Near Eastern Communist Woman on Tour for SYL

No to the Veil!

Fatima Khalil Will Not Be Silenced!

There are lots of people who get very upset because we have told the truth on Iran. Howls of protest went up when the international Spartacist tendency said that the victory of Khomeini and his mullahs over the bloody shah would be no victory for the Iranian working people. Everyone from the Iranian Muslim students to the Maoists to supposed Trotskyists was driven into a frenzy by our slogan “Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!” It was singled out in January by Khomeini’s right-hand man, Ibrahim Yazdi, in a British radio interview as the real communist slogan. Yazdi wasn’t kidding when he said “even for the overthrow of the shah we will not cooperate with the Communists”—today he commands the squads of clerical reactionaries who attack leftist meetings in Teheran.

“Long Live Khomeini,” the Muslim fanatics chant as they bomb and strafe Iran’s embattled national minorities. “Long Live Khomeini” rings throughout the streets of Teheran as Islamic marshals arrest and imprison the left-wing Fedayeem guerillas. “Long Live Khomeini” accompanies the rocks, gun blasts and knife assaults on women demonstrators demanding their rights. And throughout the last year “Long Live Khomeini” has been the chant as mullah lovers in the U.S. have pounded on the doors of our forums, screamed at our speakers and spit, clawed and charged at our comrades. But these people forgot one thing—the mullahs don’t hold state power in America.

What the left opportunists don’t want to hear and what the Muslim fanatics want to suppress is what we said from the very start: Khomeini’s reign means a return to the social mores of the 7th century, the continued vicious repression of women and the same Persian chauvinism that oppresses Iran’s national minorities no less than under the shah. Five times in the last six months the Organization of Iranian Muslim Students (OIMS) and their Maoist semi-dupes in the various wings of the Iranian Student Association have tried to break up meetings sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (twice in Chicago, and in Madison, East Lansing and Ann Arbor). The idiot OIMS has even turned to the cops—the American friends of the shah’s murderous SAVAK—in their frenzied efforts to stop the SL/SYL.

But not only have we not been intimidated by these Islamic thugs attempting to imitate their brethren in Teheran, but we have effectively defended our forums, quickly removed disrupters and utterly defeated a cowardly attempt to drive us off the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) campus. In the last months we have in fact redoubled our efforts to bring a revolutionary program for Iran to as wide an audience as possible.

Mullah Thugs Put in Their Place

In March when Islamic marshals were firing upon women marching in the streets of Teheran, the SYL sponsored a tour entitled “No to the Veil!” by D.L. Reissner, editor of the unique Marxist journal on the woman question, Women and Revolution. Currently the SL/SYL is conducting a tour by a Near Eastern communist woman of Muslim origin, Fatima Khalil. Drawing on her experiences as a student activist and trade-unionist organizer, Fatima Khalil’s forums in cities across the country have been getting the message out: only workers revolution can defeat Islamic reaction.

It has been at Ann Arbor that the biggest confrontations have taken place, and true to form the April 5 forum by D.L. Reissner saw the Muslim fanatics at it again. Some 60 to 70 OIMS students showed up and immediately tried to block the hallway, preventing others from entering. They refused to be frisked for weapons and then called the campus cops. Once the police had left they threatened to push their way into the meeting room, but order was maintained by a defense guard of several dozen trade unionists and SL/SYL supporters.

As soon as Reissner began her talk one Koran-waving thug began heckling—and was escorted out. Thirty other hoodlums then approached the speakers’ podium, but the defense marshals subdued this lot and tossed them out. The 40 remaining mullah lovers decided to be well behaved until one of them could no longer bear to listen to our defense of women’s rights. He began to abuse the speaker with taunts of “Islamic sister!” The veil is a symbol of women’s oppression under Islam and an instrument of that control.

“Fatima says if you show your finger to a strange man, you have to cut it off. Because it doesn’t belong to your husband any more, therefore, it doesn’t belong to you. It is no accident that when Khomeini first took power he immediately outlawed abortion and imposed the chador. What he is trying to do is control the masses under the ‘Islamic state’. The veil is a symbol of women’s oppression under Islam and an instrument of that control.”

The trade-unionist organizer, Fatima Khalil’s forums in cities across the country have been getting the message out: only workers revolution can defeat Islamic reaction.

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continued on page 10
The Fight to Consolidate the Santa Cruz Organizing Committee

SYL Wins; Young Chicano Militants

Santa Cruz, California: rolling hills, the glorious Pacific, sun-drenched beaches—and the unlikely scene of the Stryker crew. The most significant event of the past year, the huge and symbolic split within the University of California (UCSC) SYL has won to Transition! For the SYL/UCSC MECHA chapter, and organizers of mass sit-ins for divestment and of anti- nuclear demonstrations. The recent SYL National Conference enthusiastically welcomed these new comrades, most of whom are Chicano students.

The recruitment and consolidation of these comrades wasn't easy. It took a series of hard political battles to win them to the SYL and then a flight within the organization itself to separate out those who were in fact committed to proletarian revolution from those who were primarily interested in pursuing a petty-bourgeois career.

The story begins in the fall of 1977 when a group of young Chicanos split from MECHA, disaggregated with its right-wing, nationalist politics that placed Chicano, black and Asian students against each other in competition for shrinking university services. On some basic level these comrades had come to understand that the road forward for Chicanos was through a racially inte grated, working-class struggle against capitalism.

During the great miners strike of 1978 which electrified the U.S. working class, these comrades organized a number of-page articles at the UCSC demanding "Victory to the Miners National Strike." These new SYL comrades called up the Spartacist League/SYL for help in preparing a leaflet—which they had been unable to produce. This bold, hard-fighting strike to the spring and summer of the SYL interest in debating and discussing these comrades, centered on our inter ventions into an informal, politically and the larger organizing of Chicano students interested in setting up a "non-sectarian community action organization." These comrades discovered that even the parochial world of Santa Cruz was not development: a youth movement turned into a series of debates between the fairly-Trotskystical Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the SYL.

Polenikes within the left—which in these relatively quiet times can often seem scarce and irrelevant to people just coming to revolutionary politics—came alive and concrete for the comrades aimed at overcoming the effects of special oppression in bour geoisie society which tend to make them feel more power and less sure of themselves than men. We are proud that there is relative sexual parity in our leading bodies. The ex-MECHA women comrades recognized that they had a realfuture in the SYL and could develop as revolutionaries. When MECHA women told the tended to stand with the party as opposed to the careerist-oriented men who could more easily build a comfortable petty-bourgeois life.

Crespi's escalating hostility to the SYL led him so far as to abuse a young black student. The "macho causas" trait was still apparent to retain their personal loyalty to Crespi despite the fact that he had been rapidly moving away politically. The OC was facing a de facto split—but on clechn, not programmatic terms. In the context of the Recruiting situation and to lay the basis for a "political fight that could educate the new comrades, a motion was introduced into an OC meeting: "By his own admission, the SYL has be come politically and organizationally hostile to the party and his deeds verify this position clearly: the comrades had to choose between the program of the SYL and clique collaboration with the dilettante director. Still refusing to openly express any political differences several "macho causas" members re signed at the meeting or shortly thereafter.

The split did not affect the new and young OC of a layer of dilettante, careerist types. In subsequent months the OC has consoli dated and aggressively championed revolutionary Marxism in a town known as a watering-hole for California's hip, affluent, back-to-nature crowd.

The SYL has been the only campus organization to rally support for the United Farmworkers strike, and our continued exercising of an eyewitness account of the rank-and-file's militant battles for the blood of the U.S. army to "defend" busing in Boston, its capitulation to feminism and its dereliction of duty to the oppressed. The study group recognized that they had a realfuture in the SYL and could develop as revolutionaries. When MECHA women told the comrades had to choose between the program of the SYL and clique collaboration with the dilettante director. Still refusing to openly express any political differences several "macho causas" members resigned at the meeting or shortly thereafter.

The impact of the SYL's recruitment has been underlined by the actions of our opponents. The right-wing social democratic New American Movement has tried to frighten away students from its public classes while the Communist Party has threatened to physically assault Chicana SYLers if they attempt to speak at public CP meetings. But the young comrades of the Santa Cruz OC are used to their own self-sufficiency and a powerful confirmation of the SYL's ability to recruit, educate and train a new generation of revolutionary militants.
"We go forward" was the theme of the Sixth National Conference of the Socialist Youth League held last month in Chicago. The 160 delegates and observers from the SYL and Spartan League endorsed the SYL's vital role as the recruiting and training ground for the future cadres of American bolshevism.

The Conference kicked off an aggressive drive to win new recruits to Trotskyism. The weekend's activities featured an opening educational by SL national chairman James Robertson and a discussion by the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the former Debs Caucus of the Socialist Party (see "How SP's Debs Caucus Was Won to Trotskyism," Workers Vanguard No. 225, February).

The main political report by SL national secretary Mary Jo McAllister focused on the history of Spartacist youth organizations and the recent "fight" against a thin layer of petty-bourgeois dilettantes (dubbed the "clones") within the youth organization and its leadership. Following the youth Conference, the Midwest-centered SYL trade-union conference and a financial commission were also held.

The SYL Conference opened with greetings from Canadian, German, French and British comrades, who noted that the SYL's experience in campus fraction work and exemplary agitation campaigns is a valuable resource of our international tendency.

"We Are in a Position to Grow"

While most of our political opponents—hollowly proclaiming an ever-deepening radicalization—experienced demoralization and stagnation, the SYL/SYL is registering modest growth. Yet we soberly assessed the present period as one of relative class quiescence and rightward drift on the campuses since the more socially turbulent years of the antwar and New Left movements. We can now project rapidly growing for our organization; our optimism is based not on successes for the international working class but on not making the lessons of defeats—Stalinism's fratricidal wars in Asia, which left another bloody legacy for proletarian solidarity against imperialism, and the rise of the Islamic fundamentalism—foretelling the prospect that from the all-sided popular discontent which swept the bloody spring of 1968 an independent mobilization of the working masses toward proletarian power would emerge. Comrade Robertson's presentation set the recent history of the youth organization in the context of these developments which sharply highlight the distinctiveness and power of our Trotskyist program (see article this issue).

Ten years ago the SL warned of the danger of a U.S./China alliance against the USSR. That alliance, toasted by the Western press and the Stalinist bureaucracies whose nationalistic conflicts embolden American imperialism's "human rights" rearmament drive against the USSR. Virtually alone on the left, we stood guardedly for our own workers state and its "own bourgeoisie.

The Socialist slogan "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullah!" scandalized our opponents who proscribed themselves to the Muslim opposition in Iran, bowing so low to Khomeini that it touted the veil worn as a chador as a "symbol of resistance." Our proletarian opposition to the imperialist reaction was said comrade Robertson, the "all-purpose united front." Women, national minorities, trade unionists, even any self-respecting bourgeois democrat—under the mullah's rule "everyone's ox is gored." The secular U.S. working class is certainly oppressed with an Iranian regime which flogs unmarried couples and alcohol drinkers and recognizes legal separation between church and state than existed under the Spanish Inquisition. While the fake "lefts" who tail-everything that moves are brushing up on Koranic law, the SL/SYL is sponsoring a widely successful public tour by Fatima Khalil, a communist woman of Muslim origin on "No to the Veil—For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction!" (see front page article).

The power of our program is illustrated by the recruitment of young comrades from the Chicano and divergent milieu at Santa Cruz (see page this issue) and the fusion with the comrades of the ex-Debs Caucus of the Socialist Party/USA. Both these groupings consciously rejected the nationalist, social democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in consolidating around the SL/SYL. Meanwhile the American Maoists have disintegrated (see Guardian, the RWP of Mickey Latin, gone mad (Bob Avakian's RCP) or crushed headlong into the arms of U.S. imperialism (Mike Kelvy's RCP). The SL/SYL emerges with increasing attractiveness as the alternative to SWP's Stalinism and Maoist bankruptcy. The task is to translate this political capital into new recruits to Trotskyism.

The "Cloned Youth"

The Conference resolution (excerpted in this issue) represents a contribution to party history in much the same vein as the SL's Marxist Bulletin series which chronicled the formative fights of our precursor, the Revolutionary Tendency, within the SWP. But unlike this struggle or the faction fights which have shaped the SL, the fight against the "cloned youth" was one-sided, waged by the organization against the "clones" within the youth organization of the values and worldview of a revolutionary proletarian party. Confronted with Trotsky's classic prescription for such a petty-bourgeois layer—"into the factory to dilute their egotism with social experience—the "clones" did not fight, most of them quit.

Contest largely around the youth press, the "clones" had begun to cultivate a sterile, literary conception of politics as elegant point-scoring divorcement from the struggle for power. The petty-bourgeois values of this layer, reflecting the "mental vs. manual" arrogance and male chauvinism of the academic milieu exerted a disproportionate influence on the youth organization as the SL's policy of industrialization—began systematically in 1971—tended to deprive of many of our most promising youth recruits of a chance to play active, leading roles in the youth organization. Alienated from the party leadership and increasingly hostile to Leninist norms of recruitment, the "clones" sought to establish a qualification between "in" and "out" and "apparatchik"—particularly insidiously between male and female. Left unchecked, they could have eroded the organization's long-standing commitment to "affirmative action"—that is, if the revolutionary party is not to replicate within itself bourgeois society's suppression of the potential of women, the development of women cadres cannot be left to chance.

For many of the newer comrades, the "cloned youth" fight was their first serious experience of internal political struggle. Comrade Robertson's keynote presentation set the fight in historical perspective as utterly trivial compared with the "hard fights that lie ahead." When asked "Do you want to die or go to work?" the "clones" chose political death; most simply resigned, while a few of the quitters spit on the floor on the way out, most acknowledged their long-standing ambivalence over petty-bourgeois career aspirations vs. the life of a professional revolutionist.

The Boston SYL organizer explained: "The 'clones' had a horrid conception of development of leaders; they did not understand that you have to earn authority—it's not something that's given to you by birthright... What the fight brought out was the importance of experience in shaping cadre... The 'clones' wanted to run a vertical cult operation but as Leninists we understand that you have to draw on the various strengths of all the comrades.

Several speakers stressed the importance of the women's question in Iran and the need to aggressively expose the capitulation of the U.S. left: "we should go on a jihad against these creeps," said one comrade. The publicity which the Fatima Khalil tour has already received in the bourgeois and campus press is an index of the impact our principle line on Iran has in this country.

The Conference concluded with the election of a new National Committee. Demonstrating the maturing of the SYL, the nominees for National Committee were youth leaders who have real influence in the party councils of their locals and nationally. Three SYL representatives to the party Central Committee were also elected. Such an SYL component in the party leadership is critical to Leninist youth party leadership, codified in the formula "organizational independence and control..." on page 11.

MAY 1979

Iran, China/Vietnam: SL Program Stands Out

"Let's Go Out and Recruit a Couple Hundred More Members!"

At an introductory session preceding the Spartacus Youth League National Conference, Spartanter League national chairman Jerome Robertson posed the possibility for a qualitative expansion of the SL/SYL on the basis of the historical verification of key elements of our distinctive political line by the current events in Iran and the China/Vietnam war. Speaking before about one third of the forces of revolutionary Trotskyism in North America, comrades Robertson retrenched in broad outlines the history of our tendency and the developments which underlay the present opportunity for an "historically controlled breakthrough."

The Spartacist League's organizational predecessor was the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) formed within the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in opposition to the leadership's uncritical adaptation to Leninism of the early Communist Party of the USSR. The wave of recruitment, regroupment and industrialization which began in 1971 evoked the symmetric opposition impulse, embodied in the Cumnings/Morey layer, who clung to the comforts of a literary, study-circle existence and resisted efforts to move beyond a "submarginal, subcapital, subpropaganda group."
The SL's work in the antiwar movement, despite the potential power all our unique central agitational thrust for political labor strikes against the war, bore little visible fruit until after it was over: we lacked the social weight to implement our line in even an exemplary fashion. I literally myself saw thousands and thousands of young militants give a communist clenched fist gesture which we said, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" It caught the moment. But we didn't catch the moment. The last major boost in growth came with the regroupment in 1971-73 with a series of workerist/feminist and Maoist collective and popular campaigns, and was closely associated with the 1970 national postal strike which successfully challenged the old labor laws against the government, and ushered in a period of pervasive workerism on the left.

The weight of US socialism in the world has continued to decline since the 1971 devaluation of the dollar, and the resulting inflation grinds down, not only the American workers, but on our party as well. Only the government, with its progressive income tax, gets an ever-greater slice of real wages. The No-Nuke Syndrome

The speaker commented on the wave of petty-bourgeois ecological moralizing and its class hypocrisy: "You have oil spills in San Francisco harbor while you're bringing in the oil to run the fossil fuel electrical plants. So they get as many students as they can get and they go out and kid of them off, and they drive them. There, you understand."
"So they tell us we can't have fossil fuel; we can't have nuclear plants—which should not be built up in populated centers, and should not be in the hands of the maniacs that run them; and there's not enough hydroelectric; and solar energy is not well-developed. So therefore, if it is not true and the twain are concrete and practical, the proposal is to turn off electric power in America. New York has now twice experienced ecological liberation: they're called blackouts."

The ecology movement protests the nuclear plants, but not the contagious disasters, and not the hydrogen bombs; they rail against the Consolite, but are silent on the hundred of nuclear military supersonic aircraft. Behind the moralistic facade is the proposition that the workers on the tankers and in the mines, the people who live next to the mines and mills, they can't do it, but not the suburban housewives. As long as the social cost is restricted to the working class, it's acceptable.

The petty-bourgeois ecology movement is not a deformed example of social protest, but a moralistic reaction, aimed against the proletariat and implicitly against civilization. They confuse the capitalist mode of organization with the American way of life. But we live, and must live, in an industrial society—unless one is preprogrammed, one must be. If the hard heads of Genghis Khan, who built mountains of human skulls, not out of cruelty but to reduce the lands he conquered to a pastoral, grazing economy, the only economy he could understand, unfortunately our ecologists are too soft-minded to propose this. And all questions of technology, capitalism reveals its irritability. But socialism itself will not solve all our problems, but it only make it possible to try to do it better. Another crucial step forward for our tendency since 1972, the speaker empha-
sized, was breaking out of North America, with the development of real if new sections in that country. Among the alignments in the ostensibly Trotskyist world movement have reflected profound differentiations along ethnic/language lines: the International Communist League (Soviet ex-members and sympathetic parents). who think we can see in the young workers, who think they might have to fight for the resulting war. There we look like people who are the others. See, during the Vietnam war we had a slogan that said: "Soviet Nuclear Shield Must Cover Haiti." There was certainly unique and striking enough, it just didn't grab anybody in this country. But what we have to say now is also sensible. It explains things. And it's historically founded." Everyone else was surprised by the U.S./China alliance: we predicted this, because our analysis was so clear that everyone would see it and we would be sure to win the party. I answered that the strength of the Chinese position is a thousand times more important for the masses than our own.9 • Our predictions can win some few intellectuals who are in touch with such things, but not the masses."

No to the Veil!

Comrade Robertson underscored the "continuing popular appeal of our line on Iran, which makes sense to anyone who is not a Shi'ite Muslim and who stands for the international, or the right of trade-union organization—or anyone who's for the French Revolution of 1789, "the-all-encompassed united front." In particular he stressed the importance of the Bolshevik stance on war: "In the battle of the world, let us recognize this to Kate Millett's bourgeois feminism: One of the main motor forces of progress in the world is the woman question. The woman question is not the same today. It is no longer property but human beings with a right of contract, is a most precious achievement."

"The bourgeois revolution, which proclaimed that women are no longer property but human beings with a right of contract, is a most precious achievement."

In his concluding remarks comrade Robertson cautioned the comrades to keep in mind the problems of scale; the anticipated expansion will not make the N.I. into a mass party in this period; our organization and capabilities will remain at an essentially propagandistic level. Precisely because we are a small, very small group, the vindication of our line on Iran and the Sino-Soviet split should make us very attractive to young people.

Successful prediction of historic defeats for the working class does not necessarily strengthen the revolutionary vanguard. As Trotsky noted in the wake of the bloody 1927 defeat of the Chinese proletariat:

"Our comrades expressed optimism because our analysis was so clear that everyone would see it and we would be sure to win the party. I answered that the strength of the Chinese position is a thousand times more important for the masses than our own. Our predictions can win some few intellectuals who are in touch with such things, but not the masses."

But in contrast to the Russian party and Communist International of the 1920s, we are not a mass party. At present we want the thousand or so radicals who are deeply interested in Iran and Indochina.

"Enough! We Want Ours."

The critical task of building authoritative communist fractions in the trade unions was sharply underscored: "It's very easy to talk about proletarian uprising and qualitative upsurge in class militancy in America. But this country lacks the sophisticated infrastructure of the defeat of a series of revolutions.... We have a trade-union bureaucracy of dinosaurs. The SWP waits distantly in the wings. Lord only knows what a proletarian upsurge would look like in this country. Because the sophisticated mechanisms of reformism and revisionism are not in place. We always talk about an American 1905, and rightly so. We had better have some understanding of the working class today because they will be headless, infinitely militant but non-and misdirected. Very, very powerful, very violent, very turbulent—but with very little idea of what they are fighting against and for, except 'Enough! We want our,' without any social sense and without the very sure misdirection of social demo­ nization, by the Right and Stalinists. So do not feel just pleasure at the thought of a politically unconscious working class going into the revolutionary process." Moreover, comrade Robertson pointed out, each revolutionary-class event must be channeled into reactionary directions: "The most obvious danger, of course, is a racial civil war."

The young comrades were urged to study Trotsky's Lessons of October to grasp the sudden shifts occasioned by historical crises. "There you are, a proletarian revolution, you're down and out—suddenly, there is a certain kind of turn and you're riding the political current." The young cadres who lived through only one or two of the duffer political periods, are especially vulnerable to impressionable narrowing of historical vision: "You cannot become a cadre until you have a whole year in which yesterday is different from today and will be different from tomorrow. Otherwise you do not feel in your body the necessity a gap, a gap of experience—that history changes, the world changes." There is an opening for us now in the U.S., our line looks good: the opportunity exists, if we can aggressively and systematically make use of it, to go out and recruit a few hundred more members in the course of the next year."

"Generally speaking, crises arise in the party at every serious turn in the party's course, either as a prelude to the turn or as a consequence of it. The explanation for this lies in the fact that every period in the development of the party has special features of its own and calls for specific habits and methods of work. A tactical turn implies a greater or lesser break in these habits and methods. Here lies the direct and most immediate root of internal party friction and crises. It happens all too frequently," wrote Lenin in July 1917, "that when history makes an abrupt turn, even the most advanced parties are unable for a longer or shorter period of time to adapt themselves to new conditions. They keep repeating the slogans of yesterday—slogans which were correct yesterday, but which have lost all their meaning today, becoming devoid of meaning for the self-same "suddenness" that history makes its abrupt turn." (Works). Hence the danger arises that if the turn is too abrupt or too sudden, and if in the preceding period too many elements of inertia and conser­ vatism have accumulated in the leading organs of the party, then the party proves itself unable to fulfill its leadership at the supreme and critical moment for which it has been preparing itself in the course of years or decades. The party is ravaged by a crisis, and the movement passes the party by—and heads towards defeat.

"A revolutionary party is subje­ cted to the pressure of other political forces. At every given stage of its development, the party elaborates its own methods of counteracting and resisting this pressure. During a tactical turn and the resulting internal regroupments and frictions, the party's power of resistance becomes weakened. From this the possibility arises that the internal groupings in the party, which originate from the necessity of a turn in tactics, may develop far beyond the original controversial points of departure and serve as a support for various class tenden­ cies. To put the case more plainly: the party which does not keep step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes...."

"If tactical turns usually lead to internal friction in the party, how much deeper and fiercer must be the friction resulting from strategic turns! And the most abrupt of all turns is the turn of the proletarian party from the work of preparation and propaganda, of organization and agitation, to the immediate struggle for power, to an armed insurrection against the bourgeoisie. Whatever remains in the party that is irresolute, skepti­ cical, conciliatory, capitulatory, in short, Menshevik—all this rises up in the surface in opposition to the insurrection, seeks for theoretical formulas to justify its opposition and finds them ready-made in the arsenal of the opportunist oppo­ nents of yesterday. We shall have occasion to observe this phenomenon more than once in the future."
Forging a Youth Cadre

The “Cloned Youth” Fight and Youth-Party Relations

While the intern­

ational Stalinist tendency is under­

going a significant expansion, most notably in Britain, the past period for

the SYL/SYL in the U.S. has been one of relative stagnation. The common move­

ment has continued

since 1975. The effects on the party

party has continued

are particularly vulnerable to the pres­

sures of bourgeois society. The building occupations and street skirmishes in the
days of the New Left are, for the most part, foreign and distant to our current youth membership. The realities of the class struggle no longer seem relevant to the "now" generation of the 1970s. Most of our recruits have rarely witnessed, let alone participated in, any elemental class battles. With the notable exception of the 110-day miners strike, the last time the American workers militantly defined the government and won was the 1970 postal workers wildcat.

While the campuses have been relatively quiescent since the end of the Vietnam War, the U.S. has certainly not returned to a period of fanatical, 1950s-style anti-Communism with the ruling class enjoying widespread moral au­

thority. The present generation of University students concerning the possible reimposition of the draft is indicative. The sentiment of the students was nearly unanimous: "We are certain­

ly willing to serve our country, but if there’s a war, we’ll go to jail.

Impressionism and impatience are the normative response to the often slow pace of quick results—the future seems unreal and remote. It is thus not surprising that for the youth comrades recruited in the 1970s the present campus scene seems more deep-going and permanent than it actually is. The relative lack of domestic class struggle, poor recruitment possibilities and the moral appeal of the “human rights” crusade in the academic milieu and the rightist character of the little activism that does exist on the campus (the divestment movement, anti-nuke move­

ment and the eco-freaks) all combine to reinforce a very narrow, bloodless sense of politics.

The “cloned youth” fight was an attempt to rectify the corrosive effect of a sub-political layer on the political and organizational working relations in the SYL. There was a dislocation of values and a growing tension between the youth and the party. Many of the “clones” served on the leading bodies of the SYL. Their extremely one-sided conception of our political tasks affect­

ed the organization. Prior to the recent fight there was a disproportionate recognition given to literary and intel­

lectual endeavors in the youth and the press, and the activities of the SYL tended to reflect a parochial and literary world view.

Left unchecked, the dangerous situation which was developing in the SYL could have led to the destruction of a whole layer of youth cadres, primarily centered in the apparatus, and an estrangement of the youth organization from the party similar to the relations between the Young People’s Socialist League (YPSL) (14th) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), when the youth and party became parallel and hostile organizations. Or, as indicated by the number of political wobbles always tending toward accommodation to liberal public opinion, it is not unlikely that there would have been a Schacht­

manite development in the youth at some point in the future.

But the disease was recognized and called forth a certain reflex reaction on the part of the party Central Committee (CC). In the spirit of Trotsky (who wrote wisely to Cannon regarding the petty-bourgeois boys and girls of the YPSL), it was proposed that the party be indctracted to attack them with the realities of the class struggle or that they be eliminated from the organization. The fight which ensued had the desired results. A number of the comrades singled out as the objects of the fight resigned rather than go into the plants while others accepted an industrial perspective.

The youth organization represents the future of the vanguard party. It is the youth that must pick up the banner and carry forward if the older cadres falter. One of the most important results of the fight has been the re-creation of collabora­

tive relations between the central party collective and the SYL. Particu­

larly in the absence of radical youth leaders—a chronic handicap of our youth organization historically—these ties are crucial to building a youth group which has a balanced sense of its role and purpose in the common movement. The eighty-year history of the Rev­

olutionary Marxist Caucus (RMC), Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY), Ap­

artistas Youth League (SYL) has been a struggle to forge a dynamic and vital, independent youth organiza­

tion in examination of this history facilitates an understanding of the recent "cloned youth" fight.

The Formation of the RMC

The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus had its origins in the 1969 split from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) when the Spartacist League critically supported Progressive Labor (PL) and their followers as the sub­

jectively pro-working-class tendency against their major factional opponents, the Weathermen and the Revolutionary Youth Movement II. Though the hand­

ful of Spartacist supporters that at­

tended the split convention were given a hearing, we had neither the forces nor the influence to have a real impact on the events. The SL subsequently under­

took systematic intervention into PL/SDS, and the RMC was formally launched in early 1970. Pursuing a policy of revolutionary regroupment centered on PL/SDS, the RMC func­

tioned both as a caucus within SDS and a loose Trotskyist youth group.

The RMC intervened as a left opposition in SDS fighting for an aggressive socialist policy in contrast to the narrow social-work approach of the PL-controlled leadership. Attempting to polarize PL/SDS, the RMC pro­

posed a positive programmatic content to PL’s amorphous pro-working-class orientation and argued that SDS should become a non-exclusionist socialist youth organization. But PL refused to confront the fundamental questions of Stalinism in its break from Marxism and was unable to consolidate its leftist motion and adopt a revolutionary program. When SDS plunged into sub­

reformist activity, the RMC’s textbook campaign and returned to the fold of class collaboration by joining the National Peace Action Coalition and Women’s National Ac­

tion Coalition, the RCM went extinct.

Probably the single most costly failure of the SL/U.S. was our inability to intervene in SDS early on in a large­

scale and systematic way. It was at the time of the founding conference of the SL in 1966 to the formation of the RMC the organization was involved in little mass work of any kind. The main arena for mass work in the early days of the Spartacist tendency was the civil rights movement, but with the rise of black nationalism, the SL/U.S. relatively froze out of the black movement by 1968.

Cornell, a major center of New Left radicalism, was the one place we had an independent, well-organized presence. The Young Socialist League (YSL) was active from 1964 to 1968 during the peak of the movement on the campus. The YSL campaigned in support of civil rights and black self-defense, collecting money for the Deacons for Defense under the slogan, "Every Dime Buys a Bullet." And while the student-based antiwar movement was overwhelmingly pacifist, the YSL shocked and polarized the entire campus by collecting funds for the NLF, making concrete our call for "military victory to the NLF." The YSL also propagated campaigns regarding the extremely unpopular "We Will Go" position on the draft. Cornell was the one place we were able to intervene consis­

tently and effectively into SDS and the broader antiwar movement early on, leading to our role in the student movement of the late sixties.

The Ellens-Turner faction (which com­

sumed the organization for nearly an entire year in 1968) was in a sense a fight over entry into SDS. With the mass radicalization brought about by the war in Vietnam there was a general recog­

nition in the organization that SDS was the prime arena for student/youth work. In fact as early as 1965 a comradeship at Cornell argued for entry into SDS, which had just dropped its anti­

communist clause. The influence of the organization were meager, the membership heterogeneous and the organization was still in the process of codifying the essential programmatic basis of our tendency.

There was in fact internal resistance to undertaking serious student work motivated by illusions in the opportuni­

ties offered by the black movement at that time as well as by a burgeoning, ill­

defined workerism which culminated in the the Ellens-Turner faction fight. The fight weakened the marginal elements in the membership and for the first time the SL had a homogeneous, developed
 cadre capable of undertaking new tasks.

But we were too late in getting into SDS and our resources were too slim to allow us to be a real factor in the explosive faction fight of 1969. Nor was it possible for us to compete effectively with PL national affiliates for the best of the left-wing elements in SDS after the split occurred. Nevertheless, as was acknowledged in the 1971 "Memorandum on the Transformation of the Spartacist League," the recruitment of many valuable comrades out of our work in SDS during this period in part provided the basis for the qualitative expansion of the Spartacist tendency, both domestically and internationally.

The RMC, even while operating as a caucus within SDS, did not limit itself to SDS' internal political struggle. The RMC was also the primary vehicle for Spartacist intervention into the antiwar movement. The SL/RMC sought to create a class polarization in the U.S. around the Vietnam War. As opposed to the peace crews meant to pressure the doves in the Democratic Party, the attempts of the SWP Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) to create an antiwar movement to the liberal bourgeoisie and the impotent confrontationalism of the New Left, the RMC fought for a working-class orientation for labor political strikes against the war. During the Kent State massacre, the RMC initiated Work Stoppage Committees, raising the need to transform the student strike against the war. This campaign later served as a model for the Bay Area RCY. With the mining of Haiphong Harbor in 1972 the West Coast campuses exploded. The RCY again initiated Work Stoppage Committees and a number of our youth activists and trade-union supporters were able to gain a hearing in the unions (particularly the ILWU, CWA and AFSCME) for our proposals for class action against the war.

The launching of the RMC contrasts sharply with the founding of the YSA. The RMC was initiated by the central leadership of the SL and entrusted to comrades who had little prior experience in youth work. The leadership of the organization was simply handed to a number of junior party leaders—it brought together a number of junior party leaders—it initiated Work oration and the other tasks of the transformation. The Revolutionary Communist Youth Group founded in 1971 was just beginning organizationally independent. Yet this was a period of rapid growth for the entire organization; the RMC grew four-fold in 1971-1972. With the impact of the French general strike and the increase of working-class struggle in the U.S. in the period 1969-1971, including the volatile postal walkout of 1970, even the former Third Worldists and student vanguardists of the American Left turned their attention to the working class. The bankruptcy of the New Left was evident and a hard working-class orientation had more impact.

This is the period when we made significant gains due to our regroupment orientation. The July 1971 NPAC conference had significance in that regard. It was the first overt realization of the popular-frontist coalition that the SWP/YSA had been striving for since the days of the 5th Avenue Peace Parade Committee. The SWP succeeded in roping in senator Vance Hartke and rammed his presence at the conference down the throats of the participants with brutal force. The division of the tendencies at that conference, ranging from revolutionary through central to reformist, crystallized the main lines of division within the radical movement and fairly accurately indicated the possible targets for regroupment in that period.

Fusions with the ex-Maoist Communist Working Collective and the Buffalo Marxist Collective and the prior recruit- ments to the RMC through work in SDS gave the SL/RMC the resources to undertake a qualitative expansion of our work; reinforcement of the Central Office, regularization of a monthly press, extension of work into the workplace and the consolidation of the RMC as a Trotskyist youth league. Those growing out of the south and southwest in that period were recruited largely on the basis of this transformation and greeted the industrialization program with great enthusiasm. The 1972 clique defection of Cunningham-Moore-Lougeri, which represented a resistance to the turn in the organization, had little impact in the RCY.

If anything there was a lack of understanding of the importance of youth work for the success of the transformation. This was quite clear "where it was at." There was a tendency to see the party industrialization not simply as a more important priority than youth work, but as the only work worthy of a real revolutionist. There was a definite undercurrent in the youth organization sparked by the industrialization. The party and the youth national leadership had to reas­ sess our intention to build a vital youth organization as a training ground for our young comrades. The youth was not simply the student fraction of the SL. This fight against youth liquidationism was a necessary corrective and a prelude to a concerted effort to establish viable campus fractions through a conscious policy of student "implantation."

While the RCY was successful in establishing campus fractions on a

SYL united-front campaign against CIA/NSA recruiters at UC Berkeley, 1976.

The Transformation of the SL: The Impact of Party Industrialization

As the party undertook industrialization and the other tasks of the transfor­ mation, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Group founded in 1971 was just becoming organizationally independent. Yet this was a period of rapid growth for the entire organization; the RMC grew four-fold in 1971-1972. With the impact of the French general strike and the increase of working-class struggle in the U.S. in the period 1969-1971, including the volatile postal walkout of 1970, even the former Third Worldists and student vanguardists of the American Left turned their attention to the working class. The bankruptcy of the New Left was evident and a hard working-class orientation had more impact.

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Forging a Youth Cadre...
(continued from page 7)

number of the major college campuses, the movement that resulted did not compensate for the loss of a number of our most talented and mature youth activists to the vote on universal contestation and other party responsibilities. The recent shift in the youth moodly brought home the fact that the youth organization has never fully recovered from that period when it was dilained of many of its best cadres.

With the success of the transformation of the SI, there was greater pressure on the youth organization to carry our public face and recruit. At the same time there was a notable decline in student activism and a workerist-inspired exodus from the campuses by our opponents. The years 1974-1975 saw some of the most effective campaigns in the history of our youth organization. The successful campaigns were around broader social issues: budget, militarism (ROTC) and fascism.

The depoliticization of the campus was not without its impact on the SYL. The 1974 conference document portrayed a static picture of the relationship of the party on the campus and systematically underestimated the strength and tenacity of our opponents and the consequent necessity to do battle against the reformists and liberals. While anticipating the relative nonvex of the inner layer of politically conscious students at that time there was little recognition that that would provide fertile recruiting grounds for our opponents on the left. There was a tendency to focus on our own activism and underplay polemical political struggle.

The "Cloned Youth" Fight

The jocular characterization of "cloned youth" was admittedly a sub-political underlay polemical characterization, centered around the Young Spartacists (135p) editorial board apparatus, which was very bright, very serious and very full of themselves. Characteristically lacking a sense of humor about themselves, the "clones" showed little ability to grasp contradictions. Politics was always politics with a big "P" for these bright lads. Any attempt to understand the complexities of the human condition was seen as expressly not political and was viewed with suspicion and disdain. Such attitudes obviously resulted in a real social/political alienation of many of the youth from the senior party members.

The values of the "clones" were more appropriate to a bourgeois university than a communist youth group. What counted were the number of books read and an ability to regurgitate (not develop) a political line either verbally or in writing. There was little understanding among the "clones" that the authority of the party is earned; we are not simply engaged in a literary effort to commit our program to paper. But politics for the "clones" had nothing to do with commitment to the party or the concrete tasks required to build an organization and make a revolution. "Politics" was the grand battle of ideas floating six feet off the earth. So there was a peculiar, lopsided notion of our tasks among the "clones." Nowhere was there any indication that they had something to learn; that they would have to serve an apprenticeship in the party, undertaking the many varied tasks of party work, to become effective communist militants.

The party's intervention was not in the test a preemptive strike. When a comrade touched on the subject in brief remarks to the New York local the entire lay went into motion; all the "clones" identified themselves with the characterization and either went into crisis or sabotaged the political battle. The "clones" showed exquisite self-consciousness and yet insisted on their precious individuality. Decisiveness was strikingly unpolitical. The proposal for industrialization was labeled punitive and the "clones" showed obsessive concern for their "authority" in the organization. One was reminded of Cannon's remarks in Struggle for a Proletarian Party:

"The petty-bourgeois intellectual, who wants to teach and guide the labor movement without participating in it, feels only loose ties to the party and is always full of grievances against it. The moment his toes are stepped on, or he is rebuffed, he forms the interests of the movement and remembers only that his feelings have been hurt; the revolution may be impossible, but the wounded vanity of a petty-bourgeois intellectual is more important."

The intellectualism of the "clones" postulated a two-class stratification of the party, the "thinkers" and the "huckster functionaries," reminiscent of Moore's "intellectuals" and workers. It was a conception of the "intellectual vs. the clods." Just as the roles in the party were sharply cliquified and differentiated—with Janet Rogers and Judy Sturitz, the district, and a number of the campus bodies—so too were the roles of the "clones" and the "worker-soldiers." This was the tendency in the youth to promote the literarily talented young men over the organizationally talented young women comrades.

There was a symbiotic relationship between the "clones" and the young women, wherein the women accepted the role of inferior as valid and/or necessary.

Political Weaknesses in the Youth Leadership

There were two important activities this fall that were indicative of the weakness of the present political leadership of the SYL. One involved the question of a developing factional situation in the Santa Cruz Organizing Committee (OC) and the other an intervention into the Northeast Coalition
There was considerable confusion and the rumblings of opposition within the SYL. The disagreements ranged from a concern that the slogan posed an equality between the shah and the mullahs when the former was in power to the latter was not, to an attitude to give military support to the religious opposition. The slogan was designed to work in the most angular terms our strategic perspective for the Iranian revolution: a life without the monarchy or the mullahs. It was not intended to encapsulate a whole range of tactics vis-à-vis the mass movement which was led and controlled by the mullahs, but rather to warn of the dire consequences of starting a battle against Khomeini. It was a powerful propaganda slogan meant to jar the left into the recognition that it is the task of Marxist revolutionists to find a way to raise a proletarian perspective, not to accept the subordination of the mass movement to the reactionary drive of the clerics for an Islamic republic. And such a situation would necessarily favor the petty bourgeoisie. They are in their professed adherence to Marxism-Leninism, the commitment of these students to the interests of the proletariat and party at that time. This opposition came not only from the sectarian Oehlerites but from the Muste-Abern forces in the party as well. The majority of the youth National Committee opposed entry when it was posed in 1936. The level of animosity between the youth organization and the party can be seen in the vitriolic denunciations of the "Cannon clique" for supposedly attempting to squash discussion in the SYL on the entry. The quote below, though from a leaflet produced for a special convention of the SYL by the Marxist Action Group (the Abernites, who split from the Workers Party [WP] opposing the entry on principle), accurately reflects the sentiments of the Abernite youth as well.

"Something over a year ago Shachtman and Swabeck proposed in the National Committee of the Communist League of America, that the SYL be sent into the streets and that the party go out before the mullahs. And this the party did, and the mullahs were defeated. Recently, however, the party proposed the same thing and, in the face of outright opposition from the devout religious reactionaries, took refuge in the fact that the former was in power while the latter was not a proletarian perspective that the masses of the Islamic party. But it was, after all, the SYL that initiated the "clone" fight and the rectification within the SYL.

This contrasts sharply to the pattern of youth-party relations between the SYL and the CLA in the mid-1930s. Proposals such as those posed by the SYL CC (industrialization or not), and from the organization) would have been unthinkable in either the old SYL or the YPSL (4th). James P. Cannon's (leader of the SWP) could not so much as glance sideways at the youth organization without generating 80 pages of documentation denouncing the "heavy-handed Cannon clique." The SYL and the YPSL (4th) were the property of the Abernites as was so starkly evident in the 1934 faction fight where the youth office served as the headquarters for the petty-bourgeois opposition. The youth organization was a parallel organization, hostilely competing with the party.

The fight over entry into the Socialist Party (SP)/YPSL in 1936 was symptomatic of the level of estrangement between the youth and party at that time. There was a fight early on in the YSA, members headed by monkey glands Carter, perennial leader of the youth, who split from the Workers Party [WP] (opposing the entry on principle), accurately reflects the sentiments of the Abernite youth as well.

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Nuclear Panic... (continued from page 12)

Just prior to the National Conference the SYL conducted a survey of the SYL s membership. The results, announced to the assembled delegates and observers, proved to be very interesting: the SYL s members tend to be from a wide variety of previous political backgrounds. SYLers have previously been members of groups such as Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers League, Socialist Labor Party, Red Flag Union, Socialist Party, Communist Party, and the bureaucracy.

The SYL is 61 percent male. Thirteen percent of its membership is black with another 6 percent coming from a Latin background. One quarter are registered students and 31 percent carry a union card. Overall, the SYL includes a wide variety of previous political backgrounds.

YOUTH CADRES OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES ESSENTIAL TO THE

The SYL also has a layer of experienced activists—one fourth of the members joined four or more years ago.

Who's in the SYL?

Recruitment... (continued from page 5)

The SYL s membership is quite interesting: the SYL s members tend to be from a wide variety of previous political backgrounds. SYLers have previously been members of groups such as Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers League, Socialist Labor Party, Red Flag Union, Socialist Party, Communist Party, and a number of radical collective and minority youth organizations.

The Conference participants returned to their locals with a deepened sense of party history and a renewed determination to press forward with the new tasks we have set ourselves. The coming campaign, together with its efforts, projections into reality. We are confident that the next Conference will see many new comrades who have undertaken to transform themselves into professional revolutionaries fighting to transform the world.

ANN ARBOR

Alternative Mondays
Next class May 7, 7:00 p.m.
Conference Room 4, Michigan Union University of Michigan
For more information call: (313) 663-9012

BAY AREA

Trotskyism and the Fight for Workers Revolution
Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
106 Dwinelle
University of California at Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

CHICAGO

Women and Revolution
University of Chicago
For more information: (312) 427-0003

DETROIT

Alternate Fridays
Beginning May 11, 7:00 p.m.
For more information call: (313) 866-9095

LOS ANGELES

Internationalism and the Vanguard Party
Alternate Wednesdays
Next class May 9, 7:30 p.m.
Student Union, Cal State L.A.
For more information: (213) 682-1564

NEW YORK

Women and Revolution
Alternate Tuesdays
Beginning May 29, 7:30 p.m.
New York Meyer Hall of Physics
Room 122
For more information: (212) 925-5555

SANTA CRUZ

Marxism and the Struggle for Workers Revolution
Alternate Wednesdays
Next class May 8, 7:30 p.m.
Room 103, Oakas College
University of California
For more information: (408) 462-4037

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The accident they said couldn't happen almost happened. In the early morning hours of March 28 a valve malfunctioned at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant. Three out of four "fail-safe" procedures failed, and as heat built up in the reactor creating a gigantic hydrogen "bubble" 60,000 people fled the area while scientists worked around the clock to prevent a potential catastrophe.

The attention of the entire country was riveted on this small slice of Pennsylvania. Would the "bubble" cause an explosion that would rip through the massive steel and concrete walls spewing out clouds of radioactive debris? Would a "meltdown" release deadly gas and steam into the atmosphere endangering the lives of thousands?

Fortunately for area residents the damage done was measured, in the disruption of lives and pocketbooks, not in sickness and death. But for the anti-industrial eco-faddists the accident was the best thing that's happened in years. They grabbed the opportunity to play on the legitimate horror of a nuclear holocaust by falsely portraying commercial reactors as bombs.

The raging debate on nuclear power is irrational on both sides. The industry and its kept governmental agency, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, have said for years that reactors have foolproof safety systems. "There is nothing to worry about," they've told us, all chances for an accident have been "designed out." The "no-nuke" crowd on the other hand sees nuclear power as some kind of Frankenstein monster loosed by mad scientists to wreak havoc on the world. To them nuclear fusion is somehow more unsafe than the other methods of producing energy under capitalism.

Commercial nuclear reactors are dangerous. A meltdown could kill 15-100,000 people, devastating large areas with radioactive, cancer-causing particles. But there is no such thing as a no-risk energy source. The near collapse of the ecologically "pure" Lower San Fernando dam in 1971 threatened 60,000 lives. Mine accidents have caused the death of some 100,000 people while 3,000 die each year from black lung disease.

As Marxists we are not in the business of choosing for the ruling class which way people should be killed and poisoned to provide energy. We take no responsibility for any of capitalism's unsafe industries. Three Mile Island should be shut down not because there is something mysterious about nuclear power (there isn't), but for the same reasons that any particularly hazardous mine should be sealed up. If there are structural flaws in the design of Babcock and Wilcox reactors, they should all be closed. We are in favor of safety for the communities around the mines and for those who transport the coal? What about the tens of thousands killed and maimed each year in industrial accidents? The no-nukers are more concerned with their own precious skins (as well as whales, seals, gulls and fish) than they are with the lives of the working class.

Metropolitan Edison rushed their Three Mile Island plant into operation at the end of 1971 despite a series of relief valve failures, pressure gauge malfunctions and feedwater pump breakdowns. The big push to get on line was simply a matter of millions of dollars worth of rate increases and tax breaks. Workers at the facility were forced to put in 40 consecutive workdays, sometimes 12 hours long, and were subject to speed-up and discipline for following safety instructions. Yet "human error" will no doubt be blamed as part of the "official report" on the accident. Control over industrial, including nuclear, safety must be in the hands of the workers, whose health and existence are directly threatened.

Present technological capacity is simply not used to make any industry safer under capitalism. Every corner that can be cut, every safety precaution that can be ignored, every cheapest bidder contract awarded means a better balance sheet for the stockholders. The capitalists run even a technologically sophisticated nuclear reactor the same way they do a sweatshop.

It is not a question of whether accidents will happen. They will: inevitably gauges will fail at a crucial moment and technicians will surely push the wrong button and leave valves in the wrong position. The problem is how to reduce their frequency and limit their consequences. There are any number of ways to minimize the dangers inherent in nuclear fission reactors. For instance they obviously should be built at a distance and downwind from cities. To pose rational solutions supposes a rational economy—that is precisely what capitalism is not.

No-Nukers: "Kill Miners, Not Us!"

The unpalatable alliance of clams, shads and abalones is not on their side due to a sober concern for safety, they are moved by an irrational, hypocritical moralism. Worried that a possible nuclear reactor accident might blow some radioactive winds onto their college campuses, the eco-faddists have dashed into the streets to demand "Get rid of nuclear power!" They prefer that the energy they use to power their stereos, heat their dormitories and manufacture their faded jeans come from somewhere else. What do they care if coal mines are dangerous for miners, for the communities around the mines and for those who transport the coal?

Concerned about safety? What about the 67,000 workers expected to die each year from asbestos poisoning? What about the thousands who contract brown lung disease in the textile industry? What about the tens of thousands killed and maimed each year in industrial accidents? The no-nukers are more concerned with their own precious skins (as well as whales, seals, gulls and fish) than they are with the lives of the working class.

The protesters against nuclear power in no way represent even a distorted version of left-wing politics. The eco-faddists are part of an ugly middle-class movement that is concerned that the disastrous conditions with which workers have had to live for generations might spread to the suburbs.

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