

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

MAY, 1967

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**What Is Independent  
Political Action?  
- A Socialist View**  
By Peter Camejo

● **How The Bloomington Case Was Won**

● **Malcolm X On The Vietnam War**

● **Special Feature: 6th National Convention  
Of The YSA**

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

# Young Socialist Notes

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MAY 1967

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## Table of Contents

EDITORIAL .....	.3
HOW BLOOMINGTON CASE WON .....	.4
INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION .....	.8
YSA CONVENTION .....	.12
MALCOLM X ON VIETNAM .....	.16
SOCIALIST CONFERENCES .....	.18

## In This Issue

PETER CAMEJO, former National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, has been a leader of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. He was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Berkeley this spring and is currently a junior history major at the University of California in Berkeley.

JANET DANIELS is a National Executive Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance and is the Business Manager of the Young Socialist.

PEGGY BRUNDY is an active leader in the New York Young Socialist Alliance.



**Federal Charges in Atlanta SNCC Case:** Seven members of Atlanta SNCC were recently indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges stemming from an anti-draft demonstration August 18, 1966. Twelve people arrested in the demonstration spent three months in jail for other misdemeanor charges, and now seven of the twelve have been charged with "interfering with the administration of the Universal Military Training Act" and with "destruction of Federal property." Other members of the group have been charged with everything from "draft evasion" to "insurrection", which carries a possible death penalty in Georgia.

Mike Simmons, a spokesman for the group, said he feared that maximum penalties would be imposed as a result of war hysteria and racism, and added that the indictments should be seen as an attempt to break the spirit of black people and destroy SNCC by draining its treasury in legal battles. Contributions for bail and legal defense may be sent to: Legal Aid and Defense Fund of the Seven, c/o SNCC, 360 Nelson St. S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

**Student Mobilization Committee Carries Out National Campaign:** The Student Mobilization Committee, founded by student groups from around the nation in late 1966, has carried out a national program of coordination and organization in the process of building the April 8th to 15th Vietnam Week. Several issues of the "Student Mobilizer" have been published, and the committee put out buttons, sponsored speaking tours and built local actions during the course of its work. The response from high school and college campuses in almost every area has been very good, as indicated by the fact that 100,000 calls for Vietnam Week were distributed in a relatively short period of time. Successful conferences that were held in the major regions of the country have also pointed out the breadth and unity that the Mobilization has been able to achieve.

The student Committee's address is 29 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038.

\* \* \* \* \*

Cover photo. YSAers carry own banner calling for a break with the Democratic and Republican Parties during a demonstration in San Francisco on Aug. 6, 1966.



# EDITORIAL

## YS BECOMES A MONTHLY

The *Young Socialist* will be ten years old in October of this year making it the oldest socialist youth publication in the United States today.

During our ten year history the form and content of the *YS* has varied significantly reflecting different stages in the growth of the revolutionary socialist youth movement in the United States.

The *YS* began publication as a newspaper in 1957 during the period when a shaking up and regrouping process was taking place in the radical movement as a result of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin.

During this initial period the *YS* strove to be a forum for the different tendencies moving toward revolutionary socialist answers to these questions.

It was the programmatic organizer that drew *YS* supporter groups around it in many cities which became the basic units of the Young Socialist Alliance, established at a convention in 1960.

From April of 1960 to October of 1964, the *YS* continued to appear as a monthly newspaper, now the organ of the YSA. It reported on and defended the Cuban Revolution, the Southern civil rights demonstrations and supporter actions in the North, the ban-the-bomb movement, and the defense of three Bloomington YSAers indicted by an Indiana witchhunter.

In October, 1964, the *YS* changed to its present magazine format. It was felt at that time that we were not coming out often enough to feature "news" and that use of pictures and color with a magazine format would make a more attractive publication.

Since the change to a magazine the *YS* has expanded and extended its influence in the radical youth movement. It was found that the new format proved to be a substantial help in reaching larger numbers of radicalizing youth, was more attractive, and sold more readily.

For the past two years the *YS* has reported, analyzed and waged a campaign around the antiwar movement and the Vietnam war and most of our new readers have come from the student wing of the organized antiwar movement.

We have also given wide coverage and support to the development of the black power tendency in the Negro struggle and the emergence of the Lowndes County Freedom (Black Panther) party.

Despite the progress the *YS* has made we are still not entirely satisfied with it and consequently have been evaluating how it can be improved.

As a result of our evaluation we are making several changes which we hope will improve the magazine.

One of the most common criticisms of the *YS* has been that we have not carried enough material on current issues and controversies. Consequently we are planning to deal more directly with the discussions and debates going on among radical youth especially within the antiwar movement. In the February-March issue we made a start along this line by carrying a couple of articles discussing some of our differences with SDS.

As part of our greater emphasis on participating in the debates going on within the movement, we are encouraging our readers to send in their comments on articles in the *YS*. We hope to be able to receive enough letters and comments to reserve a couple of pages for them regularly.

Next we are hoping to have more variety including articles on music, art, political satire, American history, etc. For example we have been promised for the next issue a short article on jazz.

We are also planning to give more coverage to the activities of revolutionary socialist youth—conferences and tours held by the Young Socialist Alliance, socialist election campaigns, socialist activities on the campus, etc. For example in this issue we devoted four pages to a special feature of the YSA's recent convention.

In conjunction with these changes in content we are also making some changes in format. First of all we are going to try and put the *YS* out on a monthly basis (bi-monthly during the summer) beginning with this issue. We skipped April so that this issue would not be out of date. This new schedule will enable us to deal with a broader range of material as well as have more up-to-date coverage of important questions and events. Each issue will vary between 16 and 24 pages depending on material available and finances.

Second we are lowering the price of each issue to 15 cents which will help us to expand our circulation. The price of a year's subscription will remain one dollar.



Youngest  
YS reader

MAY 1967

BY JANET DANIELS

Militants in the forefront of working class and radical movements are frequently victimized for their views and activities, both by the forces of "law and order" and outside the "legal" framework. The witchhunting apparatus set up in the 1950's has facilitated such attacks by supplying state "sedition" laws, Congressional investigating committees, and blacklists. These instruments of persecution have been used with increasing frequency in recent years against antiwar fighters, black militants, and young radicals in attempts to intimidate and destroy the movements they represent.

But these movements are not so easily destroyed. Young militants are learning that a strong united defense can beat back these attacks and fight them to a standstill. The Bloomington Case offers an outstanding example of how one such witchhunt was fought—and defeated.

\* \* \*

In May, 1963, Jim Bingham, Ralph Levitt, and Tom Morgan, officers of the Young Socialist Alliance local at Indiana University, were catapulted

into national prominence as the first students in American history to be criminally indicted for their political ideas. All native Hoosiers in their early twenties, they were charged with "attempting to overthrow the government of the state of Indiana and the U. S." Their sole "crime" was an adherence to socialist ideas and a belief that they had a democratic right to hold and promote these ideas. Their indictment came as the culmination of a right-wing campaign to eliminate the presence of socialist ideas from the I. U. campus.

The Bloomington story opens in 1962 when a group of Young Socialist Alliance members at Indiana University began a long and arduous fight for recognition as an official campus organization. After two refusals by the Student Senate, they finally won the right to function as a regular campus group: to use campus facilities, to have campus meetings, and present their views to fellow students.

During this struggle for campus recognition, a

# HOW THE BLOOMINGTON CASE WAS WON

Ralph Levitt,  
Jim Bingham,  
Tom Morgan



demonstration was organized in October 1962 to protest the U. S. blockade of Cuba. As defenders of the Cuban revolution, the YSA members participated and helped build the protest, small as it was. When the line of 17 students marched to the library steps it was met by hundreds of right-wing fraternity boys and townspeople who jeered and physically attacked the demonstrators. The city and campus police stood by and watched. It was their job, they later maintained, to protect the rights of *Americans* that day. The dissenters against administration foreign policy were not regarded as citizens with equal rights.

In January, shortly after this demonstration, the newly elected Monroe County Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley began his first term. Narrowly elected in a recount, this scion of a local stone quarry magnate saw an opportunity to make a political reputation out of the fact that a socialist group functioned on the University campus. Ten years after McCarthy's political demise, Hoadley thought he could exploit the anti-communist issue to achieve political prominence in the state. The launching pad for what he hoped would be a meteoric career was a ferocious red-baiting and witchhunting campaign against the YSA.

YSA members had been knocked down and beaten by some of the October counter-demonstrators. Hoadley's first action upon assuming office was to dismiss the charges against the two townspeople who had been arrested for these assaults and to publicly state he was investigating the role of the YSA in "inciting to riot during the October demonstration."

He then attempted to coerce the University into withdrawing the hard-won recognition of the organization. He pointed out in a newspaper interview that the University would be saved much embarrassment if it would simply comply with his request. Later he reiterated that the indictment of the three students could be dropped if the University would withdraw its recognition. "My purpose is to remove it [YSA] from campus facilities." But the University administration refused to bow to Hoadley's demands.

When the University did not submit to these pressures, Hoadley turned to other devices. Through the press, word of mouth, and personal coercion, he subjected the YSA to an unremitting smear campaign of innuendo, slander and name-calling. Like McCarthy, he was unconcerned about the truth or the facts. He simply broadcast his unfounded allegations and let the publicity media extend and embellish them. Although the YSA several times challenged him to a public debate, he refused, preferring

the use of slanders to a direct and open confrontation. Thus the YSA was tried and found guilty in newspaper scare stories months before its members were indicted.

Hoadley attributed numerous crimes to the YSA. One of the most quoted was his public statement that the Indiana University chapter of the YSA had been founded by "a Moscow-trained agent" sent for that purpose. Newspaper stories pictured the "outside agitator" furtively arriving on the I. U. campus to recruit its 15-person YSA local.

Actually the YSA local had been started by a young graduate student who had come to I. U. after completing his undergraduate work at Harvard. He chose I. U. simply because he had received a scholarship to study there. (Hoadley never explained why he considered Cambridge, Massachusetts synonymous with Moscow.)

This ridiculous charge was refuted most graphically by an I. U. student, who was not a YSA member, in the following letter to the local daily paper:

"And, finally the most fantastic fabrication of all. The man [Hoadley] tries to make us believe that *Russia* sent a man and wife to Bloomington, Indiana, to start a Trotskyist organization. Does Hoadley think we are fools? The Communist Party *hates* Trotskyism. He [Stalin] chased Trotsky himself out of Russia, followed him to Mexico and *smashed in* his head with a pickaxe. The Party *still* rages against Trotskyism. When the Russians and Chinese accuse each other of 'Trotskyist tendencies'—this is intended as the *ultimate* insult." (Emphasis in the original)

Another of Hoadley's smears centered on an accusation that the YSA recruited through the use of marijuana. His grounds? He had found some socialist literature when he searched the apartment of a girl under surveillance for its use. The girl herself had no sympathy for the YSA and was so infuriated that she began legal proceedings against Hoadley for linking her with a radical organization.

He then accused the YSA of "carrying on a running gun battle with the state of Kentucky" because its members had participated in a food and clothing collection for striking Hazard, Kentucky miners.

His charges were so outlandish that even local politicians became somewhat disgruntled. One, state Senator, David Rogers, said: "I don't know what Hoadley is trying to do, but it appears he is trying to run for President through all this publicity."

Hoadley was unsuccessful in obtaining the removal of the YSA from the campus through slanders. Immediately following Hoadley's attacks, the

Bloomington Defense Committee was formed by civil libertarians who saw the danger in what he was doing. It issued statements refuting the lies and libels and called on other individuals to protest Hoadley's actions. The YSA itself countered the harassment and intimidation by publicly explaining Hoadley's falsifications of its political positions and activities.

When Hoadley's smear tactics failed, he had to take more serious measures. This time he took off the shelf a 1951 "state subversive" act which had been passed during the McCarthy era but not used by a single Indiana prosecutor in its 11 year history. The Indiana Anti-Communism Act, as it is called, had as its explicit purpose to "exterminate communists and communism and any and all teachings of the same." It outlines what an individual or group can "say," "publish," "edit," "distribute," or even think in Indiana. The law is similar to "sedition" statutes which exist in other states, but which, when tested, have been found unconstitutional by the courts.

Hoadley himself stated: "It may be that our 1951 act is unconstitutional. However, until it is proven to be unconstitutional, it's on the books." On this basis he proceeded on May 1, 1963, to indict the three campus officers of the YSA under its provisions.

He specifically charged that a public campus meeting sponsored by the YSA on March 25, 1964, at which a young Negro civil rights fighter, a national officer of the YSA, had spoken on the black man's struggle for freedom now, was clearly intended to "advocate the overthrow of the government of the state of Indiana and the U.S." The three students who had *attended* this meeting were guilty according to Hoadley of "aiding" and "abetting" the plot. He failed to point out that 125 other people (including faculty members and townspeople) had also attended this publicly advertised meeting.

On May 2, the day after this indictment, the three defendants met with some friends and two attorneys in a private home to plan their defense. Hoadley, determined to trump up evidence of more "subversive plots," had sought the cooperation of a compliant landlord and proceeded to tape record this conversation through a heating duct. Thus, when the first indictment was quashed because of faulty wording, Hoadley secured a second indictment which included not only the original March 25 campus meeting but also the May 2nd conference with their attorneys in a private home. The three students now faced the prospect of six-year prison terms for being socialists.

Hoadley's witchhunt did not stop with the indictments but extended beyond the YSA to the harassment of individuals in any way associated with the three students. A young couple, students at Indiana University who were friends of the defendants, were evicted from their apartment in the middle of finals week. The families of the three young men received intimidating phone calls. The local Bloomington paper published a list of all contributors to the student defense fund, thus implying guilt by association.

The effect of the campaign upon the community was described by Jim Bingham, one of the three defendants: "The witchhunt atmosphere pervaded the entire town. There was no getting away from it. When we would go into a restaurant for a cup of coffee, people would turn to look, nudge one another, and begin talking among themselves. We never knew if they were going to physically attack us, or just give us the cold shoulder."

The three indicted YSA members were similar to other newly radicalized young people on various campuses throughout the United States. Like many of their generation, they had followed the Cuban revolution with enthusiasm and were opposed to Washington's attempts to destroy the gains that were being made there. They had seen black people in the South sit-in, march, and protest for elementary rights, only to be beaten, tortured, and sometimes killed. They had watched increasing numbers of troops sent to Vietnam to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

When reporters asked why they had become socialists, their answers expressed the feelings and outlook of many student radicals who are looking for an alternative to what they see around them. As Ralph Levitt explained: "I was a Republican as an undergraduate, then voted for Kennedy in 1960. But I began to give a great deal of thought to a system in which one per cent of the popula-

## THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X

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tion [who] owns the nation's industry exerts greater influence than the majority of the people. I began to look for a more cogent answer to the problems of racism, the threat of nuclear war, and poverty."

Tom Morgan agreed: "We think socialism is the only trend for the future. It is the only rational solution to the big problems which plague our time."

They had joined the YSA because it was defending the movements they themselves supported—the Cuban revolution, the right of the colonial people to self-determination, the struggles of black freedom fighters in the South and in the North. The YSA acted on its ideas by bringing speakers to campuses, joining protests, and convincing other young people to join them.

It was this Hoadley was opposing—their "crime" of opposing the inequalities and brutality of the capitalist system, of speaking out about the wrongs they saw, and offering a socialist solution to them. He was infuriated by their refusal to be intimidated by his threats. And he hoped to suppress and silence them.

However, Hoadley failed to reckon with one factor—the capability of young dissenters, and the YSA as an organization, to fight back. He was not dealing with the fear-ridden "silent generation" of the 1950's. The student radicals in Bloomington were not isolated to Indiana or exceptional. On the contrary, they were representative of young people all over the country who were reaching similar conclusions and maintaining they had a right to their radical ideas.

### Fighting the Witchhunt

The three indicted students were born about the time the first Smith Act victims were prosecuted in 1941. They were starting grade school when the so-called "subversive list" was being compiled by the Justice Department and in high school when McCarthy was at his peak. Now that they themselves were victims of a witchhunt, they turned to people who had had experience in these past cases.

One of the first individuals they contacted after the indictment was George Novack. A noted Marxist scholar and author, he had for more than thirty years been an active participant in the field of civil liberties. As National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, he had helped organize the defense for the first Smith Act victims in 1941. He explained to the defendants and their associates some of the basic principles in fighting witchhunters like Hoadley.

"From the time of the Haymarket martyrs," he

wrote them, "through the days of the International Labor Defense to the present, the socialist movement has traditionally closed ranks behind victims of capitalist oppression and political harassment. Regardless of ideological differences among political organizations, a strong and united defense against these attacks is the only way they can be defeated. If witchhunters and political persecutors are successful in victimizing *any* individual for political ideas, they will utilize this as a license to attack whenever and wherever they want. The slogan of the old "Wobblies," 'An injury to one is an injury too all' is one of the primary principles of the socialist movement.

"There is another equally important tradition of militancy in this country that goes back to the First American Revolution. When our just rights are attacked, we fight back. We don't keep quiet in the hope that the reactionaries in power will find out that we are "respectable" and ready to water down our ideas. As socialists, we have a constitutional warrant to hold and advocate our ideas. If American democracy means democracy only for Republicans and Democrats, then the Bill of Rights becomes a sham and a fraud.

"We ask other people, not to agree with us politically, but to defend our rights and join with us in fighting the case for the sake of the civil liberties issues involved. For, if encroachments like this are allowed to continue unabated, the freedoms of all Americans are threatened by the precedent."

As an example of how to conduct a defense campaign he cited the case of Jimmy Kutcher, a veteran who had both legs shot off in World War II. In 1948, after securing a civil service job following his hospital release, the Veterans Administration in Newark, N.J., fired him because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Kutcher and his defense committee set out to challenge the whole loyalty program. Thousands of individuals came to Kutcher's aid, not because they agreed with the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party, not only because of the dramatic injustice to the individual, but because they saw in the loyalty oaths, subversive lists and political harassment, infringements on their own basic freedoms. After eight years and a prolonged series of administrative and court appeals, Kutcher won his case and got back his job, complete with back pay.

"So today," said Novack, "there are many people who may not agree with your ideas, but who do believe that all ideas should be voiced and heard. They will uphold your right to speak out against

(continued on page 19)



Peter Camejo speaks to Berkeley high school students during Malcolm X Memorial meeting.

# What Is Independent Political Action? -A Socialist View

BY PETE CAMEJO

The growth of the opposition to the Vietnam war and the emergence of the black power current in the Negro struggle have generated considerable thinking among student radicals and black militants about what kinds of political organizations are necessary to change this society.

One of the central questions that is discussed is whether or not it is necessary to break with the Democratic Party and organize independent political organizations.

As the national elections in 1968 draw closer, militants in the antiwar and Negro movements will continually have to confront this issue. There is already widespread talk about the possibility of Robert Kennedy running as a "peace candidate" in the Democratic Party primaries for president. In addition, as long as the war continues we can expect more and more local "peace candidates" to appear.

If the antiwar movement is to avoid being diverted into Democratic Party politics under the guise of supporting "peace candidates" or "new politics", it is very important that we understand clearly the nature of the Democratic Party and what are effective independent alternatives to it.

The city election campaign in Berkeley this spring raised some of these questions directly. With candidates from the Socialist Workers Party, Community for New Politics and the Republican Party, in addition to Jerry Rubin, former Vietnam Day Committee leader, running in the elections, this was considered one of the most lively campaigns in Berkeley history.

The Community for New Politics is the organizational continuation of Robert Scheer's unsuccessful Democratic Party primary campaign last spring against incumbent Congressman, Jeffrey Cohelan. It is one of the most active components of the California Conference for New Politics established at a state-wide meeting last September. This group has representatives on the National Conference for New Politics which has its headquarters in New York.

The Berkeley CNP ran three candidates for Berkeley City Council and one for City Auditor but had no mayoralty candidate.

The Socialist Workers Party ran Peter Camejo, former

National Secretary of the YSA, for Mayor, Ernest Erlbeck for Board of Education, and Jaimey Allen, Brian Shannon and Ove Aspoy for City Council.

Jerry Rubin ran as an independent, for Mayor.

We are reprinting excerpts from three articles written by Peter Camejo for the **Berkeley Barb** (circulation 16,000) during the election campaign. These articles deal with many questions raised during the campaign which are also relevant for radicals all over the country who are seriously concerned about changing American society.

## \* \* \* COP — THE COMMUNITY FOR OLD POLITICS (I)

(The following excerpts are from the first in a series of articles by Peter Camejo written for the **Berkeley Barb**. This article appeared on Jan. 6, 1967.)

\* \* \*  
Can America eliminate war, racism and poverty within the context of its present capitalist order. . . ? Can this system be patched up, modified or in some way reformed to remove these basic problems?

We say no. It is possible to win modifications, but only within the general context of war, racism and poverty. It is impossible to break out of that context precisely because the system itself is the cause of the problems.

Some believe these problems exist because we have the wrong individuals heading up the government. To them it is a question of good guys versus bad guys. Take, for instance, the organizations supporting Kennedy and Fulbright. They project solving or beginning to solve some of these problems by changing the President and Vice-President.

This illusion stems from two incorrect premises. One is that our system is ruled by individuals



rather than a class. The second is that given the right individuals or even the right "section" of the ruling class this system could be made to work in a fundamentally different direction.

This philosophy, which is typical of middle-class protest movements, had its heyday in 1964. . . .

We were told that by supporting LBJ we would deal a blow to the right, have a more peaceful foreign policy, and save the poverty program.

The "left sectarians" didn't agree. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party warned in '64 that nothing would assure a turn to the right more than the containment within the Democratic Party of the labor, civil rights and student movements. The SWP held that a massive vote for LBJ would only confirm the ruling class's political hold on the people and assure an escalation in Vietnam.

Our opposition to LBJ was not only based on the fact that he was, and is, a racist, union-busting, reactionary, demagogic hypocrite. We would have opposed anyone who ran as a representative of the Democratic Party. Our opposition to the Democratic Party stems from opposition to the class which controls that party. Any candidate put up by or representing the ruling class, whether it be through the Democratic Party, Republican Party or independently we would oppose. The key to independent politics is not independence from the Democratic Party as such, but independence from the politics of the ruling class.

### Coalition Politics

The grand coalition for LBJ was based upon the concept that America can be reformed of its ills if the Negro people, the workers and the students get behind the liberals in the ruling class. This is usually termed "coalition politics."

A slightly more sophisticated and radical variant on the same theme is the idea that "establishment" politicians aren't bright enough, and what we need are some bright middle class intellectuals to get in there and do the job. This second variant usually prides itself on not being "in" the Democratic Party, but just taking advantage of it, using it, outmaneuvering it.

The student movement, precisely because of its middle class nature, is faced with the problem of forming a coalition with some force in society strong enough to bring about social change. There are two fundamental directions which it can take. It can seek a coalition with part of the ruling class or with the working class and Negro people against all sections of the ruling class.

### Independent Politics

The single most urgent need of the labor movement and the Negro people is to have their own political arm, their own party. Today strikes are broken with antilabor laws and injunctions. Yet labor hasn't a single representative in Congress to protect its interests. Soon the war in Vietnam will not only hit the welfare of the people through inflation and curtailment of what phony minimal "poverty program" exists, but through direct additional taxes to pay for the war. More working people will begin to reconsider their political affiliations and concepts. The whole "Black Power" movement is a reflection of the changing situation within the Negro community.

The student radicals should not be adding to the illusions already created by the Democratic and Republican Parties through the mass media, but should call for a definitive, uncompromising break from the Democrats and Republicans. The student radicals should support working people and Negro people organizing for themselves, relying on themselves, and not depending on any section of the ruling or middle class.

The Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama is the only working class political formation with a mass base in the United States. Students who consider themselves radical should support the concept of the Black Panther Party, and not only for Lowndes, but for Watts, Harlem and Oakland. . . .

### COP — THE COMMUNITY FOR OLD POLITICS (II)

(The following is the complete article that appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, Jan. 13, 1967.)

\* \* \*

Just as the Negro people in Lowndes were deciding to quit the Democratic Party, Scheer's supporters were registering the Negroes in Oakland for the Democratic Party so they would enjoy the privilege of voting for Robert Scheer. Meanwhile Scheer was "clarifying" things by explaining to the VDC [Vietnam Day Committee] that the establishment's ability depended more on the "radio" than on the Democratic Party, a party of "fuddyduddies."

Stokely Carmichael was coming to the opposite conclusion from his experience in the Mississippi Freedom Party and the '64 elections. When asked about the Northern Democratic Party (the "fuddyduddies") he said: "The Democratic Party in this country is the most treacherous enemy of the Negro, period."

Scheer, who sees the whole Democratic Party question as a "tactical" one, is representative of a large section of student radicals. The Community for New Politics reflects this viewpoint. The CNP in its literature elucidates the problems which exist today within Oakland and Berkeley in detail, and carefully documents what it says. Little, however, is written about solutions, but the actions of the CNP speak volumes as to its orientation.

Does the CNP propose working people and Negro people quit the Democratic Party and form their own political organization? Quite the contrary. The CNP registered more new Democrats, including a fair share of Negroes and workers, than any "official" Democratic Party group. In their numerous pieces of literature one cannot find a single line urging people to quit the Democratic Party, much less to build a labor party against the Democrats.

And search as you might, you won't find a word calling for a Black Panther Party in Oakland or even a favorable mention of the Black Panther Party in Lowndes. You will find a lot of rhetoric about new politics, new style in politics, new imagination in politics, etc.

Does the CNP oppose the concept that it is a question of "good" versus "bad" candidates? Do they explain that the Democratic and Republican parties are a trap for people who want a radical change, who want to oppose war? No. The Southern California CNP makes it explicit in their brochure explaining the purpose of the CNP. They state: "We will only support candidates who fight for our needs whether these candidates are Democrats, Republicans or independents."

In Los Angeles the CNP-CLR conference of last September discussed at length whether Brown was a good guy or a bad guy. Brown lost 7 to 5, but the political illusions about the Democratic Party, about the ruling class as a whole and about the individualist approach remained basically unchallenged.

Attempts to get an individual elected in a Democratic primary or in so-called "non-partisan" elections is the oldest, most futile politics one can imagine. Organizations and whole movements such as the trade unions, civil rights groups and the Communist Party devoted themselves to working within the Democratic Party for the last 30 years. Their single achievement amounts to the fact that the working and Negro people have no political power and the Democratic Party is stronger than ever.

The Scheer for Congress campaign was one of the largest of these campaigns in recent times. Its

budget of 70,000 dollars (CNP figure) is supposed to be the largest ever for a House congressional election in the State of California. And what did it achieve? According to the CNP in a recent mailing: "(The campaign) achieved results beyond the wildest expectations. . . ."

What were these achievements? A mass movement? A new labor party? Not quite. According to the CNP there were three achievements. They say: "We caused waves all the way to the White House; we forced Cohelan leftward (sic) and we created a national model for the political alliance of liberals and radicals. . . ."

These accomplishments leave you almost breathless until you realize that the White House does not respond to "waves"; whether Cohelan talks or acts a little bit more liberal will change absolutely nothing, and most of all, their model of a political alliance between the new radicals and the old liberals is the surest way to hell for the new left.

When ever a new radical protest movement comes along the liberals have tried to encompass it and thus make it impotent. This is usually done by corralling the radicals into some sort of Democratic Party reform movement, but it can also be achieved by temporarily stepping out of the Democratic Party framework to get the radicals huddled up with the liberals. In this manner mass radical protests have collapsed into a whimper. Through this "political alliance" the radicals are harnessed, silenced and kept from becoming a threat to the system. They then become full members of that Community for Old Politics (COP) which has been around in one form or another for a long time.

The Socialist Workers Party is running a slate of candidates in the city elections as socialists in order to engage in an educational campaign on the issue of independent political action, as well as many important issues where we have agreement with most people in the CNP. Our campaign will be geared to fight the prejudices against socialism and the socialist movement created by the mass media. We believe socialists should stop submerging themselves in liberal formations and openly campaign for a socialist society.

We believe open confrontation on differences within the radical left can be very constructive. This is especially true if it does not prevent the fullest collaboration where there is the basis for agreement. The SWP urges the CNP and all groups that support the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination to close ranks in placing the Dearborn referendum on the ballot in Berkeley and winning the largest possible vote against the war in Vietnam.

## CNP, RUBIN AND SOCIALISTS — WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

(The following is the major portion of an article that appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, Feb. 25, 1967.)

\* \* \*

The *Gazette* ran a headline February 9th which said, "Five Trotskyites in Race. . . ." To the average American, "Trotskyite" sounds like some sort of foreign disease or obscurantist religious cult. The label is carefully geared to closed minds. The *Gazette* is always careful to follow with "Trotskyite Communist . . . cited by the Attorney General as subversive."

The *S. F. Chronicle* and other major dailies have not been much different.

The red-baiting slander campaign against socialists has been effectively carried out for the last twenty years. The purpose of the red-baiters is to make socialist ideas or even the discussion of a socialist alternative taboo in American political life. . . .

The central point of this campaign is the call for an uncompromising break from the Democratic and Republican Parties by labor and by the Negro people as the starting point for building a movement that can change America. In an earlier *Barb* article, we explained why we believe this break is a prerequisite to any important changes, and why we criticize the CNP for their position of working within the Democratic Party.

The CNP answered our criticism indirectly in an article by Bob Avakian in the *Barb*. Like a skilled politician, Avakian skirted around the key issue we raised and never mentioned the Democratic Party. Instead he made a passing reference to "a tightly-disciplined revolutionary Marxist Vanguard Party" as being "irrelevant." By falling back on the general ignorance and prejudice of Americans against "Marxism" and a party being "tightly-knit" (just like the "commies" in TV land), Avakian simply avoids dealing with criticisms from such an "irrelevant" source.

Recently the CNP voted down 9-1 a CNPer who wanted to run for City Council on a third-party position, which is only one more indication of their implicit position of working within the Democratic Party. But there are special reasons why they do not want to discuss this position in this campaign.

If the CNP came out against the Democratic

Party and for a third party they would lose their professional Democrats (CDCers) [California Democratic Council members] and their CPers [Communist Party members] who are deeply embedded in Democratic Party politicking. On the other hand, if they openly came out for working within the Democratic Party they would lose those students who have joined them since the Scheer Campaign, such as the ISCers [Independent Socialist Club members] and PLers [Progressive Labor Party members] who are for some sort of "third party."

So like an astute vote-getting politician, what does Avakian do? He opposes a "tightly-disciplined revolutionary Marxist Party" while not saying a word about the Democratic Party.

The CNP offers a simple solution to all our problems. "To build a society in which war, racism, poverty and exploitation are eliminated" just vote a few bright middle-class CNPers into office. We don't agree. First we need to build a mass party of labor and of the Negro people against the Democrats and Republicans. Then we can seriously talk of ending war and racism in America.

We must start by winning the new student radicals away from working in the Democratic Party and towards preparing for the inevitable and already-beginning radicalization of the working people in America. After all, the same factors that are radicalizing students today will radicalize the rest of America tomorrow.

When Jerry Rubin was asked why he was running against us, he did little better than Avakian. Rubin stated, "Camejo's campaign is extremely ideological and theoretical and is a reflection of the view of his political party." It may come as a surprise to Rubin, but most political parties run candidates who represent their viewpoint.

But what is too "ideological and theoretical" in the socialist program? Demanding the right to vote on Vietnam? Ending the draft? Removal of the witchhunting laws? Demanding war profits be taxed rather than charging tuition? Calling for nationalization of PG & E? Calling for independent political action like the Black Panther Party? etc. etc.

Rather than stating concretely his disagreements with us, Rubin appeals to the general prejudice that socialists are "irrelevant. . . ."

We believe only the working people and the Negro people represent social layers strong enough to change our capitalist order and replace it with a just social order — socialism. Where does Rubin and/or the CNP stand? Are they for socialism? Or is it "irrelevant," or maybe taboo for them even to discuss?





# Sixth National Convention YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

By Les Evans

Almost three hundred students and young people from all over the United States met in Detroit March 24-26 for the Sixth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. They came by car, plane and chartered bus. YSAers attended from as far away as Seattle, Baltimore, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Madison. Two visitors from Atlanta joined at the convention.

Large delegations were present from New York, Berkeley, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston, and Cleveland. More than 40 came from the West Coast at a cost of more than \$100 each, raised entirely by themselves.

The spirited gathering marked a significant stride forward for the YSA in terms of its size, political maturity and influence. As the reports came in, it became clear that in the last year, the YSA has emerged as the largest and strongest socialist youth organization in the country.

The convention was the culmination of a three month discussion period in YSA locals across the country on the major political questions facing radicals in America today. The locals then elected delegates to the convention on the basis of their political views, with the right of proportional representation for minority viewpoints.

The convention is the highest body of the YSA, representing all geographical areas and political positions of the membership throughout the nation. The convention decides YSA policy on all basic questions until the next convention. The delegates, traditionally chosen from the ranks of the



Nearly 300 people listen to Derrick Morrison give report on the Negro struggle



Steve Chase, Boston, discusses the anti-war movement



Doug Jenness, new national organizational secretary gives organizational report



Mary-Alice Waters, new national secretary, presents the political report



Lew Jones, national chairman, reads notes before presenting antiwar report



Betsey Barnes, outgoing national secretary of the YSA



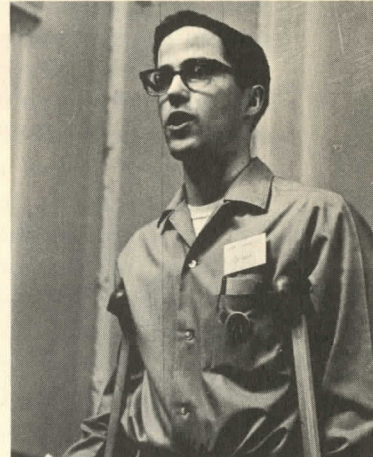
Tom Kerry gives fraternal greetings from the Socialist Workers Party



Three panels were held on civil liberties and defense work, publications, and recruitment

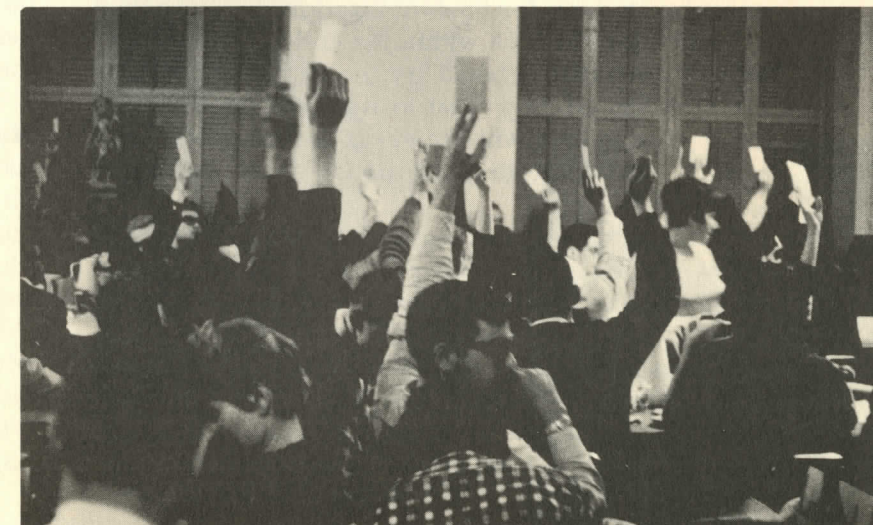


Ralph Levitt, one of the three Bloomington defendants, reports on the victory of the Bloomington case



Jan Garrett, national committee member from Detroit, suggests improvements for the YS

Delegates voting to approve antiwar resolution and report





membership, also elect a new national leadership for the period between conventions.

The convention was opened on Friday by Lew Jones, national chairman of the YSA. He invited Tom Kerry, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and editor of the *International Socialist Review*, to present fraternal greetings from the SWP to the convention.

Kerry pointed to the responsibility of socialists to defend the Vietnamese revolution by demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and building the antiwar movement into a massive force in the United States. He stressed the need to build a revolutionary socialist party based on the principles of Lenin to organize the defeat of capitalism. This, he said, would be the only way to finally end the threat of war.

The convention in its three days and nights of intensive deliberations took up the American antiwar movement, the general political prospects for socialist youth in the U.S. and internationally, and the black freedom struggle in this country. It also dealt extensively with the organizational opportunities and perspectives of the YSA.

Lew Jones delivered the major antiwar report. He outlined the contribution of the YSA, in cooperation with the SWP, in helping to build the broad coalition of forces against the war that has culminated in the Spring Mobilization Committee and the April 15 Mobilization. He emphasized the importance of the non-exclusive character of the movement. The movement solicits participation from both radical and more conservative organizations on the single criterion of opposition to the war. To insist on adherence to the specific viewpoint of any one tendency, he pointed out, would have the effect of excluding those who did not agree. He discussed the importance of the entry of sections of the labor movement into the antiwar struggle for the first time. He particularly emphasized the importance of the Student Mobilization Committee and the important role it is playing to organize students for the Mobilization.

Tactics for the YSA within the antiwar movement were vigorously debated by the delegates around the question of how best to advance the demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops while preserving and extending the united front that now exists.

Saturday's sessions began with the general political report given by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Young Socialist*. She described the opportunities before the YSA and its co-thinkers in other countries throughout the world. Both the Socialist and Communist parties and their youth organizations have failed to wage a consistent struggle against American imperialist aggression in Viet-

nam. This places a heavy responsibility on revolutionary socialist youth like the YSA.

She showed how the YSA and its co-thinkers have risen to the challenge, pointing to the growing antiwar movement in this and other countries. As an example, she cited the European-wide demonstration against the Vietnam war held at Liege, in Belgium last October, where she addressed the rally in the name of the YSA.

She warned that as the 1968 elections approach, liberals and many "socialists" would increase the pressure to blunt the antiwar movement by channelling it into support for so-called "peace" candidates, and away from mass mobilizations against the war.

Derrick Morrison, YSA national committee member from Detroit reported on the Negro struggle. He said that "The 1964 rebellions in Northern ghettos exploded the myth of progress under capitalism." He charged that the "war on crime" is an "excuse for beefing up local police forces to use against the ghetto masses."

Morrison described the spread of the ideas of Malcolm X and their effect on the rise of the black power movement. He said that "The question of black power rests in the last analysis on a break with the Republican and Democratic parties." He gave the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Alabama as the best example of black power today.

The session closed Saturday afternoon with a report on the Bloomington Case (see story, page 4). The YSA has been fighting this witchhunt attack on three of its members indicted for "subversion" in Bloomington, Indiana, for four and-a-half years. Joyce DeGroot, national secretary of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, told the enthusiastic audience that the case has finally resulted in a victory for the defendants.

Ralph Levitt, speaking for the three defendants received a tremendous ovation when he described how the YSA had mobilized its entire resources in defense of its members under attack and defeated the Hoosier witchhunt.

The seriousness with which YSAers take the implementation of their ideas showed itself in the turnout of more than 150 to a panel discussion on "Recruitment" held Saturday night. This was the highlight of a series of three panels held on various aspects of YSA work. The other two panels were on "Defense Work" and "Publications."

Following the panels a lively party was held where local YSA talent was pooled together to provide entertainment for the evening.

On Sunday morning, Doug Jenness, YSA national executive committee member, presented the

organizational report. He reported important gains for the YSA in all fields: recruitment of new members, circulation of its press and publications, substantial increase in its finances, and the building of a leadership team across the nation with a deep commitment to the creation of a socialist society.

He pointed out that the income of the YSA had increased 10 times in the last five years, based solely on contributions from its own members. He said that "The YSA is the only youth organization in the country that is financially self-sufficient," and probably the only one that is "in the black."

Jeness announced plans to expand the *Young Socialist* from a bi-monthly to a monthly publication. He reported that the YSA's pamphlet, *War and Revolution in Vietnam*, has sold over 25,000 copies. More than 54,000 copies of three brochures printed by the YSA to build April 15 had already been distributed.

Three trips were made by YSA leaders to Lowndes County, Alabama, last year. Reports on developments of the Freedom Party there were printed in the *YS* and in the pamphlet *The Black Panther Party*, published by Merit Publishers.

Four national speaking tours were made by YSA leaders in the year since the previous convention. They covered all sections of the U.S., including the South. Thousands of students heard YSA speakers on the war in Vietnam, the Black Panther Party and the "new left."

The YSA has also carried out extensive educational work in the basic political, philosophical and economic ideas of Marxism over the past year. Ten locals ran extensive summer schools last year with numerous classes on various subjects.

Most impressive under both the organizational and antiwar points on the agenda were reports on YSA participation in the antiwar movement. It was clear from area reports and discussion that YSAers have been very active in campus and city-wide organizations and committees against the war from coast to coast. Doug Jeness summed this up when he commented that "many of the leaders of the antiwar movement are at this convention."

After the organizational report the new national committee was elected by the delegates. It then met briefly to elect the new national officers: Lew Jones, national chairman; Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary; and Doug Jeness, national organizational secretary.

The convention closed as the whole assembly stood for the singing of the traditional socialist anthem, "The Internationale." As night drew on the delegates hit the road for the long trek home, carrying with them renewed confidence in the YSA and the prospects for a socialist America.



The Berkeley local set up a table with election campaign posters and buttons



Derrell Meyers, Berkeley, presents slate for national committee from nominating commission



Hungry delegates and visitors get coffee and donuts outside convention hotel



Part of the Chicago and Cleveland delegations listen to discussion



Judy Hagan, Detroit, contributes to discussion of report on the Negro struggle

Jacque Henderson from Toronto tells about activities of young socialists in Canada





## Malcolm X on Vietnam War

Malcolm X spoke out against the Vietnam war many times during the last years of his life. The following quotations selected from *Malcolm X Speaks* (Merit Publishers, 1965, ed. by George Breitman) show how his opposition to the war in Vietnam was part of his overall revolutionary outlook. Many of the same concepts included in these statements are being put forward today by the advocates of black power.

\* \* \*

### "SOMEBODY'S WAKING UP!"

(From "Prospects for Freedom in 1965", a talk given at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on Jan. 7, 1965)

\* \* \*

. . . But we are not anti-American. We are anti or against what America is doing in other parts of the world as well as here. And what she did in the Congo in 1964 is wrong. It's criminal, criminal.

And what she did to the American public, to get the American public to go along with it, is criminal. What she's doing in south Vietnam is criminal. She's causing American soldiers to be murdered every day, die every day, for no reason at all. That's wrong. Now you're not supposed to be so blind with patriotism that you can't face reality. Wrong is wrong, no matter who does it or who says it. . . .

### TWO MINUTES ON VIETNAM

(Answer to question at Militant Labor Forum in New York on Jan. 7, 1965)

\* \* \*

Malcolm: Address myself to Vietnam for two minutes? It's a shame—that's one second. It is, it's a shame. You put the government on the spot when you even mention Vietnam. They feel embarrassed—you notice that? They wish they would not even have to read the newspapers about south Vietnam, and you can't blame them. It's just a trap that they let themselves get into. It's John Foster Dulles they're trying to blame it on because he's dead.

But they're trapped, they can't get out. You notice I said "they." *They* are trapped, *they* can't get out. If they pour more men in, they'll get deeper. And they should have known it in the first place.

France had about 200,000 Frenchmen over there, and the most highly mechanized modern army sitting on this earth. And those little rice farmers ate them up, and their tanks, and everything else. Yes, they did, and France was deeply entrenched, had been there a hundred or more years. Now, if she couldn't stay there and was entrenched, why, you are out of your mind if you think Sam can get in over there.

But we're not supposed to say that. If we say that, we're anti-American, or we're seditious, or we're subversive, or we're advocating something that's not intelligent. So that's two minutes sir. Now they're turning around and getting in a worse situation in the Congo. They're getting into the Congo the same way they got into south Vietnam. They put Diem over there. Diem took all of their money, all their war equipment and everything else, and got them trapped. Then they killed him.

Yes, they killed him, murdered him in cold blood, him and his brother, Madame Nhu's husband, because they were embarrassed. They found out that they had made him strong and he was turning against them. So they killed him and put big

Minh in his place. You know the fat one. And he wouldn't act right, so they got rid of him and put Khanh in his place. And he's started telling Taylor to get out. You know, when the puppet starts talking back to the puppeteer, the puppeteer is in bad shape.

### BLACK PEOPLE PART OF MAJORITY

(From an interview with Harry Ring on Station WBAI-FM, in New York, Jan. 28, 1965)

\* \* \*

. . . And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in the Congo, and also the problem of racism in south Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem, and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in south Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then—the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority—then we approach our problems as a majority that can *demand*, not as a minority that has to beg.

### LBJ—THE 1964 "PEACE CANDIDATE"

(Answer to a question about the outcome of the 1964 presidential elections at Presence Africaine meeting, Nov. 23, 1964)

\* \* \*

Malcolm: It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it's the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America, it is ruling the world. Nowadays when a man is running for president of the United States, he is not running for the president of the United States alone; he has also to be acceptable to other areas of the world where America rules.

If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists, knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it

had the whole world—including people who call themselves Marxists—hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater.

I have to say this: Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected—because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And *at that moment* he had troops invading the Congo and south Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria, mercenaries to the Congo!

### FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN VIETNAM AND CONGO EXAMPLE FOR AMERICAN YOUTH

(The following question and answer are from a *Young Socialist* interview with Malcolm X. It was printed in the March-April issue of the *YS*.)

\* \* \*

Question: What part in the world revolution are youth playing, and what lessons may this have for American youth?

Malcolm: If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in south Vietnam you'll find that these guerrillas are young people. . . . In these countries, the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country, it has been my observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it—they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it.

I think young people here can find a powerful example in the young Simbas in the Congo and the young fighters in south Vietnam. . . .

### BLACK POWER

(From "Prospects for Freedom in 1965" a speech given at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on Jan. 7, 1965)

\* \* \*

. . . Power never takes a back step—only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of nonviolent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything but some more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world. Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains. . . .





John Hulett speaks at YSA conference

## East Coast Socialist Conference

Antiwar activists and black militants from seven East Coast states gathered in New York City March 3-5 to attend the East Coast Socialist Conference held on the Columbia University campus. A total of over 300 listened to speeches and participated in discussions at the conference on subjects ranging from black power to the recent CIA exposures, from the economics of imperialism to a tribute to Malcolm X. The conference was sponsored by the Columbia Young Socialist Alliance.

Highlighting the three day conference was the address by John Hulett, Chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom (Black Panther) Party. The Black Panther Party did not spring into existence as a fully developed independent political party, Mr. Hulett pointed out, but grew from an inauspicious beginning as a group fighting for the right to vote. In the course of that fight the people of Lowndes realized that they would have to form their own party independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The people elected to office on these tickets, whether white or black, he said, are mere puppets of those who control this country. Oppression of black Americans is, in fact, an intrinsic part of the structure of every department of the government from the judicial system to the Department of Agriculture. It is impossible to eradicate discrimination by working within the Democratic Party as a cog in the machine that perpetuates discrimination. The people of Lowndes therefore began building a party of their own.

Surmounting obstacles ranging from direct threats on the lives of party activists to evictions to fear

ingrained in the people of Lowndes by decades of white supremacy, the Black Panther Party succeeded, last November, in winning enough votes to have its name appear on the ballot in future elections. "For the first time," Mr. Hulett said, "the people of Lowndes County control their own destiny."

He urged people in black communities from Harlem to Watts to follow the example of the people of Lowndes and form parties which they controlled and which raised their demands.

During the question and answer period Mr Hulett dealt with numerous subjects. He related how the Freedom Organization had chosen their symbol. The "symbol committee" had made several suggestions, he said, and the black panther just seemed to embody the spirit with which they intended to create their own party. Touching briefly on the war in Vietnam, Mr. Hulett said that young people in Lowndes are beginning to discuss the war and "of course are opposed to it. It's just a white man's war."

Mr. Hulett's speech was greeted by an enthusiastic round of applause and endorsed by a collection of \$320 to help the Black Panther Party continue its independent course.

The determined and uncompromising tone set by Mr. Hulett's speech permeated the entire conference. On Saturday morning Dick Roberts, Managing Editor of the *International Socialist Review* presented an analysis of the political and economic basis of imperialism. The U. S. is fighting in Vietnam solely to safeguard its shrinking dominance in Asia, as part of its overall cold war strategy of containing and defeating rising socialist and colonial revolutions.

In the first afternoon session, Betsey Barnes, National Secretary of the YSA presented a tribute to Malcolm X. During the last months of his life Malcolm X's ideas were changing rapidly, she said. The motion was clearly towards a revolutionary solution to the oppressions inherent in the capitalist system. In the final Saturday session, Barry Sheppard, Editor of the *Militant*, gave a speech outlining the role of socialists in building the movement to end the war in Vietnam.

After a highly successful party on Saturday night the conference re-convened Sunday morning. At this final session, Lew Jones, National Chairman of the YSA, presented an analysis of the recent CIA exposures. These exposures, he said, should not come as a surprise. They merely reveal the role of the CIA as an arm of an anti-communist government. The way to end such infringements on the basic rights of citizenship is to join with the YSA in working to establish a socialist United States.

— PEGGY BRUNDY

# ... Bloomington

(continued from p. 7)

prevailing political policies, and oppose Hoadley's attempt to stamp out dissent. The issue of academic freedom is central in this case. If academic freedom means anything at all to students and faculty, it involves the opportunity to investigate freely all ideas and ideologies and to act on one's freely-chosen convictions."

\* \* \*

The local and national defense of the Bloomington YSAers was organized along these lines. The first job was to spread the word, tell the truth about what Hoadley was doing, and publicize the vital issues at stake. The National Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students was formed to publicize the case and help raise the necessary funds for legal expenses. Interested students on college campuses across the country began to offer their help and CABS chapters were set up in major cities and on leading university campuses.

Prof. Herbert J. Muller of Indiana University and the late Prof. Mark DeWolfe Howe of Harvard University became co-chairmen of the Committee. Lord Bertrand Russell served as honorary chairman. Such distinguished individuals as Rev. A.J. Muste, Linus Pauling, James Baldwin, John Lewis of SNCC, Prof. Germaine Bree of the University of Wisconsin, Prof. H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard and Prof. Malcolm Sharpe of the University of Chicago were among the first to lend support as sponsors of the Committee. They were soon joined by other faculty members, community leaders, civil rights fighters, and civil libertarians across the country. The sponsors grew in time to 1300 men and women in scores of educational institutions from Boston to Berkeley. This composed the largest list of academic supporters in any civil liberties case in decades.

The three student defendants had to interrupt their schooling to go on speaking tours, and they toured this country and Canada several times. Speaking to audiences from small colleges in New England to the University of California at Berkeley, they told what the Indiana witchhunt meant. "If we are successfully prosecuted, it will be a tremendous boost to witchhunters everywhere in the country," Tom Morgan told an audience in Madison, Wisconsin. "But if we win, it will certainly set them back."

The Committee published hundreds of thousands of brochures and leaflets on the case, including the so-called "subversive" speech upon which the original indictment was based. These were given out at campus literature tables, distributed in classes, and sent to entire faculties in some areas. Even the legal documents were made available, and some law students began to use the case as a topic for term papers.

To raise the necessary funds, students across the country organized rummage sales, cocktail parties, dances, art auctions, and "sacrificial" dinners. They circulated petitions, passed the hat at student meetings, and asked other organizations to give a hand. Folk singers contributed their talent and "free speech hoots" were held in many cities. The CABS chapter in Berkeley sponsored two performances of the Mime Group, with outstanding success.

Publicity on the case, which was at first limited to Indiana papers, was expanded on a national and international scale. Major newspapers and magazines picked up the story of the "All American City" where students were indicted for treason, solely because of their political ideas. Articles in newspapers from the *New York Times* to local campus weeklies told the facts about Bloomington.

Meanwhile, the legal side of the fight was prepared with great care by expert counsel. The students based their defense on two propositions: one, they did not and never had advocated the violent overthrow of the government of the U.S. or the state of Indiana; and two, the law under which they were indicted was unconstitutional. They were extremely fortunate in obtaining through the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee the services of its eminent attorney, Leonard Boudin of New York City, to handle the constitutional questions. He is one of the foremost constitutional lawyers,

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currently celebrated for his Supreme Court victory in the Julian Bond case. His advice and arguments were a decisive factor in the court proceedings, particularly as it became clear that the constitutional issue was the crucial point of contention. In addition, attorneys James Cotner of Bloomington, Indiana and Daniel Taylor of Louisville, Kentucky were retained at various stages to handle the local work. Later, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a "friend of the court" brief in the appeal.

Resolutions in support of the defense were passed by scores of organizations. The Indiana University chapter of the American Association of University Professors was one of the first to respond with the following statement:

"The Indiana University Chapter of the American Association of University Professors affirms the principle of freedom of students to organize to discuss and promote ideas of all kinds.

"Such freedom of speech and assembly is a deep-rooted tradition in American society generally, and is essential to the purpose of a university, where the free play and clash of ideas is not only permissible, but indispensable.

". . . We therefore strongly commend the recent actions of administrative officers of this institution in resisting outside efforts to compel the University to follow other judgments than its own as to the recognition of student organizations."

The Wayne State University Federation of Teachers local 1295 likewise decried what Hoadley was doing. After outlining the facts of the case, its resolution concluded:

"Be it therefore resolved:

"That local 1295, AFT, supports Indiana University's upholding of the academic freedom of the aforementioned students and condemns the invoking of this unconstitutional law for the purpose of punishing dissent."

Numerous other organizations, including chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Lawyers Guild, the Faculty Council of the Chicago City Junior Colleges, the Jackson Social Welfare committee of the First Unitarian Church in Ann Arbor, student governments and campus organizations, expressed their outrage at this attack on basic constitutional liberties. Some of these, such as the Jackson Social Welfare Committee, gave generous financial support as well.

This broad publicity began to have its effect on public opinion in Bloomington. The tide turned slowly as nation-wide support for the three students grew. The local right wing (including the

American Legion which was one of Hoadley's staunchest supporters) became less and less effective in maintaining the myth of a "communist conspiracy." Individuals who had gone along with Hoadley's attacks or kept silent began speaking out against his actions.

The first turning point in the case came on March 20, 1964, when the pretrial hearings were held in Bloomington. Along with students from the I. U. campus, young people from Chicago, Minneapolis, and Detroit gathered in the courtroom to hear Boudin's stirring presentation. He argued that the state law not only had been pre-empted by federal legislation but was unconstitutional in its denial of the liberties of freedom of speech and assembly guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

Judge Nat U. Hill's decision that the section of the law under which the students had been indicted is unconstitutional was greeted with whoops of joy in the courtroom. The celebration in Bloomington that evening was duplicated across the country as other CABS chapters received the news.

The outside pressure brought to bear on Bloomington had temporarily set back the local witch-hunter. As Hoadley himself testified to the press: "I lost the battle for public opinion." He lost it only because the far-reaching work of the national defense committee had told the truth about what he was doing.

But the festivities proved premature. Hoadley went on to appeal the decision to the Indiana State Supreme Court which, in January 1965, by a split decision reversed the earlier ruling.

The fight had to begin all over again. But this time it took place on a different level. The three students and their attorneys filed an appeal to the federal courts for an injunction on the grounds that they were being deprived of their civil liberties and were suffering undue harm as a result of prosecution under the unconstitutional law.

Their appeal was joined by two doctoral candidates and two professors at Indiana University who felt that the existence of this law also violated their basic freedoms. Even though these individuals had not been indicted under the act, they contended it curtailed their freedom of speech and assembly by posing the possibility that they *could* be indicted under it at any time merely for exercising their constitutional rights.

Hoadley agreed that the three students were suffering a loss of liberties under the prosecution when he stated in his answer to the request for an injunction:

"There is such a danger of irreparable, clear, imminent, great and immediate injury to the plain-

tiffs Levitt, Bingham, and Morgan if they were to be tried under the criminal charge prior to the determining the constitutionality of the statute in question as should warrant this Court of Equity in passing upon the question of enjoining this criminal prosecution."

Although the purpose of an injunction is to provide swift relief from harm being done to individuals, the court waited a year before setting a date for a hearing. When it did eventually schedule the date, a puzzling further postponement ensued.

At long last the reason for the undue delay became clear. In December 1966 Prosecutor Hoadley informed the students' attorney that since he was moving from Indiana to practice law elsewhere, he was no longer interested in pursuing the case and wanted to drop the whole matter. Realizing that he lacked support for his witchhunt attack and was unable to move up the political ladder by brandishing the well-worn banner of anti-communism, he had to throw in the towel.

His short, two-sentence letter seemed an anti-climatic surrender after a four-year battle. He had to wind up his reactionary campaign "not with a bang but a whimper."

It had taken four years, tens of thousands of dollars, countless volunteer working hours, not to mention the interrupted schooling, loss of scholarships, harassment and intimidation suffered by the three defendants and their families. But this witch-hunt had been nullified.

Hoadley now resides in Florida where the climate may be more to his liking and the three defendants have returned to normal lives.

\* \* \*

The outcome of the Bloomington case is not only a victory for the Young Socialist Alliance but for the cause of academic freedom and civil liberties. It demonstrates that a defense based on the proposition of fighting back when attacked, winning support on the basis of the civil liberties issues involved, and on widespread publicity can stand up against the enemies of democracy and socialism in the U.S. and push them back. And it can be used as an example by young people in the future when other witchhunting prosecutors set out to trample upon their hard-won democratic and civil rights.

## MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

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BALDWIN WALLACE COLLEGE (Berea, Ohio): John Yard, Box 1338, Berea, Ohio

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BERKELEY-OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Carl Frank, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, tel. 843-6082 U. of Cal.: Pete Camejo, 2418-1/2 Roosevelt Ave., tel. 843-6165

BOSTON: YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, tel. 491-8893  
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CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, tel. 939-5044  
Roosevelt U.: c/o Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.  
University of Illinois Chicago Campus: Richard Hill, 3039 W. Walton, tel. 533-6811

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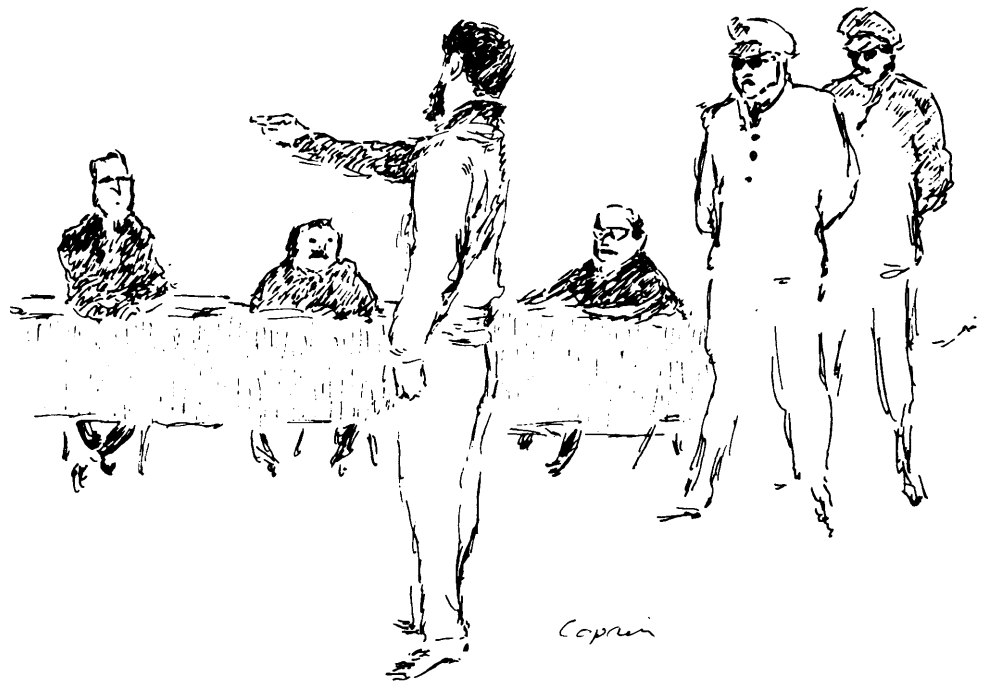
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# HELP FREE HUGO BLANCO



On September 8, 1967, Hugo Blanco, popular revolutionary socialist leader of peasant struggles in Peru, was sentenced to twenty-five years in the infamous El Fronton prison and now faces possible execution. Blanco and twenty-eight other defendants were held for three years without charges, and then finally tried by three military judges. They are victims of these cruel sentences because of their activities in organizing peasants in the Cuzco region.

A world-wide display of solidarity has been aroused on behalf of Blanco with protests organized from Italy to Canada. The Amnesty International has intervened because "the savagery of the sentence and Blanco's known idealism justified an appeal for clemency."

In January the tribunal recessed until April when it is expected to again take up the case, and possibly sentence Blanco to death.

## What You Can Do

Write letters of protest to:

Consejo Suprema de Justicia Militar,  
Lima, Peru: and to  
Presidente Fernando Belaunde Terry,  
Lima, Peru

(Send copies to Blanco's attorney, Dr.  
Alfredo Battilana, Av. Nicola de Pierola,  
966, Oficina 215, Lima, Peru)

FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE:  
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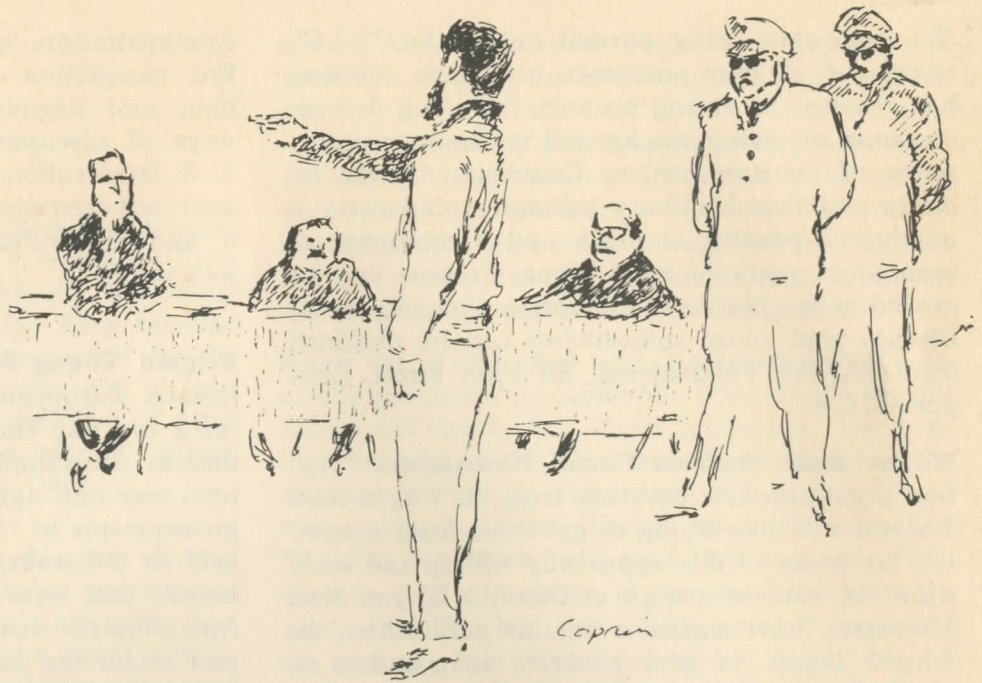
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