

YS TOURS THE SOUTH:

Southern Students Base Success on Youth Leadership

by Jim Lambrecht

(Two socialists are presently touring the South to see for themselves what the mood of the Southern students is. Jim Lambrecht, YSA National Secretary, and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate, have visited Virginia and will go to North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. If time allows, they will reach Mississippi and Louisiana. The following article was written after just one day of touring.)

PETERSBURG, Va., April 19—Picketing Thalhimers in downtown Richmond is a very somber business—the opposite of the noisy, button-wearing campaigns at the northern Woolworth's. There were three Negroes on the line. A young cop watched them thread their way through the predominantly white crowd; he patted the head of the large leather harnessed German Shepherd at his side and looked at me. "Are you a reporter?" "Yes." He nodded.

"So far the cops have been protecting us," said one picketer, an unemployed worker. "Why are there so few of you?" I asked. "Exams are on now, the students are working hard. But three are enough."

The others, a boy and a girl, were students at Virginia Union University (VUU). As I paused to write in my notebook a white woman stopped beside me—she was very old, her face purpled with liver spots—and shouted suddenly: "You look like such a nice boy! Now how can you dare to look another white person in the face!" I said "We have a difference of opinion." "Difference of opinion! I have lived here for 80 years!"

At the curb, white high school students of both sexes gathered to wait for their bus. They were directly in the path of the girl picketer. She stared straight ahead as she approached the edge of the group. Just as this point they divided to let her through and after she had passed through they drew together again, still talking and laughing to each other. They did not speak to her or look at her. It was as if she did not exist.

"The boycott is over 80 per cent effective among Negroes. I'm supposed to be the picket captain," said Mr. Carter of the Richmond NAACP. "but some days there are

150 students down at Thalhimers and other days there are three. Last Thursday 50 white students joined the line from Union Theological Seminary, and I don't know who organized them. "Say," he laughed, pointing to his copy of the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, "did you read what Harry Truman said—that maybe there's Communists behind the sit-ins? If that is so, there must be a lot of Communists down here, all over the colleges, a lot of Communists!"

At VUU that afternoon Myra Tanner Weiss and I interviewed Frank Pinkston, one of 34 Negro students arrested Feb. 22 for sitting-in at Thalhimers. Frank is a quiet stocky man of 20, a theology major.

Q.—You organized sit-ins at a number of different lunch counters, didn't you? Why was Thalhimers the only store to call the cops?

A.—That was the second day. After the first day all the store owners held a meeting and decided that Thalhimers should be the one. When we came into town Feb. 22, only Thalhimers was open and there were police everywhere. When we sat down they arrested us.

Q.—After eight weeks of daily picketing here, how do the stu-

(Continued on Page 8)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 3, No. 8

May, 1960



—Steve Fox

DETROIT PICKETS: Wayne University and high school students picket a downtown Woolworth store.

PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE:

Young Socialists Launch Movement

by Martha Curti

After nearly four years of intense activity, and after two and a half years of publication of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*, a nationwide revolutionary socialist youth organization—the Young Socialist Alliance—has been established.

Occurring in the midst of the most extensive outburst of student political activity since the 1930's, the Founding Conference of the YSA, held in Philadelphia April 15-17, was marked throughout by a great excitement and seriousness of purpose.

More than 100 delegates, YSA supporters and friends attended the conference. The delegates ranged in age from 16 to 31. Over two-thirds of them were students from 16 colleges, five high schools and two grade schools. Every major YS club was represented, with eight delegates from the Bay Area, Los Angeles, and Seattle. The age level of the delegates, the larger ratio of students to non-students, and the geographical representation all are an improvement over the Detroit Conference of YS Supporters in December, 1958.

EX-YPSL DELEGATES

Three of the delegates had been delegates at the YPSL convention last September; it was that convention, where every political decision was tabled, which

more than anything else, was the impetus driving these comrades out of the YPSL and toward the YS.

The concept which dominated all the sessions was that we stand at the beginning of a new period and must gauge our activity accordingly. Jim Lambrecht, YSA National Secretary, put it this way in his Political Report:

"The new element in the present period is the development of a student militia into a student movement. This development is not yet total and complete—the student body as a whole is not yet seized with a motivation to action. It is not just the sit-in movement; but a growth of interest on campus in a variety of issues, that mark the present as an oasis in the desert of silence foisted on the campus by the witchhunt."

Lambrecht illustrated this thesis with several examples from his recent nationwide tour for the

YS: a growth of anti-fraternity parties like SLATE at Univ. of Calif. on a number of campuses; growth of socialist discussion clubs; and in the past few months the civil rights struggle which is reflected on every campus, along with heightened struggles on other issues. (See State University of Iowa story, page 8.)

The past period, Lambrecht stated, was one in which socialists were recruited in ones and twos, largely on the basis of socialist ideas. Now we are beginning to reach people on the basis of our activity, of our leadership in struggle. It was our emphasis on our ideas, our respect for them, that enabled us to gather the forces and build the organization capable of intervening in periods of greater political ferment

WHERE WE STAND

The most fundamental decision taken by the conference was the adoption of a basic political statement. "Where We Stand." (For entire text of statement, see page 6.) This is the document that explains the political nature of the YSA; it expresses the principles that a person who wishes to join the YSA must accept.

(Continued on Page 7)

All Out on May 17!

The sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision will bring forth a rash of student protests against Woolworth's which will shake up the entire country.

The New York Youth Committee For Integration will stage a march on the chain's national headquarters on that day. It will then present thousands of signatures of people from throughout the country pledging to boycott Woolworth's until the chain serves and seats all customers. The youth will carry the petitions of any group in any area in the country which wishes to present them. Petitions can be obtained by writing to the committee, G.P.O. Box 1987, N.Y.C. 1.

Students on every campus in the North can make this day stand out in American history by closing down every Woolworth store in a day of nationwide picketing.

BOYCOTT WOOLWORTH'S

Marine Capt. vs. Radical Student

a true dialogue

In October an ex-Marine, Oregon State College student named Truman Price submitted a letter of resignation from NROTC on political and personal reasons. (See letter in January YS.) He began immediately to agitate for socialism, pacifism, and against ROTC, and in so doing aroused the attention of the ROTC officials.

In February Price received order to report (on the same day) to the Eugene, Oregon Marine Reserve Unit. The following is the text of a discussion between this student and the

Marine Captain at the unit:

Captain—"Just what are these political reasons you mentioned for your withdrawal, Price?"

Price—"I feel that our over-emphasized military system is leading us directly toward war with Russia or a police state or both."

Captain—"You realize you had a contract with the Navy?"

Price—"I feel it was my duty to break that contract, as loudly as I could, sir."

Captain—"Well, you realize your obligation is not yet complete. You'll have to be transferred to the Ready Reserve."

Price—"Oh, God. I thought that my obligation was finished. Anyway, I still intend to protest, and will appeal my new status. May I have the order numbers?"

Captain—"This appeal won't do you any good, Price. They won't grant it."

Price—"That is probably correct sir. May I have the order numbers?"

Captain—"You realize the appeal will take a lot of time. Price. In the meantime you'd better go to the reserve meetings."

Price—"Thank you for the advice, sir."

Captain—"If you miss the meetings, you'll get in a lot of trouble. You'd better go, starting next Wednesday night. Then send in your appeal afterwards."

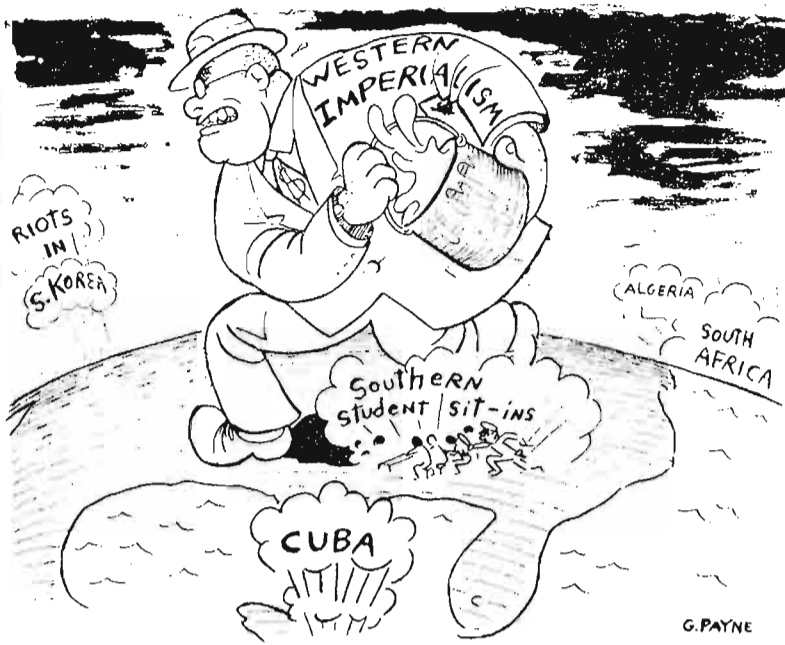
At this point Price pulled out a Handbook for CO's and turned to the section on Life in Prison. He began reading. The Captain, dismayed, looked once more through the manual.

Captain—(after several minutes) "Well, maybe it means you should be transferred to the Standby Reserve—no duty."

Price—"That's what I thought, sir. May I have the order numbers?"

Silence.

Price is still waiting to see what will happen.



"Youth, Bah! Why can't people be old to begin with?"

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

The founding Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance hails the Cuban Revolution for the progress made in freeing Cuba from U.S. imperialist domination and in advancing the social interests of the Cuban workers, peasants and students.

As young people we feel a special solidarity with the youth of Cuba who have been in the forefront of the liberation of their country.

We will have no part of the current campaign of vilification of the Cuban Revolution in the American press. We oppose the aggressive policies of the U.S. State Department towards the Cuban people. President Eisenhower's accusation that Dr. Castro has betrayed the ideals of a revolution the American government did its best to prevent from occurring and once it occurred did its best to undermine, will be taken by all thinking youth in this country for what it is—the grossest hypocrisy.

The assembled delegates, representing students and young people throughout the United States and from a number of the largest American universities, pledge this organization to utilize its newspaper, the YOUNG SOCIALIST, and its forces on college and high school campuses to tell the truth to American young people about the Cuban Revolution. We have no doubt that once American youth learn the truth of what is happening in Cuba they will support the progressive aims of this revolution and oppose the policies of the U.S. State Department.

—passed unanimously, April 16, 1960

YSA Launches \$1200 Fund Campaign

by Sherry Finer

At its recently concluded founding conference delegates representing Young Socialist Alliance clubs from all across the country discussed our work and the role the YOUNG SOCIALIST has played in it. It was clear that the regular publication of the paper and the line it has taken on innumerable crucial issues has

been an indispensable tool in building a revolutionary socialist youth movement in America for the first time in over thirty years.

We evaluated the past in order to plot our future. Here are some of the highlights of our activity: At this moment Jim Lambrecht is touring the South (see page 1). During 1960 we intend to send Trailblazers into the field stomp-

ing for the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket, to sell literature, and to speak out on the issues facing us today.

Also, and very important, we are presently conducting a subscription drive for the YOUNG SOCIALIST to continue the increase in our circulation.

All these activities are necessary adjuncts to the publication of the YOUNG SOCIALIST for we must combine our action with our printed work to make our convictions meaningful.

These all require money. We are now conducting our Spring fund drive. It is necessary for us to raise \$1,200 this spring to help cover the cost of the publication of the YS. We are asking you, our readers, to help us in this fund drive. And we are asking you because we feel sure that you share with us the conviction that the paper will continue and grow and that this is necessary. Politically our balance sheet for the past period registers credits only. Now we must take care of the financial side of that sheet. Please help us by sending contributions to: YS, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., N.Y. 3, N.Y.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB LIST

We print the following club list as an aid for those interested in organized socialist activity:

- | | |
|---|--|
| BALTIMORE: Socialist Study Group, A Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd. LA 3-3703. | Myrtle Kastner 2591 N Frederick Ave., Apt. 4. |
| BERKELEY-OAKLAND: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 265, Berkeley, TH 5-1550. | MONTREAL: McGill University Socialist Society, McGill Student Union, 690 Sherbrooke St. W. Social Democratic Club, Sir George Williams College, 1435 Drummond. |
| BOSTON: Young Socialist Alliance, 1318 Commonwealth Ave., Apt. 7, Boston, Mass. | NEW YORK CITY: Young Socialist Alliance, 45 E. 7 St. |
| CHICAGO: Young Socialist Alliance, 4838 31st James Pl. EA 7-9810. | OBERLIN, Ohio: Oberlin Socialist Club, Oberlin College. |
| SENIER: Young Socialist Club, Box 724. | PHILADELPHIA: Young Socialist Club, Phelps, 216 N. 35 Street. |
| DETROIT: Young Socialist Committee, 3737 Woodward. | PORTLAND Ore: Focus, Reed College. |
| EAST LANSING: Young Socialist Club, Michigan State University. | SAN FRANCISCO: Young Socialist Alliance, c/o Mattingly, 4077-A 18th St., San Francisco. |
| NEW HAVEN: George Orwell Forum, Yale University. | TWIN CITIES: Young Socialist Alliance, 822 9th Ave. So., Minneapolis 4, Minn. FE 8-2158. |
| IOWA: Socialist Discussion Club, c/o Ron Radosh, 325 S. Dubuque, Iowa City. | TORONTO, Ontario: Young Socialist Alliance, 81 Queen St. W. |
| LOS ANGELES: Young Socialist, Box 3615, Terminal Annex, L.A. 54. | TROY, Maine: John R. Paton, Troy, Me. |
| MADISON, Wis.: Wisconsin Socialist Club, c/o Judy Boxandal, 1024 Clymer Pl., Madison. | YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio: Socialist Discussion Club, Antioch College. |
| MILWAUKEE: Young Socialist Club. | |

Young Socialist

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401

May, 1960

What They Fought for

Many of those who fought in the Korean "police action," those who lost a loved one in that same action, and the American people in general are getting an answer that they have long sought. It is an answer to the question of why we fought in the Korean conflict. The answer that they get is that we fought for nothing. That is, we did not fight for anything good. The outcome of what was allegedly a struggle for "democracy" as opposed to "communism" ended with the maintenance in power of South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee.

The answer they get is given them by the Korean people who, led by students, have swept into the streets in demonstrations sometimes 500,000 strong to demand new elections in place of those recently held and cynically manipulated by the Rhee machine.

The U.S. State Department said that it was watching Korean developments closely "in the hope that adequate measures will be taken to redress the grievances of the people." It seems strange that the State Department takes an interest in such matters only after the people have taken things into their own hands. It might be suggested that the State Department prove this interest by seeing that the just grievances of the people of two other nations be resolved. The two nations we have in mind are the Dominican Republic of dictator Trujillo and Spain, the bailiwick of one Francisco Franco, dictator and murderer of thousands of Spaniards.

Apartheid's Swan Song

If there is anyone you know who managed to remain indifferent to the recent events in South Africa, we recommend the pictures in the April 11 "Life" magazine. The most profound tragedy is in these photos. A woman, her face contorted by grief, weeps for her husband, shot down by the police at Sharpeville; a grim line of mourners stands over the coffins of their murdered friends. But turn the page—there is much more than tragedy here. In the defiant faces of young African workers there is something that shines out to light a hope in the heart of all who deeply identify with the South African people in their struggle for the most elementary human freedoms. The heroism, the indomitable will to struggle against oppression shown by thousands upon thousands of Negro South Africans in the face of machine guns, arbitrary arrest, and deportation to distant places of exile, are evidences of the finest qualities of the human spirit—but they also are more than that. What is happening in South Africa is the thunderclap heralding the final stormy settling of accounts between the African people and imperialism.

The present South African state is the creation of British imperialism. Since the Boer War at the end of the 19th century vast fortunes from the gold and diamond mines have flowed out of the country, and these diamonds and gold have been mined by virtual slave labor—African slave labor. Until after the Second World War, when the present fanatically segregationist Afrikaner government took power, South Africa was ruled by the pro-British United Party. But the two European parties always have seen eye-to-eye on the basic doctrine of white supremacy; and well they might, for their entire economy is founded on the super-exploitation of black labor.

But today tides of revolution are running strong throughout Africa, and in country after country the imperialist ruling power has discovered that it can hope to maintain its economic dominion only by yielding in good time political independence to the native "elite." The permanent exception is South Africa, where the size and nature of the European minority make this established tactic unworkable. Even if British and South African big business were to succeed in shaking off the death grip of the agrarian Boer apartheid fanatics it would be willing and able to grant but few and insubstantial reforms. Meanwhile, the evolution of the colonial world imposes ever more strongly on South Africa the status of international pariah.

It is this new international reality which brought about the recent U.N. Security Council 9-0 vote condemning the racist policies of the South African government. Unaccompanied by real action, such a vote represents mainly the hypocrisy of the Great Powers, and particularly of the U.S. For the past 14 years the South African government has consistently and openly defied United Nations decisions by its annexation of Southwest Africa, supposedly a U.N. Trust Territory. Not once in all that time, and not now, either, has the U.S. or any of its "Free World" allies proposed actual measures against their South African associate; and yet there can be no doubt that economic sanctions would quickly cause the collapse of the South African economy and consequently of the present government. The refusal to take such action, in spite of the overwhelming legal basis for it, is a sign of tacit complicity.

The movement of colored peoples for national and human freedoms has become an irresistible historic force—the Boer attempt to beat it back is heading straight to a civil war of unexampled violence. This disaster can still be avoided; but only if the struggle of the South African people receives speedy and effective help from the workers and youth of the Western nations.

PICKET WEEKLY:

NYC Students Plan May 17 March on Woolworth's

by Nora Roberts

The New York Youth Committee for Integration announced plans to stage a march on Woolworth's national headquarters here May 17. The youth committee has issued petitions pledging signers to boycott the chain until it discontinues its discriminatory practices in the South. The group will present the signatures to store officials on the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling.

New York students are urged to join the youth committee at the Woolworth building following the proposed rally in New York City's garment district, which was called by A. Phillip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The youth committee has been the one student group to maintain picketing of Woolworth stores since its first picket line at 34th Street, Saturday, March 5. High school and college students from throughout the city continue to mobilize at 34 Street to form the largest, most militant picket lines Woolworth's confronts.

Each week, about 200 young people march in front of the 34th St. store, armed with posters and leaflets, singing, chanting, and calling to passers-by to "pass 'em by." Although the picketers are confined behind police barricades, their enthusiasm is not to be stifled. As is to be expected, pickets in the middle of town are not as effective as those in Harlem. The youth committee feels, however, that it is extremely urgent to reach the white community with the demands of the Negro people and make the entire city aware of the atrocity of Woolworth's bigotry.

TV newscaster Gabe Pressman asked one Negro woman coming out the store what she thought of the picketers. "I think they're wonderful," she replied. When he asked her why, then, she was shopping at Woolworth's, she answered, "Oh, I wasn't shopping. I just went in to look around. I wouldn't buy anything from them."

COPS' CAPER

Police found their first means of retaliation against the picketers at the sixth line on Saturday, April 16. Fred Mazelis, NYYCFI chairman, and John Boldt, a member of the group's steering

committee, were issued summonses, charged with "soliciting money without a permit." The charge was based on the fact that the two were accepting money from people signing the "Boycott Woolworth's" petition which they were circulating. The summonses were not issued until after members of the committee had already defeated the cops on another front, having won their right to distribute leaflets directly in front of the store's doors. The sergeant on duty told Mazelis that he was issuing the summonses as a means of retaliation in his anger at the cops' earlier defeat.

N.Y. SIT-IN

Over 30 young people participated in the area's first actual sit-in at the major store's lunch counter April 2 while 300 more picketed in a demonstration of solidarity with the students in the South and a means of hitting Woolworth's profits for the day. Not wanting to cut into the pay of the store's low paid waitresses, however, the students raised \$11.75 in lieu of tips.

The students sitting in were orderly and sat reading and chatting among themselves. They drank water, but ordered nothing from the store, not wanting to break the boycott. However, there was a tremor of excitement all along the counter and a clamor from those picketing outside who wanted to participate in the action. The demonstration received front page coverage in the N.Y. Times, the N.Y. Herald Tribune, the Journal American and a picture spread in the Daily News. The N.Y. Post published a scathing attack on the sit-ins, calling it "not a non-violent demonstration" led by "an obstructionist group."

The militant action and youthful audacity of the N.Y. Youth Committee is what has brought down the wrath of the adult, more staid community in the person of A. Phillip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and the Congress of Racial Equality. The attack, led by Randolph, against an independent formation of youth struggling for integration has taken the form of a vicious red-baiting campaign with the intention of forcing the New York Youth Committee for Integration to fold up.

Randolph was nearly successful in his efforts when a majority



NYC LINE: Students of the New York Youth Committee for Integration picket 34th St. Woolworth's with Amalgamated Laundry Workers.

of the members of the original organizing committee of the NYYCFI collapsed under the pressure brought down by the officialdom of the Negro organizations. These people decided to disband the three week old youth committee, afraid of an onslaught of red-baiting. Those who wished to continue, however, joined with the vast majority of the students who had been picketing and who had continually expressed their desire to maintain the fight against Woolworth's. Those who walked out, left a movement of over 300 youth to find themselves in conference rooms discussing how to mobilize campus student officials to do something or other sometime in

the undefined future.

That Randolph's main concern is to close down any independent movement not completely under his direct control is evidenced in his relations with his own youth. Following a rally in Harlem March 26 at which the Negro leader, backed by CCNY President, Eueil Gallagher, launched his attack on the youth committee, charging it with "Communist and YOUNG SOCIALIST domination," a new youth committee was established. This committee, the Metropolitan Students for Non-Violent Civil Rights Action, backed by Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., the NAACP, and CORE, proceeded to do absolutely nothing for three weeks. In that

period, the NYYCFI stabilized its picketing of the 34th St. Woolworth store and grew to a line of over 200 participants.

The Metropolitan Students finally held their first and so far, their last picket line at 50th St. April 8 and drew about 10 students, none of whom were Negro. The New York Youth Committee for Integration sent a delegation to strengthen the 50th St. line but were forced off the line by the police who were requested to do so by Metropolitan Students picket captain, Bert Weinstein. Earlier in the day the picket leader had urged the arrest of YS salesman, Ian Freeman. Even Weinstein's action, however, has not allayed Randolph's fear of independent youth; he is now side stepping the student group he himself established and is conducting the majority of his youth appeals through the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King.

CORE has tried to conduct a similar campaign against the New York Youth Committee for Integration, but the combination of its lack of real influence in New York and its overwhelming fear of militancy makes it almost completely impotent in its attempt to scuttle the youth movement.

NO LOYALTY OATHS

The Youth Committee issued a statement to all groups involved in picketing stating its willingness to struggle against Woolworth's discriminatory policies with anyone and everyone; no qualifications nor loyalty oaths will be imposed. The youth group is one of

(Continued on Page 8)

Woolworth's Business Down in Philly

by Mack Davis

PHILADELPHIA—Picketing of Woolworth stores by the Philadelphia Youth Committee Against Segregation (PYCAS) in support of Southern sit-in strikes entered its ninth consecutive week on Sat., April 16.

The size of the demonstrations in Philadelphia has been impressive from the start. From 40 pickets at one store on the first week, the PYCAS was able to expand its forces to about 100 at three stores on March 19. The line in the center of town on March 26 attracted about 85 participants alone. This offered an impressive spectacle for passers-by; the singing and chanting could be heard blocks away. Although a number of plainclothesmen were on hand, there were no incidents despite considerable provocation from hostile individuals. There was, however, an order from the police forbidding the picketers to carry signs on sticks.

It is at the neighborhood stores, however, that the action has proven most effective in hurting business, an important reason why the Committee does not wish to neglect activity at these stores.

On March 19, for example, it was estimated that business at one store was cut down by 50 per cent and at the other two by from 85 to 90 per cent.

Other groups began to picket in the city for the first time on March 26, the sixth week of action by the PYCAS. On that day a pacifist group, organized by Fellowship House, covered two stores in Negro and Puerto Rican districts in North Philadelphia. This group maintains silent picket lines and requires participants to take a pledge of non-self-defense in case of physical attack. A couple of YPSLs who had previously been active in the PYCAS

joined the pacifist line and now say they favor this type of picketing.

In addition, a group from the NAACP at Temple University took care of a store in the Germantown section of the city. The group tried to exclude a young high school student who is a YS supporter on the grounds that he was not a member of the sponsoring organization.

NSA CALLS MEET

The National Student Association called a meeting for Tuesday, March 29 at Temple University, for the purpose of forming a city-wide coordinating committee of all "responsible" groups participating in the movement.

The PYCAS was represented by two delegates, Paul DeBrul, President of NSA and a National Committee member of YPSL, hoped to exclude from the new organization any ad hoc committees composed of "irresponsible" types, who "although well meaning, could spell the 'kiss of death' to the movement." Among those who spoke for an all-inclusive committee were Charles Love, a pacifist representing Fellowship House, and Walt Sullivan, Regional President of the National Federation of Catholic Colleges, the latter pointing out that the right of self-defense was a freedom hard won by Americans. In the outcome the PYCAS was included in the committee, thus insuring a voice to those who are for self defense.

At the above meeting the Commission on Human Relations advised all groups not to picket on April 2 because of the racial tension in Philadelphia. They were referring to the clashes in South Philadelphia between groups of white and Negro teen-agers which culminated in a fatal stabbing

on March 21. The PYCAS and CORE resolved to picket in any case, while Fellowship House and Temple NAACP decided to follow the Commission's advice and not picket. To be sure, the integrated demonstrations, as the experience of the previous week had already shown, actually helped combat the tension in the city by a display of racial solidarity.

Some revealing facts and insight concerning the demonstrations were obtained in an interview with Ameila Brown, a Negro co-ed at Temple University, who is one of the most active participants in the movement. The following are some highlights from this interview, conducted on March 30:

- Q. How many times have you been picketing?
- A. Five times, all except one.
- Q. How was the spirit among the picketers, as far as you could see? Has enthusiasm grown since the movement began?
- A. The enthusiasm has always been high and has been increasing steadily.
- Q. What was the general reaction of passers-by concerning the demonstrations?
- A. Some people came by and said, "We're with you, you're doing all right." Others made unfavorable remarks, such as, "What has this to do with me?"
- Q. Did you experience any unpleasant incidents?
- A. Only last Saturday, when someone said to a white picketer, "What are you doing aiding these niggers?" No one abused me personally.
- Q. What future do you see in store for the movement?
- A. I feel optimistic about it. I think the movement will continue to grow and that our educational facilities will improve.

Toronto Socialists Plan Extension Of Anti-Jim Crow Demonstrations

by Jeff Faulkner

TORONTO, Ont.—The first demonstration in Canada supporting the struggles of Negro students in the Southern United States took place here on Sat., March 26. Over 30 demonstrators showed their solidarity by picketing the major Woolworth's store in this city, located at the main downtown intersection of Queen and Yonge streets.

For some two hours they paraded in front of the store carrying placards that read "We Support Southern Students." "Woolworth's Denies Southern Negroes Right to Eat." "End Woolworth's Southern Apartheid," and "Equal Rights for All Customers in North and South."

A number of passers-by joined in the demonstration, carrying signs and helping to distribute leaflets to other passers-by. Although a boycott was not attempted, many people refused to enter the store.

Although the press almost completely blacked out the demonstration, the widely listened-to

radio station CHUM gave it a half dozen 'spot' news announcements, thus furthering the aims of the demonstration.

The March 26 demonstration was organized by the Toronto Y.S.A. in cooperation with the Socialist Educational League. Several students responded to a leaflet distributed to some of the downtown high schools. Several Negro organizations were approached to help in enlarging the demonstration, but were not prepared to do so on short notice. This picket line has laid the ground-work for future activities. Plans are under way to repeat the demonstration. Efforts are being made to form a committee that will include all individuals and organizations sympathizing with the Negro students.

Discrimination in Canada will not end until it does in the United States. For that reason, politically conscious Canadians solidarily themselves with the heroic struggles of the Negro students to win the rights that are at present denied them.

HARPUR COLLEGE:

College President Fails To Prevent Picketing

by Pete Silverman

ENDICOTT, N.Y.—Harpur College is not an extremely well known institute of learning: it was created in 1948, a Liberal arts college, part of the State University of New York. During the past 12 years Harpur and its students have quietly gone about their business in as unobtrusive and conservative manner as possible. On campus are Young Democrat and Young Republican clubs and a student government which passes dress regulations and comes out occasionally with a 'radical' decision, such as a recent condemnation of the Loyalty Oath.

But last month something happened at Harpur: something variously called "wonderful," "awful" and "unbelievable." Harpur suddenly emerged from the sloth of 12 years to an amazingly lively state, lively in the sense that the student body was really "worked up" about a national issue as it had never been before.

The whole thing began when a few Socialists on campus got together and decided that the local Woolworth stores should be picketed, in support of southern Negro sit-ins.

Word of the planned picketing spread like radiation and within two days practically the whole student body knew of the plans. Word also reached the United Student Government, which

promptly called a six hour emergency meeting. The next afternoon the USG issued a statement which said, in effect, that it would support picketing of Woolworth's. This threw the campus and the administration in an uproar, for no one, probably not even the USG members themselves, expected such a move.

Suddenly, those voices which had never been raised above loud whispers were roaring. Students supported the picketing, students opposed the picketing—but students were really going at it—vigorously.

The President of the college, Dr. Glenn G. Bartle, came out in opposition to the picketing, offering an alternative method for showing support of southern Negroes. He suggested a fund be started to pay fines of those Negro students jailed for demonstrating against segregation. He started the fund off with a 10-dollar contribution.

But it was apparent that nothing would deter the students from "standing up and being counted." The "ethicacy and efficacy" of picketing had been debated over and over again in meetings, public and private. The students knew why they would picket and why it was the best course of action. The student government issued a statement outlining why it would



—Gordon Schartz

HARPUR COLLEGIANS: Picketers in the small New York town brave the cold to protest discrimination.

picket. It read in part:

"It is our responsibility not only to state what we believe, but to demonstrate our willingness to act on that belief. Picketing is an effective way in which the individual can stand up and be counted for the moral stand he has taken."

PICKETS SUCCESSFUL

Nearly 150 students turned out to picket the three local Woolworth stores. Picketing was carried on in two shifts of two hours each, so that there were at least 25 students at one time in front

of each of the three stores. The demonstration went off smoothly. Surprisingly enough, even though economic boycott was not the primary aim of the pickets, one of the Woolworth's suffered an almost complete loss of business during the four hour period. Local and national press, radio and TV coverage was excellent. The picketing was a complete success.

The demonstration proved one vital thing: that the students were not as apathetic as had been supposed, all they needed to rise to

action was an issue: something to arouse latent emotions. But the picketing is by no means the end of action at Harpur college. A Socialist club has just been formed and over 100 students attended the first meeting—a good many more than either the Young Republicans or Young Democrats could hope to draw. Apparently, the students are tired of lethargy; the socialists, regardless of whether they are right or wrong, will serve, if nothing more, to get the students to think about things they had never thought about before.

Northern Pickets Continue; Some Stores Integrate

by Ruth Aaron

Sit-in demonstrations in the South and the sympathy demonstrations and boycott staged by Northern students are affecting the Woolworth chain and the other chains which maintain discrimination at their lunch counters. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Woolworth's profits have been cut 11 per cent since the beginning of the demonstrations.

Woolworth, Kresge, and Grant stores have been forced to integrate in St. Joseph and Jefferson City, Missouri and in San Antonio and Galveston, Texas. Stores in Houston, Texas, and Miami, Florida, are considering similar action. Meanwhile, the movement in the North is continuing to grow and expand in a concerted effort to enforce integration throughout the South.

BALTIMORE

Baltimore's five major department stores gave in to student picketers and sit-ins and integrated their lunch counters during the week of April 17. The stores had maintained their discriminatory policies for about a week in the face of picket lines, composed mainly of students from Morgan State College, a predominantly Negro school.

The Baltimore Youth Committee for Integration, CORE, and the Morgan students are maintaining picket lines around the city's Woolworth stores, urging a boycott of the chain until Negroes are served on a non-discriminatory basis in the South.

SEATTLE

Seattle students from the University of Washington registered the protest of the far North West as they picketed Woolworth stores in the downtown area. Picketing led by the University's student government began early in March. While the Associated Students of the University of Washington

(student government) has backed down and does not wish to continue picketing, several students are joining together in an ad hoc committee. These students have issued a petition supporting the Southern sit-ins.

SAN FRANCISCO

San Franciscans in an ad hoc student committee have staged continuous demonstrations in front of the city's main Woolworth store. At the same time, employees of the five and dime stores called a strike demanding higher wages. After a week of facing pickets from both sides, the store gave in to the clerks' demands and raised the wages.

BERKELEY

Berkeley students have come up against the rarely used Directives of UC's President Kerr, prohibiting campus groups from taking stands on "off-campus issues." The Directives were used to prevent the student government and the National Student Association's UC chapter from sponsoring a defense committee for the Southern students. In the face of this administration action, an ad hoc Committee Against Racial Discrimination was formed. The group, however, is limiting its action to forming a Defense Fund, a scholarship fund to assist the expelled students, a Speaker's Bureau to keep the campus informed, and a publicity sub-committee. No group on campus is planning to take the most elementary and major step which should be taken on the issue—continued picketing and a boycott Woolworth's campaign.

LOS ANGELES

At Cal's Los Angeles campus over 500 names were submitted to the Executive Council, student government, of UCLA. The administrative advisor ruled the petition out of order, then ruled an EC motion to send moral support to the South out of order. Thus,

no official action could be taken by the Los Angeles student body.

Los Angeles youth, though, are not to be deterred in their fight for equality and two groups have formed in the area. The first, the Independent Student Union, composed mainly of Los Angeles City College students, has conducted weekly picket lines in front of one of the city's downtown Woolworth stores.

The ISU was able to mobilize several hundreds of students to picket 17 Woolworth stores throughout the sprawling city. The Southern California Boycott Committee, headed by a young Negro economics major, Jesse Morris, is conducting a line every day in front of Santa Monica's Woolworth store.

COLORADO

Denver members of the United Packing House Union joined with officials of the NAACP and the Denver Youth Committee Against Segregation to stage four picket lines in the mile-high city. The first picket line had the full support of all three groups. The third Denver picket line was conducted with greater student support, but with very few members of the NAACP. Picketers have decided to continue under the leadership of the Youth Committee and to stage their weekly picket lines concomitant with the NAACP's boycott campaign. Even though the lines are small, the picketed stores are emptied.

The issue of radical participation was raised in connection with the Denver youth committee, but not by any of the "respectable" organizations. One person on the committee, under Young People's Socialist League influence, demanded the resignation of all YS supporters. When they refused to withdraw, the young person decided he could no longer picket with them, even though the packing house workers felt they

could continue.

MINNEAPOLIS

Picketing Woolworth's became a major issue on Minneapolis' University of Minnesota campus with the chartering of the Students for Intergration. The group mobilizes over 100 students each week in its demonstrations. The issue raised by the Students for Intergration has received excellent coverage in the *Minnesota Daily* and candidates for student government were forced to make clear their stand on integration before the election.

MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee's first picket line in front of a Woolworth store was initiated by the Crusaders Civic and Social League. This group, now with student support, has picketed in front of three Woolworth stores each Saturday since. As the line has been composed of from five to a dozen people, the three stores are picketed in turn. Many passersby have walked beside the picketers, and when told of the boycott, turned away from the store. An independent group of about 70 students from the Milwaukee Institute of Technology picketed on a Wednesday and received mention in the local press.

Students from the Civic League and those from MIT are working together to organize mass picketing of students from various colleges and some of the high schools.

MADISON

In Madison, Wisc., the Human Relations Committee, composed of students of the University of Wisconsin, received the endorsement of university, religious, civic, and state authorities for its picketing campaign and activities in sympathy with the Southern sit-ins. Despite this, there is still a great deal of opposition on campus from student government

and fraternity types. The debate over sit-in support has therefore become an issue in the student election campaign.

DETROIT

Support for lunch counter desegregation efforts by Negro students in the South received sympathetic support in Detroit as more than 200 pickets marched in front of three Woolworth stores. The Detroit Youth for Brotherhood, which has been organizing picketing in conjunction with the NAACP and the Trade Union Leadership Council, has had to wage a battle with the Wayne University administration at every step of its efforts to mobilize student support. The university's hierarchy stated that no campus group could sponsor picketing and no individual student would be allowed to distribute leaflets for the line or join any group which calls for such action. Despite this, Detroit students from high schools, as well as from Wayne, are continuing their picket lines and boycott campaign.

BOSTON

Bostonians picket Woolworth's under the auspices of the Emergency Public Integration Committee, an ad-hoc group of students and non-students in the area. Because non-student pacifists have gained control of the Boston picketing movement, the lines have been scattered and limited to about 10 participants each. The spirit of the lines is also dampened. As a result, student support for the protest demonstrations is dissipating and the city's picket lines run the risk of complete dissolution unless transformed into a more militant character under independent student leadership.

AND STILL MORE

The three downtown stores in Battle Creek, Mich., faced Negro picketers in protest against lunch

(Continued on Page 5)

REDBAITING DIVIDES THE NEGRO STRUGGLE:

How Long Can You Live on Red Herrings?

by Tim Wohlforth

Thousands of Negro students have faced jails, and physical violence in their struggle to integrate lunch counters in the South. As could be predicted the politicians in the North of both parties have not lifted a finger to come to their aid.

No one is asking that they face jail and violence to advance human freedom. But at least one could expect the liberals among them to declare themselves in favor of the sit-ins and opposed to the racists. One liberal standard bearer for a number of years, ex-President Harry S. Truman, not only does not support the sit-ins but with his haberdasher's mentality he has declared that the sit-ins were "engineered entirely" by Communists. "You can never tell," this liberal champion of the people continued, "where you'll find their fine Italian hand, and its not Italian—it's Russian." Later, in clarification, Truman stated, "but I know that usually when trouble hits the country the Kremlin is behind it."

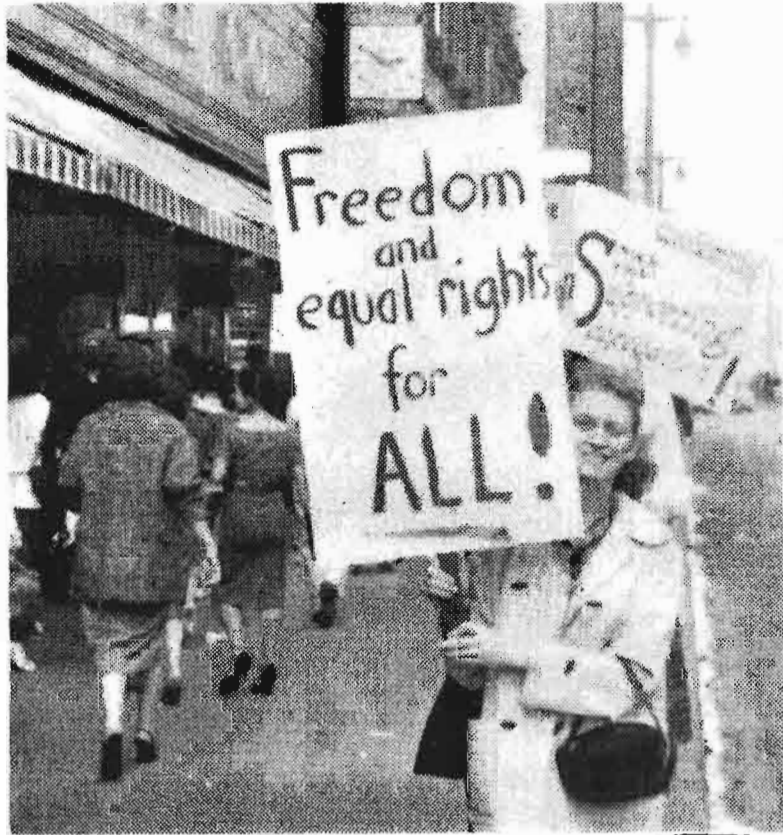
Here we have in laboratory pure form the essence of the redbaiting technique. We need not study a McCarthy or a Hitler. Our former President, who instituted the witchhunt within the government, will suffice. Let us take a good look at the method of redbaiting and how it functions within the movement for Negro equality.

THE HERRING'S HOME

Redbaiting has its original source in the Southern segregationists and no matter who utilizes it, its aim is to destroy the struggle for integration. The segregationists aim to accomplish two things by redbaiting. First they seek to obscure the real issue of human rights by bringing up the issue of Communism. They seek to turn the discussion around whether or not one is patriotic rather than whether or not one is supporting fundamental human rights. This is known as the "red herring" technique—obscure the real issues involved by focusing the public's attention on alleged "reds."

Secondly, and really of greater importance, the Southern racists seek to use the issue of reds to divide the Negro movement—to turn one supporter of integration on another supporter. It is in this latter aim that the racists have made their greatest gains—they get Negro to attack Negro and thus are far more effective than if they simply attacked the Negro movement as a whole.

Thus they are able to dredge up a few Negroes in the South who will even disassociate themselves from the NAACP because the NAACP has been called "red." They get a much larger number who will go along with the NAACP but attack Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph and others who are to the left of the NAACP official leadership as being "Red." In addition, a number of them have disassociated themselves from the sit-in movement in a similar way thus divid-



LOS ANGELES: UCLA and LACC students support southern sit-ins in city-wide picketing of Woolworth stores. 17 stores were picketed.

ing and weakening the struggle for integration.

But it goes beyond this. The A. Philip Randolphs then attack those to the left of them to order to "prove" (to the racists?) that they are clean. Thus at a recent rally in New York A. Philip Randolph waved on high a copy of the YOUNG SOCIALIST with its "subversive" headline BOYCOTT WOOLWORTH'S and stated "We disassociate ourselves from the 'YOUNG SOCIALIST.' We do not want to have anything to do with these people."

President Gallagher of CCNY, whose record on civil liberties at that campus is none too spotless, echoed Randolph stating: "Let them peddle their papers somewhere else. They're not part of our gang."

Such redbaiting tends to divide the movement, to turn one section of it against another—to raise issues extraneous to the real issue of integration and thus to help the racists. But its real function within the movement goes even deeper than this surface manifestation. WHAT THE RED-BAITERS ARE AIMING AT IS NOT SIMPLY THE EXCLUSION OF RADICALS FROM THE MOVEMENT. THEY SEEK TO DESTROY THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VERY MOVEMENT ITSELF.

The struggle for Negro equality is basically a revolutionary movement—that is, it aims at overturning a deeply rooted aspect of the status quo. One cannot uproot segregation without over-

turning much that is known as the "Southern Way of Life" and shaking the entire political and social structure of the country as a whole. It is for this reason that every small step forward of the Negro people meets such resistance and so much coolness from every sector of American political life. This is why neither party has nor will take decisive action in support of the Negro people.

RACISTS WRONG

The extreme racists are wrong—this movement cannot be stopped by repression. It is therefore necessary for the defenders of the status quo to hold the movement back—to make it ineffective and by so doing to hope to preserve, if on a somewhat shaky basis, the fabric of the "American Way of Life." Redbaiting is an essential tool in the process of containing the Negro movement—of keeping it "respectable." (Respected by whom—the racists?)

Thus we find the right wing of the Negro people, the Uncle Toms who run the Southern Negro colleges (Their jobs depend on the good will of the racist state governments) actually expelling Negro students for taking part in the sit-in struggle. We also find the moderate NAACP leadership—no, not refusing to support the sit-in movement—refusing to give this movement any real leadership. Nowhere in the South or the North is the NAACP militantly organizing and leading this movement. Everywhere it is the students themselves who have taken the initiative and who are keeping the movement alive.

Then comes the pacifists of the CORE and Randolph stripes. A. Philip Randolph plays a quite, important role in the Negro struggle and his real function must be understood. Recently at a rally of the New York Youth Committee for Integration, Conrad Lynn, a Negro attorney who has been a fighter for civil rights since his youth, told the audience—"It is important that the new generation of civil rights fighters learn the truth about those who they are being asked to follow." Lynn then explained Randolph's role

for the last twenty years as an initiator of mass Negro struggles, who no sooner gets a movement going when he gives up the struggle.

Thus at the beginning of World War II he initiated the first really widespread militant action of the Negro people—the original March on Washington. No sooner did the movement really get rolling when he made a deal with Roosevelt and called off the March short of its aim—full integration in the Armed Services. Following the war Randolph called on Negroes to refuse to register for the draft until full integration was achieved in the Armed Services. He deserted this movement too, leaving his followers in jail! More recently, young people know of his role in the Youth March movement. This he also sabotaged, refusing to call a March this fall at a time when it could have played an important function in laying the basis for the action now occurring throughout the South.

Randolph's role, then, is quite crucial to the task of containing the Negro struggle—in fact in periods of upsurge like today far more crucial and far more dangerous than the simple Uncle Toms. When a mass movement cannot be prevented, then Randolph steps in to organize and control it so he will be able to turn it off when it becomes really effective.

OPPOSITION BAITED

Those who oppose his turning off the movement are redbaited by Randolph in a way as crude as the white supremacists' attack on the NAACP in the South. Let us look at what has happened in New York as an example. An independent student movement in support of the Southern Negro's struggle was organized in response to YSAer Fred Mazelli's initiative at CCNY. This group became a city wide independent committee—the New York Youth Committee for Integration. Being independent of Randolph he could not turn it off when he wished. He then proceeded systematically to attempt to destroy this independent movement of New York Negro and white students. He was assisted in this attempt by two radical groups without whose help he would not have been able to be effective at all—the Young People's Socialist League (of Norman Thomas fame) and—believe it or not—the Communist Party youth themselves.

Under pressure from Randolph these forces set out to dissolve the New York Youth Committee in favor of a completely controlled group of "responsible democratic students." They were unsuccessful in their attempt to destroy the independence of the New York movement and found themselves in a competing impotent "respectable" movement.

of the YPSL was quite disreputable during all this. The YPSL was one of the sponsors of the rally at which Randolph did his

redbaiting. It has to this day refused to publicly repudiate Randolph for redbaiting. The CP youth not only did their best to destroy the New York Youth Committee in their efforts to seek respectability in Randolph's eyes (a vain effort, as they are discovering) they went further. It was young supporters of the CP who at a Randolph picket line actually requested that the police arrest a salesman of the YS and later urged the police to arrest New York Youth Committee picketers who had come to help strengthen their line.

DO DIRTY WORK

Thus we see that the Stalinists and the social democrats likewise fear a real break from the status quo and do the dirty work of those who seek to destroy the movement. They thus transmit the pressure of the racistist still deeper into the movement—in fact so far that they actually pull the rug out from under themselves. At one meeting of the New York Youth Committee a well known young supporter of the CP actually, in the guise of an "innocent" liberal, redbaited himself as well as the YS and the YPSL!

There is only one way to carry forward the effective struggle for Negro equality—it is on the basis of a complete rejection of any form of redbaiting. We know that every step taken for justice in this country will be opposed and attacked—whether or not it is led by radicals. We must state clearly that the Negro sit-in struggle must remain in the hands of the militants who are conducting the struggle—and in no one else's hands. We are happy to accept help from the NAACP, from CORE, from Randolph, but we will not hand the struggle over to them to do with as they like. Their records do not inspire confidence! We trust ourselves and no one else!

Anyone who genuinely supports and works for the general aims we are seeking is welcome to participate in this movement whether he be a socialist, a Democrat, or Republican; a Catholic, a Protestant, a Jew, or atheist; a pacifist, or a non-pacifist. We refuse to institute our own loyalty oaths. We recognize redbaiting for what it is—a weapon of the racists aiming at dividing and holding back the movement.

We do not expect that the "respectable forces" will like us. But we know they will give in to us in the long run as long as we remain united and carry on a militant struggle. They are quite willing to exchange compliments about our "statesmanship" for the preservation of the status quo. We are quite willing to live without their compliments so that we can live without Jim Crow!

"THE LONG VIEW OF HISTORY"

by William F. Warde

Is the present economic system in America capable of constant improvement as its apologists claim? Is it the best kind of system mankind can devise?

A long view of history helps to answer these and similar questions.

The pamphlet consists of two essays — "How Humanity Climbed to Civilization" and "The Main Course of American History and its Next Stage." 35c

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Pl.
NYC 3, N.Y.

Northern Pickets Continue . . .

(Continued from Page 4) counter discrimination . . . The Central State-Wilberforce-Antioch "March to Freedom" movement won its first objective—Geyer's restaurant in Xenia, Ohio, opened its doors to everyone, regardless of race. Plans to open up the Xenia Country Club and the Xenia Golf Course are under discussion . . . Nearly 200 students from Earlham College in southern Indiana demonstrated at the local library to protest the arrests of 700 Negro students in the

South who have been staging sit-ins and other demonstrations in an effort to obtain their rights . . . A Mount Holyoke College, in Mass., committee on civil rights collected more than \$700 to aid southern Negro demonstrators . . . Several hundred students gathered to picket in Washington, D.C., from a number of colleges in New England during Easter weekend. As the students marched in front of the White House, President Eisenhower was playing golf on a segregated golf course in Atlanta.

THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

—How to Win It

by Shane Mage

20c

Young Socialist Forum
Box 471, Cooper Station
New York 3, N.Y.

FOUNDING DECLARATION OF THE YSA:

We Base Ourselves on Marxian Socialist Principles

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.



YSA IN ACTION: YS wins one of its many free speech battles as students at U. of Mich. reach out for copies of the paper (upper left). . . . Getting socialism on the ballot: YS supporters help Muriel McAvo check petitions for the Independent-Socialist Party's 1958 campaign (lower left). . . . "U.S. Troops Get out of Lebanon!" This protest of Los Angeles Young Socialists typifies one of the many ways YS supporters have opposed the State Dept.'s drive toward war.

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 nation-wide 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 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 three-year 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.

'We Greet the Birth of the YSA'

(The following greetings to the founding conference of the Young Socialist Alliance were read at a public rally April 16. Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Dr. Otto Nathan, Farrell Dobbs, and Myra Tanner Weiss presented their greetings in person.)

France—

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)

Great Britain— KEEP LEFT

Keep Left (published by the left-wing youth of the British Labour Party) 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.

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 a Socialist America.

KEEP LEFT WELCOMES THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE!

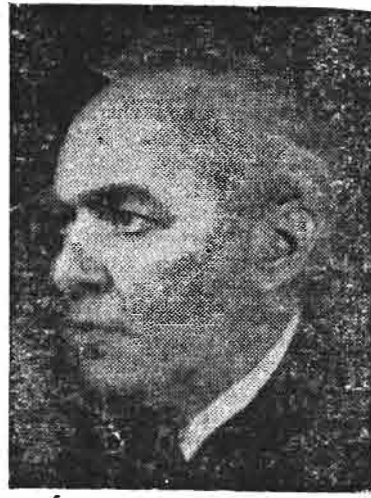
SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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— JAMES ARONSON

One of the most heartening



OTTO NATHAN (above)
ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN (right)



signs on the political-minded 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 to 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.
Editor, National Guardian
James Aronson

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 demonstrations 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 to the Italian youth: "Slumber not in the tents of your fathers! The

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

Australia—

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 of 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.

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

Canada—

We have been following your splendid struggles against race prejudices, the witchhunt, 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 U.S. 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 Leon Trotsky's prediction that Marxism will find its highest expression on North American soil.

Ross Dowson
Secretary-treasurer,
The Socialist
Education League

Youth Launch YSA at Philadelphia Conference...

(Continued from Page 1)
For this reason, lively discussions occurred on the document and on several proposed amendments. Previous to the conference, YS supporters had discussed the draft statement in their clubs and in a discussion bulletin.

Tim Wohlforth, YSA National Chairman, reported on this statement to the conference. Describing the YSA as a movement which has a respect for its ideas and its traditions, proud of its origins, and open about its relationship to other organizations, Wohlforth contrasted this with other political movements.

"The now defunct magazine, American Socialist, illustrates the direct opposite of our movement," stated Wohlforth. "From the beginning to the end of its existence, it never stated its political program; it never revealed its origins; and there is no evidence that its policies, such as they were, were debated or adopted democratically by its supporters."

'FRONT GROUP SCHOOL'

"The Communist Party belongs to the 'front group school' of socialist—I mean, progressive—organizations," Wohlforth continued. "The organizations peripheral to the CP have the appearance of being broader than ours; in fact, their members need not even be interested in politics. But there is one little condition: the CP insists upon running its 'front' groups. They have no internal life, because all important decisions are made by the CP."

"As for the YPSL, it is a training school in opportunism—a training school for future union bureaucrats. It takes great pride in its hatred, its disdain and disinter-

est in history, tradition. Being unable to evaluate its own past, it is not a serious movement. It makes few demands upon its membership. It does not encumber its members with democracy—with resolutions, with discussions, with positions."

Having evaluated other tendencies and found them wanting, as far as our own revolutionary Marxist perspective is concerned, it remained for the YSA to assess the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP is the one political organization in the field which maintains a revolutionary socialist program. The YSA, therefore, declares its political solidarity with the SWP. On the other hand, the YSA maintains organizational independence of the SWP, with its own internal life. All YSA members have equal weight in determining YSA policies, regardless of their relationship to the SWP or to other parties or groups.

The "Where We Stand" document was passed by an overwhelming majority.

1960 ELECTIONS

Another major point of discussion was the "Memorandum on the 1960 Elections" (see March YS) with Bert Deck as reporter. Deck pointed out that the campaign of the SWP, which the Conference voted to support, will provide a valuable way to get our ideas across to the many new allies we have found in the now emerging student struggles. He outlined the roundabout formula used by both the CP and the SP-SDF to support the Democratic Party: "We don't support Democratic candidates, of course; but we don't believe in opposing candidates endorsed by the organized labor movement." Deck asked, "How can you write that down in the ballot box when all you can put down is an X?"

Shane Mage, YS Editorial

Board member, reported on the draft Resolution on War. For an hour and a half the entire audience listened intently as Mage analyzed the present relationship between the capitalist and non-capitalist countries, the antagonisms within the capitalist bloc between the "Inner Six" and the "Outer Seven" countries of Europe and the role of the U.S. in this conflict, and the role of the colonial revolution in the struggle against war.

After a lively discussion, the delegates passed the resolution, which takes the position that the fight for peace and the fight for socialism are inseparable. The resolution analyzes the causes of the current letup in the Cold War and explains why this relaxation, welcome though it is, cannot last indefinitely. The resolution will be published separately and will be available for \$.20 after May 1 from the Young Socialist Forum, Box 471, New York 3, N.Y.

Fred Mazelis, the CCNY student who initiated the idea of students picketing Woolworth's in New York (see March YS), reported to the conference on the sit-in movement. Most of the delegates had been active participants in the northern sympathy demonstrations all over the country; many of them had initiated the demonstrations in their own localities. They conducted an extensive discussion on the movement, on our participation in it, and on its future direction and implications. It was announced at this point that Jim Lambrecht was to leave for the South as soon as the conference was over, to carry on the work that was being discussed.

YSA INTEGRATES HOTEL

A victory for integration was won at the conference itself by the delegates. When it was discovered that the hotel where many of the delegates were staying would not rent a room to a

Negro delegate, all the delegates threatened to pull out. The management, on learning how much business it might lose, speedily acquiesced to an integrated clientele.

The final sessions were devoted to implementing the political decisions by adopting a constitution and electing a national committee. The guiding principle of the constitution, as outlined by reporter Jim Robertson, is that the members shall make the policies of the YSA and shall carry them out. Thus full internal democracy is guaranteed to every member, including the right of a faction to organize and struggle to win the YSA to its point of view; on the other hand, a minority cannot deny the majority its right—that of carrying out its agreed-upon policies.

A most encouraging development was the addition of a number of younger people to the national committee. This reflected the fact that a number of the delegates were high school students or in the first two years of college. For example, two teenagers in New York City became full members of the National Executive Committee, the central working committee of the YSA, and a number of high school students elsewhere in the country became alternates.

To make room for these younger people, some of the leaders who have participated from the beginning in building the YSA retired at this time. These were: Bert Deck, Allen Taplin, Bob Himmel, George Myland, and others. The conference expressed its appreciation for the invaluable contributions these comrades have made.

At the meeting of the newly elected National Committee following the conference, Tim Wohlforth was elected National Chairman of the YSA and Jim Lambrecht National Secretary.

Iowa Socialists Shake Up Long Dead Campus Town

IOWA CITY—Having been in a deep political slumber since the year 1900, the current onslaught of activity at the State University of Iowa has hit this quiet community like a veritable bomb shell. The new found enthusiasm of students from SUI revolves around four major issues.

In view of the usually listless attitude at the University, the student government has had uncontested fraternity domination. This year, however, a vigorous campaign was waged, beginning just one week before elections, around a write-in candidate, member of the newly formed Socialist Discussion Club, Howard Kaplan. Kaplan was not administration approved, therefore his name could not appear on the ballot. The "write-in Kaplan" campaign was waged over the protests of those who felt his candidacy would take votes from the "more liberal" of the two frat boys running for president. The results of the election found the largest turn out at the polls in the history of the institution. Kaplan missed the presidency by a scant 100 votes.

When members of the Socialist Discussion Club scheduled folk singer Pete Seeger to give a concert, the administration, long allowed to exercise full control over student life, flatly said "No." Completely overwhelmed by the student who protested in behalf of the scheduled concert and used such terms as "student strike" in

his protestations, the administration gave in.

Nearly 100 SUI students were involved in picketing Woolworth and Kresge stores in the town recently, led by SDC members Alice and Ron Radosh. The picketers hoped to distribute leaflets to passers-by, but were stopped from doing so by city officials who told them there was an ordinance against it. When Radosh called a local lawyer, he was told: "I did not know there was such an ordinance, but if it keeps down people like you, then I'm glad there is one."

CLUB DISCUSSED

A letter in the Iowa Daily attacking the Socialist Discussion Club by a campus reactionary, Larry Day, received an out-pouring of witty counterattacks by outraged students. One student wrote to the campus press, which is also the Iowa City journal, stating: "I applaud Mr. Day's attempt to rejuvenate McCarthyism. There is a great danger that if we are not careful, intelligent people may get control of this university. Then watch out." Another letter reads: "At the end of Mr. Day's 'attack' he says: 'They (the SDC members) on their own volition, admit favoring Socialist ideas and principles. Knowing this, can you now support them?'"

"In reply to Mr. Day's letter—YES."

Forty-five students signed the letter.

PHILADELPHIA—A gathering of students representing colleges from all over the country met here April 16 to establish the nation-wide committee of Students for Dobbs and Weiss. Feeling it imperative that students not support either of the two capitalist parties, the group agreed to support the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and to mobilize as much campus support for them as possible.

Included among its growing list of sponsors are: Ted Mellor of Trinity College, Pete Silverman of Harpur College in upstate New York, Pete Camejo from Boston University, Roland Shepard from Rutgers, LeRoy McRae from the University of Penn., Myrtle Kastner from the University of Wisconsin extension, at Milwaukee, Jerry Barret and Alice and Ron Radosh of the State University of Iowa, Ted Norton of the University of Washington, Truman O. Price of Oregon State College, Don Rainman from San Francisco City College, and Suzanne Weiss of Los Angeles City College.

The new student group plans to feature the two candidates at



MYRA TANNER WEISS

campus rallies and on college radio stations where possible. In addition, the young Dobbs and Weiss supporters will aid the SWP's campaign to get on the ballot in every state where petitioners are needed. As its first public action, the New York State Students for Dobbs and Weiss is

co-sponsoring a May Day rally at which the two candidates will speak.

The founding of the new student committee marks the first time in many years that the capitalist parties will be challenged by organized young people. This is an especially refreshing development on the campus as it is during the presidential election years when the frat boys and the young men on their way up make themselves the most obnoxious. As they try to blaze their trails into future political careers by acting very much like ward-healers, they will be met this year by a vociferous campaign of students who will have nothing to do with the candidates of the do-nothings.

The Students for Dobbs and Weiss is being coordinated nationally by Nora Roberts, Chairman of the E. V. Debs Club at CCNY. The committee is not being supported financially by any other group. Supporters are urged to send contributions along with the form below to insure an independent student voice in the coming elections.

Southern Students on Leadership . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Q.—Better. We are making new plans. Everyone is very interested in the action.

Q.—Is the Richmond NAACP in charge of all of this?

A.—They have helped us a lot. We have our own group on campus, however. Last February Charles Sherwood (another theology major) and I went to the Liberal Arts students to talk about the Greensboro sit-ins, and that's how it began. We still have our own group—we meet regularly.

Q.—Did you attend the meeting called by Martin Luther King at Shaw University in Raleigh this weekend? (This meeting, held Easter weekend, brought together sit-in students from 143 campuses.)

A.—Yes, I represented VUU. Virginia also had students present from Hampton Institute in Hampton and Virginia State College in Petersburg and Norfolk. Virginius Thornton from Petersburg was our state representative. He led the 11 students jailed there for sitting in at the library.

That night as we drove into Petersburg the radio newscaster announced that "another attempt" had just been made to integrate W. T. Grant's lunch counter in Petersburg. The sit-ins were Peabody High School students under the leadership of Virginia's State College students, and they had forced Grant's to close down "again." It was late, but we decided to visit the College immediately.

I found Virginius Thornton alone in his room at Seward Hall on campus. He is tall and slender, very intelligent, a graduate student in history.

Q.—What happened at the Shaw University meeting in Raleigh?

A.—The Northern papers misunderstood the meeting because prominent figures like King were there. It was a student meeting. There may have been attempts made there in a different direction but this movement is going to retain its independent student identity. We call the shots. We are not going to let this get sold down the river. Not that everyone shouldn't help, of course. If the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wants to help, they

should mobilize the adults. We will continue to mobilize the students. At least that's how things will be in Virginia—in Hampton, Petersburg and Richmond.

Q.—But haven't you joined with the adults here in Rev. Walker's Petersburg Improvement Association?

A.—Rev. Walker is a fine active man. He is chairman of PIA and I am the executive vice-chairman and everyone else on the executive committee is a student, too.

Q.—What do the students here feel now? Are they still actively interested in the sit-ins?

A.—I was worried about that at first—only 11 of us sat in at the library last March. But 700 showed up for our trial. They stood outside in freezing weather for five hours. They packed the courtroom. They swore that they wouldn't be segregated even in the courthouse, but that wasn't tested because the only white people who showed up were the judge and the court officials. We haven't stopped picketing and sitting in since that day. I am no longer worried. All of them think now that the price of freedom is what all of them will have to pay.

Q.—Up North people are saying that the cause of this movement is the Northern student at the Southern Negro colleges. Is that true?

A.—Absolutely not. I am a Southerner, Pinkston and the others are Southerners. In my family it was a rule that you don't back down to segregation. For example, when I was 13 I tried to desegregate my home town library. The librarians held me and phoned my mother. She told them that as far as she was concerned I was in the right and I should stay there until they served me. And they did serve me. I still

check out a book or two when I'm home, to make the point, although everyone can do that now.

Q.—What about the other students? We have heard in the North that their parents were against the sit-ins.

A.—At first some of them don't understand, but after we explain when we're home, or in letters, they see what we're doing and usually they agree.

Q.—One thing more—what's going to happen after school ends in the South this June? Will the movement die down? Northern students are wondering.

A.—We've been talking about it too. It will not end, it will scatter out to a thousand cities and towns where the students live. They will be explaining, educating and acting, and by September this movement will be even bigger than now.

Q.—To a Northerner that sounds pretty optimistic.

A.—Yes. In the South we are all optimistic.

NYC March on Woolworth's . . .

(Continued from Page 3)

the few organizations in the city to make very clear that Woolworth's and those who maintain segregation in the South and North, are the main enemies of all who would defend civil rights. The committee feels that any divisive tactic, such as red-baiting or the imposition of a pacifist or any other policy on those fighting for equal rights, can only aid in the defeat of the movement as a whole, if these tactics are successful. It supports all actions taken by others to aid the civil rights movement.

Fortunately, the success of the New York Youth Committee for Integration in mobilizing the support of students will ensure the continuance of a vital movement in the North in solidarity with the students in the South and for the defeat of racial segregation in the North.

CUBA BOYCOTT

A delegation from the youth committee will visit the Cuban embassy to urge official Cuban support for a boycott of Woolworth's 13 stores on the revolutionary island.

Participants in the New York student group feel there is a need for a continuing movement of students in the North to stamp out segregation wherever it exists.

In New York City, plans are being laid to integrate a neighborhood book store which refuses to sell to Negroes. Swimming pools and other recreational grounds which have discriminatory policies will be attacked as they open in the summer months.

This kind of militant spirit of Northern youth and their desire to continue as a permanent force policing segregated institutions is indicative of a new mood on the college, and especially the high school arena. This is the movement which can begin to roll back the blanket of betrayal spread over the exuberance of the nation's youth time and again by the A. Philip Randolphs, Bayard Rustins (witness the scuttling of the Youth March), liberal, Socialist Party, and Communist Party leaders for the past twenty years.

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