a party would have to fight for political power, and in the course of the struggle come to the program of socialism. A workers' victory in this country would result in the establishment of a new kind of state, a workers' state. The means of production would be socially owned and democratically managed for the good of all, resulting in a tremendous advance of the productive forces.

Socialism would mean a society of undreamed of material abundance flowing from the planned economy, and therefore the highest expression of the freedom of the individual and culture yet seen on this planet. Society and history would for the first time be consciously directed by humanity for humanity.

Just as the Cuban revolution has abolished racism, so will anti-Negro prejudice and practice be abolished by socialism in North America. "Racism" will be a word found only in unabridged dictionaries.

Socialism will tear out the root cause of war — the profit system, and thereby remove forever the Damocles' sword of nuclear annihilation hanging over the head of the human race.

**End of Exploitation**

The Bloomington defendants and the whole YSA are fighting for the highest ideal of all mankind, the creation of a world of true equality, where the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated forever. The creation of the classless society will be achieved by the working class of the world fighting for its rights. We in the YSA who are students have solidarized ourselves with the workers' struggle, and are preparing ourselves now for the great class battle to come.

We are armed with the ideas of Marxism, which are international. But we also stand in the best traditions of America, the America of the leaders of the First American Revolution, Sam Adams, Tom Jefferson, Tom Paine, and the other great fighters for democracy. Our banner is also the banner of Frederick Douglas, Wendell Phillips — the Abolitionists who were the harbingers of the Second American Revolution in the 1860s.

The YSA studies the proud traditions of the American labor movement, and identifies with labor's great leaders of the past — men like Big Bill Haywood, and Indiana's Eugene V. Debs, the unionist and socialist leader.

The Bloomington defendants receive no material reward for their stand. They are fighting along with the rest of the YSA for the highest aims of humanity — for a world of peace, human dignity, and freedom.

# What Is Marxism?

Get first hand information. Let Marx, Lenin and Trotsky speak for themselves. Below is a partial list of some of the basic works on socialism.

**MARX and ENGELS**

- The Civil War in France** — 60 cents
- The Class Struggles in France** — 60 cents
- Critique of the Gotha Program** — 20 cents
- Value, Price and Profit** — 35 cents
- Wage-Labor and Capital** — 35 cents
- Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy** — 60 cents
- On Historical Materialism** — 20 cents
- The Origin of the Family** — \$2.
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific** — 65 cents
- The Civil War in the United States** — \$1.95
- Selected Works** — two volumes — \$3.50
- Capital, Vol. 1, \$2 — Vol. II, \$2 — Vol. III, \$2.50**
- Theories of Surplus Value** — \$4
- Critique of Political Economy** — \$2.50

**LENIN**

- Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism** — 50 cents
- State and Revolution** — 50 cents
- The Teachings of Karl Marx** — 10 cents
- Materialism and Empirio-Criticism** — \$1.50

**TROTSKY**

- Fascism—What It is, How to Fight It** — 15 cents
- Germany (Why Hitler Came to Power), 3 pamphlets** — 1.20
- The History of the Russian Revolution** — \$12.50
- Literature and Revolution** — \$1.50
- Marxism in the United States** — 35 cents
- My Life** — \$2.45
- The Revolution Betrayed** — \$2
- The Stalin School of Falsification** — \$3
- Stalinism and Bolshevism** — 15 cents
- Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials** — \$1
- Their Morals and Ours** — 25 cents

**JAMES P. CANNON**

(First Chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S., founder of the Socialist Workers Party)

- America's Road to Socialism** — 35 cents
- Socialism on Trial** — 50 cents
- Socialism and Democracy** — 15 cents
- American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism** — 35 cents
- The History of American Trotskyism** — \$2
- Struggle for a Proletarian Party** — \$2.75
- The First Ten Years of American Communism** — \$6
- The Coming American Revolution** — 15 cents

**PAMPHLETS ON CUBA**

- The Truth About Cuba** — Hansen — 25 cents
- The Theory of the Cuban Revolution** — Hansen — 25 cents
- How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination** — Ring — 15 cents
- The Revolution Must Be A School of Unfettered Thought** — Castro — 15 cents
- Bureaucracy and Sectarianism** — Castro — 35 cents
- The Second Declaration of Havana** — 25 cents
- United Nations Speech** — Castro — 25 cents

All orders to:

**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

# "Force and Violence"

Prosecutor Hoadley charges the YSA with advocacy of "force and violence" to achieve our goal of socialism. What is the real position of the YSA on this question?

In the first place, the fundamental, revolutionary change in the structure of society which is the aim of the YSA can be achieved only by the working people themselves — the vast majority of the population. This is fundamental to Marxism, which sees history as the result of the activity of the masses, and not of some elite.

As Marxists, therefore, we have no sympathy for putschism or terrorism. We are not "plotting" to overthrow the governments of Bloomington, Indiana, or the United States.

No one but a sadist advocates violence for its own sake. Violence may at times be unavoidable but at all times is destructive. We hope for, and we advocate as peaceful a transition from capitalism to socialism in this country and everywhere in the world as is possible.

But history shows that great social changes have always been accompanied by violence. In every case, such violence was initiated by the class in power against the rising class.

The German capitalist class in 1933 felt its power faltering and feared the rise to power of the German working class.

The response of the capitalist class was to smash the workers' organizations through the use of Hitler's fascist bands. The minori-

ty ruling class suppressed the majority in one of the most disgusting, brutal, and inhuman displays of violence in human history.

The failure of the leaders of the German working class to organize the workers to defend themselves against fascism — to counter the violence of the minority — resulted in one of the greatest setbacks the working class and the world have experienced.

An example from our own history is the resistance of the slave-holding planters of the South to ending the system of slavery. It took a bloody civil war, instigated by the slave-holders, to wrest political power from their hands and free the slaves. Neither the North nor the slaves "advocated" violence — but the slave-holders did.

We hope that socialism will come about peaceably. But we do not think that the capitalist class will allow that. There is too much historical evidence to the contrary. No ruling class has ever given up its special privileges without first resorting to violence to maintain them.

Therefore, we feel that when the majority of the American people have decided in favor of socialism, as we think they will and must, the overwhelming chances are that the minority capitalist class will attempt to thwart the majority's will by the use of force and violence. In such a case, we advocate that the majority defend itself both to minimize violence and carry out its will.

# UCLA Cop Caught Spying

By Bennett Tanger

The Young Socialist Alliance at the University of California in Los Angeles has denounced the UCLA administration's use of police spies to cover "controversial" student meetings. The YSA endorsed the candidacy of Leslie Evans, one of its members, in campus elections for Student Legislative Council. The major campus issue was the ban on communist speakers at UCLA, which the YSA has opposed since its inception.

In a public statement the Executive Committee of the Los Angeles YSA pointed out that, with the exposure of police spying on campus, the ban on speakers has proven to be — as was predicted — only "the first step in a move against all unpopular ideas."

Police spying was admitted recently by two Administration officials themselves. The admission grew out of an April 5 YSA meeting held on campus, at which V. T. Lee of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee spoke to about 100 people on "Cuba—1963."

During the meeting a list was circulated for people to sign who wished notification of further meetings. A plainclothes detective, later identified as campus police officer Gufston, was observed copying down the 22 names on the list when it came to him. The list was understood to be confidential and solely the property of the sponsoring organization.

When questioned after the meeting, Gufston explained his action to Leslie Evans, chairman of the meeting, by saying he "wanted to see who is interested in these things." When asked to return the list, he refused. There was no use calling police to stop the theft. The man identified himself as a campus policeman, though at that time Gufston refused to give his name.

Evans went immediately to the Student Activities Office and spoke with Thomas J. Scully, Assistant Dean of Students. Scully admitted that his department had assigned plainclothes police to the meeting but denied that they had been authorized to "get names." He stated that the detective "was not doing our bidding, but he may have been doing someone else's bidding — possibly the FBI." He would not explain why the University employs two full-time plainclothesmen but indicated that they are frequently assigned to attend "controversial meetings."

**Dean Approves**

The Dean of Men, Adolph Brugger, was called in and admitted joint responsibility with Scully for the presence of the two plainclothesmen. Brugger, too, denied authorizing Gufston to get names. He explained that he "already knew the names of all the people that attend your meetings and could name them for you if you want." But he declined to give the source of his information.

He did say that, if the Administration wanted the names of people attending a meeting, they would not act "clumsily" as Gufston had. They would have "micro-filmed the list or photographed the people leaving and had them identified."

Brugger refused to make a public statement repudiating methods of police surveillance and intimidation. He stated that no organization "has the right to ask a policeman to leave a meeting held on University property even if he is seen copying a mailing list."

On April 9, Evans interviewed Detective Joseph Moreton, the second plainclothesman on the University staff. He also admitted that he had been assigned to the meeting but only, he claimed, "to preserve order." He declined to state why two fully armed plainclothesmen were needed to preserve or-

der at a classroom lecture for students. When asked what need there was for plainclothes detectives on campus and exactly what they did, he replied, "I have no authorization to discuss that matter with you." He said he knew Evans, though, from having attended "many meetings."

On April 10, Evans went to interview Captain Boyd Lynn at Campus Police Headquarters and met Detective Gufston in the hall. Gufston, when asked for his name, gave the false one of Reynolds, but a few minutes later Captain Lynn identified him as Gufston.

In the interview Lynn stated that his department frequently worked with the FBI and other state and Federal police agencies but said he knew nothing of any mailing list. When asked what his men did besides attend student meetings, he said evasively, "many, many things" but did not elaborate.

This is not the only incident of police surveillance in recent weeks. The last membership meeting of Platform, the student political party at UCLA, was held outdoors on the lawn in the Hyde Park free-speech area. A man with a camera was seen photographing the meeting, but he escaped before he could be questioned.

The YSA at UCLA has called on the Administration to publicly repudiate the use of detectives to spy on student meetings and on "fellow students" to protest police surveillance practices.

"When police are used to 'get names' and University officials propose the use of informers to 'identify photographs,' a climate of fear and suspicion is created in which the right to think is put on trial," stated the YSA Executive Committee.

Their statement underscored the special danger of thought control in our epoch of world-wide crisis, where every alternative must be considered: "If we are to survive in this age of nuclear arms, the right to dissent must be preserved."

A special effort was made to publicize the free-speech issues in the elections. There were platform statements, name tags, posters and even a billboard on campus.

However, there is one peculiar aspect to the rules of campaigning in UCLA elections. No campus paper, whether the *Daily Bruin* or the *Young Socialist Reply*, could endorse candidates or even mention their names in connection with the office aspired to.

Theoretically, "student government" is supposed to train one in the "democratic processes" before graduating. But elections where the press can not comment are hardly democratic.

We don't know what the courses on "American Democracy" are like at UCLA. But to judge by the practice of the University Administration, it's a poor place to learn about the heritage of freedoms that were supposedly won for us in the Bill of Rights.

**HOLD THIS DATE**

## West Coast Socialist Plan Educational Week

Socialists from San Diego to Seattle will be attending the annual Socialist Educational Encampment near Los Angeles. The encampment will run from August 30th to September 8th. For further information write to West Coast Vacation School 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles 33, California or call AN 9-4953 in Los Angeles.

# ...Peace Editor Fired

(Continued from Page 8)

viewpoint; 2) The editors should not express political affiliations; 3) The peace movement should not express political disagreement among its members.

The last argument is open to misunderstanding. The *Sanity* editors hold that in actual operation the movement must act from a unified platform. This position was expressed when one of the editors criticized the YSA for distributing the *Militant* at recent Easter marches, and for carrying signs which expressed viewpoints possibly limited to the YSA.

The argument is clearly stated by Donald Bluestone (one of the editors) in these remarks on the Japanese peace movement:

## No Suppression

"Although the motivations of everyone in the peace movement must, of course, be humanitarian — political sectarianism tends only to divide the broad movement for peace — *Gensuikyo* has realized that only through adequate political mobilization of vast numbers of people can the peace movement be an effective influence on the governments of the world . . . At times . . . there is considerable disagreement within the Council. However, over the years, the groups have managed to submerge their differences and act together for a common goal." (*Sanity* Vol. I No. 3)

The editors of *Sanity* confuse the long range objectives of the peace movement with its present strategy. To state that a movement will be ineffective until it is a mass movement is to repeat an essential fact of politics. To hold, however, that members of a movement should submerge their differences in the task of attracting a mass following is to mistake the ends for the means.

In any multi-tendency movement like the present peace movement it is natural that a call for suppression of differences and unification on the front will issue forth. In the last months peace groups have been merging in the call for a nuclear test ban treaty, as in February 1962 when the demand for an end to nuclear testing produced the most recent large common effort for peace, the *Washington Project*.

But we must always be willing to ask ourselves not only what we stand to gain by the call for unity, but what we will lose. We must look beneath disagreements on peace strategy to the manifest political disagreements, and ask ourselves what happens when these disagreements are suppressed.

I would like to discuss in detail the *Washington Project*, because it is an event clearly relevant to these questions, and it is the most recent major demonstration by the peace movement in this country. The salient feature of the *Washington Project* was that it demanded from its participants strict adherence to a policy statement that had been written by the organizers.

This statement was addressed to the public and, as such, was neither a detailed nor an informative analysis of the cold war. All other literature was suppressed by the organizers; signs were not allowed which did not conform to the policy statement; marchers were requested to refer questions to "press liaisons" rather than to present their own views. There were over five thousand students in the demonstration; their line stretching across the Memorial Bridge.

## Protest Wanes

Yet where were these demonstrators eight months later, at the time of the Cuban crisis, when the world was on the verge of nuclear war? Where was the demonstration that should have immobilized Washington with protest against the blockade? Unfortunately, a foolish question. There were a few protests throughout the country but, more than anything else, there was misunderstanding and disillusionment. The peace movement had not grown after the *Washington Project*; it had collapsed. The Cuban crisis offered the final death blow.

The students did not go to Washington to show the United States they were concerned about war, and force the country to disarm. They went to the Capitol because they were concerned about war; they went to meet other students concerned about the same issues; they went to learn. There can be no one who can say to the

United States, "this is the path to peace," and to the students, "this is what you believe."

The core of a militant movement is not silence. It does not march head bowed to the tomb of the unknown soldier to do homage to the military. It argues — without and within. The climax of the *Washington Project* should not have been silent acceptance of the views of Norman Thomas. It should have been noisy debate: "Yes we are for peace, but we have come here to try to find out how, to fill halls with discussion and argument, to hammer out a path for peace."

Suppression is not only the refusal to allow the *Young Socialist* or *Sanity* to be circulated, the refusal to allow the YSA and the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee to openly participate; it is the refusal to admit open disagreement about the issues of the cold war.

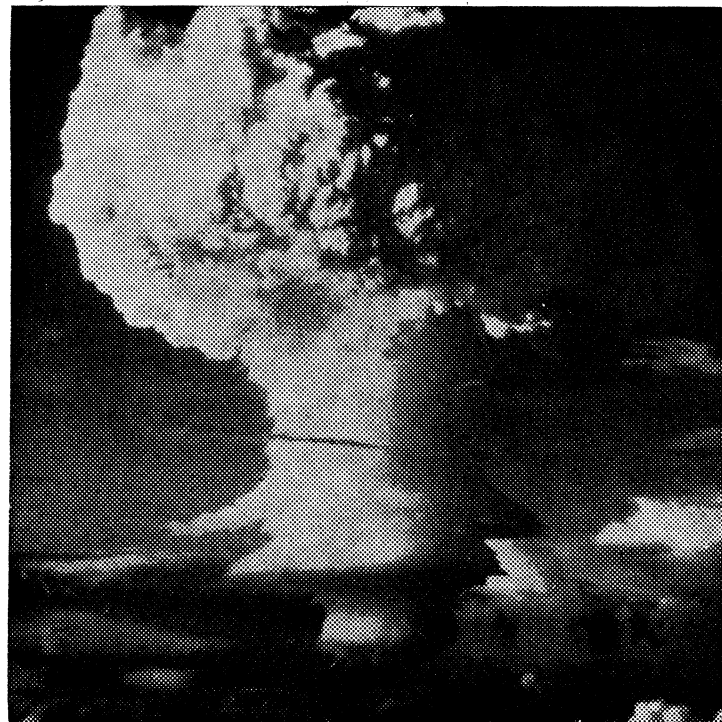
## New Tactics

The ultimate objectives of the peace movement are to get five million, not five thousand students, to demonstrate for peace. When there are only five thousand the movement is only formative. The strategy should be formative: The policy statement should be written after the demonstration, not before it, and it should present discussion, not conclusions.

In discussing the failures of the *Washington Project*, it would be naive of us to assume that the narrow position which was foisted upon the students represented a purely tactical measure, taken in Washington for the first time. Beneath these tactics there is a political position, and one must be sensitive to it, because it governed the tactics.

The third camp position was suggested in the policy statement and it was expressed in the demand that students shut their minds to distributors of the *Young Socialist*. It is the viewpoint of the Young People's Socialist League (which dominates the SPU to a certain extent), and of a few smaller organizations also on the student level.

One must see in the *Washington Project* an attempt of these organizations to dominate the peace movement. As disagreeable as this



TO PREVENT THIS, peace movement must vigorously debate all viewpoints to get at root cause of war.

is, we are forced to see operating behind the project, political opportunism, professional youth leaders, men like David McReynolds, who would sell the movement short, as they did, in pointing the marchers towards a cemetery rather than to the Capitol Building.

## Need Open Forum

The failure of the *Washington Project* to open students' minds to question and debate of cold war issues was basically the failure of political sectarianism, and sectarianism must always so fail. The suppression of all but project-stamped literature does not arise as David Kelly wrote in defense of the *Washington Project* because "it would be hopeless to call a protest against all the failings of the government," and because "other literature . . . would confuse the message of the demonstration." (*SPU Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 2)

The suppression arose because one group in the peace movement, the advocate of the third camp position, took upon themselves the task of speaking for the whole movement. One political group, one faction, did not want to protest other failings of the govern-

ment; one faction did not want its message confused.

The example of the *Washington Project* is before the editors of *Sanity* and yet they are making exactly the same mistakes. They are confusing objectives with strategy, and although they hold a different position than the third camp, they are following the same sectarian path. *Sanity's* editors can be answered by asking whether they conceive of *Sanity* as a magazine of the peace movement.

This movement is not a mass movement, and it is not unified; there are not only left factions, but liberal factions. The only role of a magazine which could be capable of becoming a center of this movement, and helping it to become a mass movement, is that of the open forum. Differing viewpoints should be aired and argued in the magazine of a movement.

The solution to the problem of factionalism is not to pretend it does not exist, certainly not to become factionalistic by expelling a faction with which one disagrees; it is only to recruit openly representatives of the opposing viewpoints to the magazine, to the editorial board, to print and to make public the important issues of peace and the cold war.

## Editorial Policy

The answers to *Sanity's* editors are these: 1) It is true that the magazine of the peace movement should not express a political viewpoint; on the contrary, it should express and expose wherever possible conflicting political viewpoints, to clarify the issues.

2) But the editors clearly cannot be free of political affiliation. In expelling me, and in refusing to publish this article, *Sanity's* editors expressed political concepts which must be stated rather than hidden. *Sanity* would be in an immensely stronger position if it had known spokesmen of Trotskyist, Communist, and Social Democratic opinion on its editorial board, and if its editorial policy was quite clear: that it is a magazine of peace action, but it recognizes that there can be conflicting reasons for the same action.

3) Finally, the editors of *Sanity* must realize that the peace movement must work for one goal, to build mass opposition to the cold war. At the same time, the peace movement cannot, and must not, be forced into some sort of unified position on the cold war. The students in Washington acted strongly against nuclear testing, but they were weakened by the imposed inflexibility of their position.

The role of *Sanity* in the peace movement is particularly this: It is to circulate wherever possible in the movement, so that a group can give to *Sanity* its ideas, take from *Sanity* other ideas. Open give and take, open debate, and open action — these are the vital elements from which a mass movement will arise.

# Civil Rights and Liberties in Dixie

by Ellen Gray

Carl Braden, well-known integrationist and anti-HUAC fighter, has been involved recently in speaker controversies at the University of Cincinnati and at Old Dominion College in Norfolk, Va. In both cases college administrations intervened against students' rights to hear all views.

Braden's talk March 7 at UC, sponsored by the Students for Constitutional Freedom (SCF), was to have discussed "Problems of Integration in the Deep South." However, before he even began his talk, a group of students who had been picketing outside the meeting room shoved a sign into the room, stating: "We protest to Carl Braden, known Communist, speaking on campus."

The picketers, mostly Law School and Pharmacy students, had supposedly formed spontaneously. But for several days before the talk students had distributed reprints of a right-wing columnist's smear biography, describing Braden as a dangerous subversive.

Braden responded to this group's red-baiting, heckling and interruptions. He inveighed against congressional investigating committees, pointing out the vested interest of Southern racist politicians who use them to harass integrationist groups.

Part of the student audience strongly supported Braden's right to speak. One girl, addressing the

hecklers, asked why they came to stare at Braden rather than hear his views on the important problem of integration.

The exchange grew so heated at one point that the Dean of the College intervened. After calm was finally restored, Braden's talk got underway. Then unexpectedly, a group of police appeared and a Union official announced that the room was needed for another meeting. Police escorted Braden off campus.

As the students left the room, a Cuban refugee rushed to the front. He warned students not to listen to men like Braden. "Don't let them do to your country what they did to mine." [He must have had integration in mind.] After a few more impassioned pleas, he left the room smiling.

Braden's talk received much publicity and caused some repercussions. UC President Langsam, in an official statement, blamed SCF faculty advisor, Harlan, for okaying the invitation to Braden. Langsam appointed a committee to consider changing speaker policy, which previously required only faculty approval.

There was some protest at the President's statement. Most student opinions printed in the campus paper, *News Record*, affirmed the students' ability to judge for themselves and opposed the administration's possibly taking control of speaker policy.

The *News Record* editorial sug-

gested that Langsam was playing up to conservative opinion for the sake of "vital city funds." It warned against subordinating the educational aim of the university to the fiscal means.

Some students set up the Emergency Committee for the Preservation of the Student's Right to Hear. They distributed about 1000 leaflets stating that students have "the right to hear any man speak" and warning that Langsam's action was "designed to remove this right from students' hands."

Braden was invited to speak be-



Carl Braden

fore the History Club at Old Dominion College while he was in Norfolk, Va. in connection with a civil rights conference April 26-27. The College President, Lewis W. Webb, Jr., refused the club permission to sponsor the talk on campus.

While Webb cited the pretext of a required 10-day advance notice for speakers, his real reason was clear in his statement: "There was no time to make sure Braden's the kind of man we want coming on the campus. We can't approve every Tom, Dick and Harry."

There was protest against the President's notion of 'approved' speakers. A leaflet was distributed announcing an outdoor student rally where Braden would speak on "The Right to Dissent." The leaflet asserted, "You have the right to hear." History Professor Kenneth Woods provided his backyard for the rally.

Braden spoke to over 100 students. He emphasized the role of free speech in the struggle for equality.

At the rally some Old Dominion students complained that University of Virginia students had recently been able to hear controversial speakers, American Nazi George Rockwell and Communist Party leader Gus Hall. The students credited their administration's speaker ban to a desire to placate state politicians who hold the purse strings.



# Freedom NOW

SNCC has joined in with the North Jackson Youth Council's call for support to the boycott by action against the 17 national chains whose Jackson stores are being boycotted. These are: Bakers Shoes, Bell Brothers Shoes, Bomar Shoes, Butler's Shoes, Grayson's Dress Shops, H. L. Green (dime stores), J. C. Penney, Lerner's Dress Shops, National Shirt Shops, Nora Day Shops, Owens Ltd. (men's clothing), Parisian (women's wear), Schwobilt, Shainberg (dept. stores), Thom McAn Shoes, Walgreen Drugs, Woolworths.

The North Jackson Youth Council (NAACP) has been conducting a boycott in Jackson Mississippi against stores that refuse to hire Negroes. They have been picketing, holding protest meetings, and distributing leaflets for over five months.

Every business in the economic center of Jackson — downtown Capitol Street — is under boycott. 127 business establishments have been effected. The Southern Patriot in its February issue estimated that the boycott is "at least 60 to 65% successful." There are 150,000 people in Jackson of which 70,000 are Negroes.

The NJYC is publishing a bulletin called North Jackson Action. They regularly mail about 1,000 copies to supporters and sympathizers in the Jackson area to keep them informed of events. In the April 15, 1963 issue the NJYC reported having distributed some 47,000 boycott leaflets. It plans to distribute 60,000 more in the coming months.

There have been various arrests in Jackson by the police against picketers from the NJYC. Twelve have been arrested so far. The last arrest included four students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College.

Two of the active participants in the boycott movement, John and Eldri Salter, almost lost their baby, Maria, when a bullet fired from a passing car late at night missed her by inches. Salter is a professor at Tougaloo.

In the last days of March, a number of white students at Millsaps College in Jackson became active in the boycott movement. They publicized the boycott on their campus and reported strong sympathy for it among many Millsaps students and faculty.

Jackson NAACP youth and adult groups are also starting a voter registration drive.

## RACIST OFFICIAL DAWDLES

SNCC field secretary Ralph Allen, a 22-year old white student from Massachusetts, charged that on April 8 in Leesburg, Georgia the Lee County Registrar, Sol J. Yeoman, frustrated Negro attempts to register by closing his office ahead of schedule.

Yeoman said he closed his office because "I was sick."

"There was just one old nigger waiting," he said, "who's been in the county for 50 years and I told him to come back Monday or anytime." The registrar said race relations in the county had been good until "them little nigger boys come in here out of Sumter County." SNCC has vote drives underway in the Southwest Ga. counties, Sumter, Terrell, Dougherty, and Lee.

"It's getting to where it's unbearable," the 84-year old county official said. According to a federal report, only 1.6% of Lee County Negroes of voting age are registered.

## NIGHT RIDERS BLAST VOTE WORKER'S HOME

Armed night riders fired two blasts Friday night, April 12, into the home of a Wilcox County

(Ala.) Negro, Lonnie Brown, who has been active in SNCC's vote drive there. This was reported April 17 from Selma, Ala. by SNCC field secretary Bernard Lafayette. Brown was at a voter registration meeting when the shooting occurred and only his 4 children were home. Brown had personally escorted 12 Negroes in registration attempts not long before the shooting.

The shooting, the first such incident reported since the vote drive began, failed to stop the movement. "We are ready to accept what will come," Brown said. "We will not turn back!"

Last March 16 saw the first registration try by Wilcox Co. Negroes in 50 years. While none of the 6,085 eligible Negroes are registered, out of 2,634 eligible whites — 2,950 (or 112.4%) are.

## HAMPTON, VA. STUDENTS MARCH

Four hundred Hampton College students marched through the streets of Hampton, Virginia March 31 to protest segregation and police brutality. The previous day police had roughed up demonstrators and arrested 10 as they tried to sit in at a Woodwards and a Wornom's Drug Store. Earlier on March 30, 700 students had marched through downtown Hampton to kick off a boycott of discriminating stores.

## GUNMEN IN LEXINGTON, MISS.

On April 9 SNCC field secretary Sam Block accompanied 16 Holmes Co. (Miss.) Negroes to the courthouse in Lexington, the county seat. While FBI men looked on 6 white men in plainclothes with guns told the Negroes to disperse because they were "parading illegally without a permit."

The group dispersed and waited outside the courthouse under a tree while unidentified whites took photographs. They were only allowed to enter the building one at a time. Two actually got into the courthouse, but they were unable to register before the building closed. Only 41 of Holmes County's 8,757 voting-age Negroes are registered.

## "ALL-AMERICAN" COPS IN KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Forty-nine students — including two Africans and two SNCC Executive Committee members — were arrested April 15 in Knoxville after picketing to protest the naming of Knoxville as an "All American City" by Look magazine. Signs carried read: "Students Beaten in Jail in the All American City"; "Hospitals Segregated in the All American City"; and "One High School for Negroes in the All American City."

(Students have been sitting in at a restaurant since March 29

despite beatings, arrests, injunctions, being chased by a mob and being hosed by restaurant employes. They have also been demonstrating at a segregated theater in large numbers since March 23.)

Those arrested on the 15th included Knoxville College, University of Tennessee and Austin High School students. All but two were released on bond April 16. Police refused to let Negroes post bond for these two — white students from U.T. One of the white youths, Philip Bacon, refused to accept bail when a white bondsman was secured.

In retaliation Bacon was given a rush trial, found guilty, sentenced to \$50 fine and sent to the county workhouse. He was told he could not post an appeal because the judge had suddenly "left town." His fine was paid and he was finally released.

Avon Rollins, SNCC member, attributed all this to a "personal vendetta of the local police against white students" who oppose segregation.

## AFRICANS JOIN DRIVE ON JIM CROW IN DELAWARE

Six African students were arrested Apr. 24 when they joined fellow Lincoln University (Oxford, Pa.) students in an attempt to integrate a theater in Wilmington, Del. One American Negro student was arrested. Rev. Albert Dreisbach, head of Concerned Citizens, said the group had been trying to end Jim Crow at the theater since last November.

The students are charged with trespassing under Delaware's "ancient" Inn Keeper's Law. Released on \$100 bail, the Africans said they would contact their embassies to arrange for legal counsel.

## ... Maryland

(Continued from Page 8) demonstration, forty-three students marched to jail in protest against the arrest of 6 others. All 43 were jailed on charges of disorderly conduct and "assaulting an officer." The officer, supposedly assaulted by all 43, was still able to walk into the jailhouse and file the arrests.

By late April over seventy persons who had been arrested as demonstrators came from Maryland and Pennsylvania campuses — Goucher and Maryland State Colleges, Temple, Lehigh and Penn. University. On Saturday, April 20, the eleven persons arrested included two Swarthmore College instructors. That evening the Swarthmore student body telegraphed congratulations for "going to jail for a just cause."

From Atlanta the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee called upon the Maryland Governor to "take immediate steps to halt police intimidation of peaceful protestors in Cambridge."

Mrs. Richardson, of CNAC, charged that Cambridge police "urged white bystanders to push the pickets" and that one policeman drove his car into a crowd of Negroes. Recently elected to SNCC's Executive Committee, she announced that SNCC and CNAC will have a joint project on the Eastern Shore this summer, based in Cambridge. Another SNCC affiliate, The Civic Interest Group of Baltimore, has been supporting the Cambridge demonstrations.

Besides demonstrations, CNAC is conducting a boycott of downtown Cambridge stores and a voter education and registration project. Local residents with the help of college students are using door-to-door methods in an effort to build a large, unified Negro vote.

"I do not believe that any type of religion should ever be introduced into the public schools of the United States." — Thomas Alva Edison (1847-1931).

# Russia and Cuba

by YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO  
Translated by George Saunders

At a time when Fidel Castro is visiting the Soviet Union we are printing a poem by Yevtushenko, Castro's friend and the voice of Soviet youth, on the basis of Soviet-Cuban relations.

Written after the Cuban crisis and printed in Pravda Dec. 17, the poem has much in common with a long article Yevtushenko wrote for *Revolución* last December. There he expressed the opinion that the Cuban Revolution could return to the Russian its "romantic" character — i.e. the fervent, dedicated spirit of its early years.

The "romantic" figure of the young Russian Revolution, wearing "ammo belt" and "scarlet kerchief" symbolizes what the poet values most in both revolutions. In addition, Yevtushenko subtly expresses the commitment of Soviet workers and youth to defend the Cuban Revolution regardless of any "diplomatic considerations" that official Soviet "lofty persons" might bring up.

## Russia and Cuba

*What draws them straight together, not obliquely,  
and makes them ever more and more akin,  
the land of snows and coconut-palm island,  
Russia and Cuba — my own, both of them!*

*And then I met you, tourists in from Russia,  
as you, like envoys, worthily behaving  
— elderly and burdened down and slow —  
came into our embassy one morning.*

*There were no lofty persons in that group —  
and in it were so many lofty persons:  
here were gods of foundries, mines and fishnets  
and gods of steel and apple trees and wheat.*

*A worker from Sormovsky told the envoy:  
"I have seniority. I'm over sixty.  
So I speak for the rest. We came to quarrel  
with you. It hurts us to depart so soon.*

*We folk of modest means were picked to come  
and we found it hard to raise the money.  
But if there's some problem with the payment,  
we'll pay it up when we get back. We'll borrow."*

*And he added, thinking out loud quietly,  
"Now let me speak to you as to a son.  
You understand — this is a revolution . . .  
We have come here back to our own youth . . ."*

*And the oldster stopped. Stern and restrained,  
he stubbornly stood frozen by beside the desk  
And suddenly something began to happen with  
the eyes of the unsentimental ambassador.*

*And I was thinking with my pen forgotten,  
with a lump in my throat after such words,  
about the land of Cuba and of Russia,  
about their closeness and their worlds apart.*

*Russia gently, inwardly loves Cuba —  
no prescription forces that on her.  
Russia's face is tremulous and morning-like  
Whenever of Cuba she should speak.*

*This is because upon this island, where  
Lenin has been adopted by new kin,  
in a similar but unlike figure,  
Russia sees her own youth once again.*

*The very same — stiff-necked and rough of manner,  
instilling fear in every bourgeois's heart,  
with ammo belt, rifle and scarlet kerchief  
and an uplifted pureness in the eyes.*

*This is no blind imitation, but  
our example in themselves they bear,  
Our sacred cause is being carried forward,  
changing not its essence but its forms.*

*Views and discussions won't set us at odds.  
The blather of false friends will not divide us.  
Russia is devoted to her youth  
and be it necessary — will defend it!*

## ... Anti-Blockade Picket

(Continued from Page 8)

the campus and local community had become incensed by the courageous anti-war activities of a small group of I. U. students and were resolved to take action against these students.

Monroe County Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley, who had graduated from I. U. law school in June, 1962, and was elected prosecutor last November with the support of local right wing Republicans, decided in January of this year to dismiss the criminal charges against two men who had been arrested for assault against the demonstrators.

He announced that a Monroe County grand jury would be asked to investigate the involvement of the campus Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Young Socialist Alliance in the October demon-

stration. Hoadley was interested in showing that the demonstrators were deliberately inciting a riot.

On February 18, Hoadley called for the withdrawal of official recognition to the YSA on campus. He indicated that unless recognition was withdrawn he would attempt to have one or more YSA-ers indicted under the Indiana Communism Act of 1951. Since January, Hoadley has dropped further mention of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and has concentrated on the YSA, charging it with advocating the violent overthrow of the government.

Hoadley had indicated that his main aim is the suppression of dissident views and campus political activities. He has stated, "The important thing in this case is to get this organization (the YSA) off the campus . . ."

### YSA LOCALS

**BALTIMORE:** c/o Roger Sheppard 1503 Park Ave. 669-7523  
**BERKELEY-OAKLAND:** c/o Lawrence Shumm, 1930 Blake, Berkeley  
**BLOOMINGTON, IND.:** P.O. Box 915.  
**BOSTON:** c/o Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave.  
**CHICAGO:** c/o Horowitz, 909 E. 55 St., MU 4-0182.  
**CLEVELAND:** E. V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm. 23.  
**DENVER:** Box 724, Tabor 5-2779.  
**DETROIT:** YSA 3737 Woodward.  
**EAST LANSING, MICH.:** c/o Jan Garrett, 429 Charles St.  
**LOS ANGELES:** 1702 E. 4th St., L.A. AN 9-4953.  
**MADISON, WISC.:** P.O. Box 532.  
**MILWAUKEE:** c/o Ed Heisler, 4218 No. 70th St.  
**NEWARK:** c/o Newark Labor Forum, Box 361.  
**NEW YORK CITY:** 125 4th Ave., GR 7-3640.  
**PHILADELPHIA:** 3517 Hamilton St.  
**SAN DIEGO:** c/o Wally Hoskins, 5243 San Bernardo Terrace.  
**SAN FRANCISCO:** 1488 Fulton St.  
**SEATTLE:** c/o D. Freeman, 4527 12th Ave., N.E., ME 3-1207.  
**TWIN CITIES:** c/o Binkley, 1302 Como Ave., SE.

# Anti-Blockade Picket Led to Indictment

By Fred Mazelis

The background to the indictment of three Young Socialist Alliance members in Bloomington, Indiana, sheds a great deal of light on the real motives of the prosecution.

Over the past two years at Indiana University at Bloomington, there had been controversies leading to delays in campus recognition of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and, later, the Young Socialist Alliance. Last October 25, 1962, the I.U. Student Senate had refused recognition to the Young Socialist Alliance.

This action followed by one day a demonstration of about 20 persons against the blockade of Cuba which had been announced by Pres. Kennedy on October 22. Several YSAers, including the three who have been indicted, were prominent in this demonstration.

On December 19, 1962, the I.U. Student Activities Committee reversed the previous decision of the Student Senate and extended recognition to the YSA.

The anti-blockade demonstration on October 24 was physically attacked by a mob of ultra-right students and local residents. These same forces on the campus had been in strong opposition to campus recognition to the YSA for over a year. A sizable segment of

(Continued on Page 7)

### INDICTMENT

The indictment against the three Indiana University students for "subversion" states:

"The Grand Jury of Monroe County in the State of Indiana, good and lawful men, duly and legally impeached and sworn to inquire into felonies and certain misdemeanors in and for the body of said County of Monroe in this name and by the authority of the State of Indiana, and on their oaths present that Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan late of said County on the 25th day of March A.D. 1963 at said County and State aforesaid, did then and there assemble for the purposing of advocating or teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States or of the State of Indiana should be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means, voluntarily participating therein by their presence, aid or instigation, and as officers of a Trotskyite communist organization called the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the State of Indiana."

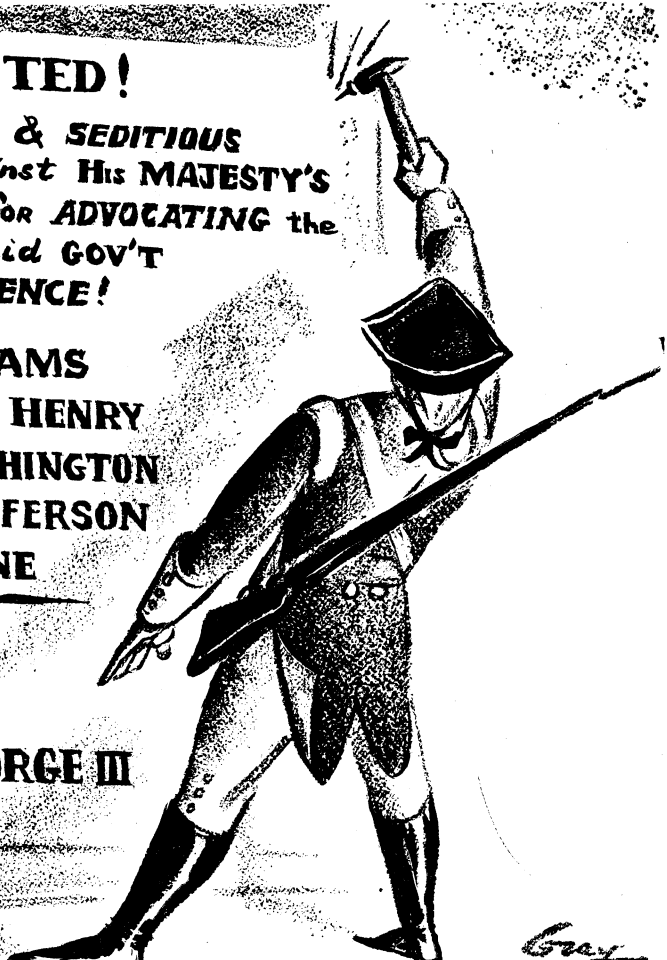
**WANTED!**  
for DISLOYAL & SEDITIOUS  
UTTERANCES against His MAJESTY'S  
GOVERNMENT, & for ADVOCATING the  
OVERTHROW of said GOV'T  
by FORCE & VIOLENCE!

**SAM ADAMS  
PATRICK HENRY  
GEO. WASHINGTON  
TOM JEFFERSON  
TOM PAINE**

by  
**ORDER OF  
His MAJESTY**

**KING GEORGE III**

**JULY 4, 1776**



## 'We'll Never Turn Back'

By Robert Shann

"Emancipation Then — Freedom Now!" was the theme of the Third Annual Conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee held in Atlanta, April 12-14.

The delegates, many of whom were dressed in the overalls that symbolize the Negro boycott of Southern stores practicing discrimination in hiring and service, heard Robert Moses, head of the voter registration drive in Greenwood, Miss., declare that SNCC was going ahead with plans to register the Negroes of Leflore County.

Moses said that when SNCC had registered the Negroes in Greenwood and the rest of Leflore County, the Negro majority may elect their own mayor, police chief, etc. Greenwood has been the scene of violent racist attack upon the voter registration workers, reported in some detail in the April *Young Socialist*.

### Political Action

The theme of political action ran through the conference and was a topic of corridor discussion. Dr. Howard Zinn of Spelman College in Atlanta pointed out that the problem of racism is far more than a local Southern problem. Racism is integral to the whole social structure of the United States, and exists everywhere in this country where there are Negroes. Zinn said that it is a common myth that the Southern political structure is alone responsible for racism and is some kind of aberration upon a basically sound and democratic America.

Zinn said that what little the Kennedy administration has done for civil rights does not even begin to measure up to what it could do. Kennedy wields the greatest concentration of power in the world, yet he has been "unable" to carry out even his campaign promises to the Negro people.

Zinn then showed the connections between the Kennedy administration and the Southern Democrats, naming appointments, etc. His conclusion was that within the established two-party system little is to be expected, although he seemed to lack a clear perspective of what can be done about it.

Members of the Students for a Democratic Society dominated a meeting of Northern students called by the Northern Student Movement during the SNCC conference. The SDSers spent most of

the meeting defending the idea of "putting pressure" on "liberals" and other tactics derived from the SDS conception of working within the Democratic Party.

The general impression one got from the conference is that the Southern Negro militants in SNCC are far more vigorous and independent than some of their Northern friends.

Dr. August Meier gave a sketchy outline of the history of Negro movements in the past, up to the sit-ins. A high point of his address was a very accurate and perceptive analysis of the role of the Communist Party during the Popular Front with Roosevelt. The CP subordinated the Negro struggle to their support for Roosevelt both before and during the war.

Meier raised a good deal of controversy by declaring that the goals of the civil rights movement were "middle-class" and "reformist." A number of SNCCers took issue with him on this point, since many feel that their movement is "revolutionary" and aiming toward a fundamental change in America.

Speaking as a white liberal, Meier also defended the role of the white liberal in the movement. This raised the question of white support versus white leadership. Most of the SNCC leaders are Negroes.

Workshops were held on Non-violence; Techniques in Community Mobilization; Problems in the Movement; and The Hidden Structure and Social Action. The latter discussed the politics and economics of racism, emphasizing the importance of the financial oligarchy that dominates America.

### Dick Gregory Speaks

On Easter Sunday, Negro comedian Dick Gregory spoke for two and one-half hours to the conference. With his famed wit, Gregory told about his experience in Greenwood last month working with the SNCC voter registration workers. He graphically described the Mississippi police, police dogs, and the situation of the Negro in the United States. SNCC is the "best organization in the world," Gregory said, and he pledged his continued support to the young freedom fighters.

The Saturday night session of the conference was devoted to reports from the different groups in the South which go to make up the Coordinating Committee. Representatives from action projects

and voter registration projects from Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Maryland explained their local situations and perspectives.

The Southern delegates, who came from 34 colleges and universities in the South and who represented every Southern state, elected a new Executive Committee. Charles McDew was re-elected Chairman of SNCC.

McDew said that "the greatest success of this, our third annual conference, was the increased participation of young people from the South. More and more young people are willing to take time away from school to devote themselves to the Southern Freedom movement." The forty-eight SNCC field secretaries receive from \$10 to \$15 a week subsistence for their work.

## 70 Jailed In E. Md.

Civil rights activities have been resumed on the Eastern Shore of Maryland which was the scene of a strong integration movement last year. Headed by the Cambridge (Md.) Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC), the movement has attracted students from nearby colleges to demonstrate despite heavy arrests.

On Monday, March 25, CNAC asked the Cambridge City Council for "across the board desegregation in housing, education, public accommodations, labor and industry." The City Council members reportedly laughed with comments such as "progress has been made" and "we don't want any 'freedom riders' coming to Cambridge."

Demonstrations began with attempts to integrate the Dorset movie theater. The picketing continued on successive weekends and spread to downtown stores, industries and public buildings.

On March 30, Gloria Richardson, CNAC head, was arrested with 14 others for demonstrating in front of a tax-supported skating rink. At the same time, other demonstrations were being held at the state employment office and at the Air Pax Electronics Co. Air Pax was a special target because, although on federal contract, only two Negroes have been employed there.

On the second week of the

(Continued on Page 7)

## Peace Editor Fired For Views

(On Sunday, April 21, Richard Roberts joined the YSA. The following day the editorial board of *Sanity Magazine*, of which he was an Associate Editor, voted 3-1 that membership in the YSA was incompatible with being on the editorial board of *Sanity*. Given the choice between resigning and being dismissed, Mr. Roberts noted he would resign only if an article explaining his resignation would be printed in *Sanity*. Since the editorial board felt that such an article could not be printed in the magazine, they had no choice but to dismiss Mr. Roberts.

The following article is Mr. Roberts' statement on the reasons for his disagreement with the editors of *Sanity*, and his consequent expulsion from the editorial board.)

The disagreement between myself and the remaining editors of *Sanity Magazine* raises questions about the role of a magazine and the strategy of the peace movement. If I felt these questions were simply a matter of *Sanity's*

public relations in the next few months, I would not choose to make them a matter of public debate. But the editors of *Sanity* are expressing a viewpoint highly pertinent to the problems of the peace movement, and their views have far reaching implications either for the success or failure of the movement.

Briefly stated, the position of *Sanity's* editors in requesting my resignation is this: A peace magazine should be only such; its editors should neither have direct political affiliations, nor maintain an openly expressed political viewpoint. *SANITY's* virtue is that it rises above left factionalism. Should an editor of the magazine be known as Trotskyist, the magazine would be tainted as left sectarian, and would lose its independent nature — a possible rallying point for a nonsectarian peace movement.

This position rests on three arguments: 1) A peace magazine should not express a political

(Continued on Page 6)

### Don't Miss An Issue

of the

## YOUNG SOCIALIST

Future issues will feature:

- Complete coverage of the Bloomington "subversion" trial.
- News of the student movement, North and South, and of the international socialist youth movement.

One year, one dollar     New     Renewal

Name.....

Address.....

YS, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y.