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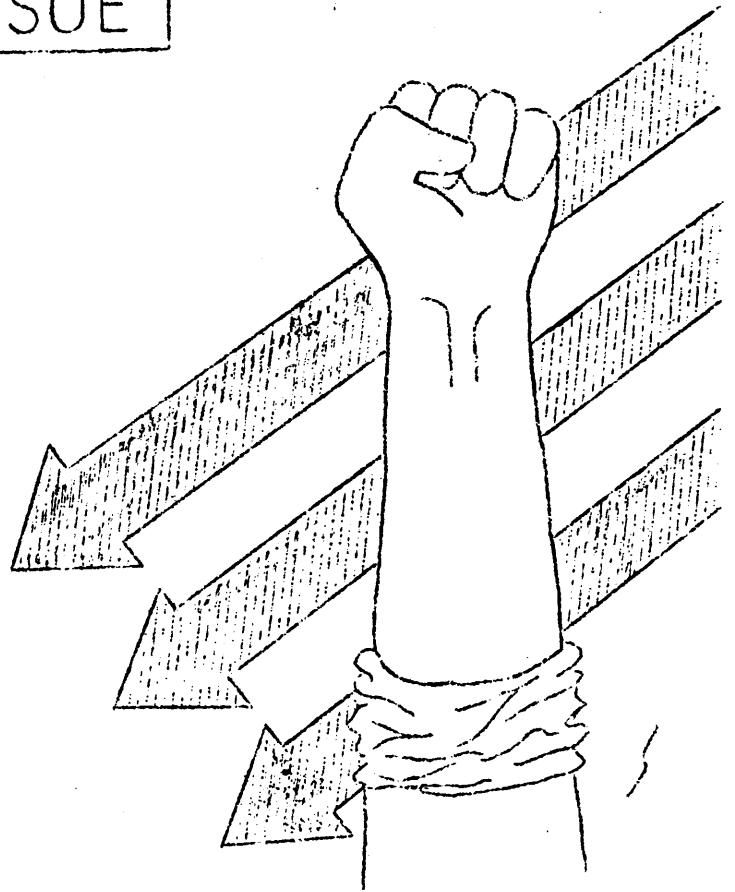
# YOUNG SOCIALIST

# REVIEW

CONVENTION ISSUE

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1954

information and discussion  
bulletin of the

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

EDITOR'S NOTES....

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The YOUNG SOCIALIST REVIEW is the information and discussion bulletin of the Young Socialist League. The YSR is prepared by the YSL National Office and is edited by Scott Arden, YSL National Secretary.

The aim of the YSR is to constitute a forum for the expression of all points of view within the YSL. It is, therefore, completely open to any member (or group of members) who may wish to contribute his views. Contributions from non-members will be accepted, if of sufficiently high interest. The editor reserves the right to decide in the case of each such article.

For obvious reasons it should be understood that articles signed by individuals do not necessarily represent the views of the YSL. Any material that is "official" will be clearly labeled as such.

Copy should be mailed to the YSL National Office, 3rd Floor, 114 W. 14th Street, New York 11, N.Y. If at all possible submit copy already stenciled, single-spaced. If this is not possible, then submit copy typewritten, double-spaced. Non-typewritten copy will not be accepted.

This issue, Volume 1, Number 1, is a special Convention Proceeding issue and contains the major documents adopted at the founding Convention of the YSL (February, 1954), as assembled by the National Office, and approved by the National Action Committee.

These documents will be presented to the National Executive Committee Plenum this June for final approval. All comrades who attended the Convention, either as delegates or observers, are urged to closely check these documents against their notes. If omissions or other inaccuracies are found, please inform the National Office without delay.

The next issues will be regular discussion issues, the first of which will appear in about one week. The copy deadline for the next issue is tentatively set at June 1st. Send your articles in now.

One last word. It should be understood that the bulletin is not restricted to members of the YSL. Though issued primarily for our members it is open to all friends and other interested individuals. Members should make every effort to get copies into the hands of this wider audience. Send in your bundle orders now!

---The Editor, May 17th, 1954

P.S. As usual, all labor expended in the production of this bulletin was donated.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Art. I. NAME: The name of this organization shall be the YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE, hereinafter referred to as the YSL.

Art. II PURPOSE: The YSL is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transgoration of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and demomanaged. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of acrivity, conscious of the need for organization directed against Capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership whithout democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any other than the concocious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients towards the working class as the class which is capable of leading society to socialism.

Art. III MEMBERSHIP:

Sect. 1. Membership in the YSL is open to those in bustantial agreement with its purposes and statement of principles and program; and who are willing to accept the responsibilities of membership.

Sect. 2. Every member of the YSL shall belong to a local section of the organization. In cases where none exists in his locality he shall be resposable directly to the NAC for the conduct of his socialist work. Exceptions to this policy may be made by the NAC.

Sect. 3. Applications for membership shall be passed on by local sections. If none exists in a locality applications for that area shall be passed by the NAC.

Art. IV. LOCAL ORGANIZATION

Sect. 1. Five or more members in any locality upon application to the NAC may be chartered and known as a "unit".

Sect. 2. Where more than one unit exists in any locale, a district organization may be set up, subject to the approval of the NAC, with a district executive committee elected by a district convention. When so elected it shall be the highest governing body for that area, and may, with the concurrence of the NAC charter new units in that area.

Art. V. NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Sect. 1 Conventions.

A. The highest body in the YSL is the National Convention. The convention shall meet at least once every two years, on call of the NEC. The NEC shall allow at least 90 days for preconvention discussion in issuing any convention call. The NEC shall draft a proposed Convention Agenda and Rules.

B. Only members in good standing shall have the right to vote for delegates. Voting shall take place on a unit basis, and each unit shall elect one delegate for a given number of members in good standing, or major fraction thereof. The number is to be specified by the NEC its convention call. Units may elect alternates to the convention.

- C. A special Convention may be called by a majority of the NEC, one third of the membership of two fifths of local sections. On receiving such a call the NEC shall schedule a special convention within four months, allowing three months for discussion.
- D. All units electing delegates are to do so on the basis of proportional representation, except where there is division on the basis of political tendencies. Minority tendencies are entitled to representatives elected by them as follows: In a unit entitled to one delegate, the delegate shall be the person with the highest vote. In a unit entitled to two delegates a minority candidate who receives 1/3 of the votes shall be elected as a delegate; in a unit entitled to three delegates a minority candidate who receives 1/4 of the votes shall be elected a delegate.

Sect. 2 The National Executive Committee.

- A. Between Conventions the highest body of the YSL shall be the NEC. The NEC shall take office immediately upon election and shall hold office until the next Convention or until a successor has been elected.
- B. The NEC shall be elected at the Convention by a system of proportional representation. The Convention will determine the exact system to be used.
- C. The NEC shall be composed of members and alternates the number of each being determined by the Convention.
- D. The NEC shall meet at least three times a year. One third of the NEC may call a special meeting of the NEC which must be scheduled within six weeks of receipt of such call by the NAC. Any member of the NEC may initiate a mail ballot of the Committee on any decision of the NAC.
- E. The NEC shall appoint and may remove all national officers by a majority vote.
- F. Any NEC member may appoint any regular alternate to replace him for all or any part of any meeting of the committee.
- G. In replacing vacancies on the Committee the NEC may raise alternates to full membership by a majority vote. When necessary to maintain recognized factional strength non-alternates may be elected by a 2/3 vote. In event of further vacancies on the Committee and after investigating the possibilities of a Special Convention the Committee may co-opt from among non-alternates by a 2/3 vote after the exhaustion of the regular alternate slate.

Sect. 3 The National Action Committee

- A. The NAC shall conduct the national political and organizational affairs of the YSL between meetings of the NEC.
- B. The NAC shall be elected from among members of the NEC in the vicinity of the National Office, by the NEC. NEC alternates in the vicinity of the N.O. shall also be alternates to the NAC.
- C. The NAC shall meet at least once a month, or on call of one third of its members.
- D. All National Officers and all units of the YSL are responsible to the NAC for the conduct of their work.
- E. Minority tendencies in the organization shall be entitled to the same proportion of seats on the NAC as on the NEC.

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- F. All members of the YSL shall have the right to attend meetings of the NAC and the NEC except when those bodies shall by a 2/3 vote decide to hold executive sessions.
- G. A member of the NAC may appoint a replacement, from among the NEC alternates, to sit for him on that committee in those cases in which he must be absent for long periods of time.

Sect. 4 National Officers

- A. The National Officers shall be directly responsible to the NEC and the NAC and shall be elected by the NEC from among its members.
- B. The National Chairman shall be the convener of the NEC and the NAC and shall be the political spokesman of the YSL.
- C. The National Secretary shall be the organizational executive of the YSL and shall be responsible for the administration of the National Office.

Art. VI FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

Sect. 1 Every applicant for membership shall pay a \$1.00 application fee to be forwarded to the National Office.

Sect. 2 Every member-at-large shall pay a minimum dues of \$5.00 per year. Members-at-large joining after June of any year shall have their dues computed on the basis of .50¢ per month. The fiscal year runs from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. Members who are serving sentences for conscientious or political objection to war are exempt from the dues requirements. Other exceptions may be made by the NAC.

Sect. 3 Local sections may establish a pledge system to supplement the regular national dues.

Sect. 4 Every local unit shall send to the National Office a minimum of .50¢ per month per member as dues. Exceptions to this may be made by the NAC.

Sect. 5 The NEC may set special assessments and organize special fund drives.

Sect. 6 Only members in good standing, i.e., those owing nothing either to the local or national organization may vote and/or hold office in the YSL. Any member more than three months behind in his dues may be deemed not to be in good standing, and dropped from the organization after a warning.

Art. VII DEMOCRACY AND DISCIPLINE

Sect. 1 The NAC shall establish a year-round information and discussion bulletin open to all members, where all political and organizational disagreements can achieve their fullest and freest expression. A single copy of this bulletin shall be provided free of charge to all members of the YSL, but its distribution is not limited to members. Members of the YSL shall also receive, free of charge, copies of other YSL publications.

Sect. 2 All official press and publications of the YSL are subject to the direction of the NAC.

Sect. 3 Local bodies of the YSL may publish material of their choice, however they must make clear that it is a local publication.

Sect. 4 Minority tendencies or caucuses may publish their own material for

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internal and external distribution, but they must make clear that these publications do not represent the views of the organization as a whole. All National and local mimeograph and mailing facilities shall be open to such tendencies or caucuses for use at cost.

- Sect. 5 Members of the YSL shall be guided in their political actions by the principles and decisions of the League. In pursuing their work they may not take action which is in contradiction to the policies of the YSL or make statements in contradiction with the principles or policies of the YSL without making it clear that they are speaking for themselves and not the League.
- Sect. 6 In all areas, and organizations and on all campuses the YSL policy shall be executed by the members in that situation acting as an organized body, subject to the decisions of the higher bodies of the YSL.
- Sect. 7 Local units shall provide members with the opportunity to present their views on political and organizational problems before the membership.
- Sect. 8 Between conventions any decision of the NEC may be overruled by a referendum. All referendums shall be decided by a majority vote. Before initiating a referendum there shall be a discussion with local sections on the advisability of a Special Convention with reference to the financial and other problems involved. The initiative for a referendum may be made by: one third of the NEC, one third of the membership or two fifths of the local units. Pro and Con discussion shall go out with all referendum ballots.
- Sect. 9 There shall be no secret balloting on any committee of the YSL. In order that the record of committee members be available to the membership all votes shall be recorded. Minutes of the NEC and NAC meetings shall go to all members who request them.

#### Art. VIII TRIAL PROCEDURE

- Sect. 1 Any member or section of the YSL may bring charges against any member for violation of YSL principles, policies or discipline. The initial accusation must be made in writing before the smallest subdivision of the League of which they are both members. The accused must be given notice of the trial date and a copy of the charges against him both 15 and again 7 days preceding the trial date. 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.
- Sect. 2 No subdivision shall constitute itself as a trial body unless all members have been informed in advance of the business at hand.
- Sect. 3 A member shall be tried before the highest committee of the League of which he is a member, in the case where the charges call forth his suspension or expulsion.
- Sect. 4 In order to expell a two thirds vote is needed; to suspend or censure a majority vote is needed. A subdivision may dismiss the charges at any time.

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Sect. 5 The accused or accuser may appeal to the NAC, the NEC and the Convention in that order. The decision of the Convention shall be final. In order to have the right to appeal a member must file his appeal with the next higher body within 15 days of the trial.

Sect. 6 An expelled member while appealing shall be given the status of a suspended member, his sole rights being the right to conduct his appeal.

#### Art. IX MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

1. Amendments to this Constitution may be made only by a Convention of the YSL.
2. The NEC may affiliate the YSL to international bodies by a majority vote.
3. The Chairman of all meetings and committees has a right to voice and vote at all times. The nay vote shall be called first on voting to call the question.
4. All decisions in all bodies of the YSL are to be by majority vote except when otherwise specified by this Constitution. No second shall be required for motions in any body of the YSL.
5. All members of the YSL shall be provided with a copy of this constitution.
6. At all meetings and at the Convention of the YSL Roberts' Rules of Order (Revised) shall govern the proceedings, except where they are in conflict with this Constitution.

and

1. The main orientation of the YSL is towards campus work. Despite the general decline in campus political life and despite the specific decline in socialist activity on campus, the successes which the YPSL and SYL have achieved in the past period have been in this arena. It is doubtful whether comparable results could have been achieved by any other orientation. It is easier for students to become integrated into a propaganda group than it would be for young workers to whom we are unable to offer meaningful trade union direction.
2. It does not appear likely that in this next period the base for our campus work will disappear. Although the draft and a possible UMT law will make greater inroads into the life of American youth, the indications are that the campus will not, at this time, be depleted as it was in the Second World War. Already the government is offering what is almost equivalent to a blanket deferment to college students in order to train the technical and bureaucratic personnel necessary to maintain the American war machine. This in itself is a clear example of class bias since it is obvious that it is mainly the middle class and the rich who are able to send their sons to college. The continuation of this policy will depend on the actual developments in the imperialist rivalry since the United States is in a tighter manpower situation than in the last war. Therefore, while there may be a decline in college enrollment, the campus will still remain a fruitful arena for YSL activity.
3. Our gravest problem at the present time is the depletion of our campus forces. This depletion is the result of many factors: the draft, our failure to recruit younger students to replace those comrades who have left the campus because of age or graduation, and the general political climate.
4. It is necessary that the YSL pay serious attention therefore to high school students and younger college students and orient itself towards these elements. Such an orientation should include such features as: addressing our press, educational, forums etc. to these groups; an attempt to set up functional groups composed of younger comrades which will give them organizational training in a milieu where they can express their ideas with some confidence; and publishing pamphlets on our general political orientation in language that is understandable to youth in general. At the same time however, we have to be aware of the need to educate such elements politically.
5. Our older members who are not on campus or involved in trade union work should be oriented toward activity in those organizations of a general nature which fight against war, for civil liberties, against racism, etc. Such organizations can be a fruitful area for young socialist activity.
6. Any objective evaluation of our most recent period can only confirm that the Third Camp youth movement has suffered a serious decline in the last two years. The size of our membership, our level of activity, and the extent of our influence have all been considerably affected. We have, percentage-wise, far fewer comrades directly engaged in campus work, and the number of active campus clubs that present our point of view today-- as opposed to the



8. number two years ago-- is also fewer. We are weaker in terms of the number of local groups across the country, and with a few notable exceptions, those still in existence are slowly, but steadily, declining rather than growing.

7. The formation of the YSL gives us the strength, forces, and momentum to face the tasks at hand. Through our unification we have achieved that which we lacked before-- and immediate potential. We have no illusions. The problems of yesterday still face us. The difference is that we now can (and must) attempt to deal with these problems. Our forces are few but they have been broadened and are for the most part "cadre" in nature. Our leadership has been broadened in a healthy way, and our internal intellectual life and press once again exist meaningfully. We are now assured of a functioning National Office which will be able to at least approach the problem of co-ordinating work in the field and building a national organization.

8. We now have the prerequisites for confronting the major problem, but it remains for us to solve. Our age level has reached the danger point. One by one our comrades have been drafted, have finished school or are about to do so, or in other ways have been removed from our arenas of activity. Much of the recruitment that has been done in the student field has been of older graduate students which has not militated towards a lowering of our age level. If this situation continues we will be dead as a youth organization. We have no intention of allowing it to continue.

9. If we are to build or even maintain a socialist youth organization in America we must recruit heavily, percentage wise, from the 16 to 20 age group. That this will be difficult to do we have no doubt, but we cannot be convinced that it is impossible. We orient towards this essential work with full cognizance of the difficulties involved, and with no attempt to mask them. We do not pretend that we can all make this youth turn. Certain individual comrades, and certain groups of comrades will for personal or other reasons continue to function in substantially the same way that they have functioned in the past. What is involved is that our overall orientation on the national level will be towards the younger undergraduate student, and wherever possible towards the older High school students.

10. We cannot make this shift overnight but must do so as the opportunity arises. Here are some of the more obvious suggestions for implementation:

A. One of the best points of contact has proven to be on the quasi-social level. Parties must be given and social events arranged that young contacts can be invited to where they will not feel out of place.

B. Forums and educationals must be organized that will be interesting in content and approach to the undergraduate. At present, unfortunately, even in those few cases where contact has been made it has sometimes been impossible to follow through because of the high level nature of the subject matter (and its presentation) of the local unit's forums--- which on the whole are aimed at the graduate student level.

9.  
C. As soon as a suitable number of young contacts exist in a locality, classes must be arranged for them with several of the older members sitting in. This latter point is important. If we are to keep these younger people they must become a real part of the local unit which will, of course, not be quite the same local unit from then on.

D. Our press must more and more orient itself towards a younger audience. This will make it possible for the national press to be used by local units as a recruiting aid. This involves a more agitational approach in our press. (Where local conditions make it possible, separate forums should be held for newer comrades, dealing with more basic topics, where comrades can discuss questions on their own current level of development.)

11. Does our adoption of this orientation mean that we are moving in an anti-intellectual direction, or lowering our level? We think not. If successful, it will mean an introduction of fresh, healthy elements into our ranks, which can only be a revitalizing factor. Many of our present comrades will be shaken awake and back into activity, intellectual and otherwise. Youth speakers and youth writers will more freely develop in an atmosphere where they are speaking and writing for a youth audience. At present, many capable comrades hesitate to speak and/or write because they feel they don't know enough. Many comrades who have been recruited in the past few years have not been given a thorough, basic education -- the tendency has been to assume such an education. And though we are justly proud of our reputation of being highly able and articulate, the fact remains that our internal intellectual life has been anything but vigorous. No, we will not "lower" our level by recruiting younger, inexperienced youth. We will broaden it, and give it a breadth, depth, and scope that it now lacks.

12. The main emphasis of our political work on the campus centers around the anti-war and academic freedom campaigns. It is not a question of the emphasis of the one to the exclusion of the other, because there is an organic connection between the two; the attack on academic freedom, though not always carried out by governmental agencies is part of the preparation for a Third World War. Whether both of these campaigns can be carried on with equal vigor depends on the nature of the campus where our comrades are active. The individual YSL'er, in general, should be known as a Third Camp socialist and constantly present his point of view in the club and on the campus.

13. One of the aims of our campus work is to break out of isolation, and to join in united front activities with liberal, pacifist and socialist tendencies, primarily on the academic freedom and civil liberties issues. While we clearly differentiate ourselves from all pro-war tendencies, there are nevertheless wide areas where we can co-operate on specific issues with liberals and right wing socialists and press for our Third Camp Position, in addition to achieving the immediate objective of the united front.

14. The circumstances in which we can effectuate united fronts are dependent on the specific situation. It may be over the rights of a suspended teacher, a civil rights issue, a segregation case or other issues, even an anti-ROTC campaign in which our socialist anti-war position need not be directly involved. Through these united

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fronts we can prove that we are the most consistent and militant champions of civil liberties and thus create a larger periphery on campus which will look to the YSL for leadership. In turn we will attempt to force the liberals to fight a consistent struggle for their point of view. We must attempt to convince them that the fight for civil liberties is part of the fight against the militarization program of the government.

15. The recent contact between third camp socialists and third camp pacifists indicates that we should seek out pacifists on the campus and enter into united work with them both on educational and activities. In addition to the united fronts on civil liberties questions with these people, we can engage in activities against imperialism and war. The revolutionary pacifists are among our primary allies in the youth field since their anti-war and anti-capitalist views make it feasible to form joint campus anti-war clubs with them.

16. How we function will be determined by the nature of the forces at our disposal and the specific situations. It is necessary that our primary emphasis be to push our ideas and to counterpose our program and our ideology openly to those of the liberals on one hand and the Stalinists on the other. There may be campus situations where we can most effectively recruit to the YSL through the formation of a YSL unit directly on campus. There are, however, situations where this would be an impossible or an unwise perspective. In case a particular school's administration is so reactionary in character that it would prohibit the formation of a campus chapter of the YSL the comrades in that locality are faced with the choice of either forming an off-campus YSL which would recruit directly from campus, or if the circumstances permit, of forming a "broad" campus club (or participating in an existing one) that is as progressive as the school will allow. This latter course may be deliberately chosen either if the comrades involved prefer to avoid functioning openly as YSL members or if the particular climate on their campus indicates that a "socialist", "politics", or even a "discussion" club would be more tangibly fruitful than a YSL club. Each situation will have to be evaluated concretely by the national organization and a flexible approach which takes into account personal desires of the local membership is the only feasible course open to us at the present time. But the exact forms of our functioning are not of overwhelming importance at the present time. Far more pressing is the question of the age group we orient ourselves toward. The conditions of political and social life today have thrust a challenge at socialist youth in America. Our very existence as an organization will be the cost of failure to meet this challenge. WE WILL NOT FAIL.

17. However, recruitment to a youth organization is not merely an end in itself. It is necessary not only to attract young people to socialism on the basis of youthful curiosity, healthy idealism and revolt against the obvious injustices of present society, but to so develop and orient them that a stable basis for lifelong socialist activity is established in the day to day life of the individual. Only in this way can we hope that the youth attracted to the YSL will on "graduating" to adult areas of activity and adult responsibilities also graduate into socialist activity in the industrial and intellectual world. It always has gone without saying that no movement speaking in the name of the industrial proletariat and the working masses in general can win respect and a position of leadership

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or even avoid sterility unless it maintains some base in the labor movement itself.

18. Not all individuals are fitted for careers in industry as militants in the labor movement. Nor is the socialist movement so rich in intellectuals and professionals that such people can be dogmatically diverted to the shops. Students seriously preparing intellectual careers should be given every encouragement. Other youth should be urged in the strongest terms to consider playing long-term roles in the major industrial centers, where socialist fractions have exerted and can exert decisive influence on the development of socialist consciousness among the more advanced workers. Finally, those members who because of relative youth or uncertainty do not feel ready to decide between intellectual or industrial careers should undertake the acquisition of some industrial skill, if necessary on a part time, night school or summer only basis. If we are to speak in the name of the working class, we must insure by such means that the flow of young socialist militants into American industry does not come to a halt altogether.

19. The YSL does not insist that every member orient himself toward the shops. It will, however, never tolerate any attitude of contempt toward the role of the socialist militant in industry because it is fully conscious that such militants, their numerical increase and closer co-ordination, and their increasing influence among the advanced workers are the prerequisites for a viable socialist movement without which all other activity loses its ultimate reference and becomes, sterile, useless and self-defeating.

FORWARD TO THE BUILDING OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE!!!

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## RESOLUTION ON WAR

The Young Socialist League is an internationalist, third camp, anti-war socialist organization. It identifies with the revolutionary anti-war traditions of socialism -- that is, with those socialist who, remaining true to their tradition and class interests, opposed the two imperialist world wars. At the founding Convention of the Young Socialist League we re-iterate our absolute opposition to imperialist war.

It is however meaningless to express opposition to war without at the same time opposing and organizing against the system which breeds war. The struggle against war therefore goes hand in hand with the struggle against capitalism and Stalinism, and exploitative social systems in general. The fight for socialism and the fight against war are inseparable.

Socialists support, and have supported in the past, wars of national independence, when they are waged isolated from the major imperialist wars, or do not become turned into a battleground for the two imperialist camps. An example of this was the support socialists gave to the Indonesian war of Independence. At that point, however, where a struggle for independence becomes clearly subordinated to the imperialist conflict, socialists can support it no longer.

The polarization of struggle that exists has made for close cooperation between socialists and pacifists, and pacifist-socialists are among our members. The pacifist-socialist does not agree on all points of principle with the non-pacifist socialist who opposes imperialist conflicts but not violence as such. We see, however, the necessity of common action and organization in the face of the common menace which the rival imperialisms constitute today. We therefore call on all anti-war socialist-pacifists and socialists to unite in the YSL.

We defend the national independence of the smaller nations against the two colossi -- regardless of the social nature of the nation involved. But it should be clear that the ruling classes use the slogan of national defense to mean the defense of the existing social order. The socialist therefore believes that to defend the nation, today in America, the workers must democratically take their political and economic destiny in their own hands.

Stalinism, although a mortal enemy of capitalism, does not represent an anti-war movement. Although it is true that the Stalinists oppose the war preparations of the American camp, this is only because of their unconditional support of the Russian camp, a camp which is also arming to the teeth in preparation for an imperialist world war. Our opposition to Stalinism goes hand in hand with our opposition to capitalism. Stalinism must be destroyed as an anti-working class force that acts as the agent of one of the imperialist camps. The first duty of the socialists living under Stalinist domination is to oppose the war preparations of their ruling class; our first job is to oppose the war preparations of our ruling class.

We declare that the world conflict towards which the policies of the two camps are leading us is not our war. It would be an imperialist war fought with the most barbaric weapons of modern science. It

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would be a war in which the victory of either side would represent a major catastrophe for humanity and socialism. Thus while struggling to mobilize the people against the war preparations we declare that: if a Third Imperialist War breaks out we will continue participating in the class struggle, always retaining our identity as a third camp: struggling for the victory of the working class and colonial peoples over our ruling class and over the representatives at home of the ruling class across the sea.

To seriously talk of a domestic struggle against capitalism outside of the context of the world conflict is sectarian, out of date, and dangerous. Our struggle for socialism can rarely be simply two sided; our ruling class versus us. Even here at home our struggle is a three way one.

We raise the internationalist slogan:

AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALIST CAMPS !

To raise the slogan of "critical support" or to talk of soft pedaling the class struggle towards either of the imperialist camps is to capitulate to the politics of that camp, since it is the ruling classes of the two camps who will determine the basis and the conditions under which such a war would be fought. The working class has no responsibility nor say in the conduct of such a war in either of the camps. It can acquire such responsibility only by taking state power in order to carry out its own internationalist, democratic and socialist program. We therefore unconditionally oppose the present militarization of America -- the draft, UMT, ROTC on campus, the huge war program, and the ideological mobilization for war that is taking place. These preparations are steps leading America closer to the establishment of a garrison state.

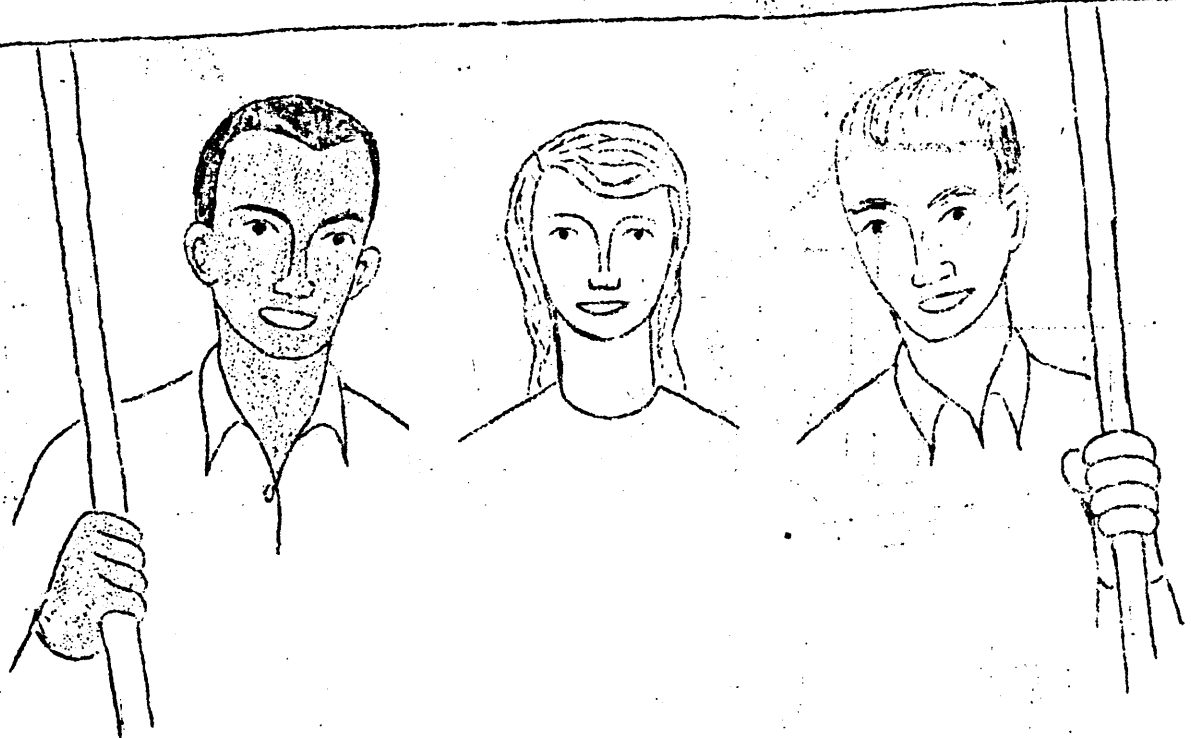
Socialists who today give support to the war preparations of either of the two camps -- or to the political, economic and ideological preparations for such a war -- are betraying socialism. It is inconceivable that the butchery which would result if the imperialist war breaks out could aid in the defense of freedom and socialism.

To fight effectively against such a war we must re-double our efforts to make the workingclass conscious of its interests, since only the intervention of the working-class and the colonial peoples on the political scene as an independent factor can stave off the Third World War. However, since the repression of civil liberties is the most immediate aspect of the drive towards war which confronts us, our most pressing task today is to fight for the preservation of democratic rights.

OUR IMMEDIATE ENEMY IS OUR OWN RULING CLASS !

AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALIST CAMPS, FOR THE THIRD  
CAMP OF THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED COLONIAL PEOPLES !

# JOIN THE YSL



CLIP AND MAIL TO:

114 W. 14<sup>TH</sup> ST. (3<sup>RD</sup> FLOOR) NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ SCHOOL (IF ANY) \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ ZONE \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_

- I WANT TO JOIN THE YSL
- I WANT MORE INFORMATION
- I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE  
YSL WEEKLY, THE CHALLENGE  
(TO SUBSCRIBE TO CHALLENGE, CHECK BOX  
AND ENCLOSE \$1.00 FOR 1 YEAR.)

# UNITY CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

