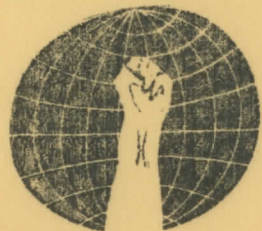


# Young Socialist



# Forum

Vol. III. No. 4  
(Aug., 1960 -  
Whole No. 10)

Proceedings of the

**FOUNDING CONFERENCE**

of the

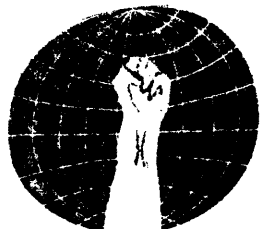
**Young Socialist Alliance**

**Philadelphia April 15-17**

Young Socialist Forum  
P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station  
New York 3, New York

**45 ¢**

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YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM  
Box 471, Cooper Station  
New York 3, N.Y.

Editorial Board

Barbara Doritty, Jim Robertson, Tim Wohlforth

Editor: Barbara Doritty

Staff: Roger Plumb

## INTRODUCTION

The Founding Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance marks the third stage of development of the revolutionary socialist youth movement since the birth of the YOUNG SOCIALIST in October, 1957.

The newly organized YOUNG SOCIALIST clubs first met at the Midwest Conference of February, 1958. This meeting during the regroupment period reflected the IBM (Independent, Broad, Militant) character of the movement at that time. The next stage of development was the consolidation of the revolutionary socialist youth movement at the close of the regroupment period. At the Detroit Conference, in December, 1958, a unification of the clubs took place with the organization of the YOUNG SOCIALIST Supporters. This second period laid the foundation for a national organization built around the Supporters. The Philadelphia Conference represented the formal organization of a socialist youth movement around a revolutionary socialist program. It is from this program that we guide our present actions and policies.

The conference occurred at the high point of the northern sit-in demonstrations. YSA groups in a number of cities played a leading role in the formation of the ad-hoc leadership committees. High school students, college youth and young workers participated in the hundreds in every picket-line organized against the dime-store's segregationist policies. A large conference attendance of new members and non-members resulted from this activity. A report and discussion took place at our conference around both the Southern and Northern sit-in demonstrations. Thus the Young Socialist Alliance was born as an action as well as a propaganda organization.

The Young Socialist Alliance was formally organized and a Constitution was adopted. A resolution on war (YSF Bulletin #4, "Fight Against War") was adopted. The political character of the YSA and its relation with all other youth and adult political organizations was established. The discussions on orientation produced plans for participation in campus work, mass actions and the 1960 elections.

Barbara Doritty

Editor  
Young Socialist Forum

## GREETINGS TO THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE

## GREAT BRITAIN

## Keep Left

Keep Left sends across the Atlantic warm greetings and best wishes for the success of your Convention. Though we are unable to send a fraternal delegate to be present at your discussions we give complete support to your endeavors to build a socialist youth movement.

In Britain also, an organization to be known as the Young Socialists is to be set up in April. However, this is very different from its American name-sake! This will be the new youth movement of the British Labour Party, which will be tied hand and foot to the right wing leadership of the Party.

Within this new organization Keep Left will continue to fight for the adoption of democratic procedure and socialist policies. And we have no doubt, that before very long, the British Young Socialists will prove a little too Socialist for the right wing leaders.

Keep Left has much in common with our American counterparts. Many of the issues you will discuss at your Convention are of importance in Britain.

We have no government witch-hunt in Britain, but we face a witch-hunt by the right wing Labour leaders against the left. The real aim behind this witch-hunt is to remove any vestige of socialism from the Labour Party, and this has now come into the open with the Labour leaders planning to remove from the Constitution the reference to taking over 'the means of production, distribution and exchange'. Over the next few months we will see a tremendous crisis in the Party.

We believe the H-bomb is a political question, and the fight to get rid of it is part of the fight for socialism. Just as the fight against war is a political question, since war arises from the needs of a capitalist economy. We believe in the self-determination of all colonial peoples and campaign for the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops. We believe that the taking over of the basic industries and running them under the control of the workers in those industries within a planned economy is necessary for the establishment of socialism.

Only by fighting on such principles can socialism be created and a large number of youth attracted to the movement.

Watering down of principles to suit the ruling class - as indulged in by the right wing Labour leaders - will never win young people. Neither will the opportunism of the Communist Party which adapts such principles to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. Only a movement which makes a socialist analysis of the world situation, applies its principles - learned from history - to the situation in its own country and acts at all times in an honest way politically, can build a strong youth movement. Only such a movement, which has complete internal democracy and goes all out to put its policies into

practice can make a contribution to the building of a Socialist Britain or Socialist America.

KEEP LEFT WELCOMES THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE!

Socialist Labour League

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labour League we would like to send you our very best greetings as well as congratulations for the great work you are doing under extremely difficult circumstances.

Yours Fraternally,  
G. Healy  
National Secretary.

UNITED STATES

National Guardian  
Message for Philadelphia Conference

One of the most heartening signs on the political-social horizon today is the spectacle of young America insisting on being respected for its youth. Too often persons of middle-age, like myself, or older people, shake their heads over young people and wonder what has happened to that well-known "sense of values," in quotes. Too rarely do we look back on our own youth to note that we made the same mistakes, had the same hopes, and made as much progress as organization and the times permitted. Just as we have no apology to make, neither should we ask young America to apologize for the mess we helped get them into.

By the same token, if youth asks for respect, it must learn to respect itself and its aspirations. It means that young people who have been persuaded of the validity of the socialist way must respect that philosophy fully before they can win adherents to their side. And they must also respect the opinions of those who may disagree with them, but who in the last analysis will hold with them on the great issues of our time.

Ideas without humanity are as useless as humanity without ideas. This is a plea for thinking and for feeling and for acting. Your conference contributes to all three together. More power to you and your future allies on the glory road to Socialism in America.

James Aronson  
Editor, National Guardian

Vincent Hallinan

Accept my congratulations and best wishes for your organization.

It is among the young people of the Western Hemisphere that we must look for courage and hope. Witness the Cuban revolutionaries, the student demonstra-

tions in South and Central America and the heroic resistance of colored students against racial discrimination in our own country.

Our other young people must renounce apathy and fear. It is time to awaken to the slogan which Mazzini once addressed the Italian youth: "Slumber not in the tents of your fathers! The World advances; advance with it!"

Sincerely  
Vincent Hallinan

Conrad Lynn

All of us who believe that the socialist organization of our national life is the only direction in which progress can be made and in which all people may have an opportunity to fully develop their potential are happy that you are holding your national conference to establish The Young Socialist Alliance.

We know that wherever the youth are leading the struggle against the forces of reaction and fascism, the young socialists will be in the vanguard.

Fraternally yours,  
Conrad J. Lynn

CANADA

The Socialist Educational League

Greetings to the Young Socialist National Conference

We have been following your splendid struggles against race prejudice, the witch-hunt, the war preparations, and for a socialist America, with the warmest feelings of solidarity.

The firm bond between your words and your deeds convinces us that you will prove worthy of your great aspiration, to strike world capitalism at its US control point and thereby make possible a world of peace where man will be able to develop to his fullest and as yet undreamed of capacities.

Your generation is destined to bring to fruition the seeds that have been developed and nurtured by those who have gone before. In your movement we see the promise of fulfilment of Leon Trotsky's prediction that Marxism will find its highest expression on North American soil.

Socialist clarity in your discussions! Socialist unity and militancy in your ranks! And great advances will be yours.

The Socialist Educational League  
Ross Dowson  
Secretary treasurer of

## AUSTRALIA

## Australian Student Labor Federation

It is with gratitude that I look upon your National Convention, for at last the greatest of the nations shows that her spirit has not been exterminated even in the face of the most stifling conservatism and denials of democracy. At last America stirs and becomes conscious of her own self through the constant agitation of her young people. Perhaps your nation will realize its transgressions and turn to a finer society, a greater democracy, and a just economic system.

We outside America are powerless. We must turn to the consciences of its citizens. However it seems our strivings were unnecessary for we have observed a magnificent spontaneous surge of righteous indignation signified by this Convention.

My friends and I appeal to providence for your success and I trust that you will be imbued with the strength to resist the attacks of fanaticism for fear that this light that flickers to us from America will be extinguished forever.

I greet you, I salute you and may your cause prosper and flourish.

Always yours fraternally,  
John D. Hannan  
International Secretary,  
Australian Student Labor Federation

## FRANCE

## Independent Socialist Youth

The Independent Socialist Youth address a warm greeting to the American YSA on the occasion of its founding conference.

Today when the revolutionary forces are, throughout the world, scattered, divided, torn between Western imperialism and the Stalinist counter-revolution the task of the revolutionaries, whatever be formally their label, must be to prepare the national and international regroupment of all those who have decided to lead, without compromise, the struggle for the proletarian revolution.

It is in this spirit that we convey to our comrades of the YSA our wishes for success. Receive, dear comrades, our fraternal greetings.

(Signed) Jean Jacques Marie  
International Secretary,  
Independent Socialist Youth  
(Translated from the French)



Proposed Conference Agenda

Motion by Tim and Jim R.: An agenda with time schedules and reporters is recommended to the National Committee by the Editorial Board. passed.

FRIDAY, April 15, 1960

- 9:30-10:00            Organization of Conference  
 10:00-11:00        1. NATIONAL REPORT AND TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES  
                     Report on national functioning and on plenum resolution  
                     on tasks and perspectives -- Jim Lambrecht  
 11:00-1:15         Local Area Reports  
                     A ten minute report from each supporter group and a five  
                     minute report from other areas represented.  
 1:15-2:30           Lunch  
 2:30-3:30           Discussion  
 3:30-3:45           Summary and vote on National Report and Tasks and Per-  
                     spectives  
 3:45-4:30          2. ELECTORAL POLICY  
                     Report on "Memorandum on the 1960 Elections" -- Bert  
                     Deck  
 4:30-5:45           Discussion  
 5:45-6:00           Summary and vote.  
 8:30- ?             A party -- location to be announced.

SATURDAY, April 16, 1960

- 10:00-11:00        3. WHERE WE STAND AND THE FOUNDING OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST  
                     ALLIANCE  
                     Report on the draft founding declaration -- Tim Wohlforth  
                     Discussion  
                     Summary and vote.  
 11:00-1:00         Lunch  
 1:00-1:15  
 1:15-2:30  
 2:30-3:30          4. INTERNATIONAL REPORT AND RESOLUTION ON WAR -- Shane Mage  
 3:30-4:45           Discussion  
 4:45-5:00           Summary and vote.  
 5:30-6:30           Organization of the National Students for Dobbs and  
                     Weiss Committee -- Nora Roberts, convener (location to be  
                     announced)  
 8:00-11:00        Conference Rally, open session -- Annette Rubinstein,  
                     Otto Nathan, Myra Tanner Weiss, Farrell Dobbs, Tim  
                     Wohlforth

SUNDAY, April 17, 1960

- 10:00-11:00        5. THE SIT-IN CAMPAIGN -- Fred Mazelis  
 11:00-12:30        Discussion  
 12:30-12:45        Summary and vote.  
 12:45-2:00         Lunch  
 2:00-2:45          6. CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE -- Jim  
                     Robertson  
 2:45-3:45           Discussion  
 3:45-4:00           Summary and vote.  
 4:00-5:00           Election of National Committee  
 5:00-6:00           Meeting of National Committee

MINUTES FROM FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

9

Conference secretaries: Barbara D., New York and Rose J., New York

Friday, April 15, 1960:

10:00 am - Registration of Delegates.

10:45 am - Organization of Conference:

Tim Wohlforth, New York, opened the Conference with the following proposals in behalf of the National Committee:

1. Peter Allan, Los Angeles, will be the chairman for the morning session. Barbara Doritty and Rose Jersawitz, New York, be Conference secretaries. A roll call will be taken at the beginning of each session. MOTION CARRIED
2. That a Steering Committee be set up composed of Tim W. and Jim L. from the Editorial Board and one representative from each YS Supporter Group represented at this Conference including New York. These representatives are to be chosen by the delegates from each area meeting in caucus during the noon recess on Friday. The Editorial Board will function as the Steering Committee for the Friday morning session. The duties of the Steering Committee shall be to act as a presiding committee and as a nominating committee for the new National Committee. MOTION CARRIED
3. That there be a three member Credentials and Resolutions Committee composed of Sherry Finer, New York, Jim Robertson, New York, and Art Phelps, Philadelphia. This Committee will pass on all matters related to credentials of delegates, alternates and visitors. It will also function as a resolutions and constitution committee. Anyone seeking to get a resolution or constitutional amendment on the floor of the Conference must first see this committee. MOTION CARRIED
4. On Conference Procedure:
  - a - The Conference is open to all YS Supporters and invited guests. In order for a non-YS Supporter to attend the Conference this person must either be invited by a local YS Supporter Group, by the Editorial Board, or approved by the Credentials and Resolutions Committee.
  - b - Only regular delegates or seated alternates shall be allowed to vote. Alternates can only be seated at the time the roll call is taken and is seated for the entire session.
  - c - Delegates, seated alternates, fraternal delegates, National Committee members and alternates, and National Staff shall have voice. All members at large and co-thinkers from other countries shall be seated as fraternal delegates. Others can have voice only by vote of the Steering Committee.
  - d - After each report there will be a discussion period. It is proposed that a speakers list be taken and that each speaker be given time equal to two-thirds of the total available time divided by the number of speakers. The remaining third can be used for a second round, or procedural motions, etc.
  - e - If a dispute concerning procedure arises, we will have alternate speakers (one "pro" followed by one "con"). The speakers will be allowed two minutes each.
  - f - Anyone wishing to amend any motion or proposal will do so in writing and submit the amendment to the secretary in writing. MOTION CARRIED

## 5. Conference agenda:

FRIDAY, April 15, 1960

- 9:30-10:00 Organization of Conference  
 10:00-11:00 1. NATIONAL REPORT AND TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES  
 Report on national functioning and on plenum  
 resolution on tasks and perspectives - Jim Lambrecht  
 11:00-1:15 Local Area Reports  
 A ten minute report from each supporter group and a five  
 minute report from other areas represented  
 1:15-2:30 Lunch  
 2:30-3:30 Discussion  
 3:30-3:45 Summary and vote on National Report and Tasks and  
 Perspectives  
 3:45-4:30 2. ELECTORIAL POLICY  
 Report on "Memorandum on the 1960 Elections" - Bert Deck  
 4:30-5:45 Discussion  
 5:45-6:00 Summary and vote  
 8:30- ? A party -- location to be announced.

SATURDAY, April 16, 1960

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 Report on the draft founding declaration - Tim Wohlforth  
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 3:30-4:45 Discussion  
 4:45-5:00 Summary and vote  
 5:30-6:30 Organization of the National Students for Dobbs and  
 Weiss Committee - Nora Roberts, convener (location to be  
 announced)  
 8:00-11:00 Conference Rally, open session - Annette Rubinstein,  
 Otto Nathan, Myra Tanner Weiss, Farrell Dobbs, Tim  
 Wohlforth

SUNDAY, April 17, 1960

- 10:00-11:00 5. THE SIT-IN CAMPAIGN - Fred Mazelis  
 11:00-12:30 Discussion  
 12:30-12:45 Summary and vote  
 12:45-2:00 Lunch  
 2:00-2:45 6. CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE -  
 Jim Robertson  
 2:45-3:45 Discussion  
 3:45-4:00 Summary and vote  
 4:00-5:00 Election of National Committee  
 5:00-6:00 Meeting of National Committee

With the addition that the morning session be extended for 1 hour, with  
 lunch at 2:00 or 2:30 pm. MOTION CARRIED

6. That the session in which the National Committee will be elected, be open only to regular seated delegates, seated alternates and fraternal delegates. Vote: 13 for; 9 opposed. MOTION CARRIED

11:15 am - Peter Allan took over as chairman.  
A roll call was taken.

#### NATIONAL REPORT ON TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

A report on national functioning and on the plenum resolution on Tasks and Perspectives - James Lambrecht, New York, member of Editorial Board of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, reporting.

12:15 pm - Local Area Reports:

Ten minutes for each supporter group - Baltimore, Bob K.; Berkeley, Jim P.; Boston, Pete C.; Chicago, Jack H.; Denver, Norman P.; Detroit, Harriet T.; Los Angeles, Peter A.; New York, Danny F.; Philadelphia, Art P.; San Francisco, Sue M.; Toronto, Jeff F.; Twin Cities, John C.

Five Minutes for other represented areas - Harper College, Pete S.; Milwaukee, Mertle K.; Brown University (Rhode Island), Roger S.; Trinity College, Ted (Ed) M.

2:15 pm - Adjourned for Lunch

3:30 pm - Conference reconvened.

Tim W. on behalf of the Steering Committee made the following procedural motions:

1. That Arthur P. be the chairman for the afternoon session.
2. That Bert Deck's report on Electoral Policy be shortened by 15 minutes and an additional 15 minutes be removed from the discussion time.
3. That as soon as this session begins, the Seattle area report be given by Ted N., who has just arrived.
4. That a presiding committee be elected which consists of Jim L., New York; Bob M., San Francisco; and Tim W., New York.
5. That Herb S., Chicago, be given voice at this conference.
6. That the Steering Committee will convene as the Nominations Committee at 9 pm tonight.

Motion to approve the Steering Committee's proposals, CARRIED.

3:35 pm - Art P. took over as chairman.  
A roll call was taken.

3:50 pm - Discussion on Tasks and Perspectives Report.

Motion by Pete C.: That the order of speakers be arbitrary; that is, after the speakers list is taken, the list should be numbered arbitrarily and that a third person calls out a number at random. MOTION CARRIED

Motion on Procedure: That all those who have already spoken be excluded from the speakers list. Vote: 13 for, 12 opposed. MOTION CARRIED

5:00 pm - Summary by Jim L.

Motions made in summary:

1. To approve the report. MOTION CARRIED with 1 opposed.
2. To refer this document back to the incoming National Committee for additions. MOTION CARRIED with 1 opposed.
3. That a subscription drive quota of 300 be accepted. MOTION CARRIED with 3 opposed.

A motion to reconsider the last motion on the sub drive. CARRIED

Motion: To accept the sub drive and the quotas will be established with each area individually. MOTION CARRIED

5:30 pm - Motion for a 5 minute break. CARRIED

5:40 pm - Meeting reconvened.

EDITORIAL POLICY report on "Memorandum on the 1960 Elections" - Bert Deck, New York, member of the Editorial Board of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Motion by the Presiding Committee: That the report be 30 minutes, that the discussion be 1 round or 40 minutes and the summary and vote be 5 minutes. MOTION CARRIED

6:10 pm - Discussion on Electoral Policy.

Amendment by Peter A.: In the Electoral Memorandum, the 2nd to the last paragraph, after the sentence reading "...against the candidates of capital.", insert: All but 1st sentence of 2nd to last paragraph on p. 29 YSF Bulletin, Vol III, #3. (Whole #9). Bert accepted Peter's motion.

Motion to adopt memorandum as amended. MOTION CARRIED

Motion to endorse the Ed Board's proposal to launch the Committee for Dobbs and Weiss. Vote: All for except for 5 abstentions, MOTION CARRIED.

6:50 pm - Afternoon session adjourned.

Saturday, April 16, 1960

10:35 am - Morning session started.

The following motions were made by the Presiding Committee by Tim W.:

1. That all motions be presented to the chairman in writing.
2. That Jim R. be the parliamentarian for the rest of the conference.
3. That all makers of motions be given 10 minutes to present their motions.
4. That Bob H., of Detroit, be the chairman for the morning session.

MOTIONS CARRIED

Motion by Pete C. of Boston: We extend time on the Discussion by cutting the time on the report of Where We Stand, and also the time of the Sit-In Campaign. The motion was withdrawn.

Motion: To extend the agenda 45 minutes. MOTION CARRIED

Roll call was taken.

10:45 am - Bob H. took over as chairman.

**WHERE WE STAND AND THE FOUNDING OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE.**

Report on the draft founding declaration - Tim Wohlforth, New York, member of the Editorial Board of YOUNG SOCIALIST, reporting. He was given one hour for his report.

11:45 am - Discussion of Where We Stand.

Motion: Speakers on amendments will speak first, original 2 will be limited to 7 minutes each. Vote: 17 in favor; 7 opposed. MOTION CARRIED

Procedural motion by the Presiding Committee that a speakers list be taken; we have a two hour discussion; lunch be from 2:30-3:30; and that the vote on amendments be taken after lunch. MOTION CARRIED

2:25-3:30 pm - Adjourned for lunch.

3:50 pm - Afternoon session reconvened.

Proposals by the Steering Committee for the afternoon session are as follows:

1. That Arlene B., Philadelphia, be the chairman for the afternoon session which will start after the voting on the Where We Stand document.
2. That the agenda be moved ahead 1 hour.
3. That 15 minutes be taken from the discussion on the War Resolution.
4. That Judy Mage be granted voice for this session.

Motions CARRIED

The voting on the following amendments and motions to the Where We Stand document took place and Bob H. continued as chairman through this procedure.

Amendments to the Where We Stand report as voted on:

1. Norman P., Denver; Section 1. Leave out Marxian in the first paragraph of Carol's amendment and minus last sentence of her's. Lost. 5 in favor; maj. against.
2. Norman; Section 1. Eighth line. The struggle culminating in the creation of a new type of state based on workers power eliminating the profit system and introducing a planned economy based on human need. Lost. 11 in favor; 14 against.
3. Carol L., New York; presented by Allen T. Section 1. The YSA bases itself on the traditions of marxian socialism developed by Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Leibknecht, and upon the best traditions of American revolutionists such Eugene V. Debs. We base ourselves on the American tradition of struggle against its ruling class. Lost. 10 in favor; 15 against.
4. Jim R., New York; Section 1. Replace 3rd sentence with "the YSA bases itself on the traditions of marxian socialism as developed by Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht." Carried. 17 in favor; 6 against.
5. Boston; Section 1. Cross out "can lead...socialism" and substitute "can support the struggle of the working class for socialism." Lost. Unanimously against.

6. Cross out the words "Marxian socialism" and substitute "revolutionary economic and political thinking." Lost. 3 in favor.
7. Insert after "capitalist class" and before the dash "and its allies." Carried. 17 in favor; 7 against.
8. Cross out the sentence "Socialism means...by it" and substitute "Socialism means that for the first time in history the vast majority of the population, the working class, will control society in its interests." Lost. Unanimously against.
9. Cross out the last sentence up to the colon and substitute: "Therefore the struggle of the working class for socialism is the struggle for the continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres." Lost. 8 in favor; 19 against.
10. Bob K., Baltimore; Section 4. replace "have been" by "have a tendency to be." 2nd paragraph, 3rd line. His motion was withdrawn.
11. Peter A., Los Angeles; Section 4. 2nd paragraph, 3rd line: substitute "were" for "have been." Vote: carried; 20 in favor; 4 against.
12. Boston; Section 4. 2nd paragraph, 3rd line, replace the word "everywhere" with "in the West." Vote: lost; 1 in favor.
13. Boston; Section 5. Cross out "both groups" and substitute "The Social Democracy and the Communist International." Vote: CARRIED; 22 in favor; 2 against.
14. Change "capitalist state" to "capitalist states" and "its" to "theirs." Vote: CARRIED; 21 in favor; 6 against.
15. Add at end of 5, "We also give our full support to the revolutionary struggle of the workers in the Soviet bloc for worker's democracy and for worker's control over the economy." Vote: LOST; 8 in favor; 13 against; 4 abstentions.
16. Bob K., Baltimore; Section 7. Take out "even more than the YPSL." Substitute "like the YPSL." Withdrawn.
17. Bob K., Baltimore; Section 7. Replace "are apologists for the" for "subordinate the class struggle to the." Withdrawn.
18. Ted N., Seattle; Section 7. Replace whole section with: Although the young supporters of the CP do not support several of the contemporary programmatic norms of a revolutionary Marxist group, we feel that the situation is still fluid and will be willing to work co-operatively with them in joint projects whenever possible.
- In stating this, we make a careful distinction between the sometimes vacillating role of the CP youth and the right wing, often counter-revolutionary role of the YPSL cadre. Vote: LOST; 1 in favor; majority against; 1 abstention.
19. Jim R., New York; Section 7. Last sentence, replace "workers' states" with "soviet bloc countries." Vote: CARRIED Unanimously

20. Boston; Section 7. Cross out "other workers' states" and substitute "other countries with nationalized property." Vote: LOST Unanimously against.

21. Allen T., New York; Section 10.

The regroupment process did not result in any new parties being formed, on the contrary, older political formations such as the Independent Socialist League and its youth organization, the Young Socialist League, and the American Socialist magazine disappeared. Most of the individuals who supported the CP left politics rather than try to discover a new but difficult path.

The right-wing socialist groups, the SP, SDF, and ISL, conducted their own regroupment into the SP-SDF, with its reformist, pro-State Department, anti-class struggle views. The Communist Party suffered a precipitous decline through the regroupment process. Having lost all its influence in working class politics it remains simply an apologist for the Kremlin. The Socialist Labor Party simply ignored the regroupment process and was ignored by it. The Socialist Workers Party conducted a campaign for a regroupment of revolutionary socialists, attracting to itself from all groupings individuals who still wished to struggle for revolutionary socialism.

YSF, Vol III #3 Whole #9 p. 8.

Vote: CARRIED; 18 in favor; 3 against; 3 abstentions.

22. Jim R., New York and Bob K., Baltimore; Section 10. First sentence replaced with "The regroupment process did not result in the formation of a new, united revolutionary party."

Vote: CARRIED; unanimously.

23. Boston; Section 10. Omit from ninth line "which ...individuals" and change "who" to "which." Vote: LOST; 2 for; majority against.

24. Ted N., Seattle; Section 11. Delete whole section. Vote: LOST; 2 for; majority against.

25. Boston; Section 11. Delete entire section; substitute: "Therefore the YSA considers the SWP as the only party of all existing political parties that bases its program on the struggle of the working class against its exploiters and rulers, and offers revolutionary leadership." Vote: LOST; 1 in favor; majority against.

26. Bob M., San Francisco; Section 11. Replace section with: "The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are the only revolutionary socialist groups in the United States today. The YSA recognizes that only the SWP of all existing political parties is capable of providing the working class with political leadership on class struggle principles. As a result of its three-year development the supporters of the Young Socialist have come into basic political solidarity, on the principles of revolutionary socialism, with the SWP". Vote: CARRIED: Unanimously; 1 abstention.

27. Boston; Section 13. "Marxian socialism" change to "socialism." Vote: LOST unanimously.



Motion to accept the document as passed. Motion CARRIED. 3 against.

4:15 pm - Arlene B. took over as chairman.  
Roll Call was taken.

4:30 pm - INTERNATIONAL REPORT AND RESOLUTION ON WAR - Shane Mage, New York, member of the Editorial Board of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, reporting. He was given one hour.

Three motions for extension of time: one 10 minutes; one 15 minutes; one 5 minutes. PASSED unanimously

6:15 pm - Session adjourned.

Sunday, April 17, 1960

10:50 am - Morning session started.

Procedural motions made by the Steering Committee were as follows:

1. That the chairman for the morning session be Martha C., New York.
2. That the discussion be one-half hour and there be a 3 minute time limit for each speaker.

Motions Carried.

Roll call was taken.

11:00 am - Discussion on the War Resolution.

Motion by chairman to extend the discussion for additional speakers.

Motion Carried.

Countermotion made by Bob H. that we proceed to the summary and vote.

Motion Lost.

11:45 am - Summary and vote.

Amendments to the War Resolution as voted on.

1. Shane M., New York; Page 16, 1st paragraph, second to last line to read - (insert is underlined) - "-sistance with repressions in all forms ranging up to murderous violence. In no sense..."

Vote: 19 in favor, CARRIED

2. Gaylord, Philadelphia; Page 21, fifth paragraph, last sentence, replace with -"This will give the Soviet bloc a breathing spell during which it can develop its productive forces to the point of surpassing that of the capitalist countries. The inherent superiority of a socialist economy thus demonstrated, the American working class would then have a desire to work for socialism, presumably through reformist means." Vote: 2 for; majority against; 1 abstention. LOST

B. 1st paragraph, p. 16, 2nd sentence -- change "well" to "somewhat".  
Withdrawn.

3. Bob K., Baltimore; A. page 16, 2nd paragraph, line 7, include "scientists" between "engineers" and "generals." Vote: 3 for; 14 against. LOST.

B. P. 16, 1st paragraph, third line from bottom - eliminate last sentence and replace with, "This explains a great lack of political and economic democracy in the Soviet Union." Vote: 5 for; 13 against; LOST

C. Eliminate 2nd sentence, p. 16, 1st paragraph. Vote: 1 for; majority against; LOST

4. Dave W., Boston; The War Resolution should be adopted. Discussion on the Soviet Union should be initiated at the local level. Withdrawn in favor of motion 6.

5. Carol L., New York; Move to table resolution for further discussion to be brought before next conference. Vote: unanimously against. LOST

6. Ed Finer, New York; presented by Allen T., New York; The passage of this resolution on war is not intended to prejudice a continuing discussion on the YSA's position on the Soviet Union. This convention instructs the N. C. to initiate a discussion, prior to the next convention, on the nature of the Soviet Union. Vote: unanimously in favor; CARRIED

Motion to adopt the War Resolution. Motion CARRIED. 20 for; 1 against; 1 abstention.

Procedural motions made by the Presiding Committee were as follows:

1. The report on the Sit-in Campaigns be 45 minutes.
2. The discussion of the report be 1 hour.
3. That 15 minutes be taken from the lunch period.

Motions Carried.

12:00 pm - THE SIT-IN CAMPAIGN - Fred Mazelis, New York, alternate member of the National Committee, reporting.

12:45 pm - Discussion on Sit-in Campaign.

Motion by Pete C., Boston: To have a first round of 30 minutes limited to one speaker from each area. CARRIED

Counter motion: To have a first round of one hour limiting speakers to 4 or 5 minutes. LOST

Motion: Each speaker be given 4 minutes. CARRIED.

2:10 pm - Summary by Fred Mazelis. Fred made the following motions at the conclusion of his summary:

1. We organize, wherever possible, permanent independent committees to work for integration on the Southern and Northern front.
2. We establish as much contact as possible between the different independent committees in the North and the Northern and Southern movements.
3. We plan for mass picketing and demonstrations on May 17, and spark petition drives, the petitions to be returned to the New York Youth Committee for Integration before May 17, for presentation to Woolworths.

All three motions passed unanimously.

Motion by Jim R., New York and Leroy, Phila.: As part of the draft, revised Tasks and Perspectives Resolution referred to the N. C., the N. C. shall include an evaluation of the "respectable" organizations of progress, for example, NAACP, NSA, CORE - as they relate to the needs and aims of the movements they claim to lead; and the forms and contents indicated for the YSA in relation to these groups and to the needs of the mass movements themselves. CARRIED unanimously.

2:30 pm - Recess for one-half hour lunch.

3:10 pm - Afternoon session convenes.

Motions from presiding committee:

1. The chairman for this session be Bert D. of New York.
2. The time allotted for report and discussion be kept as originally planned. Motions Carried.

A credentials committee report was given by Sherry F.

3:25 pm - CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE - James Robertson of the Editorial Board, reported.

3:50 pm - Discussion.

4:50 pm - Summary and vote.

The following amendments to the Constitution are listed in the order that they were voted upon:

1. Dave W., Boston: Article III, Section 1 - add to end of section; "regardless of their membership or non-membership in any adult party." CARRIED 13 for; 12 against; 2 abstentions.

2. Herb S., Chicago: Article III, Section 6 - insert after second sentence; "In pursuing their work, they may not take direct action which causes the organization itself to question its own self-survival." LOST. 1 for; majority against.

Motion: That we have a 1 hour discussion including summary and vote. Carried

Motion: To give Judy M. voice in this discussion. Carried

3. Shane M., New York: (Bulletin #3, page 7)  
"The YSA shall publish, at intervals of three months or less, an open discussion bulletin entitled 'Young Socialist Forum.' All material on any topic submitted by YSA members for publication in the Young Socialist Forum is to be published in its entirety and in order of receipt." LOST 8 for; 10 against; 7 abstentions.

4. Lucky F., New York:  
Article III

- a - Section 3 - after "by the NEC" insert "with the approval of the local unit." LOST 2 for; 17 against; 4 abstentions.

- b - Section 4 - change "50¢ a month" to "1.00 a month"; omit "and all of this minimum" and substitute "a 50¢ minimum." LOST 1 for; 2 abstentions.

## Article IV

c - Section 4 - insert at end "except where programmatic differences exist over the reason for which the convention is called." LOST 10 for; 12 against; 3 abstentions.

d - Section 6 - insert following "in the conference call" "i.e., ratio of members to delegates." LOST 3 for; 15 against; 3 abstentions.

## Article V

e - Section 2 - omit "majority", substitute "minority"; omit "minimum" substitute "maximum"; omit "3/5", substitute "2/5." LOST. 7 for; 10 against; 5 abstentions.

## Article III

f - Section 3 - delete "exceptions to this policy may be made by the NEC." LOST 2 for.

5. Don R., San Francisco: Article III, Section 5 - change "1 month" to "3 months," and change "3 months" to "5 months." LOST 11 for; 14 against.

6. Norman H., Denver; Article IV, Section 5 - amendment to Lucky's amendment "in which case a one month discussion will be allowed." Not voted on because Lucky's amendment lost.

7. Jim R., New York: Strike Article II and substitute paragraph 1 of the Where We Stand document. CARRIED 1 abstention.

8. Peter A., Los Angeles: Article III, Section 5. Change "warning" to "notification." CARRIED

Motion to adopt the Constitution as amended. Motion CARRIED unanimously.

/Stormy applause and cheering/

5:30 pm - ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE Report by Tim on recommendations of Steering Committee as to size of N. C. and alternate list and nominees.

Motion: We thank comrades Bert Deck, Allen Taplin, Bob Himmel, George Myland, and Carl Feingold who are leaving the youth movement at this convention for their indispensible contribution to building our movement. CARRIED unanimously.

Motion: 1 fraternal delegate from Canada be chosen by the Toronto YSA. CARRIED unanimously.

Motion: That the N. C. be composed of 20 regular members and 18 alternates. CARRIED 14 for.

Motion: by Bob M.: That the N. C. be composed of 21 regular members. LOST 9 for.

Conference adjourned at 7:15 pm with the singing of The Internationale.

Summary of the Report by Jim Lambrecht on the National Report  
and Tasks and Perspectives

At this founding conference of the Young Socialist Alliance, we must call for a change in line -- though that may seem ominous to some of us. But we must immediately attempt to adapt our new organization to a changed reality -- and that means a change in line. For we did have a national policy, which was never really spelled out; to the extent that this policy was unclear, our national organizational structure suffered. Now, at our formal founding conference, we must make that old policy clear in order to liquidate it properly -- by clear contrast with the new tasks -- and in that way lay the proper policy foundations for our new national organization.

The American students are developing a movement. Though not yet analagous to the 30's, we do see now -- in addition to the Challenge Forums (found on Eastern and Mid-West college campuses) and the discussion groups -- the sit-in campaigns among the students. One thing that contributed to this development was the dying down of the witchhunt. Granting even our optimism, we can definitely say that the growth of the 50's is at an end.

But before this end was in sight -- as clearly as now -- our rate of recruitment was slow and therefore the work indicated for us was heavily propagandistic in character. Not that we always did what was indicated -- much energy was wasted on agitational activity, and there was demoralization because there were few results. But even during the worst of the 50's radicals were fond of saying that underneath it all there was a molecular process going on -- and this was true. The 60's didn't fall from the blue. Just as we were growing aware of the one-by-one recruitment situation and the tasks posed by it, that situation was changing.

Putting tactical questions aside for the moment, let's consider something from this just-ended period that is worth preserving for the future. At all times, and therefore, during the 50's as well, we held that our ideas were ever everything. Our ideas of today, we said, will determine our existence a year from now -- more than our present numbers or political influence. YPSL, on the contrary, debunked ideas; they said that precise ideas were divisive, and that what was needed was the broadest common ideological denominator for the greatest number of radicals. In this belief the CP was not essentially different from YPSL. Both organizations expressed a petty-bourgeois attitude toward ideas -- a contempt for them.

The fact that we are here in this founding conference today -- with our YOUNG SOCIALIST, with an increasingly stable financial structure -- this is proof of the correctness of our respect for ideas. Throughout the drouth of the witchhunt we have kept our politics. We have put a serious emphasis on ideas and this provided our present existence and our vitality for future growth. Socialism comes through struggle, and this struggle -- expressed within the socialist movement itself -- takes the form of a struggle to train the revolutionary cadre. Those "socialist" organizations that betray this struggle, that spread contempt for revolutionary science, betray the revolution itself.

Because of our past tradition of ideological training, we enter the new period of action with the incomparable advantage of a cadre who can think! That is why we intervene in the mass sit-in struggle, and why the CP and YPSL cannot. This is a tradition from the past period that we will definitely not liquidate.

I do not think we have yet had sufficient experience with the new period to draft an adequate Tasks and Perspectives document. The section on campus orientation in the old Tasks and Perspectives document is correct. That is, it sends us to the right area and does not call for tactics that would contravene the tasks of the new period. But simply building socialist discussion clubs on campus -- and this is, I believe, the only on-campus tactic suggested by the old Tasks and Perspectives document -- while still a major task, does not encompass by any means the problem we now face. Now there is a new student mood and a new generation coming in from the high schools. The silent and beat generations are graduating. The students who were willing to discuss but not act -- are graduating or changing. There is a pro-action atmosphere developing. This is where the old Tasks and Perspectives document falls short. Left out of it are the general strategy and tactics of YSA cadre participation in social struggles -- in united fronts of all sorts with other organizations, within other organizations, and so on.

I would like to suggest one general strategic point for an eventual Tasks and Perspectives document that deals with this new problem. That is, that in all our future relations-in-action with other organizations, our general strategy be to function openly as socialists. This will be essential not only for our own independent recruitment, but for the ultimate victory of the social struggles themselves. Every mass action tends to throw up fresh layers of leaders -- new young militants without training or tradition. For these leaders to lead, i.e. to win the struggle, it is necessary that they make contact with all the science of struggle that is embodied in the historic vanguard -- us. In this sense, our ability to function freely and openly within these movements will determine their success.

Is this true? Others, Stalinists for instance, say that socialism is at this point an extraneous and divisive issue in the mass movement. But we know that all progress is linked tightly to the destruction of capitalism. Therefore we must legitimize socialism within the mass actions at the very start, as an acceptable participant. Without this, the most advanced elements of the movement will be confused and demoralized; and it is upon these most advanced elements, the new vanguard, that the fate of the new period of progressive action depends. They are the focus of our attention in the future, our chief responsibility.

Summary of Report by Tim Wohlforth on the Founding Declaration of the  
"Young Socialist Alliance"

This declaration is the central most important document before this convention. With the passing of this document the Young Socialist Alliance will be officially formed. The declaration attempts to explain just what we are founding, why we are founding it, and what is the relationship of what we are founding to the rest of the radical movement. This approach is a sign of the responsible way we go about building a movement and contrasts sharply with the pattern followed by others.

Let us take a brief look at the way others go about building organizations and possibly this will clarify our own approach all the more.

The American Socialist shows us how not to build a movement. It started out by hiding its origins as if it were ashamed of them. It did not feel it was important to explain to the radical public why it had split from the Socialist Workers Party and had set up an independent organization.

The AS never clearly stated its political views. While a certain general approach could be discerned in the pages of its magazine it nowhere attempted, in the Marxist tradition, to work out its views in the form of resolutions, argue them out within its organization and then defend them against other views before the public at large.

Finally it had no real organization. There was no democratic mechanism for the determining of the organization's policy. This made it possible for the two or three "leaders" who edited their magazine in New York to determine the organization's policy and expell those it disagreed with.

The result of this approach to building a movement was -- distinction. The recent collapse of the AS is proof of the futility of building an organization which is afraid to discuss its past, makes no attempt to justify its own existence, never works out its political views in the Marxist tradition, and has no real democratic organizational structure.

There is a second school of organization building, a numerically more important one. It is what I call the Front Group School of Socialist Organization (of should I say "Progressive Organization"?). This is the method of the Communist Party. It forms a "broad" youth organization. Members of this organization don't even have to be interested in politics. It asks only one thing of its youth -- that the leaders be allowed to run the show. On the surface the organization is broad -- broader than ours. But in reality it is held under very tight control.

This control is maintained primarily because there is no internal life in the organization...-- conventions are just national rallies, minorities do not exist in the sense that we know them with minority resolutions etc. The real policy issues of the organization are never really discussed and decided on in a democratic fashion.

Such an organization cannot train and develop youth. Their membership is made up primarily of the remnants of a "great" past, that is, it is made up of the children of those who were recruited to the CP in the thirties. The mass (and this is a relative term, of course) of their membership is not trained in politics. They are trained in manipulation, in adopting the

coloration of the liberal, the "progressive". The end product of this process is symbolized by an event that occurred recently in New York. A young Communist got up at a meeting of the Woolworth picketers, taking on the pose of a liberal, stated that, "We don't want any Communists and Trotskyites here." This is an extreme example, of course, but it is symbolic of the debasing effect of the Front Group School of Socialist Organization.

The third training school for youth that I wish to deal with is the YPSL. Its approach I call The Training School in Opportunism for Future Union Bureaucrats. Membership in this school is often confused with membership in the ILGWU training school.

The main characteristic of this school is extreme distain for the past, for history, for tradition, for serious marxist politics. They ridicule those who study the Russian Revolution, the history of the American Marxist movement, the Spanish Civil War, etc., in order to assimilate the past experience of the working class so that we do not make the same mistakes over and over again. Their distain for the past has a rational basis to it, they cannot explain their own past as history has so clearly refuted them. Their brilliant "new ideas" such as working within the Democratic party were refuted by Marx himself in the 18<sup>40</sup>'s when he split from the petty bourgeois radical parties. Any movement which cannot face up to its past cannot train the new generation.

These great "democratic socialists" who devote themselves to mouthing pleasant sounding democratic phraseology do not believe in encumbering their membership with democracy. The YPSL is the least democratic of all the radical organizations for it undermines internal democracy in a simple but devastating way -- it never votes on resolutions! Every resolution before the last YPSL convention was tabled to the incoming National Committee -- no other radical group has this bad a record. The only political power in YPSL is the small cliche of ex-Shachtmanites who run the organization in New York for the right wing of the adult SP.

The YPSL trains its members, not in marxist politics, but the allied arts of Bootlickmanship; how far to bend over, how to become the lackey of the Randolphins, the Reuthers, the Dubinskys. There is no training so destructive to young people than forcing them to look upon politics as simply a currying of favors from the bigwigs.

I ran into an old acquaintance of mine the other day who is presently a union functionary and a member of the SP's "Trade Union Branch". This he informs me is a gathering place for tired union functionaries to discuss how to deal with the rank and file. He tells me the ILGWU forced him to run for office in a local even though he is on the staff and has never worked in the industry. Such is the way the social democrats train young people.

We, on the other hand, have a different approach to the building of a movement. We are happy to describe our past because we are proud of it (para. 3). We openly proclaim our political views and staunchly defend these in public (para. 1 and 2). We clearly state our relationship with the rest of the radical movement and explain why we felt it was necessary to build an independent revolutionary youth movement (para. 4-8).

We are not a front group. We openly declare that we are in basic political solidarity with the Socialist Worker's Party with whom we share



the heritage of revolutionary Marxism. We do not attempt to hide our relations with the SWP. But we are an independent youth organization. We give the SWP no blanket endorsement of every resolution it may have passed over the years. The only views we hold are those that are presented before this organization in the form of resolutions for this organization to adopt. We are organizationally an independent movement and we mean it.

Our organization has rich internal democratic discussions and at this Convention there are amendments galore and full discussions and votes on every one of them. Not one resolution will be handed over to the incoming NC without a vote from this body for or against it. We believe that only through a rich internal life can young marxists be educated; marxists who can assimilate the lessons of the past, understand the problems of the present, and prepare to assist in the coming to power of the working class in the future. Only our method can produce such a movement and this conference shows we have made great strides towards this goal.

Report by Fred Mazelis on the Sit-In Movement

The sit-in protest movement represents a tremendous breakthrough in the Negro struggle in the United States towards full equality. The movement in the South arose from a deepening disgust with the present two - party system. The southern Negroes, especially the Negro youth, want no more of the gradual approach which has so far brought them almost no advances. The southern sit-in movement involves many tens of thousands of Negro students. The impetus of their struggle has inspired thousands of Northern students to demonstrate their sympathy in the biggest student movement in this country since the 1940's.

And so, we find ourselves in the middle of a very important mass movement, the sort of movement for which we have been busily preparing for the last 3 years.

The movement is not something initiated from above, by CORE, or the NAACP. On the contrary, it is a movement that was initiated by the Southern students on their own; only after they had begun the action, had stepped over the accepted boundaries of legal attempts and court cases in the struggle for civil rights, and shown that thousands in the South were ready to take action, did the NAACP conclude that it was forced to give the movement a measure of support. The NAACP is ready to slacken their support of the movement as soon as it shows signs of slowing down. The criterion of the NAACP leadership for making policy is: how far are they forced to go, not the need of building a mass movement for racial equality.

The radical pacifist Congress of Racial Equality moved quickly on the sit-ins in comparison with the NAACP. CORE was contacted very soon after the sit-ins began by some southern students. It has received most of the credit for the sit-ins and probably has the support of significant numbers of Southern Negro students who have become politically active for the first time. However, many Southern students have shown disagreements with CORE's principled pacifism, with its concept of love and understanding for your enemies, be they Woolworth's, the Southern authorities, and possibly even the Ku Klux Klan.

The tactic of non-violent mass action is implicit in the picketing and sit-ins; it is wholly justifiable as a tactic (when those in struggle are greatly outnumbered in numbers and armed might), and the Southern sit-ins are the best possible means at present of pursuing the struggle. It is however the transformation of the non-violent method into a principle which leads the struggle for equality astray and opens the way for mass slaughter, such as is now occurring in South Africa.

The big area of disagreement with the pacifists and those who follow their lead in the sit-in movement has not been on the level of self-defence, but on the related questions of militant picketing as opposed to pacifist discipline. CORE's discipline asserts that Northern sit-ins, not wearing a suit or tie, or using 100 pickets instead of 10, are somehow violent tactics.

Our attitude toward the sit-in movement is different from and opposed to the attitudes of other groups, ranging from the NAACP to NSA to CORE to YPSL to the CP youth. We want to see a truly IBM movement-- broad, that is, involving as many youth as possible with different political ideas-- militant, with as little compromise toward reformism and ineffective tactics as possible-- and independent of the conservative leaders of sections of the present mass movement on order that it may pursue a militant policy.

In the South the students began on their own and pushed other organizations into action. The movement is now being contained to the extent that CORE and the national leadership of the NAACP have domination. In the North, too, the students started on their own. In most areas our small movement initiated action. Within several weeks Pres. Gallagher of CCNY and A. Phillip Randolph both saw the necessity of viciously red baiting the YS and the NY Youth Committee for Intergration; although it happened that the YSA itself was at that time a relatively small part of the Youth Committee. The redbaiting was the direct result of the organization of an student committee independent of Randolph, a committee which might disagree with his tactics. If the movement is independent, the redbaiting is inevitable.

In New York it was possible to move around the conservative respectable leadership of CORE and A. Phillip Randolph and organize an independent student committee only after working with CORE, with the CP youth, and with representatives of the Martin Luther King leadership. We had to demonstrate to the high school and college students who were participating in the picketing just what the policies of the Stalinists and the reformists are, just how these policies operated to contain the movement.

The New York experience is very important and deserves a full report. The comrades at CCNY started things rolling. An ad hoc committee was set up in which the Stalinists, operating as undercover as possible, had a fairly comfortable majority. From the very first week we saw the other tendencies (CP, YPSL, liberals) in the committee moving cautiously away from the concept of an independent committee. The NSA used various reckless tactics to sabotage our action: they claimed our picket line as theirs, they then scheduled a rally for a different place at the same time, and then scheduled a rally for a different place at the same time, and they finally mobilized 10 people to our 400 when we had a joint rally in Washington Square. They have had an ambivalent attitude on picketing, for the most part refusing to support actual Northern picketing.

By the time we had the second picket line in New York City, Bayard Rustin and A. Phillip Randolph had organized a group, composed mainly of YPSLs and including some campus leaders, which was moving against the Youth Committee behind the scenes, and, of course, having the desired effect upon the Stalinists, who began mumbling about broadness and the "indispensability" of NAACP support. Their argument was that they had "confidential" information that various groups (NAACP, CORE) were withdrawing support and that we had no choice but to dissolve in the face of growing attack, in the interest of the movement. We maintained that we welcomed the support of all civil rights organizations and would strive for cooperation on points of agreement, but that the Youth Committee mobilized hundreds of students independently, and should continue to do so and to come to its own decisions. The differences in the committee were set forward in the following way at a rally of over 100 picketers after the 2nd picket line: the Stalinists proposed that we discontinue picketing the next Saturday in order to show our support to Randolph's big rally in Harlem. We proposed that we picket in the morning and early afternoon and then go to the Harlem rally. This was the first step in the direction of the dissolution of the committee, and the Stalinists used every trick they knew to win support. They claimed that the picket lines were decreasing anyway, and that Randolph was ready to do anything necessary. One person got up and started red-baiting himself as well as the YPSL and the YSA. When the vote was finally taken, the proposal to continue picketing won with only three votes against it (a half dozen or so Stalinists abstained quietly rather than expose themselves).

The third picket line was built, of course, only by us. In the middle of that week, however, a meeting of the Youth Committee was called. This meeting ignored the mandate from the picketers to publicize a third picket line. Instead, it took

up a proposal to dissolve the committee. This group of "leaders", at this point completely unrepresentative, passed a motion to dissolve the Youth Committee against the obvious wishes of the picketers. Only the YSAers on the committee voted against the proposal, which was carried by the leaders of Advance and a small group of liberals and social-democrats.

After this "dissolution" meeting, we decided to disregard the move to dissolve the action as illegal, and we issued a leaflet calling for a fourth picket line. We distributed this leaflet, which explained that all statements to the effect that the committee has been dissolved were untrue, to the hundred picketers which came on Saturday. In the next month we did our most important work in the Youth Committee, reorganizing it around the high school students, and recruiting three high school students to the YSA in the course of the action.

Meanwhile, A. Phillip Randolph had reorganized a new committee, the respectable-sounding Metropolitan Students for Non-Violent Civil Rights Action. This committee, which several Stalinists have been able to join while posing as liberals has organized at most one or two picket lines of about 10 people. They have been entirely ignored by the high school students, while the more "conservative" college students have in large part withdrawn from the movement. Advance had found itself completely isolated, and now has small picket lines in its own name in neighborhood areas. It should be added that the Youth Committee involves many students from the CP periphery.

Red-baiting has been the important issue which has tended to differentiate the student movement. Our position is that red-baiting is the number one tactic of the Southern racists, who use it for the two-fold purpose of evading a rational defence of segregation and of frightening the petty bourgeois leadership of the civil rights movement into conducting their own witch hunt and thus splitting the movement. The only answer to red-baiting, whether it comes from Eastland or Randolph, is to stand firm, to reject it in the same way fighting unionism rejected it. Submitting to the red-baiting serves not the intergration struggle, but the enemies of the Negroes and the working people as a whole.

Our aim is to organize around the present leadership, the adult betrayers of the civil rights struggle. We have learned that we must organize around them in order to build a really effective, militant movement. The way to organize around them, however, is first to approach and work with if possible the other tendencies and the mass organizations, so as to educate the ranks of the movement in the process. The majority of the students would not have come with us in New York if we had not demonstrated through the tactic of the united front that the policies of the reformists and those who are tail ending them are incorrect.

In many areas, it is necessary to use the tactic used in New York in launching an ad hoc committee truly independent of the conservative elements. That means pushing for a militant policy in a very broad committee dominated by reformist elements, and then leading a broad militant ad hoc committee not pledged to respectability or reformism, when this becomes possible. This was done in New York after a struggle with the reformists. In some cases it is possible to immediately organize an ad hoc committee in which we have the leading influence. In either case the end result should be a committee which involves significant numbers of non-YSAers in its policy making, and which uses the tactic of advocating as full cooperation as possible with the other civil rights organizations on the points upon which there is agreement.

Our specific plans for the immediate future in the sit-in movement should be to go ahead with plans for mass picketing and demonstration on May 17, to

organize a nationwide petition drive for a boycott pledge to be presented to Woolworth's on May 17th, to organize permanent student intergration committees, and to participate in local intergration activities where possible.

Note: To bring the movement up to date: Between 8,000 and 9,000 signatures were accumulated within a month, most from NYC but some from LA, Twin Cities, Philadelphia, Boston, and Detroit.

Randolph's Metropolitan Students Committee disbanded quickly. The NYCFI continued picketing until the end of May. In other areas picketing continued somewhat longer, although the general pattern was one of a decline in the student movement as the summer approached. The sit-ins have already won some significant victories in Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and Texas. A high level of activity is anticipated in the fall.

Summary of Report by Jim Robertson on the Constitution

The main point to this discussion on the constitution is that of the education of our membership in the purposes and implications of the organizational model presented here as against alternatives.

We need an organizational form for a youth movement which is Bolshevik in spirit and purpose. We want to overthrow the existing social order. This is a large task and for it special requirements are raised such as are not found in those conventional groups and backgrounds from which most youth coming into the movement draw such organizational experience as they possess. Two written materials are recommended to amplify on the present remarks. The current issue of Labour Review, published by our British Trotskyist comrades, is principally devoted to a really beautiful presentation of the "organizational question," treated topically, historically and philosophically. Second, the "General Considerations" (Pg. 20 of the Detroit Conference Bulletin) introducing our Interim Organizational Motion is worthy of note since it is with the present Constitution that the aims there expressed are realized.

The Young Socialist Alliance is not the vanguard party. Thus our constitutional rules are not Democratic-Centralist in the formal sense; however, they are democratic and centralized. Our proposed procedures are not just a "softened" version of the constitution of the vanguard, combat party of the working class. For example, in some ways "tougher" rules are needed because of the well-known instability of youth locals and the rapid turnover of national committee members through migration and "graduation." But at bottom it is not a matter of "harder" or "softer", rather the fact is that while a revolutionary youth movement is very similar to, it is not identical with, a revolutionary party. The essence of our democracy is that the membership has and practices the supreme right to decide YSA program and leadership in full debate and conflict. An essential point of our centralism is that such struggles are not carried on outside the organization.

There is another kind of youth organization we could have sought if we had made the wrong turn sometime back: a federated organization of autonomous local groups. But in practice such a variant could only mean discussion groups of young people functioning as transient appendages to local party branches. This hypothetical variant suffers not a few flaws: (1) in all likelihood it would not have been viable past the end of the regroupment period; (2) in any case it would be totally insufficient to win and lead youth for the revolutionary tendency and in competition with the Stalinist and Social-Democratic youth formations; (3) thus at bottom it is a trivial substitution for a youth movement in the abstract and concretely would have been its dissolution.

Let us take a quick look at the Young People's Socialist League. They have as a fundamental axis of structure, a form that is outside the framework of revolutionary socialism: that is -- a basic division between the rank-and-file members and the leaders. In YPSL, the members have many "rights" -- referenda, no co-optation to the National Committee, a continuous discussion, adopted resolutions are not binding on individuals, etc., etc. The leaders have no rights over the members (except to throw them out occasionally). But the members have no rights over the leaders, either!

For us the main thing is the matter of our political program. This is the unifying agent between members and leaders. The leaders are selected

on the basis of their political aim as are the leaders of any minority. Our alternative to bureaucracy is the right to factionalism. Thus, for us, the lines of possible difference are more-or-less vertical, ie. members and leaders versus members and leaders, not the horizontal division of members vs. leaders. Indeed it is a sign of the degeneration of an organization when the line of divisions start to bend over, to become horizontal.

Our constitution is a piece of paper. By itself it cannot make of us more genuine revolutionaries. We cannot find in any document a "fourth dimension" to guarantee our purity.

As a concluding point, note that with one difference the present draft constitution is but an expansion upon the Interim Motion adopted at our last National Conference in Detroit. The change comes from the magnitude of the expansion itself. The YSA takes upon itself its own discipline instead of informally using the disciplinary backbone of the party (as in dealing with the late Marcyites). But with this step comes responsibility which has perhaps made some comrades uneasy. We have the capacity to damage our youth movement through the abuse of the powers proposed for the local units in relation to members and for the leading committees toward the YSA as a whole. This is not an argument against such powers being used by our locals and committees. But there must be recognition that such authority is a two edged sword with which we can cut ourselves, too.

Not the only, but the decisive consideration which guides us is that we are a group of struggle. We must have the power to act, and quickly and authoritatively when need be.

Minutes of the Conference for the Organization of the National  
Students for Dobbs and Weiss Committee

Saturday, April 16, 1960

6:00 pm - Conference convened by Nora Roberts.

Chairman, Nora Roberts.

The opening remarks addressed to the conference were made by Nora, "We have vast opportunities for making an appeal on campus to both liberal and radical students. We feel we can best take advantage of these opportunities through the medium of a campus group organized as a Committee for Dobbs and Weiss.

"The main concept is to build up a protest vote against both of the capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans..."

Discussion followed:

Pete Camejo, Boston; Motion to set up a Students for Dobbs and Weiss Committee nationally and to elect a co-ordinator. MOTION CARRIED

Eva Chertov, Philadelphia; Motion that Nora Roberts be the National Co-ordinator. MOTION CARRIED

7:00 pm - Meeting adjourned.



Memorandum on the 1960 Elections

American experience, past and present, has confirmed that, as in all other countries, political parties are organizations of economic classes and in fact are totally incomprehensible unless viewed primarily from this standpoint. Our principled opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties is based on their character as class parties of capitalism. This is demonstrated by the historic origins of these parties, the unfailing consistency of their policies in defense of the interests of the capitalist class, and the composition of their leading circles.

The pattern of history has shown that at one stage or another the working class feels impelled to organize itself into its own party. That this has not yet been the case in America only indicates that this step is still on the agenda of unfinished tasks. Disillusionment in the capitalist parties is already evident in significant sectors of the working class who see the "politicians" as the opponent on the picket line and in the government bodies. This growing disaffection plus the now accepted theory that labor must be in politics indicates that the historical trend in America likewise is toward an independent party of labor.

The first national conference of the supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST translated these general conceptions into the proposition that the duty of socialists is to help the labor movement make its inevitable break with the Democratic Party by propagandizing for a Labor Party. Therefore the conference rejected the policy of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation of supporting the Democratic Party. The conference saw as one of the most effective means for such education the support of independent socialist candidates in the elections against the capitalist politicians. The founding conference of the "Young Socialist Alliance" re-endorses this point of view.

Apart from these general considerations the 1960 elections have a special import to us.

Recent events (the steel strike, Griffin-Landrum, Kennedy bill) have disclosed that a significant break in class relations has taken place in this country. For over a decade the American capitalist class has been in a position to offer sufficient concessions to the American workers to forestall the independent political development of labor. The post war period, in the main has been characterized by the spirit of class collaboration between the capitalists and the official leaders of the labor movement. It is now evident that the capitalist class feels that this situation cannot be maintained in the 1960's. The capitalists correctly surmise that they are facing such economic ills that there is no alternative except to attempt to cut their labor costs, i.e. the standard of living. This break in policy will undoubtedly result in a rising curve of class struggle in the decade to come.

While this new situation in American politics has not yet produced a mass break with the Democratic party it has already prepared a more receptive audience for socialist education especially among the youth.

The 1960 elections thus provide a magnificent opportunity for socialists to reach, educate and prepare militant youth to play an indispensable

role in the coming decade of class struggle. The Young Socialist Alliance is determined to participate in the 1960 elections to the full.

We commend the Socialist Workers Party for all of its efforts to encourage the broadest socialist intervention in the coming elections. We appreciate the boldness of their venture to field a presidential ticket against the candidates of capital. The SWP will be the only party in the election to advocate the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions, and the only party which has fought for a united electoral slate of all socialists against the two capitalist parties. It will also campaign for a class-struggle program at home and against the policy of American imperialism abroad. For these reasons the SWP will be the only practical rallying point for socialists who want to oppose capitalism in the 1960 election period. Theirs will be the only ticket to call for a Labor Party. We recognize that their campaign will provide us with an attractive mechanism to increase our influence on the American campus.

Therefore we offer our support to the candidates of the SWP and pledge ourselves to work actively for the largest possible vote for socialism this November.

WHERE WE STAND; Founding Declaration  
of The "Young Socialist Alliance"

1. The "Young Socialist Alliance" is founded in response to the need for a nation-wide youth organization capable of bringing revolutionary socialist ideas to a new generation. This is necessary for building a revolutionary movement which can lead the working class to socialism. The YSA bases itself on the traditions of marxian socialism as developed by Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. We believe that socialism can be initiated only as the result of struggle, international in scope, of the working class against the capitalist class and its allies -- the struggle culminating in the creation of a new type of state, a workers' state. Socialism means that for the first time in history man will control his own creation -- society -- rather than be controlled by it. The dynamic of socialism is of a continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life.

2. In December, 1958, the National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters, which is now superseded by the "Young Socialist Alliance", issued an eight point political statement:

(1) For a labor party by the union movement, as an immediate goal, for independent political action through united and independent socialist electoral opposition to the two capitalist parties.

(2) Unconditional backing of the fight for full equality by the Negro people and other minorities.

(3) Militant opposition to the entire witchhunt with special focus on the witchhunt on the campus and the political screening of youth in connection with military service.

(4) Support to the colonial peoples' struggles for freedom and independence. For the withdrawal of all imperialist troops from foreign soil.

(5) Advocacy of workers power as the only progressive alternative to the capitalist drive toward military dictatorship and fascism, a drive recently illustrated by General deGaulle's placement in power in France.

(6) Support to struggles for workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and Peoples Republics such as the Polish and Hungarian workers' revolutions. Opposition to attempts of imperialism to reestablish domination over this section of the world.

(7) Against further nuclear tests and the build-up of the U.S. war machine, the success of the struggle against the capitalist war danger and for world peace depends upon the success of the struggle for international socialism.

(8) For the regroupment of revolutionary socialist youth into an independent, broad and militant national youth organization based on the editorial policy of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

This earlier statement, which is based upon the principles outlined in this declaration, illustrates the general political views upon which the Young Socialist Alliance is founded. In other resolutions at this conference and at later conferences a fuller political program will be elaborated.

#### Origin of YSA

3. The "Young Socialist Alliance" is the result of a political process which began in 1956 with a crisis which rocked the then existing radical youth groups. A left wing was formed in the "Young Socialist League" in opposition to the dissolution of that organization and its entrance into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation on the basis of the reformist views of the SP-SDF. Under the impact of the crisis of Stalinism the Communist Party was forced to dissolve its youth organization, the Labor Youth League. Some young people from the LYL and other organizations peripheral to the CP joined with the YSL left wing, young members of the Socialist Workers Party and independents to publish the YOUNG SOCIALIST. In December, 1958, in Detroit, the Young Socialist Supporters organized themselves into the National Committee of Young Socialist Supporters as a step toward the formation of a national "Young Socialist Alliance". Since that time the YS Supporters have grown in strength to the point where they can accomplish the national organization of a revolutionary youth movement.

4. The present policies of the Young People's Socialist League, youth affiliate of the SP-SDF, and the Communist Party youth flow historically from the rejection by their parent movements internationally of a socialist perspective. Since 1914 the parties of the Second International have become allies and defenders of the capitalist system. In theory they have rejected the concept of socialist revolution and put in its place the improvement of capitalism by social reform. In practice the Social-Democrats have consistently taken government posts to aid the capitalists in surviving revolutionary upheavals. After the first World War the Social-Democratic parties were the main props under the collapsing capitalist system and after the Second World War performed the same function with the aid of the Communist parties.

Similarly the Communist International since the rise of Stalin has abandoned its heritage of revolutionary socialism. Under the theory of "Socialism in One Country", the Communist parties everywhere were transformed into servile tools of the Russian bureaucracy. In practice the Stalinists have played a role fundamentally identical to that of the Social-Democracy. On orders from the Kremlin Stalinist parties in country after country have helped to stave off revolution, to help capitalism to survive.

5. The Social Democracy and the Communist International support in one fashion or another the continued existence of the capitalist system and fear a frontal conflict between the contending class forces. We, as revolutionary socialists, reject completely the concept that socialism can be brought into existence piece-meal. Socialism can only come through the complete overturn of the present capitalist states and their replacement with a workers' state. Such a revolutionary development is the end result of an irrepressible struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. We give our full support to the working class in this struggle.

6. The Young Peoples Socialist League is not a Marxian socialist organization. It and its parent affiliate are not only incapable of leading a socialist transformation of society, they are not even capable of promoting basic socialist education. Today, for example, they favor working within the capitalist Democratic Party rather than supporting independent socialist political action. The leadership of the SP-SDF lines up with the American State Department and the YPSL refuses to disavow this policy. Searching for "respectability" the YPSL has forfeited any claim to represent socialism before American youth.

#### CP Youth Incapable

7. The young supporters of the Communist Party (as yet not nationally organized) are likewise incapable of bringing a revolutionary program to American youth. They, even more than the YPSL, are engaged in the class collaborationist policies of support to the Democratic Party. The Communist Party youth are apologists for the bureaucratic dictatorship that rules the USSR and other Soviet bloc countries and as such are compromised before inquiring youth.

8. In addition to the Communist Party youth, the YPSL and the YSA, there exists a numerically significant grouping of young socialists who have no national affiliation. Any number of these belong to campus socialist clubs and carry on organized socialist activity on a local basis. Politically, these people may be new to socialism, having not yet made up their minds as to which of the national youth groups they support, or they may be sympathetic in one way or another with one of these three national bodies. While these campus groups are important and should be supported as a way of reaching larger numbers of youth with socialist ideas they can be no substitute for national organization. It is only through national organization that it is possible to publish a paper, send out speakers on tour, really educate socialist youth through organizational responsibility and participation in working out the political views of a national group, and carry out concerted national activity for socialism. In fact, one of the functions of a nationwide youth organization is to aid in the establishment, stabilization and extension of broad socialist campus clubs.

9. The revolutionary socialist youth are well aware that by themselves youth cannot lead the working class to power. That is the historic task of a working class revolutionary party. The revolutionary youth played a very active role in the regroupment process in the hope that a regrouped and enlarged revolutionary party with which the YS could establish close relationship would emerge. The YS participated in the American Forum-for Socialist Education, local forum groups, and the Independent-Socialist Party in New York State.

#### Regroupment Tally

10. The regroupment process did not result in the formation of a new united revolutionary party. On the contrary, older political formations such as the Independent Socialist League and its youth organization, the Young Socialist League, and the American Socialist magazine disappeared. Most of the individuals who supported the CP left politics rather than try to discover a new but difficult path.

The right-wing socialist groups, the SP, SDF, and ISL, conducted their own regroupment into the SP-SDF, with its reformist, pro-State Department, anti-class struggle views. The Communist Party suffered a precipitous decline through the regroupment process. Having lost all its influence in working class politics it remains simply an apologist for the Kremlin. The Socialist Labor Party simply ignored the regroupment process and was ignored by it. The Socialist Workers Party conducted a campaign for a regroupment of revolutionary socialists, attracting to itself from all groupings individuals who still wished to struggle for revolutionary socialism.

11. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are the only revolutionary socialist groups in the United States today. The YSA recognizes that only the SWP of all existing political parties is capable of providing the working class with political leadership on class struggle principles. As a result of its threeyear development the supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST have come into basic political solidarity, on the principles of revolutionary socialism, with the SWP.

12. The Young Socialist Alliance is an independent organization which elects its own officers and works out its own political views. The YSA bases itself on the principles of the organizational independence of the revolutionary youth organization and opens its doors to all young people--regardless of other affiliation-- who agree with its socialist principles and accept its program.

13. The Young Socialist Alliance will, to the best of its ability, bring Marxian socialism to American youth. But this is not enough. The only socialism which deserves the name is international socialism. The YSA declares its political solidarity with revolutionary youth in all countries. The present Social-Democratic "International Union of Socialist Youth" and the non-socialist successor to the Young Communist International, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, are travesties on the concept of socialist internationalism. The YSA will work with others toward the creation of a new revolutionary socialist youth international which will represent organizationally the political solidarity of socialist youth.

CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCEArticle I. NAME

The name of this organization shall be the YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, hereafter referred to as the YSA.

Article II. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

"The Young Socialist Alliance is founded in response to the need for a nation-wide youth organization capable of bringing revolutionary socialist ideas to a new generation. This is necessary for building a revolutionary movement which can lead the working class to socialism. The YSA bases itself on the traditions of Marxian socialism as developed by Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. We believe that socialism can be initiated only as the result of struggle, international in scope, of the working class against the capitalist class and its allies - the struggle culminating in the creation of a new type of state, a workers' state. Socialism means that for the first time in history man will control his own creation - society - rather than be controlled by it. The dynamic of socialism is of a continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life."

from the Founding Declaration of the YSA

Article III. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership in the YSA is open to those young people who agree with the Statement of Purpose and who accept the program and policies of the YSA, regardless of membership or non-membership in any adult socialist party.

Section 2. Applicants for membership shall be voted on by the local unit in their locale. In those areas where no unit exists, applicants shall be passed on by the National Executive Committee (NEC) and if accepted, be given the status of member-at-large.

Section 3. Every member shall belong to a local unit if such exists in the area. Exceptions to this policy may be made only by the NEC. Members-at-large shall be directly responsible to the NEC for the conduct of their political work.

Section 4. Each new member shall pay one dollar initiation fee which shall be forwarded to the National Office. Membership dues are a minimum of fifty cents a month and all of this minimum amount shall be forwarded to the National Office.

Section 5. Any member more than one month in arrears in dues ceases to be in good standing. Only members in good standing may vote or hold office in the YSA. Any member more than three months in arrears in dues shall be dropped from YSA membership after notification.

Section 6. Members shall be guided in their political work by the program and policies of the YSA. In pursuing their work they may not take action which is in contradiction with YSA program or policies.

Section 7. YSA program and policies in all areas, institutions and organizations shall be carried out by the members in that situation acting as an organized body and subject to the decisions of higher bodies of the YSA.

#### Article IV. NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Section 1. The YSA shall meet annually in a delegated National Conference. The National Conference is the highest body of the YSA.

Section 2. The National Conference shall be called by the National Committee (NC) which shall provide for a pre-conference discussion period of at least ninety days in issuing the conference call. The ninety day period shall begin only when the principal majority resolutions have been published.

Section 3. The pre-conference discussion shall include the publication by the NEC of national membership bulletins containing all resolutions and discussion material submitted by members and bodies of the YSA. Local units have the responsibility of providing adequate time in meetings for discussion on all material submitted for conference decision.

Section 4. In the event a special, emergency National Conference is called, the length of the pre-conference discussion period may be reduced.

Section 5. The election of conference delegates shall take place in local units. The ratio of delegates to members shall be set by the NC in the conference call. Only those who were YSA members before the conference call and who are in good standing at the time of delegates' election may vote for or run as delegates. Units may elect alternate delegates.

Section 6. Where there is a political division in electing delegates, election shall take place on the basis of a proportional representation system as set by the NC in the conference call. A political division shall be considered established and defined by the presentation for vote of a written document as the basis for representation.

Section 7. NC members and alternates not elected as conference delegates shall be fraternal delegates with voice but only a consultative vote.

#### Article V. NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Section 1. The National Committee shall be the highest body of the YSA between National Conferences. The NC shall have final authority between National Conferences over all YSA publications, public or internal, local or national, and over all YSA bodies, local, district, regional and national.

Section 2. The NC shall consist in size of such members and numbered alternates as is set by the National Conference. In electing the NC, if political divisions are present, the National Conference shall use a proportional system with the limitation that a conference majority is entitled to a minimum of three fifths of the NC seats.

Section 3. The NC may co-opt members to itself in the event its list of alternates is exhausted, or if it is so required in order to maintain the proportional political representation established at the preceding National Conference, or in order to maintain the size of the NEC.

Section 4. During its annual regular term of office, the NC shall meet at least three times, including immediately after and before National Conferences.

#### Article VI. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Section 1. The NC shall elect from among its members a National Executive



Committee to serve as its resident executive committee.

Section 2. The NEC shall act on behalf of the NC between its deliberations and shall be responsible for such work as is delegated to it by the NC. The NC has the right of review of all NEC actions and decisions. Among the normal functions of the NEC will be the supervision of the National Office and national publications, and the appointment of the national staff.

Section 3. Minority tendencies shall be entitled to the same proportion of seats on the NEC as on the NC.

Section 4. The NEC shall meet at least twice monthly and shall send minutes of its meetings to all members and alternates of the NC.

#### Article VII. NATIONAL OFFICERS

Section 1. The National Officers of the YSA shall be directly responsible for their work to the NEC and shall be elected by the NC from among its members on the NEC. The NC shall elect a National Chairman, National Secretary and such other National Officers as it deems necessary.

Section 2. The National Chairman shall be the political spokesman of the YSA and shall be the convener of the NEC.

Section 3. The National Secretary shall be responsible for the administration of the National Office.

#### Article VIII. LOCAL, DISTRICT AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

Section 1. Five or more members in a locality upon application to the NEC may be chartered and known as a local unit. The maximum size of a local shall be fifty members.

Section 2. A local unit shall be administered in a regular fashion. Each local shall elect a chairman and such other officers and working committees as are required to carry out the local's responsibilities including financial, secretarial and educational functions and the circulation of the YSA press. Normally a unit will elect an executive committee to act on the local's behalf between the latter's meetings and undertake such other work as assigned by the local. Local elections shall take place no less often than twice a year.

Section 3. Where more than one unit exists in a locale or where a single unit has grown unwieldy, a district organization may be set up, subject to the approval of the NEC. A district organization shall include a district executive committee, elected by the entire district membership meeting in conference, and such officers as the district executive committee may select. Between district conferences, the district executive committee shall be the highest body within the district organization. District conferences shall take place no less often than once a year.

Section 4. In geographically larger areas regional committees may be set up, subject to the approval of the NEC. Between delegated regional conferences, the regional committee shall be the highest body within the regional organization. Regional conferences shall take place no less often than annually.

## Article IX. TRIAL PROCEDURE

Section 1. Any member or body of the YSA may bring charges against any member for violation of the constitutional articles, program or policies of the YSA. The charges must be initially presented in writing to the highest body of which the accused is a member. That body may constitute itself as the trial committee or may refer the charges to a lower body of which the accused is a member. Charges may be dismissed at any time by the body having jurisdiction at that time.

Section 2. No body shall meet as a trial committee unless all members have been informed in advance of the business at hand. The accused must be given notice of the trial date and a copy of the charges at least 15 days preceding the trial. Failure to appear or to send a letter of defense in the absence of excuse for such failure shall be grounds for conducting the trial in absentia.

Section 3. The disciplinary measures which are available in the event the accused is found guilty are, in increasing order of severity: censure, private or public, suspension and expulsion. These measures may be applied only as a result of the trial procedures outlined in this article. To censure or suspend a simple majority vote is needed, to expell a two thirds vote majority is required.

Section 4. The accused or accuser may appeal the decision (dismissal of charges, guilt or innocence, or the severity of discipline) of any body to the next higher one, up to and including the National Conference whose decision shall be final. An appeal must be filed within 15 days after the action being appealed.

## Article X. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Section 1. Amendments to this constitution may be made only by the National Conference. All members of the YSA shall be provided with a copy of the constitution.

Section 2. All decisions in the YSA shall be by simple majority vote except when otherwise specified by this constitution. No second shall be required for motions in any body of the YSA. The chairman of all meetings and committees has a right to voice and vote. The nay vote shall be taken first in calling the question.

Section 3. At all meetings of the YSA Roberts' Rules of Order (Revised) shall govern the proceedings, except where they are in conflict with this constitution.

Section 4. Members of a higher body of the YSA shall have the right to attend and speak at all meetings of lower bodies within the jurisdiction of the higher body.

Section 5. Local units and other bodies may adopt such bye-laws supplemental to this constitution as they deem desirable, providing such bye-laws are not in conflict with this constitution or the decisions of higher bodies.

adopted by Founding Conference  
April 17, 1960