

YSA

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Vol. 11, No. 4
January 1968

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

YSA, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

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THIS IS A PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE Y.S.A.

The Political Resolution of the YSA must attempt to relate our main political tasks to the objective realities which exist in present day capitalist America.

The Political Resolution that the NEC has submitted to the national YSA Convention is a very comprehensive and well thought out document. It has generally fulfilled the main functions of a political resolution, although there exists in it one inadequacy.

The Political Resolution is written within the context of a rapid growth in the size of our movement. In the last two years, the YSA has doubled its membership, and in the last six months the YSA has equaled the net recruitment of the last two years. In general, this recruitment has been on the basis of a minimal level of understanding of our program. Furthermore this recruitment has been from a middle class milieu.

This situation may cause complications in the years to come. Lenin said that "Consciousness is derived from being." The class background of a large section of the YSA may create blocks to their steady political development. For a student to begin assimilating revolutionary socialist ideas and to start the long and essential process of proletarianization, they must begin on an abstract level. Students cannot develop socialist consciousness through empirical experience, like the working class. Students do not experience the every day antagonism between workers and bosses. Students will not have to bear the brunt of the economic contradictions of capitalism. Students in the last analysis can only recognize class struggle and the economic contradictions of capitalism on an intellectual basis.

Our involvement in the antiwar movement and other areas of work primarily serve an educational function. How effective our participation in these movements is, depends largely on the political understanding of our program by the YSAers involved in these movements.

For these reasons, education is fundamental in retaining and developing YSAers.

The following is an amendment to the Political Resolution of the NEC as an addition to its general line of orientation:

THAT THE YSA AFFIRM NATIONALLY THAT ITS ACCELERATED GROWTH HAS BEEN DUE IN PART TO ITS POLICY OF RECRUITING ON THE MOST MINIMAL ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROGRAM. THEREFORE THE YSA MUST MAKE ITS MAIN POLITICAL TASK THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF NEW RECRUITS.

ALSO THAT THE CONVENTION RECOMMEND TO THE NEC THAT IT FORMULATE AN OUTLINE PROCEDURE OF A CANDIDATE PROGRAM FOR LOCAL YSA CHAPTERS WHICH STRESSES EDUCATION AS THE FOREMOST TASK.

Submitted January, 1968

Fernando Guerrero

Roger Filene

THE 1968 SOCIALIST WORKERS ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE YOUNG
SOCIALISTS FOR HALSTEAD AND BOUTELLE

Submitted by Doug Jehness
and Caroline Lund
January 18, 1968

The political resolution drafted by the National Executive Committee presents a general political line for the YSA in the coming year. It outlines our orientation toward the 1968 presidential election and the ways in which the YSA can use the Socialist Workers Party campaign to help build the YSA. As the resolution states: "In the next year the activities of the YSA will be centered around a campaign in support of the 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket, and it is through this campaign that the greatest opportunities for growth in influence and numbers are open to us."

This report will deal specifically with the relationship between the YSA and the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and the experience that we have gained from our campaign activity in the first four months of the presidential campaign. In light of this experience we can better draw conclusions about the perspectives for our campaign work in the months ahead.

Before discussing the specific accomplishments we have already made in our campaign work, we should step back and consider the relationship between our campaign perspectives and our long-run perspectives for the YSA. The goal of the YSA is to build a mass revolutionary socialist youth organization in the United States. Exactly when and how this will take place or even precisely what name it will adopt, we cannot say. It will depend on developments in the objective situation and how we take advantage of every opportunity to advance toward this goal.

The changes that are now occurring in the YSA -- the influx of new members, the birth of new locals, the significant recruitment in areas where we have no locals, the growing circulation of the Young Socialist and our pamphlets, and our influence in the antiwar movement -- point toward the possibility of a revolutionary socialist youth organization much larger than the YSA is today. If the Vietnam war continues to escalate and the youth radicalization continues to grow and deepen, we can move closer to our goal of building a mass revolutionary socialist youth movement. The question for us then, is how to utilize the unprecedented opportunities of the 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign in order to take a big step toward this goal.

The 1968 election campaign provides us with an opportunity to draw together a large number of the radical youth who consider themselves young socialists. Many of these young socialists have never heard about the YSA. Others who have are not yet willing to join. By means of the election campaign, and especially the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle,

we are able to provide an attractive focus of socialist activity for these youth.

The young socialists who come together around support for Halstead and Boutelle, forming campus and high school groups, lay the basis for a nation-wide network of at least minimally organized young socialist groups. As the hundreds of young socialists who were not known to the YSA become active supporters of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign it is possible to draw them closer to the YSA. Systematic communication can be established with them and they can be invited to educational conferences, contact classes, parties and informal discussions. We have been fairly successful in recruiting many individuals leaders and activists of YSHB groups to the YSA. However, if we take advantage of all the opportunities to reach out with the campaign, by November 1968, we will have drawn into YSHB activities a much larger layer of young socialists than we have yet brought into the YSA. We want to make sure that after the election these young socialists are drawn into the revolutionary socialist movement. For instance we may consider initiating a conference to form a new young socialist organization that will include them and the current YSA; or we may simply hunt for ways to draw them into the YSA. It is too early to predict now how many there will be in November, and what exactly we will do. Nonetheless it is very important that we think ahead to the possibilities that the election campaign may open for us.

One of the most important aspects of our activity as Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle is that it gives YSAers an opportunity to project themselves as the young socialists in the United States -- that is, to project the kind of movement we want the YSA to eventually become. As Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle we can conduct ourselves and carry out activities in the way that we would expect a much larger YSA to do. For example, as Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, YSAers and other young socialists can hold public meetings on campuses in order to plan campaign activities. SDS chapters hold open public meetings on campuses to discuss their projects and activities. The young socialists who are campaigning for Halstead and Boutelle can do likewise. It is an opportunity for the YSAers to engage in common activities with radicals outside the YSA and to do so as young socialists.

Although many YSHB groups will not be initiated by YSAers and will not have any YSAers in them, where we have locals and campus fractions, YSAers should initiate YSHB groups for the purpose of conducting campaign activities on their campuses. On campuses where we have YSA members, as well as on campuses with no YSAers, there are young socialists who will support the socialist election campaign but do not want to join the YSA yet. There is no contradiction between the existence of a YSA fraction and a YSHB group on a campus. On the contrary the initiation of and participation in campus YSHB groups by YSAers provides an opportunity to work with a larger layer of socialist youth and recruit them to the YSA.

"Peace and Freedom" Tickets

Last summer when the SWP projected a national election campaign qualitatively different from and more ambitious than any previous campaign, the campaign committee outlined the perspectives for Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle. The plans for the YSHB -- especially the final decision on its name -- were made with the anticipation that there would be various middle-class peace tickets around the country and possibly on a national scale. Perspectives for the campaign were projected before the National Conference for New Politics held its Labor Day Conference in Chicago, and were not predicated on the setback the "third ticket" supporters suffered when that conference failed to come up with a "third ticket." The absence of such a ticket for the past four months has of course been an extra bonus for us -- providing a virtual vacuum on the electoral front into which the SWP campaign was able to move.

If the California Peace and Freedom Party is successful in securing a place on the ballot the proponents of "New Politics" will receive a big boost and we will see intensified efforts in the Spring to put third peace tickets on the ballot in many states. For example, there is an important "New Politics" conference coming up in New York soon where there will be strong pressure to promote a "peace and freedom" ticket.

As the California Peace and Freedom re-registration campaign already proves, thousands of young people -- many of whom would be potential supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign -- will be attracted to and confused by these tickets. However, the novel and politically important feature about the 1968 campaign is not that tens of thousands of antiwar youth will be swept up in capitalist peace politics. That is inherent in the current stage and composition of the radicalization in this country. The new phenomenon that is important for us is that this year there are thousands of young socialists who are now willing to draw the line against pro-capitalist electoral action in the 1968 campaign. As a result of the deepening class struggles on a world scale, especially the colonial revolution, the black revolt in this country, and now even symptoms of discontent and militancy in the labor movement, many of these student youth have radicalized to the point where they want nothing to do with the Democratic and Republican parties, with McCarthy, or with any kind of liberal "third ticket." They are against the capitalist system and many consider themselves socialists or at least are becoming sympathetic to socialism and would rather campaign for a socialist ticket than a "peace and freedom" ticket. They probably support the Cuban revolution, black power, the antiwar movement, and socialism but are not yet members of the YSA.

One of the main factors in calling the youth supporters of Halstead and Boutelle young socialists rather than simply youth or student supporters is that it helps to emphasize the class

difference -- between the Halstead-Boutelle ticket and "peace and freedom" tickets. One of our strongest arguments when we develop it and explain it is: "If you consider yourself a socialist, how can you endorse a candidate who doesn't break from capitalism, especially if he's running against a socialist? We need a break from capitalist politics not a 'reformed' imperialism" Our educational bulletin, Peace Politics vs. Revolutionary Politics: The 1948 Wallace Presidential Campaign, by James P. Cannon, discusses the class criteria for our electoral policy and will be a very important tool to get into the hands of campaign supporters.

In most places in the country the "third ticket" movements will begin to develop steam in a couple of months. This puts an even greater premium on the coming weeks for making as many gains as possible with the Halstead-Boutelle campaign.

The early announcement of candidates for U.S. Senator, Congressman, and state offices becomes especially important under these conditions. Both Cleveland and New York have already announced their slates and California and Philadelphia are planning to do so very soon. The basic decision in determining state slates in this election does not revolve around legal ballot possibilities in a state or some special local issue we want to hit. State candidates are the official spokesmen for the national campaign and have openings to the news media, to speaking engagements, and to honorariums for speeches that non-candidate spokesmen do not have. In addition they draw larger audiences, and are viewed in a different light. Already we have far more requests for speaking engagements in several states than either Fred or Paul can make which underlines the need for additional spokesmen.

On the question of running state slates there is no qualitative difference between running write-in and legal-on-the-ballot campaigns. Even though the candidates for Senator from California, Ohio, or Illinois cannot be on the ballot, they will play a very important role in promoting the national campaign.

Progress of YSHB

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle was initiated by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee last August when the campaign was officially announced. From the beginning the YSHB has had a minimum amount of formal organization. There are no national officers, no steering committee, no separate national office, and no separate finances. While more and more local YSHB's have put out their own letterheads, the national YSHB does not have a letterhead separate from the National Campaign Committee. It is more like a mailing list than an organization. The National Campaign Committee has printed three posters and a brochure for the YSHB to use on campuses and in their activities to help give them an identity.

During the first four months of the campaign, the experiences with YSHB have probably been the most fruitful

aspect of the campaign work. A network of YSHB supporters, activists and groups has been established throughout the country. Of the 560 endorsers of the campaign the overwhelming majority are Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle. They live in 39 states and attend 123 college campuses and 31 high schools-- and the list is growing fast. We know of 17 functioning groups of YSHBers in cities or high schools where we have no YSA locals. For example there are such groups in Albany, New York; Bloomington, Indiana; DeKalb, Illinois; Rohnert Park, Calif.; River Falls, Wisconsin, and so on.

Except for New York we do not yet have a complete list of YSHB groups that exist in cities where we do have YSA locals. The New York City YSHB director is now servicing nine different YSHB groups and there are several more about to be formed. Two of these groups are at high schools. Half of them have no YSAers in them yet.

We have recruited seventeen new at-large members to the YSA since the campaign began -- most of them directly from trailblazing -- and this does not include persons who have joined already existing locals as a result of the campaign. Before the campaign began we rarely had more than 4 or 5 at-large members at any one time. Socialist educational classes have been set up on four campuses in New York where there are YSHBers who are interested in the YSA, and other locals are doing the same.

It is already evident that it is possible to obtain campaign support from members of SDS. SDS members at 21 different campuses have endorsed the campaign and there are a considerable number of places where SDS has sponsored meetings for Fred and Paul. Representatives from the Twin Cities YSHB intervened at a state-wide SDS conference in Iowa where they made a number of contacts for the campaign.

Trailblazing

One of the most important and successful activities of the YSHB has been the trailblazing teams that have visited campuses and high schools distributing socialist campaign literature, signing up new endorsers, organizing meetings for the candidates, helping to form new YSHB groups, and obtaining electors. By reaching hundreds of new areas these trailblazing teams are helping to make the election campaign a genuine national campaign.

The most successful experience so far is in New York where 43 different campuses were visited in Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, up-state New York and New York City. On every campus that the trailblazers visited they found at least one person who was interested in the campaign and on the overwhelming majority of campuses there were students interested in setting up meetings for the candidates.

The trailblazers, all over the country are discovering groups of students who already support the campaign and want to know what to do. For example after trailblazers from Chicago visited Northern Illinois University in Dekalb, they reported that: "There are probably close to two dozen people on or around the campus who already support the campaign although getting an exact count was impossible ... At the Saturday night meeting, it became evident that we were not needed to convince them to support the campaign -- they had already come quite of their own accord to the conclusion to do that, and our main work was in discussing the types of things they will be doing, such as organizing debates with Young Democrats, leafletting and distributing campaign literature, organizing interventions into the appearances of candidates and hacks of the two capitalist parties, and building an impressive turnout for Halstead's appearance (they had assumed he would speak there)..."

One of the most fruitful trailblazing trips was the Southern trip organized by the National Campaign Committee. Two comrades visited fifteen campuses in Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Alabama, Florida, and Kentucky, obtained endorsements on every campus and recruited our first Texas at-large members in Houston. They found that the student radicalization is having a deep impact on both black and white campuses in the South and that the virtual absence of our political opponents on most of these campuses make this area potentially very fruitful for the YSA.

In addition to the trailblazes, the response to the speaking tours of both Fred and Paul is an indication of the potentialities of the YSHB. Paul's speaking tour of the South was the first of its kind by a radical organization in almost 20 years. The large size of turnouts for the meetings on both black campuses and predominately white campuses were unprecedented for an SWP election campaign. For example, Paul spoke to 600 students at Oklahoma University, 350 at Louisiana State University, 300 at Georgia State College in Atlanta, 250 black students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, 1000 black students at Virginia State College, Norfolk Division, 250 black students at Morehouse College in Atlanta, and 150 black students at Tougaloo College in Mississippi.

As a result of these meetings, a large number of names were obtained, endorsers signed up, literature sold and distributed, and the basis laid for carrying the election campaign to the South. On campuses like Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, and Oklahoma University in Norman, free speech fights attracted particular attention to Paul's meetings.

The largest meeting to which Fred has spoken so far was 250 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. However, meetings at university extensions in Eau Claire and River Falls, Wisconsin drew audiences of 175 and 125. . . . At both Eau Claire and River Falls there are now small groups of active campaign supporters.

Besides the tours and trailblazing teams, the excellent response to the campaign from students is evident in the volume and character of the inquiries that the National Campaign Committee receives. There have been letters from people who want to join the "young socialists" or the "young socialist movement." These letters, along with the tours and trailblazing teams, confirm the existence of a large layer of radical youth who consider themselves young socialists and want to become part of a young socialist movement. Many of them look at the YSHB as a young socialist movement and it is, of course, this image that we ourselves want to project for the YSHB.

As a result of four months of experience and experimentation there are a number of activities and projects that various YSHB groups have come up with. These include (a) systematic door-to-door visits in college dormitories, (b) regular YSHB literature tables, (c) paste-ups with stickers and posters, (d) campus and high school street meetings, (e) sponsoring and organizing meetings for candidates, (f) writing articles for and placing ads in local and student newspapers, and (g) parties, film showing, and other money raising projects.

In addition to these projects, YSHB groups can organize debates with McCarthy supporters and intervene at pro-McCarthy meetings and conferences with campaign literature. The National Campaign Committee office has issued a McCarthy "truth kit" with information that can be used in leaflets, speeches, and discussions by YSHB "truth squads." At the University of New Hampshire, a trailblazing team from Boston found an excellent response from students when they put up a literature table at a meeting where McCarthy spoke.

Another project is a national "presidential primary" to be held April 24 on campuses across the country. Called "Choice 68" and financed by Time magazine, it is basically a campus presidential preference poll. The Socialist Workers Party has asked that its ticket appear on the ballot. If this request is granted, the YSHB can organize a big propaganda campaign around this campus vote. If the Halstead-Boutelle ticket is refused a place on the ballot a write-in campaign will be organized.

The YSHB also considers participation in the antiwar movement as a central part of its activity. YSHB literature tables carry antiwar literature and YSHB trailblazers this Spring will help to build the Spring antiwar activities.

Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle

As with the Young Socialist for Halstead and Boutelle a modest network of Afro-American supporters of the campaign is emerging. There are now 94 Afro-American endorsers of the campaign and many of them are students. Besides these endorsers a number of black student organizations have sponsored meetings for Paul or have expressed interest in doing so.

There are four black student organizations at four different campuses in New York City which have expressed interest in working on the campaign and one of them SIMBA, organized a meeting for Paul at Bronx Community College. Contact with them was made during a citywide trailblaze. At Morgan State College a black school, in Baltimore, a meeting of 50 was recently held where a comrade from Washington D.C., spoke as a representative of the Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle. We can use the campaign to get in touch with literally hundreds of these organizations. It is one of our central responsibilities to systematically keep in touch with these groups and individuals, project activities for them, and attempt to draw them closer to the YSA.

Young Socialist

The principal organ of the SWP election campaign is the Militant. It will serve as the primary educator and news source about the campaign. The National Campaign Committee has arranged with the Militant business office to send to every single person who expresses any interest in the campaign a sample copy of the Militant and it is very important that all of these people be followed-up for subscriptions.

The Socialist Workers Campaigner will serve as an organizing tool for campaign directors, YSHB organizers, and other campaign activists. By providing organizing hints, tour schedules, listings of new publications, and other information that persons organizing campaign activities need to know, we can use the Campaigner to help include active campaign supporters who are not members of the YSA in the organization of the campaign. The Young Socialist is beginning to, and will even more reflect the activities of the YSHBers. We will solicit reports, letters, etc. from active youth supporters of the campaign so that the YS can over time and not in an artificial manner be the magazine of all the young socialists in the United States. Every person expressing interest in the campaign also receives a sample copy of the Young Socialist along with a letter requesting them to subscribe.

The non-YSA YSHB organizers are included in mailings about the YS and are urged to receive bundles of the YS. We are also including their names in the "Meet Young Socialists in Your Area" section of the YS. YSHB activities and YS sub drives can become inter-connected. For example, subscriptions can be sold with the price of admission at YSHB parties, at YSHB literature tables, during dorm canvassing expeditions, on trailblazing trips, etc.

Perspectives for the YSHB

The coming ten months offers us an opportunity to intensify our penetration of new campuses. To form new supporter groups,

to obtain more endorsements, and to systematically follow-up the contacts made through the campaign.

At this point setting up a more formal YSHB structure with officers would limit rather than encourage the possibilities of involving these socialist youth in campaign activities. Depending on the extent of developing YSHB forces outside of the YSA, we will have to judge the best time to call regional or national conferences of the YSHB.

What is important now is that YSA locals not look at themselves simply as "locals." They are all in reality regional centers for the campaign. As regional centers they are responsible for reaching all the campuses and high schools in their area, systematically following up all inquiries, and servicing all the YSHB groups in their areas. The New York local for example, has already begun functioning in this capacity and the New York YSHB director is in essence a regional YSHB director. Even the smallest locals can act as such centers. The Atlanta local, for example, has scheduled trailblazing on campuses in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida.

Corollary to the concept of acting as regional centers is the need for regular trailblazing and field organizing trips. During the election campaign trailblazing is a regular and normal activity of all locals, not a special and occasional event. In order to make this possible it is necessary to plan ahead and organize trailblazing teams far enough in advance in order to avoid any serious disruptions of local functioning.

There are ten months left during the election campaign. It is a ten month period in which quite realistically, the YSA has many more opportunities for growth in numbers and influence than in any other ten months in its history. Every week that passes ticks off some opportunities that if not grasped will disappear. If we approach the next ten months with a campaigning spirit that is based on a political understanding by all comrades of the opportunities we will maximize these opportunities.

January 18, 1968

OUR HIGH SCHOOL SITUATION

Submitted by Dave Comeau
January 19, 1968

A deepening radicalization is taking place in the high schools today, and there is a greater potential for recruiting high school students to the YSA than ever before. Our high school fraction has grown rapidly in the last year and is now four times larger than at the last convention. This is despite a high turnover rate (graduation, etc.); all but one of the current fraction has been recruited since the last convention.

The importance of this development for the YSA is immense because it now poses the concrete opportunity of making the YSA a youth movement.

The high school antiwar movement has developed to the point where high schoolers are becoming more actively involved in antiwar activities and fighting for student rights. Committees of antiwar high schoolers have popped up in numerous places in the past two years, even though some of them may also have faded out. There are organized groups in and out of the high schools. The largest of these (on a national scale) is the High School Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, with supporters in more than 35 states. The HSSMC has contacts and supporters in over 135 schools in the New York area, and in over 20 high schools in the Detroit area.

High school students are rebelling in many high schools throughout the country. In Philadelphia cops attacked a march of black high school students when thousands of them rebelled against the school board's refusal to teach Afro-American history in the high schools. In Detroit the High School Mobilization Committee called for a demonstration at a high school; it was called off for various reasons, but the Tactical Patrol Force showed up with a few dozen cops. In Madison there is a group of high school students who call themselves the Madison Guerrilla Theater. In New York there is a group of high schoolers at Taft High School who call themselves Youth Against Capitalism. Unknown to us they supported the Judy White campaign in 1966 and are now actively supporting Halstead and Boutelle. An April 8, 1967, high school demonstration in New York brought out 500 high schoolers for a demonstration to build April 15. There were thousands of high school students in Washington for October 21. During the December 4-8 Stop the Draft Week in New York many people were arrested, including numerous high school students.

This is just a sampling, but a very impressive one, of the growing militancy of high school students. There are thousands of openly radical high school students and ten's of thousands who are passive. Yet there are millions of high school students in

the United States. On campus, radicals are a minority, but in high schools they are a mini-minority.

In most American schools, the students in the high schools are divided into two political categories, the political teenagers both rightist and leftist, and the apolitical teenagers known as "everyday all-American football hero, rock'n roll type teenagers."

The apolitical students are not all alike. Most are from middle class families with parents who buy them everything from drums to friends. They lack knowledge in current political developments throughout the world and especially in other parts of the world. They either have no opinions or neglect to express them. They don't realize that what they are taught in school is mostly wrong, because the other side is not presented to them and they don't bother looking for it. Most of them would reject it even if it was presented to them. They are taught to abide by the status quo and like their parents they accept it.

The other apolitical type comes from a lower middle class or working class background. The black high schoolers fall into this category although they tend to be more serious and potentially political than their white counterparts.

The lower middle and working class students are the ones usually put in "special classes" and taught what the other students were taught in seventh grade. It is a vicious circle, where they are constantly taught on a lower level than more affluent students. Thus they find themselves lost in the world around them. They drop out, can't get a job, and move around the country or stay in the ghetto. Then, the students "with education" are the ones allowed into the colleges and the good paying jobs.

The political students are divided into two categories, which are sub-divided: the right wing extremists and the rightwingers, and the left wing politicals. "New Left" types make up the majority of the politicals in the colleges and universities, and the rightwingers are the majority (within the political minority) in the high schools. In the higher educational bracket, the students are exposed to world realities and a somewhat broader view of history and politics. The opposite is true in the high schools. This explains, partly, why the majority of the high school politicals are rightwingers.

The left wing political is not very common in high school. There are the dedicated revolutionary politicals in high school, whose numbers are very small. Then there is the "New Left" political who merely studies his politics and often get very mixed up and is easily fooled or put down by the teachers and his fellow students. There is the "New Left" political who studies his politics like the former, but is active in the

antiwar movement, the student power and free speech movement, and parts of high school SDS.

The revolutionary is quite different from any other student in high school. The revolutionary is the most political. There are not many of them in the United States. They tend to know their politics better than the "New Lefts," and can usually argue and win. They are prisoners within a prison -- the high school being that prison within, and age, parents and the system being the prison. Many things are against them; the students, the teachers, parents and the system as a whole. The teachers bait them and generally make things tough for them because the revolutionaries often contradict the teachers. The teachers get aggravated every time radicals stand up and give their views on something. Revolutionary high school students are usually in the leadership of all the protest movements. They don't always start them but usually carry them through.

The revolutionary high school students tend to find school very uninteresting, but bear with it for the revolution. They find it uninteresting because school studies generally contradict what they believe in. They are forced to do things they don't believe in, like saluting the American flag while saying: "and God bless America too." They are under great pressure from fellow students. The rumor usually spreads (the teachers often being the source) that there is a "communist" in school. Their parents often crack down, restricting travel and/or activities. A lack of money can often do this too. They are subject to alienation and being beaten down (both physically and mentally) by all of those things, and if not strong, may become demoralized and reject politics.

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." The high school student's ability to do the duties of a revolutionary is very limited. But he can (and must) learn. He needs a lot of education, but we cannot expect as much out of him. He first has to jump over his parents, and the school administration. He has to work to earn his money to travel, and then, he has to do his homework.

Only the example that we set as revolutionary socialists will convince high schoolers to join the YSA. Only by participating wherever students are struggling and only by showing them how to get the maximum out of whatever legitimate struggle they are in, will we be able to recruit high schoolers in any significant numbers to the YSA. Those struggles which will get the most mileage will be those which pose the world problems of our time and which cannot be solved within the confines of the school. In this respect Vietnam is the most important issue in the high school at this time. No other issue affects students as much as the possibility of dying in an imperialist war. Focused around this overall issue our activities can draw around us the most serious politicals in high school.

SDS and the DuBois Clubs have, are, and will probably continue to recruit high school students. They take this very seriously. The DuBois Club has a large "High School Division" in New York. In a letter from Maxine Orris, member of the "High School Division" and a DuBois Club National Executive Committee member, she said, "I know of high school DBC's in New York, New Jersey, Oakland, Salt Lake City and New Haven. These clubs are small and involve only a couple of schools." They do have a large division in New York, but fairly inactive. Their largest group (Bronx High School of Science) recently fell apart with only a few members left. However, we shouldn't laugh them off. They are recruiting.

The thing we should watch out for, and the reason we should talk to them, is that when they recruit a serious political high schooler and try to "educate" that person, he or she may come to realize that the DBC has the wrong position on just about everything and that it is not a serious political revolutionary youth organization, like it pretends to be. These students are the ones we will recruit.

SDS is another problem. They take a very serious look at high school students. They take these high school students and channel their energies into worthless projects. They scare some high school students, yet recruit some with their name alone. They are trying to build a high school movement around SDS nationally, bypassing the high school antiwar movement. However, in New York, SDS's largest high school group dropped out of SDS completely, as a group, and now calls itself the Canarsie High School Student Mobilization Committee.

SDS called for a high school conference here in New York on January 6, 1968, 250 students showed up. During the course of discussion, the students were split over the question of organizing. The majority were for the position of the High School Student Mobilization Committee -- organizing around the war. Others were for SDS's position of organizing around almost any issue but the war. SDS was trying to get the students organized into a group around SDS. The issue they presented was to abolish the Regents in New York State. They totally failed in this attempt; students left with the bad taste of SDS in their mouth, and about 100 of them joined the High School Mobilization Committee. The conference was mostly run by non-high school SDSers.

By being the hardest workers and the most honest politicals in the committees in which we work we can win the respect and the membership of the most serious people. Our influence will be that much greater if the participation of high schoolers is considered as just the first step towards participation of high schoolers in the antiwar movement as a whole.

Non-high school YSA comrades should treat high school contacts in a very friendly and open manner, being very careful

to let the high schoolers do a lot of talking. Many problems can be worked out successfully if comrades remember that the political levels of the contacts will almost always be low, and thinking out loud is an important aspect of the development of high schoolers. Since most adults treat high schoolers as "inferior" it is up to the YSA to combat this form of chauvinism, which is very relevant to the general integration of high schoolers into the YSA and to their initial recruitment. The lower the level of the contact or recruit, the more carefully the problem will have to be approached.

High schoolers are among many who occupy a degrading position in this society. They tend to judge politicals by their openness and their ability to treat them as politicals and not as high schoolers. They don't mind being talked to, but they do mind being talked down to. The YSA membership has the best situation of any radical youth organization in the country because it can discuss and overcome problems like this.

Holding classes for high school students tends to work well. They feel freer in a discussion among their friends and peers.

It should be remembered that high school work is as important as any other kind of work we are involved in, and that there is nothing degrading about doing high school work, whether you are in high school or not. High school YSAers are doing political work which should be treated as vital and important.

Once a high schooler is recruited he or she should be given assignments dealing with general YSA work. High school YSAers should be involved in all phases of YSA work so that they can be integrated into the local more easily. Talking to them a lot, acquainting them with the non-high school comrades, etc., is important in integrating high schoolers.

In the coming year our work should center around two main issues: the antiwar movement and the 1968 election campaign.

The High School Student Mobilization Committee was formed around April 15 and became a national group out of the May 1967 Student Mobilization Committee conference in Chicago.

Its largest base is in New York, which functions as a national center. The New York group has contacts in over 135 schools. When YSA high school students began to participate in this group there were contacts in 50 schools, but the committee was inactive and falling apart. It now publishes regularly the High School Mobilizer, is financially solvent and for the first time financially independent of the SMC. It is working on many projects, and is recognized as one of the major high school antiwar groups in the country. There are also groups on the West Coast, in Chicago, central Arizona, Detroit and Minneapolis. There are contacts in more than 35 states.

Our work on the 1968 Socialist Workers Party election campaign ties in closely with our work in High School Mobilization. The campaign has high school endorsers in over 30 high schools in 16 cities in 9 states.

To show how it ties in, at the high school SMC conference over the Thanksgiving '67 weekend, we got over 12 endorsers, 15 names on the mailing list for Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, and three high school students joined the YSA. The campaign is a very good way to draw high school students around our ideas more, and there are groups of YSHB forming in high schools now.

We should continue in our work in the high school student mobilization committees, only on an increased level. We must make it a stronger, more determined section of the antiwar movement and use the '68 election campaign, Halstead-Boutelle, McCarthy, and Johnson to explain our ideas and win many more recruits to the YSA.

We joke a lot about making the YSA all high school students, but it is no joke! Granted there are millions of college students in the U.S. and thousands recruitable, but there may be twice as many high school students, and many of them are recruitable too. We should remember that to build a high school YSA we need high school students, and older comrades must consciously work to recruit high school students. Of our present high school membership, most of us are graduating this year. The entire New York high school fraction is graduating this year!

Other groups from Women Strike for Peace, to SDS, to the CP are continually reaching for high school students with their grasping eagle claws and their bulging eagle eyes. We must always be conscious of talking to high schoolers and high school members of opponent organizations, and recruiting them.

January 19, 1968