YOUNG SOCIALIST

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Free Speech Fight at Berkeley

Interview with Malcolm X

Indiana Students Again Face Jail

YOUNG SOCIALIST

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YOUNG SOCIALIST NOTES

SDS PLANS VIETNAM PROTEST MARCH: The Students for a Democratic Society has announced plans for an April 17 MARCH ON WASHINGTON to demand "the end of American intervention in the Vietnamese civil war." The Young Socialist urges all those who desire to end American intervention in Vietnam to contact SDS and help build the April 17 march.

Subscribers may be wondering why this issue of the YS is a different size from the first magazine issues. The answer is simple: according to our printer we get more YS for less money this way.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS HOLD FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION: 170 members and guests of the Young Socialist Alliance met in Chicago over New Year's Eve weekend for three long days of discussion and decision making. The discussion centered around the political situation in the U. S. today, with special sessions on the Negro struggle and civil liberties. The resolutions that were passed reaffirmed YSA support for independent political action and black nationalism.

The convention coincided with the sixth anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The delegates voted to send a telegram of greeting to Fidel Castro and the Cuban people which stated that "as the opening of the socialist revolution in the Americas, the Cuban revolution is a powerful and inspiring example to revolutionary youth here in the heart of imperialism . . . With your example, We Will Win!"

Despite problems of travel, there was a good representation at the conference from the West Coast. The main contingent from the East Coast came in by chartered bus.

SOCIALIST STUDENTS RUN FOR OFFICE: Larry Schumm, a socialist and a student activist in the free speech fight at Cal, is running for the city council in Berkeley.

In Los Angeles Irving Kirsh, a 21-year-old socialist entering Los Angeles City College this semester, has filed to run for the Board of Education in Los Angeles. Kirsh is running on a program of support for the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, opposition to campus speaker bans, increased appropriations for education, and the teaching of Negro history in the schools. Both candidates are active in the YSA.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS WILL TOUR ON VIETNAM: Three YSAers plan to tour different areas

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Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan – Indiana U. students under indictment for their ideas

Bloomington Students Again Face Jail Terms Under Witchhunt Law

By Barry Sheppard

Jim Bingham, Tom Morgan, and Ralph Levitt, students at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana, were indicted in 1963 under Indiana's witch-hunting "Anti-Communism" act. In March 1964, these indictments were quashed in a local court in Bloomington on the ground that the McCarthyite law was unconstitutional. Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley appealed this decision of the Bloomington court to the state Supreme Court.

On Jan. 25 the Indiana Supreme Court in a split decision reversed the local court, upheld the thought-control law, and again placed the indicted students in danger of one-to-three year jail terms.

Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and Jim Bingham are members of the Young Socialist Alliance, and they were indicted as part of a witch hunt against socialist ideas on the I.U. campus. An examination of the issues involved in this case show it to be the most important civil liberties case in the country today, especially for students, for at the heart of this case is the right of students to discuss, consider and debate all ideas on their merits, and the right to form organizations to advocate those ideas without fear of police reprisals. Without these rights, "academic freedom" is a mockery

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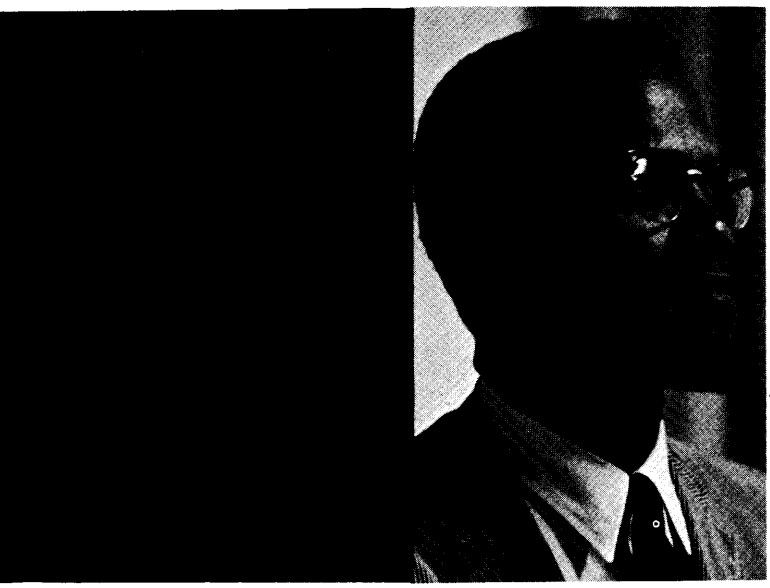
Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan – Indiana U. students under indictment for their ideas



INTERVIEW WITH MALCOLM X

The following interview was given by Malcolm X to YOUNG SOCIALIST editorial board members Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard early this year.

* * *

What image of you has been projected by the press?

Well, the press has purposely and skillfully projected me in the image of a racist, a race supremacist, and an extremist.

What's wrong with this image? What do you really stand for?

First, I'm not a racist. I'm against every form of racism and segregation, every form of discrimination. I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color.

Why did you break with the Black Muslims?

I didn't break, there was a split. The split came about primarily because they put me out, and they put me out because of my uncompromising approach to problems I thought should be solved and the movement could solve.

I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas. It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by. All it did was stress the importance of moral reformation—don't drink, don't smoke, don't permit fornication and adultery. When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached, it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt.

So the only way it could function and be meaningful in the community was to take part in the political and economic facets of the Negro struggle. And the organization wouldn't do that because the stand it would have to take would have been too militant, uncompromising and activist, and the hierarchy had gotten conservative. It was motivated mainly by protecting its own self interests. I might also point out that although the Black Muslim movement professed to be a religious group, the religion they had adopted—Islam—didn't recognize them. So, religiously it was in a vacuum. And it didn't take part in politics, so it was not a political group. When you have an organization that's neither political nor religious and doesn't take part in the civil rights struggle, what can it call itself? It's in a vacuum. So, all of these factors led to my splitting from the organization.

What are the aims of your new organization?

There are two organizations—there's the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which is religious. It's aim is to create an atmosphere and facilities in which people who are interested in Islam can get a better understanding of Islam. The aim of the other organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, is to use whatever means necessary to bring about a society in which the 22 million Afro-Americans are recognized and respected as human beings.

How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?

I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution

INTERVIEW

WITH

MALCOLM

X

against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country.

Is it true, as is often said, that you favor violence?

I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect of our people by peaceful means, well and good. Everybody would like to reach his objectives peacefully. But I'm also a realist. The only people in this country who are asked to be non-violent are black people. I've never heard anybody go to the Ku Klux Klan and teach them non-violence, or to the Birch society and other right-wing elements. Non-violence is only preached to black Americans and I don't go along with anyone who wants to teach our people non-violence until someone at the same time is teaching our enemy to be non-violent. I believe we should protect ourselves by any means necessary when we are attacked by racists.

What do you think is responsible for race prejudice in the U.S.?

Ignorance and greed. And a skillfully designed program of miseducation that goes right along with the American system of exploitation and oppression.

If the entire American population were properly educated—by properly educated, I mean given a true picture of the history and contributions of the black man—I think many whites would be less racist in their feelings. They would have more respect for the black man as a human being. Knowing what the black man's contributions to science and civilization have been in the past, the white man's feelings of superiority would be at least partially negated. Also, the feeling of inferiority that the black man has would be replaced by a balanced knowledge of himself. He'd feel more like a human being. He'd function more like a human being, in a society of human beings.

So it takes education to eliminate it. And just because you have colleges and universities, doesn't mean you have education. The colleges and universities in the American educational system are skillfully used to miseducate.

What were the highlights of your trip to Africa?

I visited Egypt, Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar (now Tanzania), Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Guinea and Algeria. During that trip I had audiences with President Nasser of Egypt, President Nyerere of Tanzania, President Jomo Kenyatta (who was then Prime Minister) of Kenya, Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda, President Azikiwe of Nigeria, President Nkrumah of Ghana, and President Sekou Toure of Guinea. I think the highlights were the audiences I had with those persons because it gave me a chance to sample their thinking. I was impressed by their analysis of the problem, and many of the suggestions they gave went a long way toward broadening my own outlook.

How much influence does revolutionary Africa have on the thinking of black people in this country?

All the influence in the world. You can't separate the militancy that's displayed on the African continent from the militancy that's displayed right here among American blacks. The positive image that is developing of Africans is also developing in the minds of black Americans, and, consequently they develop a more positive image of themselves. Then they take more positive steps—actions.

So you can't separate the African revolution from the mood of the black man in America. Neither could the colonization of Africa be separated from the menial position that the black man in this country was satisfied to stay in for so long. Since Africa has gotten its independence through revolution, you'll notice the stepped up cry against discrimination that has appeared in the black community.

How do you view the role of the U.S. in the Congo?

As criminal. Probably there is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo, through her ties with Tshombe and the mercenaries. You can't overlook the fact that Tshombe gets his money from the U.S. The money he uses to hire these mercenaries—these paid killers imported from South Africa—comes from the United States. The pilots that fly these planes have been trained by the U.S. The bombs themselves that are

blowing apart the bodies of women and children come from the U.S. So I can only view the role of the United States in the Congo as a criminal role. And I think the seeds she is sowing in the Congo she will have to harvest. The chickens that she has turned loose over there have got to come home to roost.

What about the U.S. role in South Vietnam?

The same thing. It shows the real ignorance of those who control the American power structure. If France, with all types of heavy arms, as deeply entrenched as she was in what then was called Indochina, couldn't stay there, I don't see how anybody in their right mind can think the U.S. can get *in* there—it's impossible. So it shows her ignorance, her blindness, her lack of foresight and hindsight and her complete defeat in South Vietnam is only a matter of time.

How do you view the activity of white and black students who went to the South last summer and attempted to register black people to vote?

The attempt was good—I should say the objective to register black people in the South was good because the only real power a poor man in this country has is the power of the ballot. But I don't believe sending them in and telling them to be nonviolent was intelligent. I go along with the effort toward registration but I think they should be permitted to use whatever means at their disposal to defend themselves from the attacks of the Klan, the White Citizens Council and other groups.

What do you think of the murder of the three civil rights workers and what's happened to their killers?

It shows that the society we live in is not actually what it tries to represent itself as to the rest of the world. This was murder and the federal government is helpless because the case involves Negroes. Even the whites involved, were involved in helping Negroes. And concerning anything in this society involved in helping Negroes, the federal government shows an inability to function. But it can function in South Vietnam, in the Congo, in Berlin and in other places where it has no business. But it can't function in Mississippi.

In a recent speech you mentioned that you met John Lewis of SNCC in Africa. Do you feel that the younger and more militant leaders in the South are broadening their views on the whole general struggle?

Sure. When I was in the Black Muslim movement I spoke on many white campuses and black campuses. I knew back in 1961 and '62 that the younger generation was much different from the older, and that many students were more sincere in their analysis of the problem and their desire to see the problem solved. In foreign countries the students have helped bring about revolution—it was the students who brought about the revolution in the Sudan, who swept Syngman Rhee out of office in Korea, swept Menderes out in Turkey. The students didn't think in terms of the odds against them, and they couldn't be bought out.

In America students have been noted for involving themselves in panty raids, goldfish swallowing, seeing how many can get in a telephone booth—not for their revolutionary political ideas or their desire to change unjust conditions. But some students are becoming more like their brothers around the world. However, the students have been deceived somewhat in what's known as the civil rights struggle (which was never designed to solve the problem). The students were manuevered in the direction of thinking the problem was already analyzed, so they didn't try to analyze it for themselves.

In my thinking, if the students in this country forgot the analysis that has been presented to them, and they went into a huddle and began to research this problem of racism for themselves, independent of politicians and independent of all the foundations (which are a part of the power structure), and did it themselves, then some of their findings would be shocking, but they would see that they would never be able to bring about a solution to racism in this country as long as they're relying on the government to do it. The federal government itself is just as racist as the government in Mississippi, and is more guilty of perpetuating the racist system. At the federal level they are more shrewd, more skillful at doing it, just like the FBI is more skillful than the state police and the state police are more skillful than the local police. The same with politicians. The politician at the federal level is usually more skilled than the politician at the local level, and when he wants to practice racism, he's more skilled in the practice of it than those who practice it at the local level.

What is your opinion of the Democratic party?

The Democratic party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican party. The leading racists in this country are Democrats. Goldwater isn't the leading racist—he's a racist but not the leading racist. The racists who have influence in Washington, D.C. are Democrats. If you check, whenever any kind of legislation is suggested to mitigate the injustices that Negroes suffer in this country, you will find that the people who line up against it are members of Lyndon B. Johnson's party. The Dixiecrats are Democrats. The Dixiecrats are only a subdivision of the Democratic party, and the same man over the Democrats is over the Dixiecrats.

What contribution can youth, especially students, who are disgusted with racism in this society, make to the black struggle for freedom?

Whites who are sincere don't accomplish anything by joining Negro organizations and making them integrated. Whites who are sincere should organize among themselves and figure out some strategy to break down the prejudice that exists in white communities. This is where they can function more intelligently and more effectively, in the white community itself, and this has never been done.

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

If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in South Vietnam, you'll find that these guerrillas are young people. Some of them are just children and some haven't yet reached their teens. Most are teenagers. It is the teenagers abroad, all over the world, who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. In the Congo, the refugees point out that many of the Congolese revolutionaries are children. In fact, when they shoot captive revolutionaries, they shoot all the way down to seven years old—that's been reported in the press. Because the revolutionaries are children, 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 own 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.

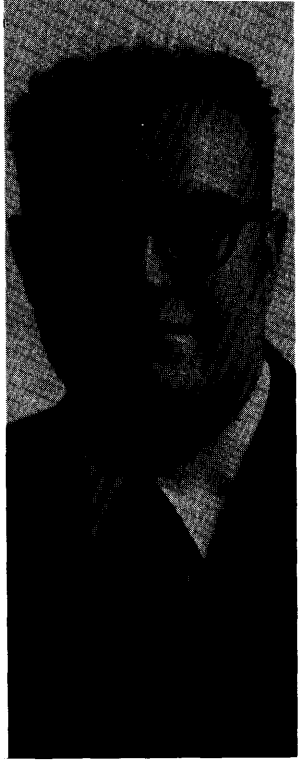
Another point—as the dark-skinned nations of this earth become independent, as they develop and become stronger, that means that time is on the side of the American Negro. At this point the American Negro is still hospitable and friendly and forgiving. But if he is continually tricked and deceived and so on, and if there is still no solution to his problems, he will become completely disillusioned, disenchanted and disassociate himself from the interest of America and its society. Many have done that already.

What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.

What is the outlook for the Negro struggle in 1965?

Bloody. It was bloody in 1963, it was bloody in 1964, and all of the causes that created this bloodshed still remain. The March on Washington was designed to serve as a vent or valve for the frustration that produced this explosive atmosphere. In 1964 they used the Civil Rights bill as a valve. What can they use in 1965? There is no trick that the politicians can use to contain the explosiveness that exists right here in Harlem. And look at New York Police Commissioner Murphy. He's coming out in headlines trying to make it a crime now to even predict that there's going to be trouble. This shows the caliber of American thinking. There's going to be an explosion, but don't talk about it. All the ingredients that produce explosions exist, but don't talk about it, he says. That's like saying 700 million Chinese don't exist. This is the same approach. The American has become so guilt ridden and filled with fear that instead of facing the reality of any situation he pretends the situation doesn't exist. You know, in this country it's almost a crime to say there's a place called China—unless you mean that little island called Formosa. By the same token, it's almost a crime to say that people in Harlem are going to explode because the social dynamite that existed last year is still here. So I think 1965 will be most explosive—more explosive than it was in '64 and '63. There's nothing they can do to contain it. The Negro leaders have lost their control over the people. So that when the people begin to explode—and their explosion is justified, not unjustified—the Negro leaders can't contain it.



The U.S. government is attempting to deport Joseph Johnson, a native-born American, because of his socialist beliefs. They claim he is a "stateless" person—a man without a country.

By Lew Jones

Early last summer the Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered Joseph Johnson, a native-born citizen of the U.S. and the organizer of the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party, to report at a deportation hearing where he was to show cause why he should not be deported to an unspecified country. Thus opened one of the most flagrant cases of harassment and political persecution to be seen for some time in the United States.

Joe Johnson was born in Chicago on November 7, 1930. He spent his childhood in Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin and attended the U. of Wisconsin. Like many young people he was angered by such evils in American society as war, racism, poverty, and the erosion of democratic rights. After two years at college Johnson left for Canada out of "vague and not very well directed feelings of rebellion against racism and militarism in the U.S."

Johnson moved to Canada, assumed a name, took a job and lived there for six years, from 1953 to 1959. There he came into contact with the Socialist Education League which he eventually joined and became publicly active in.

In 1959, Johnson learned that the FBI was looking for him on the charge of draft evasion. He did not know that his draft number had come up while he was in Canada. Johnson decided to return to the U.S., give himself up, and face the charge.

He crossed the border, was seized within six hours, and was held in federal custody for the next two years. He faced trial in Wisconsin and was sentenced to two years in federal prison for draft evasion. This trial and penalty make it clear that the government considered Johnson a citizen at the time he returned from Canada. At no time during his trial were the present charges mentioned.

After parole from prison Johnson continued to act upon his convictions. He was paroled to Minneapolis where he joined the Socialist Workers Party, running twice for public office (for congressman and for mayor), and becoming the Twin Cities organizer of the SWP.

The present charges against Johnson which the government has been unable to prove are that he voted and ran for public office in Canada, and in the process took an oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth of England. For these "crimes" the Immigration Service says Johnson has lost his citizenship and is now considered a "stateless person." Further, as a "stateless person" he has now overstayed his 48-hour visitor's permit (by some five years) and is subject to deportation immediately after the conclusion of the Immigration Service hearings. (In the charges the government does not indicate that he was in federal custody for most of those first 48 hours.) Finally, the Immigration Service has not to this time specified the country to which Johnson is to be deported.

This attack fits into the general framework of the drive against civil liberties in this country since the time of the Second World War. Before W.W. II the House Un-American Activities Committee was born. During the war the Smith Act was used for

The U.S. government is attempting to deport Joseph Johnson, a native-born American, because of his socialist beliefs. They claim he is a "stateless" person—a man without a country.

the first time, sending 18 socialists to prison. This was followed after the war by the Truman "subversive" list, the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, and a big witchhunt in the labor movement. Shortly thereafter, the black chapter of the McCarthy period was ushered in, during which thousands of Americans were victimized.

Recently we have seen the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, the use of state sedition laws against the Southern civil rights drive, the travel ban to Cuba, the Bloomington "subversion" case, and now the Joe Johnson case.

The Johnson case extends into a new area—the area of the most basic right—the right to citizenship. The government says that one can lose his American citizenship by simply living in a foreign land like a person of that land. Such a concept violates the constitutional requirement that one cannot involuntarily lose his citizenship.

But even if we leave aside the question of citizenship for a moment, the case still cuts across the right to residence, which has been inalienable in the history of the U. S. By birth and family ties Johnson is a resident of the United States. He, therefore, has the right to reside here whether he has citizenship or not. Deportation in such a case amounts to banishment, which is unquestionably unconstitutional.

Moreover, Johnson is caught in a classic case of double jeopardy. He served a sentence only a citizen can serve, and now is threatened with deportation for not being a citizen. It is impossible to get around this fact, because it can be proven that the information which the government is attempting to use against Johnson, was in their hands when he was convicted of draft evasion. (It is true that an alien must serve in the draft, but if he should refuse, he is presented with the choice of leaving the country or going to prison and losing the chance of ever becoming a citizen. This choice was in no form given to Johnson.)

Johnson is also being subjected to cruel, unjust, and inhuman punishment in violation of the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution. For the questionable "crime" of deciding what to do with his life and then doing it while in another country, he is to be separated from his native land, his family and friends, and sent to live in a totally unfamiliar country and culture.

Other aspects of the case are truly macabre. Most cases of deprivation of citizenship have involved someone who has dual citizenship. In the Johnson case, however, he is termed a "stateless person," thereby not having another country to go to. In legal language, the concept "stateless person" means someone who has no rights whatsoever, anywhere in the world.

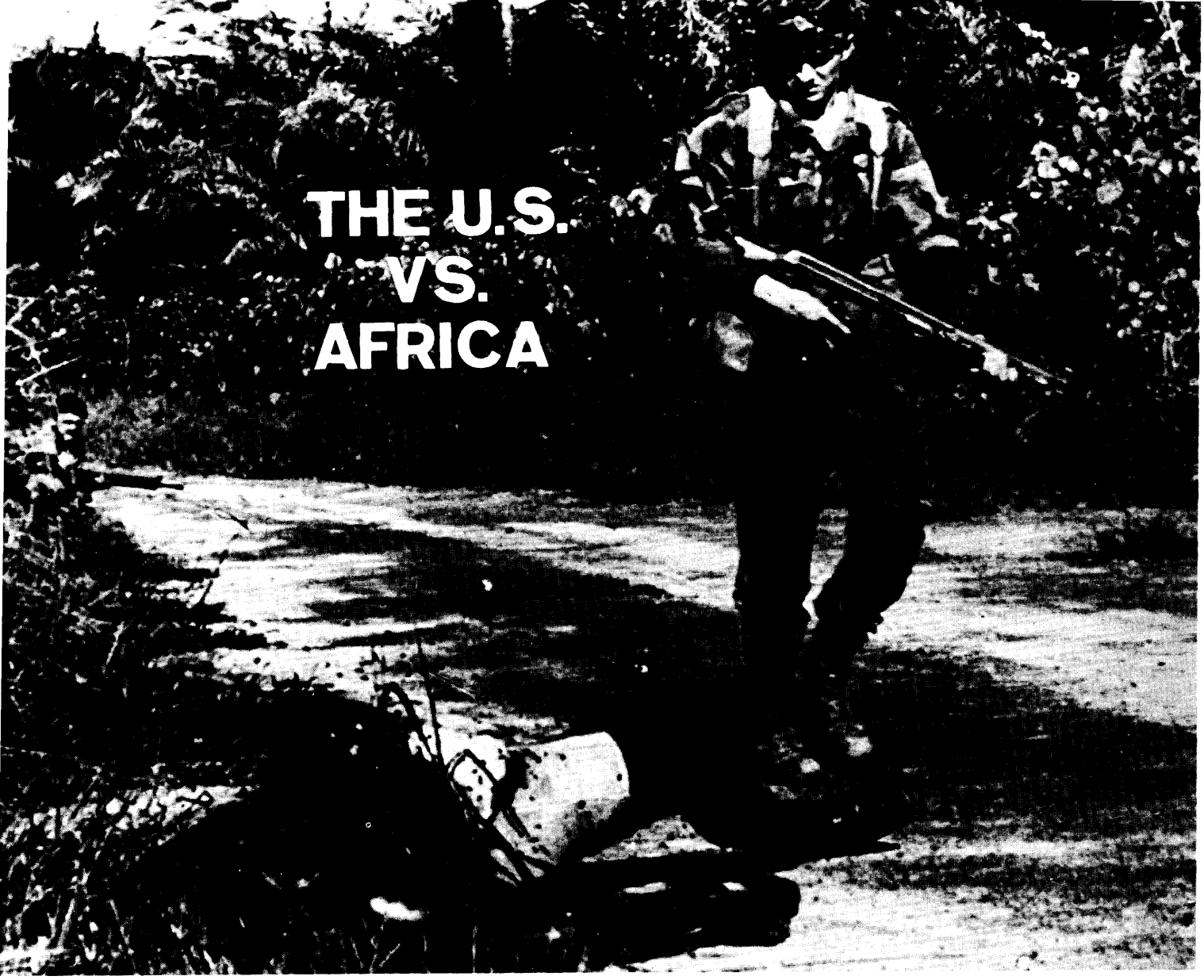
Legally the government is not bound to deport Johnson. However, by law, if the government cannot find a country to deport him to, he must deport himself. Such a procedure is bad enough, but if it can be proven that he is not doing a good enough job of deporting himself, then he is guilty of a felony and must serve a jail sentence. Once out of jail, he can be thrown in again for the same crime, and so on.

Countless American citizens have committed the same "crimes" Johnson has supposedly committed, yet he is the first to be attacked for it. Johnson himself cites the case of an American citizen holding the office of mayor in Canada. The most striking example of all is the former actress Grace Kelly. She not only has lived in another country like a citizen of that country, and not only has she taken part in the political life of that country, but she is a ruling monarch. Yet, her citizenship is apparently still in good shape.

Why Joe Johnson was singled out is not too hard to determine. The case against him stems from his political beliefs and activities. Joe Johnson is being persecuted because he dared to speak out and campaign for socialism.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has agreed to take the Johnson case as a test case. They have provided the services of their general counsel, Leonard B. Boudin, the eminent constitutional lawyer, for the duration of the case. Douglas Hall, well-known civil libertarian in Minneapolis, has been retained by Johnson as local counsel.

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson is asking for support. Those interested in defending the right of citizenship can help in many ways: Send a contribution to the *Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P.O. Box 8731, Northstar Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402.* Order copies of the available literature from the Committee on the case and show it to others. Have organizations pass resolutions supporting the aims of the defense committee and urging the U. S. Immigration Service to rescind its actions against Joe Johnson. Organize meetings for Joseph Johnson or the defense committee. Join the defense committee.



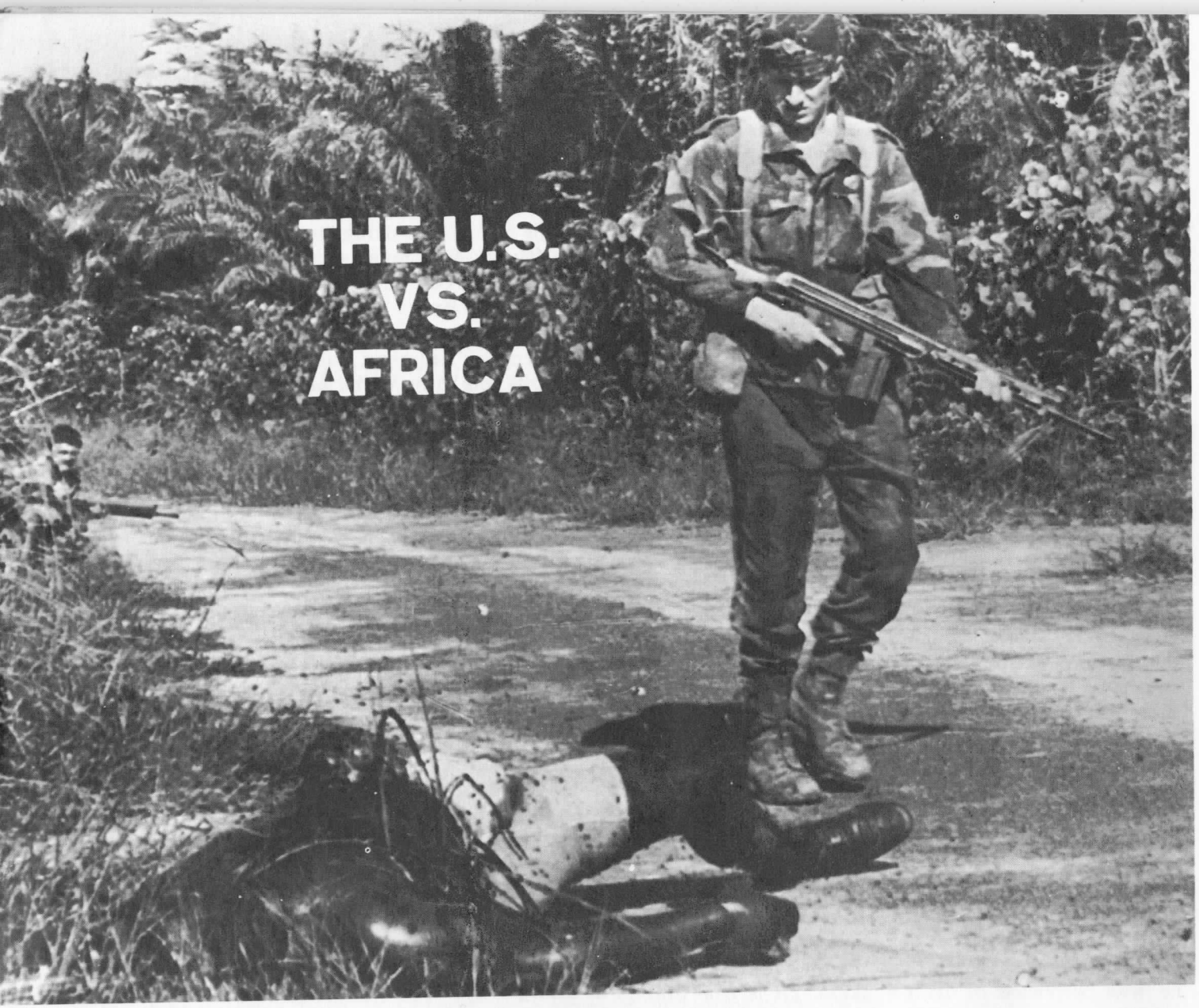
By Dick Roberts

On November 24, 1964, the combined forces of United States, Belgian and British imperialism desperately attempted to stem the tide of the African revolution by an unprecedentedly brutal attack on the stronghold of the Congolese liberation struggle in Stanleyville. This attack, which was systematically supported by an equally unprecedented barrage of racist propaganda in the world imperialist press, not only failed to achieve its desired end—it thrust the African revolution onto a higher level of unity and resistance.

From early in 1961, with the murder of Patrice Lumumba, until late November, 1964—a period of almost four years — the Congolese liberation struggle developed slowly, suffering many set-backs. In the space of only six weeks, this revolution became one of the major battle fronts against world imperialism.

In November last year, the Congo freedom forces, armed only with spears and bows and arrows, attempted to oppose a mercenary army equipped with the most advanced weapons of guerilla warfare. By the third week of January, this year, the same movement had become well organized, well armed, and showed itself able to oppose the mercenaries and even to turn them back.

Six weeks before, they fought alone. Now they were materially supported by three African nations as well as the Soviet Union. In the United Nations, independent African nations joined forces to launch


THE U.S.
VS.
AFRICA

an uncompromising attack on U.S. foreign policy; in Africa, they made major steps toward providing support to the Congolese liberation front.

The Congo: Summer 1964

On June 30, 1964, the four-year period of UN occupation of the Congo ended, and Moise Tshombe, who had been in exile for a year, returned to the Congo as Premier. During this year's absence, Tshombe had been carefully prepared by the United States and Belgium to fulfill a role which the previous heads of the puppet-Leopoldville government had proved unable to fulfill. It was Tshombe's job to crush once and for all the Lumumbist opposition in the Congo.

Since early 1964, the Lumumbists had been in open struggle on several Congolese fronts. Pierre Mulele, who had been minister of education in the Lumumba government, headed a struggle in Kwilu; Gaston Soumialot fought in Kuva and had taken several large cities; and a third force in Northern Katanga gained control of the whole shore of Lake Tanganyika and had in late June captured Albertville and Baudouinville.

In this period, the Leopoldville army, headed by Colonel Mobutu, was in continual retreat before the Congolese freedom fighters. Mobutu's men refused to fire at their black brothers, and many deserted to the side of freedom. By July, the liberation movement had recaptured Stanleyville—where four years earlier Lumumba's right hand man, Antoine Gizenga, had established the headquarters of the Congolese government.

It was obvious that without foreign pressure the Lumumbists would soon retake the Congo, and end once and for all the imperialists' puppet government in Leopoldville. In order to crush the Lumumbists, Belgium and the United States decided to reinforce the Leopoldville army with the contingent of racist white mercenaries which Tshombe had used to defend the secession of Katanga.

These hired killers had been recruited from terrorist organizations throughout the West and Africa: they were ex-Nazi SS-men; ex-foreign legionnaires who had been in the terrorist OAS which attempted to destroy the Algerian revolution; Cuban counter-revolutionaries recruited in Miami; and South African whites from the police state of Verwoerd. While Tshombe had been touring the capitals of imperialism during his exile, the mercenaries had been stationed in neighboring Angola, with the sanction of the Portuguese dictator Salazar.

Two days after Tshombe returned to the Congo, the mercenaries were sent into the struggle—newly financed and armed with U.S. money and guns. During the course of the next months, they were supplied with U.S. planes, including four C-130 transport planes (*New York Times,* August 13); with 106 Air Force men including 42 paratroopers (*New York Times,* August 15); B-26 bombers (*New York Times,* August 18); T-28's (the so-called trainer plane" used in Vietnam as well); rockets, machine guns, and other heavy equipment (*New York Times* August 25). On August 25, the *New York Times* headlined "Mercenary Unit is Ready to Fight Rebels in Congo," and the Congolese struggle took a decisive turn.

The Drive on Stanleyville

The newly equipped Leopoldville army adopted tactics which were new for the present Congolese civil war—but which have been tried and tested in wars of colonial suppression for centuries—namely, rank terrorism. Beginning in late August, and for the subsequent four weeks, the mercenary column drove north on Stanleyville, bombing and pillaging every village in their path, murdering every man, woman and child in sight.

The idea was simple: to so terrorize the Congolese people that they would not dare support the liberation struggle. With their machine guns and bombers they were opposed, if at all, by spears and bows and arrows.

Little of the horrible reality of this drive was permitted to filter through the distorted reportage of the U.S. press; and what little leaked through, was so submerged in racist demagogy as to be barely discernible.

Perhaps a glimmer of the truth was provided by an article in the Sunday *New York Times* magazine section, November 15, by Lloyd Garrison, cutely entitled "White Mercenaries on a Rabbit Hunt." In this lurid article, Garrison explains why the drive on Stanleyville was called a "rabbit hunt" by the mercenaries.

He explains that in the entire course of the drive the mercenaries were unopposed, and that the butchery of civilians was so great, as to turn even the stomachs of the hired killers. "Rabbit hunt" does not describe a military battle against an armed and organized resistance.

In the international press, however, the facts were not completely suppressed. A few, from many descriptions, may be cited:

In *Le Nouvel Observateur* (November 26), a French weekly, Emile Lejeune who had been covering the campaign wrote: "I have seen planes strafe and burn dozens of villages. I have seen tens of thousands of peasants exterminated in the bush by the army of Tshombe. Their corpses are still there; the stench hangs over the streets and fields of a ruined country . . .

"Only mercenaries, come from Rhodesia and South Africa for the pleasure of 'cracking Negro

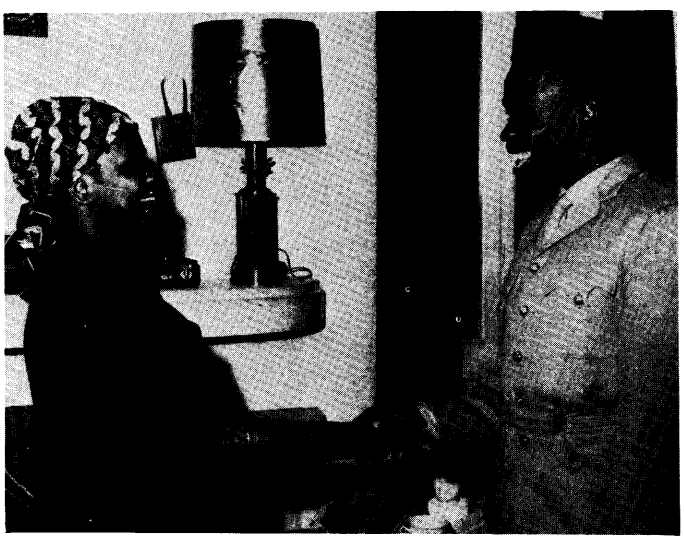
heads,' have made it possible to stop and then to push back the revolutionary wave . . . The planes which supply the regular forces are American, piloted by Americans. The pursuit planes which machine-gun and bombard the *Soumialist* troops and villages which have joined the rebellion are American and piloted by anti-Castro Cubans."

The "Rescue Mission"

The paratroop attack on Stanleyville which culminated this drive served Western imperialism in several ways, the least of which—if it was a consideration at all—was the "rescue" of foreign nationalists in the Congo. The fact is, and none other than the Belgian Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak, himself, admitted it, no so-called hostages were killed before the November 24 attack.

Spaak stated, in the UN Security Council: "I have been told, and the argument carries a certain weight, that no one had been killed in Stanleyville before 24 November. This is true—or rather there was a single person killed."

The "rescue mission" served these purposes: First, it was considered essential to reinforce the mercenary campaign to assure the seizure and destruction of Stanleyville. Second, it was a deliberate attempt to intimidate the Organization of African Unity, and thereby sidetrack any possible support of OAU members to the Congolese Liberation Movement. The racist propaganda of the necessity of "saving the white man from the cannibal" served as a cover for the actual operation. In fact, hysteria about "massacres" of the whites was trumped-up well in advance of the actual paratroop drop and served to distract attention from the mercenary drive preceding the attack.



Mrs. Pauline Lumumba, widow of martyred Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba, shakes hands with Gaston Soumialot, of the Stanleyville government.

That the mercenaries, alone, would not have been able to take and hold Stanleyville was apparent from the beginning of the mercenary terrorist campaign. By its very nature, this campaign was aimed only at sweeping through the Congolese towns; there was no attempt, nor could there be with limited numbers, to occupy the towns once terrorized. Soon after the mercenaries went through towns, people who had fled in their paths returned. With the support of the paratroopers, the mercenaries hoped to crush all Congolese opposition in and around Stanleyville, and thereby make it possible for a small number of them to remain in the city, and control it. This aspect of the air attack was successful.

The African Opposition

The Organization of African Unity responded to the mercenary campaign and anticipated the threat it represented to the Congolese people well in advance of the drive on Stanleyville and the paratroop invasion. Meeting in Addis Ababa in September, the OAU Council of Ministers passed a resolution calling for the establishment of an *ad hoc* commission to deal with the Congo crisis, and demanding all foreign powers to end intervention in the Congo.

Further, the OAU delegated a five-man commission of leading African diplomats to go to Washington and urge President Johnson to withdraw U. S. support of the mercenary army.

From the beginning, this attempt by the OAU to resolve the Congolese crisis on African terms was played down in the press and snubbed in Washington. The White House immediately issued a statement that Johnson would not meet the OAU delegates, and when Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Minister of State, arrived in the capitol he was cooly received by a State Department petty functionary.

Nevertheless, prior to the paratroop attack, the OAU promised to take responsibility for the whites in the Congo, and called an emergency meeting of the *ad hoc* commision in Nairobi to mediate talks between the U.S. Ambassador, Atwood, and Thomas Kanza, representing the Stanleyville government. This meeting took place two days before the "rescue mission."

Once again, however, the imperialists gave lip service to the OAU and went ahead with their predetermined plans. Kanza's promise that the whites would be safe was totally ignored, and the paratroop attack was launched as though the Nairobi meeting had never taken place.

Washington's treatment of the Nairobi commission did not go unnoticed in Africa. Far from producing the desired effect—of splitting the OAU from the Congolese Liberation Movement—it had the

Mrs. Pauline Lumumba, widow of martyred Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba, shakes hands with Gaston Soumialot, of the Stanleyville government.

opposite effect. Several weeks later one leading African after another took the floor in the UN to denounce Washington's racist and irresponsible attitude to the OAU, and to condemn the U.S. for flagrant intervention in African affairs.

The Attack

If there is a difference between the mercenary tactics during the drive on Stanleyville, and the attack on that city reinforced by some 600 Belgian paratroopers, it is only quantitative. In Stanleyville, the combined imperialist forces slaughtered so many thousands of people that no accurate estimate is possible. They left so many bodies on the streets that a typhoid epidemic broke out—in spite of the thousands of bodies burned in mass funeral pyres and other thousands dumped into the river. Such carnage almost staggers the imagination.

Again, the American press has very nearly obliterated these facts from publication. While the description of the typhoid epidemic (UPI) was carried in the New York *Daily News* (December 2), to our knowledge, only one eye-witness account of the actual attack has been printed, and that in the December 5 Baltimore *Afro-American.* The writer is Ed Van Kan, a UPI camerman:

"In the moment it would take me to snap my fingers I saw a squad of Belgian paratroopers kill three Africans who came under their guns.

"And in another incident, the Belgians, rifles ready, stopped an African riding a bicycle through a dusty side street, a bunch of bananas on his head.

" 'Are you a Mulelist?' the soldiers demanded.

" 'No,' the African replied.

" 'You're lying,' one of the Belgians said and shot the man dead. This was Stanleyville, 26 hours after Belgian paratroopers struck with crushing power at the heart of the Congo's rebel empire.

"The Belgian troops are killing or arresting all suspected rebels or rebel supporters. I've seen a lot of bodies, an awful lot of bodies. There is no time to count them. Or desire, in this atmosphere."

Such accounts, however, have not been unavailable to the U. S. press. In the UN Security Council debate, a number of African delegates read mercenaries' and Belgian soldiers' first-hand accounts into the records, such as the following:

"We arrived at the village [on the outskirts of Stanleyville] before nightfall. The women were carrying water, and the children were playing and laughing in the streets. We stopped for a while and watched. Then came the order to open fire. Our new Belgian machine-guns began to fire. Women screamed and fell. Small children were shot down. We just continued to fire. Some of our people threw petrol against the huts and set fire to them. Others threw phosphorous grenades, which transformed the victims into human torches . . ." (Security Council Provisional Verbatim Record, December 30).

The Effect

The paratroop attack succeeded only in one sense, that it destroyed the Lumumbist resistance in Stanleyville. Within a week of the attack, the mercenaries stationed in that city were able to crush all opposition. They rounded up hundreds, if not thousands, of those suspected of being in any way connected with the Liberation Movement, and held mass kangaroo court trials, followed by mass executions. (*New York Times,* January 10).

But the major effect of the attack was quite the opposite of what the imperialists intended. The shock of the attack was indeed so great, that far from disorienting and setting back the African revolution as was intended, it thrust Africa into a unified resistance to imperialism, with a deeper com-

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FSM

Berkeley Free Speech Movement Battles For Student Rights

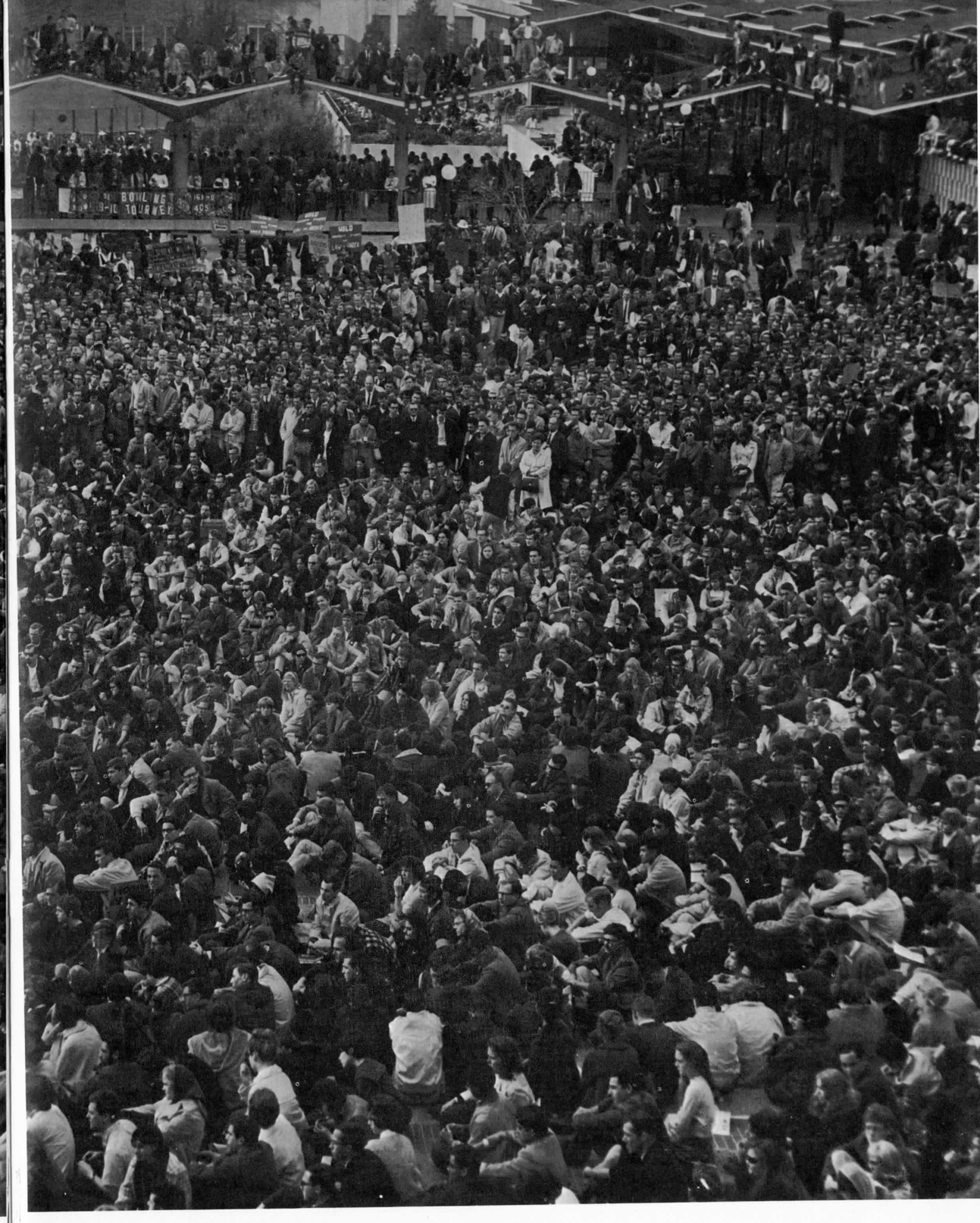
By Dan Styron

In seeking to explain recent events on the Berkeley campus, many have attributed the conflict to a breakdown in communications. But there have have been more meetings, discussions and communications between students, faculty and administration in the past four months than probably any other period in the University's history.

The reason all efforts to talk out the problem have yielded little result is that the parties involved are at odds not as a result of a misunderstanding, but due to basic disagreement.

During the past year hundreds of students were arrested in demonstrations protesting discriminatory hiring practices by many of the large corporations in the Bay Area. The business community brought pressure to bear at the time of the arrests on Clark Kerr, President of the University, to expel all those arrested. Kerr, well-known liberal and labor mediator, refused. However, this fall, he moved to "solve" the problem by preventing civil rights and political groups from using the campus to organize political actions off campus. In order to implement this policy, the University sent out letters to all political and civil rights groups informing them that they no longer had a right to hold meetings on campus for the purpose of organizing off-campus actions, or to recruit members, or to collect funds on University property.

In order to challenge this arbitrary ruling, the groups involved—civil rights groups as well as



Oski dolls, pom-pom girls,
UC all the way,
Oh what fun it is to have
Your mind reduced to clay.
Civil rights, politics
Just get in the way,
Questioning authority
When you should obey.

—FSM song, to "Jingle Bells"

political organizations from the Young Socialist Alliance and the DuBois Club to the Young Republicans and the University Society of Individualists—formed a broad organization of organizations (later to be called the Free Speech Movement) to defend themselves from this attack. The administration made it crystal clear that the new rules were not negotiable. Consequently, the FSM decided simply not to abide by them, and organizations continued to set up tables, solicit funds , and recruit members.

The administration made its first move on September 30th. As Dean Williams was later to admit, the University authorities carefully picked out eight students of whom they wished to make examples and asked them to come to a meeting with the deans to discuss disciplinary action arising out of their alleged illegal activities on campus. That evening, three hundred students occupied Sproul Hall, the administration building, demanding that everyone who broke the rules should receive equal punishment. A petition signed by 600 was presented to the deans. All 600 admitted to breaking the University's new rules by sitting at tables which were set up to collect funds and recruit members for various student organizations. The University officials responded by suspending indefinitely the eight it had so carefully chosen for punishment, and refused to move against the six hundred who demanded equal treatment.

The following day, tables were once again set up. Mere suspensions had not intimidated the students. The day after the eight were suspended from school, campus police moved in to arrest Jack Weinberg who was sitting at the CORE table. Immediately students surrounded the police car, voicing their protest. Realizing that as long as they stayed the car could not move, they sat down in defiance of the arrest. This sit-in continued for thirty hours. Thousands of students participated in blocking the police car. With Weinberg sitting inside, students climbed onto the car's roof to address the huge crowd. The FSM demanded that Weinberg be released and that the question of free speech on the campus be discussed.

The administration at first rejected both demands. However, when it became apparent that the students were not going to leave, Kerr entered into negotiations, but only after he had brought in over 900 cops to strengthen his bargaining position. Gov. Brown offered to mobilize the National Guard to stop the "anarchy" on campus. This offer was rejected by the liberal Kerr who relied only upon state troopers, the Oakland riot squad, Alameda County sheriffs, all of Oakland's motor cycle cops, the Berkeley police force, and other assorted cops. Kerr's great concern during this entire crisis was that Saturday's football game and the Annual Parents' Day should not be marred by demonstrations.

After mobilizing as much force as was readily accessible, Kerr entered into negotiations. That evening the Pact of October 2nd was signed. As Mario Savio, the principal leader of FSM, was later to admit, it gave the students little, and rested solely on the administration's good faith. In return for releasing the police car, Kerr agreed to refer the question of free speech to a committee made up of faculty, students, and administrators. In addition, the question of the eight suspended students was to be referred to a faculty committee, thus taking it out of the hands of the administration. While these committees met, the FSM agreed to hold no further demonstrations.

The administration took the liberty of picking which members of the student body and faculty it wished to negotiate with. To add insult to injury, it was announced that the administration would consider none of the recommendations of this phony committee binding. Later, when members of the FSM were finally admitted to the committee, it was abolished altogether by Chancellor Strong.

Immediately after signing the pact, the administration announced that it was not going to submit the cases of the eight suspended students to the faculty. This was another open violation of the agreement. After the FSM threatened to resume demonstrating, the administration reconsidered and the cases were given to a faculty committee, which was again chosen by the administration. However, after the faculty held hearings, its recommendations were flatly rejected by University authorities.

Further indication that the administration had no intention of abiding by its agreement with the FSM was its announcement that if Mario Savio, leader of the FSM, set foot on campus he would be arrested for trespassing. The administration reconsidered only when several thousand students massed in front of Sproul Hall.

During the negotiations, the University justified its suppression of freedom of speech on the grounds that the University of California is not a public institution, but a private corporation. Since freedom of speech does not extend to private property, they argued, there was no constitutional issue involved. These completely outrageous arguments, coupled with the administration's open violation of the Pact of October 2nd, served to discredit the University's officials in the eyes of the student body.

Throughout, the FSM insisted that only the courts had the right to decide what constituted illegal speech on the campus, and that the University had no authority to punish students for their actions off campus. This principled position, held by the FSM leadership throughout weeks of negotiations, infuriated the administration.

In order to split the FSM, Clark Kerr resorted to red-baiting its leadership. He was first quoted in the local newspapers as saying that 49% of the hard core were following the Castro-Maoist line. The only noticeable reaction that followed this revelation was that everyone at Berkeley had a few chuckles. Only the faculty was shaken by Kerr's latest outburst. One noted liberal, in order to show that he was not one of the reds which Kerr had exposed, responded by red-baiting Kerr, accusing him of using Mao's tactics. However, even those students opposed to the FSM could not take the red-baiting attack seriously. It was merely another desperate attempt by Kerr to split the movement, and like all previous maneuvers, it simply discredited the administration further since the students knew and trusted the leadership they had thrown up. Later, Kerr modified his attack by saying he had been misquoted and that what he had actually meant was that some of those active in the demonstrations were impressed with the tactics of Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-tung. To this charge, Savio answered, "I'm impressed with their tactics. Who isn't?"

Having rejected or ignored recommendations of the committees set up to mediate the dispute, the administration submitted the entire question of free speech, and the discipline of the eight suspended students, to the Regents who met November 20th.

It would be wrong to regard the Regents as flunkies of the state power structure or pawns of the ruling class. The Regents of the University are the most powerful *members* of California's ruling class, not its flunkies. Members of the Board of Regents also sit on the boards of directors of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, the United California Bank, Western Airlines, the Wells Fargo Bank, the Los Angeles Times, Kaiser Steel, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, Pan-American Airways, Signal Oil and Gas, Lockheed Aircraft, Hunt Foods, the Northern Pacific Railway, Wheeling Steel, and the Bank of America, to name just a few of the industries over which they preside. Corporations of which one or more Regents are board members have total assets exceeding thirty-five billion dollars. Among the regents are Dorthy B. Chandler, Mrs. Randolf A. Hearst, and Edward W. Carter. Noticeably absent from their ranks are educators or people whose major concern is education. The primary concern of the Regents is obviously to amass wealth. These are the people who ultimately decide what rights the students will be allowed to exercise. Their argument that the University of California is private property (if valid) gives to these people the right to run it as their private fief. They are answerable only to the state government over which they have more than a little influence.

At their meeting on November 20th, the Regents refused to listen to representatives of the FSM, and rejected those recommendations made by the various committees set up to mediate the dispute. Instead, they reaffirmed their right to ban speakers from campus who they felt were advocating illegal acts, and instructed Kerr to discipline those students who had broken rules during the previous two months.

UC administration,
Your clumsy punched-card mind,
Has put your back against the wall,
And tied you in a bind.
Yet in the darkness shineth
An Oakland cop's flashlight
To strengthen all your arguments
And prove your cause is right.

—To be sung to "O Little Town of Bethlehem"

Following the Regents meeting, the FSM leadership was in a quandry. There was great uncertainty about the amount of support it still had within the student body. It was feared that the Regents meeting had demoralized students and turned them away from the FSM out of despair. While the FSM was still reeling from the punch of the Regents meet-

ing, the administration moved to break the back of the movement once and for all. Over Thanksgiving vacation, leaders of the FSM received letters informing them that they were to be disciplined for their role in the Free Speech Movement.

As events were to prove, the students had not been demoralized by the Regents; they had only been disoriented. Once the administration sent out its letters to the FSM leaders, everything returned to focus. The administration was back to its old strategy of victimizing a few leaders in order to split the movement and to lend strength to its argument that the entire conflict was caused by a few malcontents who would not listen to reason.

On December 2nd, exactly two months after the incident with the police car, a mass meeting was held which thousands of students attended. FSM leaders explained that the administration had not lived up to the Pact of October 2nd and was now moving in to destroy the Free Speech Movement. Then over 1,000 students entered Sproul Hall, the administration building, determined to occupy it until the University agreed to discuss the issue of freedom of speech in good faith and come to some agreement with its students. Mario Savio best articulated the mood of the students when he stated, "There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you can't take part . . . you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop."

That evening, Gov. Brown, who two months previously had offered to send in the National Guard, ordered over 800 cops onto the Berkeley campus to arrest the demonstrators. The cops were extremely brutal in dealing with the students. While they were being dragged down the stairs and thrown into paddy wagons and busses, the press, faculty, and even one congressman were kept from witnessing the arrests. These arrests, which Brown hoped would end student resistance on the campus, triggered the largest student demonstration in the history of the United States, a campus-wide strike which completely paralyzed the University from December 3rd until noon on the 7th.

The entire University came to a halt. The University's own Office of Public Information determined the strike to be 85% effective. Pickets were put in front of all buildings in which classes were to be held, and others picketed the entrances to the University to keep out trucks supplying it with food and materials. Both the Teamsters and the Secretary of the California Building and Construction Trades Union sent messages of support to the FSM, and many trucks were turned away by the pickets.

Why so many students went on strike against the University in support of the Free Speech Movement is the most difficult question to answer. The feelings of many undergraduates were well summed up in

the statement, "The only time they pay any attention to me is when I twist or bend my IBM card." Central to this feeling of alienation is the fact that, as a student, he is being trained (not educated) to fulfill a function somewhere in the management of industry that someone else thinks is important. From the time he enters the University until the time he leaves he is treated as raw material to be fashioned according to the needs of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, or Kaiser Steel. Not only are many resentful of the training they are receiving, but as the arrests would indicate, many were willing to jeopardize their chances of "making it" after graduation.

Another cause for the size of the protest was the great disillusionment among many with the acknowledged liberals, who seemed hesitant to defend those fundamental rights that are traditionally associated with the liberal ideology. In fact, it was Clark Kerr and "Pat" Brown, two of the most well-known liberal Democrats in the state, who *led* the attack on student rights. It became crystal clear that they were eager to sacrifice these principles in order to appease the business community. After all, both had their careers to consider, and like most liberals, they are "practical" men.

The administration sensed that the balance of power was shifting rapidly to the side of the FSM and quickly moved to counter the gains made by the students. In order to destroy any working relationship that might be established between the FSM and the faculty, Kerr, after conferring with the Regents, put his reputation on the line in an attempt to stampede the entire campus away from the FSM. This was a desperate attempt on his part, but the administration's position was becoming increasingly untenable.

Kerr's grandstand play was made during a special meeting called at noon on the third day of the strike at the Greek Theater (a gift of William Randolf Hearst). Here Kerr unveiled his "compromise" agreement to 18,000 students and faculty. He was introduced onto the stage by Professor Scalapino, *the* liberal Democrat on campus. Scalapino warned the students that some hot heads and trouble makers might not accept the agreement, but we should all understand the great problems involved and in the interests of Our University accept Kerr's compromise. Kerr, appealing to Our University and its great traditions, then read the "compromise." It was obvious to all that what had been compomised was freedom of speech. It rejected all FSM demands regarding freedom of speech on the campus. Instead, it referred the issue to the faculty. However, the wording of the "agreement" stated not that the faculty would decide, but rather that Kerr would "await the report of the [Faculty]Senate Committee on Academic Freedom." before making his next move. (His next move, as it turned out, was to reject this committee's recommendations.)

No students were allowed to speak at this meeting in the Greek Theater, and when Savio attempted to announce that the FSM was holding a meeting immediately following, at which all sides could present their views, he was dragged from the stage by the cops. Those who might have been swayed by Kerr's sweet talk were more impressed with the fact that Savio had been brutally arrested for attempting to speak, while Kerr looked on without comment. The FSM emerged from the Greek Theater fiasco stronger than ever.

On the following day, December 8th, thousands of students massed outside while the faculty met to consider the question of Free Speech on the Berkeley campus. By an overwhelming vote, they threw their support behind the demands of the FSM. Thus, the Free Speech Movement reached its greatest strength. It had successfully brought both the vast majority of students and faculty under its banner.

To this day, however, the Regents have refused to accept the demands of the FSM and faculty. They still reserve the right to discipline students for their actions off campus and to ban from campus any speech they feel is illegal.

What then has been won? First, although the FSM has not gained a written agreement that students are free from punishment for off-campus activity, the price that the University would pay if it exercised this much treasured prerogative is clear to all. The best guarantee that students' rights will not be violated is a student body willing to fight to protect members whom the authorities attempt to victimize. This has been achieved at Berkely and few are more conscious of this fact than the administration itself.

In addition, many other gains have been made as a result of the struggle. The number of areas where political groups can set up tables has been increased and better locations have been won. Organizations can now sell literature and recruit members on the main part of the campus. This had been illegal before. Also, the locations where rallies can be held have been greatly improved, and sound equipment (formerly specifically forbidden) is made easily accessible to student groups.

More important than these physical gains is the degree to which the political consciousness of the student body has increased, and the confidence they have gained from winning such a significant victory. The antics of Brown and Kerr have seriously shaken the entire liberal facade which many students are just beginning to see behind.

...Bloomington

(continued from page 1)

and a fraud. At stake are the rights of the three defendants, but more than that, the rights of all students of whatever political persuasion.

The story behind the "plot to overthrow the State of Indiana" begins in the spring of 1962, when a group of students at I.U. who had come to socialist conclusions decided to form a local campus chapter of the YSA. Almost immediately, they were embroiled in controversy with the conservative Student Senate and the hostile administration over campus recognition. In the fall, the Student Senate made another rejection of the YSA's request for campus status one day after a demonstration by YSAers and others against the blockade of Cuba in October, 1962. About 20 demonstrators, including the three who later became defendants, were met by a mob of several hundred ultra-rightist students and local Bloomington hoodlums. Thousands of students were onlookers as the ultra-rightists physically attacked the protesters. Although the police afforded no real protection to the demonstrators, they did arrest two of the local hoodlums who attacked the picketers.

In November, Thomas Hoadley, scion of a local stone-quarry magnate, got himself elected local prosecutor by a narrow margin. His first act after taking office in January was to drop the charges against the two arrested hoodlums in order to "clear the way" for an investigation into "the part played by the YSA . . . in inciting to riot" during the October demonstration. This statement initiated Hoadley's smear campaign against the YSA in the press. He attempted to link the YSA with marijuana, claiming that the YSA used the stuff to recruit! He also claimed that the Bloomington YSA was organized by a couple trained in Moscow. This was an interesting conception, since the YSA is Trotskyist in its general political outlook. A catalog of Hoadley's characterizations of the YSA would make amusing reading — for example he once charged that the YSA followed a man called Lubnecht who was an East German Communist (the YSA considers Karl Liebknecht, who was murdered in the 1919 German revolution, as one of the great Marxists). To counter Hoadley's smear campaign a defense committee was formed at I.U. which answered the charges Hoadley was presenting in the press and which warned of the danger of his witch-hunting attacks.

Tom Morgan speaking at street meeting at Los Angeles City College on the Bloomington case.

Shortly after the October demonstration against the blockade, the administration, under pressure from the faculty, granted campus status to the YSA. On March 25, 1963 Leroy McRae, a Negro and a national officer of the YSA spoke at an approved campus meeting arranged by the local YSA. McRae discussed the Negro struggle for equal rights. On May 1, Hoadley secured indictments against Tom Morgan, Jim Bingham, and Ralph Levitt, charging them with having "assembled" on March 25 for the purpose of "advocating or teaching the doctrine that the Government of the United States, or of the State of Indiana be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means . . . " The three defendants were the officers of the I.U. YSA. They were charged with having *attended* the meeting at which McRae spoke. Neither the defendants nor the YSA have ever advocated the use of force and violence to overthrow the State of Indiana or for any other purpose. In his talk, McRae, who gave the same speech to campuses across the country, advocated that Negroes use their constitutional right of self-defense when attacked by racists. This was the first time that anyone tried to make out that what he said was criminal, or charged anyone with a thought-crime for having listened to him. This was also the first time in American history that students were indicted because of their campus activities.

Hoadley is a better witch hunter than a lawyer, and the defendants succeeded in having his first indictment thrown out because it wasn't worded correctly. He promptly secured a second indictment — with another count tacked on. The second charge was that the defendants again "assembled" to advocate the overthrow of the State of Indiana on May 2, the day after the first indictment hit. The defendants had indeed "assembled" — to discuss their defense against the first indictment! They met in the basement apartment of a friend. Hoadley had the landlord *tape-record* this meeting through a heating duct.

Right from the beginning Hoadley made no bones about what he was after. He said that his

Tom Morgan speaking at street meeting at Los Angeles City College on the Bloomington case.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED

STUDENTS: Have your campus organization support the Bloomington defendants. Arrange a meeting for one of the defendants. Help raise support among the faculty. Help raise money.

The CABS needs funds to carry the appeal against the thought-control Indiana Anti-Communism Act to the federal courts.

For more information on the case write:

CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Sta. New York, N.Y., 10003

purpose was to "rid the campus of the YSA." He and others like him would like to see the colleges and universities "safe" for their brand of "Americanism" and devoid of all critical and radical thought.

The law under which these fantastic indictments were handed down was passed in 1951, during the heyday of McCarthyism. It states that its purpose is to "protect the peace, domestic tranquillity, property rights and interests of the State of Indiana and the people thereof from the tenets of the ideology known as Communism . . . It is further declared to be the public policy of the State of Indiana and of this act to . . . exterminate Communism and communists, and any or all teachings of the same." It also states that "it shall be unlawful for any person . . . to be a member of any party, group or organization . . . which engages in any un-American activities . . ."

The fight against this thought control law and the indictments brought under it against the three I.U. students was organized by the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. The CABS was formed from the committee originally set up in Bloomington when Hoadley began his smear. During the year before the favorable decision in the Bloomington court, the CABS became a nation-wide organization, with chapters on many campuses and cities. Over 600 prominent figures became CABS sponsors. The defendants made speaking tours of the country's campuses to explain the case, where they met with a sympathetic response. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee took the case as a test case, and provided the services of its general counsel, the eminent constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin. Daniel T. Taylor III of Louisville, Ky., has been retained by CABS as co-counsel with Boudin. The Indiana Civil Liberties Union has supported the case with friend-of-the-court briefs.

Besides being an attack upon the freedom of students and the campus as a whole, the law and indictments make a mockery of the Bill of Rights. These students are charged under a law that prohibits certain ideas or doctrines, which prohibits speaking about them, and which makes it a crime to *listen* to them. The defendants are not even charged with saying anything—they are charged with "assembling." Prosecutor Hoadley has stated that at both meetings in question, someone else spoke, other than the defendants. This amounts to guilt by association. One of the arguments presented by the defense was that the Indiana law was pre-empted by federal legislation. This argument was based upon a U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Nelson case, which struck down a similar Pennsylvania law. The Indiana Supreme Court opposed this decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on the basis of state's rights. If the Indiana ruling is allowed to stand, then the post-McCarthy victory represented by the Nelson decision will be reversed. States could begin other prosecutions against dissenters, and this in turn would strengthen the witch hunt on a national scale. State "sedition" laws similar to Indiana's law have been used against SNCC, and other civil rights organizations. Such a law provided the excuse for a raid on the offices of the Southern Conference Educational Fund in Louisiana. The civil rights struggle also has a direct interest in the outcome of the Bloomington case.

To sum up, the case of the Bloomington students is an attack upon academic freedom, upon the Bill of Rights and freedom in general, upon gains made since the McCarthy period, and upon the Negro struggle. For these reasons it deserves your support.

...Congo

(continued from page 11)

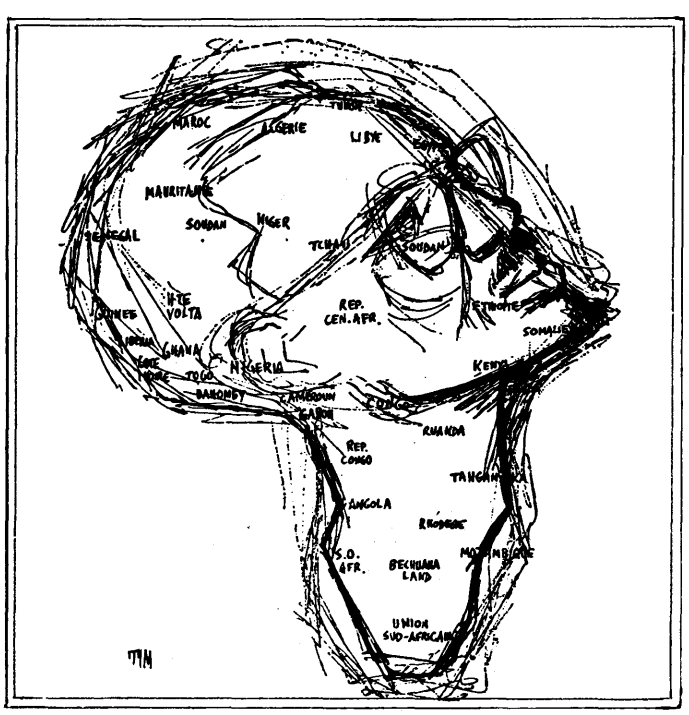
mitment to the elimination of foreign interests—and a deeper understanding of the nature of the enemy.

In this country, militant black nationalists, led by Malcolm X, attacked the "rescue mission" as a fraud and pointed out that the real massacres in the Congo—the only ones—were those of the black man by the white armies. Malcolm X pledged solidarity of the Afro-Americans with the Congolese struggle and conducted a series of lectures in Harlem to tell the truth about Africa and to expose the racist lies of the American press.

Eighteen African nations spurred an attack on the United States in the UN Security Council which left Ambassador Adlai Stevenson blubbering in his chair. It is not possible to begin to summarize the carefully documented and vivid accounts which the African delegates submitted to the UN debate—and they have been virtually ignored by American papers. Suffice it to point out that the precise intentions of the U.S.-Belgian attack were clearly revealed, that the racism of the propaganda about the Congo was completely exposed, and the myth of the rescue operation totally destroyed.

Louis Lansana Beavogui, the delegate from Guinea, called attention to the racist hypocrisy of the U.S. position, December 10:

"In their blind war being carried out under the direction of Belgian, South African and Rhodesian mercenaries, under the protection of United States military planes piloted by Cuban mercenaries recruited and financed by the United States—soldiers of fortune trying to redeem their fiasco in the Bay of Pigs—they have massacred hundreds upon hundreds of defenseless Congolese civilians whom they have called rebels for the needs of their cause . . .



"At the time no indignation was expressed by the so-called civilized Governments and countries which today denounce what they call rebel atrocities. At that time humanitarian reasons were foreign to them. Was it because the thousands of Congolese citizens murdered by the South Africans, the Rhodesians, the Belgians and the Cuban refugee adventurers had dark skins just like the coloured United States citizens murdered in Mississippi?"

The same afternoon, Tewfik Bouattoura, the Algerian representative, eloquently stated the African position:

"Neither the arms furnished by the United States nor the technicians furnished by Belgium nor the mercenaries had succeeded in reconquering the country. Seized with impatience, Washington and Brussels could think of no other method than to intervene directly with their army, considering that in that way they would give a military trump card to the armed forces directed by the racist mercenaries recruited in South Africa. The pretext was easy to find. It was necessary to protect the lives of the whites. The history of colonization is full of such examples . . .

"The aggression recently perpetrated in the Congo has aroused deep emotion and anxiety in the entire African continent. That aggression tends to reinstate in the world a morality which we had thought was being changed. Some liked to say that gunboat policies, aimed at intimidating smaller countries, were no longer part of our era.

"Alas, we are forced to note that things are getting even worse. We are witnessing a return to the direct methods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, illustrated by the intervention of armed troops to protect, acquire or reconquer territories and wealth to which people believed they had a unilateral right. In 1956 it was Suez, today it is the Congo . . ."

But far more important than this parliamentary scuttle, certain African countries led by Algeria came out for direct material support of the Congolese freedom struggle, and within two weeks of the air attack, were shipping arms to the Lumumbists. By December 19 the freedom fighters had rallied their resistance to the mercenary columns, and were reported to have beseiged mercenaries in two cities in the northeastern area, Paulis and Bunia. The imperialist attack did not smash the revolution, which is acquiring new strength and support for the struggles ahead.

...NOTES

(continued from inside front cover)

YSA Convention

of the country speaking on Vietnam. They will also be urging support for the SDS march. If you would like to have a speaker on your campus giving the socialist view on Vietnam, write to the YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y.

The Boston University Socialist Club is planning a CONFERENCE ON THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION the second weekend in March. Anyone interested should write to Judy White, 6 Hancock Place, Cambridge, Mass.

OPPOSITION IN BELGIUM TO CONGO INTERVENTION: Despite the hysteria whipped up in Belgium over the Congo intervention, Belgium youths called demonstrations of protest against the Belgium mercenaries. Demonstrations were banned and broken up by police in Antwerp and Gand. A leaflet of protest was passed out all over Belgium in French and Flemish by seven student and socialist organizations. The government banned the mass demonstration in Brussels called for by the leaflet.

The General Union of Congolese Students, an organization of Congolese students studying in Belgium, issued a statement protesting Belgium actions in the Congo. For this, the leaders of the organization were expelled from Belgium and turned over to the Tshombe government.

N.Y. TIMES ADMITS STRIDES IN CUBAN EDUCATION: The January 13 issue of the New York Times featured an article which described the Cuban revolution's educational program as "the most impressive accomplishment of Fidel Castro's six-year-old regime." Here are some quotes from the article: "Grade-school enrollment has been increased from 735,000 (including private schools) in 1958 to 1,280,000 now. Grade school enrollment is obligatory and tuition is free, as it has been at all educational levels since the revolution... This broadening at the base of the education system has been accompanied by an even more ambitious increase of enrollment in secondary schools . . . The state has established a system of full scholarships, including expenses, for 100,000 students, many of whom are attending the specialized secondary schools while others are in Cuba's three state universities, with a total enrollment of 20,000 students."

5,000 DEMONSTRATE IN MANILA AGAINST U.S.: The largest demonstration at the U.S. embassy since 1946 took place in the Philippines January 25. Five thousand workers, students, and representatives of peasant groups demonstrated against the shooting of Filipinos who trespassed at U.S. air bases. They carried 32 coffins symbolizing the 32 Filipinos who have been shot by guards at American bases since 1952. Signs in the demonstration called for removal of the bases, changes in economic relations between the U.S. and the Philippines and opposed sending Filipino "volunteers" to fight the guerrillas in Vietnam.

Delegates discuss at YSA convention. Convention is highest body of YSA, and decides national YSA policy.

JOIN THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Against the War in Vietnam

Students for a Democratic Society is calling a march on Washington to end the war in Vietnam on Saturday, APRIL 17. The YOUNG SOCIALIST urges everyone who is opposed to the U.S. war in Vietnam to work to build this march into the biggest possible protest.

For more information, write: SDS, 119 Fifth Avene, Rm. 308, New York, New York 10003