

young socialist **the organizer**

YSA CONVENTION ISSUE

**Leon Trotsky
and the
New Rise of World Revolution**

A black and white photograph of a large crowd of young people, likely at a YSA convention. Many people have their arms raised in the air. In the center of the crowd, a person holds a sign that reads "join the YSA". The background shows some buildings and trees.

**America's
Road to Socialism.
Historical Roots
of the Coming Revolution**

Reply to Shelley: "Male Domination Red Herring!"

Editor's Note: The article below is a reply to Martha Shelley's red-baiting article, "Subversion in the Woman's Movement: What Is To Be Done?" Shelley attempted in her article to justify excluding from the women's liberation movement all women belonging to "male-dominated" organizations and women who participate in the struggles of other oppressed people. In particular, she singled out the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance as the main "subversives" in the feminist movement.

Shelley's attack was first distributed at the New York Women's Center meeting October 15 which voted to exclude the SWP and YSA from its leading bodies. It has since been printed in three nationally circulated feminist newspapers, Off Our Backs, Ain't I A Woman and It Ain't Me Babe.

The article below has been sent, in mimeographed form, to the nationally circulated journals which printed Martha Shelley's article, as well as to other women's liberation publications. Locals should attempt to have it published in women's liberation newspapers in their areas. It can be turned in as printed below for easy reproduction without re-composing. (This was an advantage of Martha Shelley's attack which was mailed out in printed form.)

* * *

An article by Martha Shelley called "Subversion in the Woman's Movement: What Is To Be Done?" has been printed recently in several women's liberation newspapers. I feel that this article contains many untrue statements and distortions, as well as some ideas which can be very damaging to the women's movement. I am sending this reply to Martha Shelley's article in the hopes of contributing to an open and fruitful discussion of these differences within the movement.

The main point of Martha Shelley's article is to attack all other women in the movement that Martha Shelley defines as "male-oriented" and urge that such women be "cast out" of the movement.

Included among the women Martha Shelley condemns as "male-oriented" are women who are part of various social struggles, such as Angela Davis, Black Panther women, women from the Socialist Workers Party, women who appear in the mass media and women who support male politicians.

It is important for us to be aware of the logic of this approach because if the various categories of women which Martha Shelley defines as male-dominated were excluded from the movement, it would mean the destruction of our movement.

Martha Shelley refers to Angela Davis and Leila Khaled, the Palestinian woman commando, as "women fighting for male causes." Not only is it wrong for feminists to consider other struggles against oppression as "male causes" and exclude women who are involved in these movements; but if all women who are involved in other struggles than women's liberation were excluded from the feminist movement, there would be little movement left. Such a policy would exclude Black and other Third World women who participate in the Black liberation movement, the Chicano liberation movement and other Third World liberation movements. Such a policy would exclude all women who want to build the movement to end the war in Vietnam. Such a policy would exclude all working women who are fighting against their oppression as workers. These struggles can only strengthen the feminist movement. We should welcome women involved in these movements to join us. They can provide strong fighters for women's liberation. Also, we want to bring the women's liberation movement into these other movements; for instance, working women will be organizing within the trade unions to make them fight for the needs of women.

Martha Shelley also says that women who belong to organizations that include men should be excluded because they are supposedly "male-oriented." Again, if this policy were carried out, it would destroy the movement by excluding the vast majority of women in this country. Such a policy would mean excluding all women who registered or voted for candidates of the Democratic or Republican parties, which I would agree are certainly male-dominated. It would exclude all women who are members of trade unions. It would exclude women from such groups as the Phoenix Organization of Women. POW is a group of mainly Black and Puerto Rican women who live in Phoenix House, a drug rehabilitation center for both men and women in New York City. POW women have become very active in the New York women's movement since August 26.

Actually, if Martha Shelley really wanted to throw all the "male-oriented" women out of the movement, she would not stop with women who associate with men in organizations only. What about all the women who live with men? Should they be excluded because they are by definition "male-oriented?" This would exclude the overwhelming majority of American women. We could obviously never hope to build a mass movement if these women were all treated with automatic distrust when they began coming around the movement!

The reality is that our entire lives are circumscribed by men. Even women who don't live with men or join organizations with men still more than likely must work for a male employer; they must read newspapers published by males; they must live surrounded by, and relating to, sexist institutions, from the school system to the courts to the hospitals.

The central goal of women's liberation is to end this whole system of sexist oppression. But we can only do that if we are able to involve all women who are ready to fight against their oppression as women. And we will not be able to reach out and involve new women if the atmosphere in the movement is one of hunting for "subversives" and "male-oriented" women and "casting them out" of the movement.

One of the organizations singled out for special attack by Martha Shelley is the Socialist Workers Party. Since almost all the statements she makes about the Socialist Workers Party are simply untrue, I would like to briefly correct these errors for the benefit of women in the movement who want to know the truth.

First of all, she says "The Socialist Workers Party is highly attractive to male-oriented women who have swallowed the line that a socialist revolution will automatically bring about the liberation of women." This is not the position of the SWP.

The SWP believes, along with many other women in the movement, that in order to lay the economic and social foundations for winning our total liberation, we must change the whole system—we must eliminate capitalism and build towards a socialist society. But we do not think that "a socialist revolution will automatically bring about the liberation of women." A socialist revolution will not be completed until women are totally liberated.

The SWP believes that women must begin to struggle now. We must build up the power of women through a mass women's movement which will continue to exist through and after a socialist revolution. Only by building up our own independent power will women be able to assure that our needs are satisfied.

Here is a quotation from the position of the SWP, adopted almost a year ago:

"The most important basic characteristic of the emerging women's liberation movement, the key factor which gives it such revolutionary implications, is its independence. The movement, of course, is related to and interconnected with other struggles—youth, Black and Brown liberation, antiwar, working class—but it has its own demands, its own organizational forms. It is not

simply the women's wing of an antiwar committee, a union, or a Black organization, and its fate is not directly dependent on the evolution of other struggles. For the first time in decades, women are saying that they are not willing to wait for anyone else to take up their struggle; they will do it now, in their own way, and they are not willing to subordinate their demands to the needs of any other struggle."

The SWP does not support the policies of the present regime in the Soviet Union, as Martha Shelley implies. We are for the overthrow of the Soviet bureaucracy. One of our strongest criticisms of Stalin and his successors is the fact that they reversed many of the gains women won in the first stages of the revolution, and reintroduced reactionary laws and practices which strengthened the family and the oppression of women.

The whole section of Martha Shelley's article on the SWP sounds like it could have come directly out of "I Led Three Lives" or out of the mouth of J. Edgar Hoover. She says the SWP "has moved with frightening success to infiltrate and take over sections of the women's movement."

Another paragraph says the SWP has a "handbook" on how to infiltrate the movement, which is given only to "loyal party members." When I was reading this part to a group of SWP women, we all burst out laughing at this section because it is so ridiculous.

The policy of the SWP is to build the women's movement, to participate in it, to learn from it, and to help build all struggles against oppression. What Martha Shelley objects to and calls "infiltration" seems to be simply the fact that SWP women participate fully in the movement and try to build it into a mass movement.

Martha Shelley says that the SWP has "moved full-time workers into the women's centers of New York, Boston, Baltimore and Los Angeles . . ." First of all, neither the SWP nor the Young Socialist Alliance, a youth organization which generally agrees with the SWP, have any members who live in Baltimore. In other cities she mentions, SWP and YSA members have simply participated in the women's centers very actively, trying to help them grow.

Whether she is aware of it or not, the type of language and charges Martha Shelley uses to describe the SWP are all the standard charges of right-wingers against all socialists. This type of thing reached a high point during the McCarty period in the 1950s, when not only communists and socialists were persecuted, but anyone who dared to struggle at all was charged with being a communist or a "dupe" of the communists.

The new movements of the 1960s have so far rejected the reactionary practice of red-baiting and purges against socialists. These new movements have set the policy that the most important thing is to unite the broadest possible forces in struggle on various issues, no matter what views people may have on other topics.

The charge that SWP women would try to "move out" feminist literature from women's centers is also false. We think that the literature that has come out of the movement, from women awakened to their oppression, is one of the most important accomplishments of the movement.

We believe that all feminist literature should be available at women's centers, including socialist views concerning women's liberation. Does Martha Shelley think that the views of feminists who are socialists should be excluded from women's centers?

She also charges that the SWP "has considered gay people to be counterrevolutionaries." Again, this is completely untrue. We think that homosexuals are unjustly discriminated against and oppressed in this society, and we fully support the struggle of homosexuals to eliminate all laws penalizing them and all oppression of them.

I believe it is an insult to the intelligence of women in the movement to say that they are being "co-opted" or "infiltrated" by socialists.

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Rather than making such charges, it would be more fruitful and beneficial to the movement for Martha Shelley to deal instead with the political ideas that the YSA and SWP have stood for in the movement.

In the New York Women's Center, Martha Shelley voted with about 30 other women to exclude YSA and SWP women from all leading bodies of the Center on the grounds that they were "male-dominated." A Black woman from the Phoenix Organization of Women also left the Center meeting, feeling that she was excluded too.

It became clear in New York that the YSA and SWP and the Phoenix women were excluded from full participation in the Center because a small section of the movement who worked around the Women's Center disagreed with the ideas that the YSA, SWP and POW women have concerning what the New York women's movement should do.

In the New York movement at this time, women from a broad spectrum of around 30 organizations, from the YWCA to campus women's liberation organizations to the SWP, have decided to unite to form an action coalition, to plan demonstrations and other actions that could bring to bear the weight of the whole movement. Women around the Women's Center disagreed with the perspective of building such an action coalition, and disagreed with the first action projected by the coalition: a mass march of women and their children on Mayor Lindsay's home de-

manding public abortion clinics and childcare centers. Many of these women opposed building any demonstrations at all, and felt that August 26 accomplished nothing.

But rather than discuss these two perspectives openly within the movement, the women from the Women's Center, including Martha Shelley, resorted to the charges of "male-domination" and "infiltration" by the people they disagreed with, in an attempt to discourage women in the movement from even considering the ideas held by the so-called "male-dominated" groups. Their ideas on mass action—when they did present them at a meeting of 300 women to form the women's coalition—were not accepted by the vast majority of women. Neither were their ideas on exclusion of women accepted. The coalition decided to welcome the participation of all women.

Non-exclusion is a necessary part of a mass movement that can unite all women in action.

The question of what is the best and most effective perspective for the women's movement is very important, and must be seriously discussed in an atmosphere of free exchange of ideas and democracy. This cannot be accomplished in an atmosphere of purges and "casting out" any "unpure" women.

Only with the full participation of all women who want to fight against their oppression can our movement grow and be strong.

RUTHANN MILLER
Socialist Workers Party
Young Socialist Alliance



The Internationale

For a little more than two months in the spring of 1871, the world's first workers government was established. The Paris Commune's short and heroic existence was ended by murderous repression, but its brief moment of glory pointed the course of human history for the succeeding century. Out of this historic battle in the class war came the anthem of the world revolutionary movement, "The Internationale."

Prior to the Paris Commune, European workers had adopted the "Marseilles," the song of the bourgeois revolution in France, and changed its lyrics.

As the communards were massacred by the reaction, Eugene Pottier, a leader of the Commune who was in hiding, wrote the lyrics of the song of the workers revolution. "The Internationale" replaced the "Marseilles" as the marching song of the European working class, and spread around the earth to become the song of the toiling and oppressed masses everywhere, who struggle to change the world.

We sing "The Internationale" at our conventions and other gatherings as an expression of our common bond with the international revolutionary socialist movement fighting to liberate mankind from capitalism through the socialist revolution, and as an expression of our common cause with all of the generations before us who fought and sacrificed for the same goal.

Below are the lyrics of "The Internationale."

(CHORUS) 'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in her/his place,
The International Party
Shall be the human race.

*Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For Justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us.
Arise, ye slaves; No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.*

*We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors,
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.*

*The law oppresses us and tricks us.
Taxation drains the victim's blood;
The rich are free from obligations,
The laws the poor delude.
Too long we've languished in subjection,
Equality has other laws:
"No rights," she says, "without their duties,
No claim on equals without cause."*

*Behold them seated in their glory,
The kings of mine and rail and soil!
What have you read in all their story,
But how they plundered toil?
Fruits of the people's toil are buried
In the strong coffers of a few;
In voting for their restitution,
Workers will only ask their due.*

*Kings' promises have made us balmy.
Peace with ourselves, on tyrants war!
Our strikes will close down every army.
Guns to the ground, keep ranks no more.
And if these cannibals desire
To give us heroes' funerals,
They soon will learn our rifle fire
Can serve for our own generals.*

*Toilers from shops and fields united
The party we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the people,
No room here for the shirk!
How many on our flesh have fattened!
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
The blessed sunlight still will stay.*



Special Offer.. Printed History of YSA

The Tenth National Young Socialist Convention marks the tenth anniversary of the YSA. In line with this occasion, bound volumes and back issues of the *Young Socialist* newspaper which laid the basis for the YSA's formation, and of the *Young Socialist* magazine of the YSA, will be available for sale at the convention to locals, comrades and others at a special anniversary discount.

Bound volumes of the *Young Socialist* newspaper 1957-1963 which will sell after the convention for \$75 can be purchased at the convention for \$30. Bound volumes of the *Young Socialist* magazine 1964-1969 which will sell later for \$40 can be purchased at the convention for \$16. Boxed, unbound complete sets of the *Young Socialist* which will sell afterwards for \$15 will be for sale at the convention for \$7.50. Boxed sets missing one or two issues and single copies of particular issues will also be available at modest prices.

Every local and many individual comrades will want to take advantage of these special prices to obtain a published record of the revolutionary socialist youth movement's participation in the youth radicalization. The *Young Socialist* traces the course of that radicalization from the early stage of the upsurge in the Black liberation struggle and fights around civil liberties and democratic rights to the defense of the Cuban revolution—to the development of Black nationalism and the beginnings of the antiwar movement—to the growth of campus radicalism and the upsurge in the Chicano liberation struggle and the fight for women's liberation. All of this history is recorded from the viewpoint of active participation and revolutionary socialist politics.

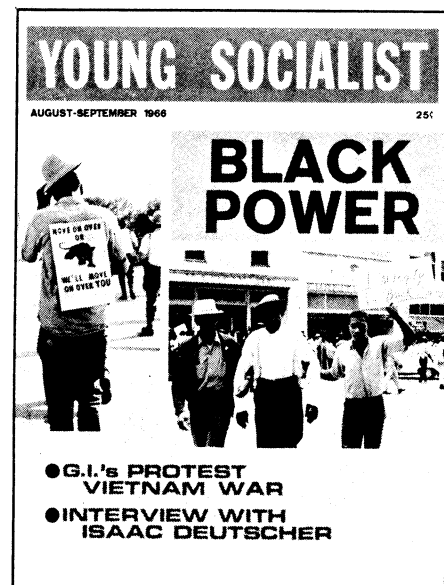


MAY 1961

This published record of the YSA's development along with that of the radicalization points up one way in which our organization is unique among radical youth groups in this country. None of our significant opponents have the kind of consistent record we do—a record on which we are able to stand without embarrassment, apologies or Stalinist-style "self-criticism." The records of PLP or of the various CP youth groups from the Labor Youth League, Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs to the Young Workers Liberation League are full of switches, reverses and changes in line, all of which happen without any real examination or explanation. The social-democratic reformists, such as the IS, have followed

a course of dressing up their apologies for imperialism in more and more radical rhetoric as the radicalization has intensified; today the blatant red-baiting they carried out just four and five years ago would prove a big embarrassment to them. Because of the revolutionary socialist politics adopted at its founding convention in Philadelphia April 15-17, 1960 reported in the May, 1960 issue of the *Young Socialist* newspaper—the YSA has been able to correctly assess and respond to the development of each successive stage in the radicalization, working for a consistent strategy of independent mass opposition to capitalism and the ruling class.

As a result, the published record we are making available at our tenth convention is a record of which all of us can be proud.



AUG-SEPT 1966

Local Bundle Sizes

LOCAL	YOUNG SOCIALIST ORGANIZER (December 9)	MILITANT (As of December 1)	INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW (December)
Twin Cities	50	175	60
Detroit	65	300	150
Ann Arbor	15	30	20
East Lansing	7	75	25
Ypsilanti	5	25	20
North Boston	30	1/3 of 550	50
South Boston	30	1/3 of 550	50
Cambridge	30	1/3 of 550	50
Providence	15	100	50
Amherst	11	50	20
Philadelphia	60	200	150
Mansfield	4	5	—
Albany	16	50	20
New York City	130	850	600
Binghamton	10	100	35
Long Island	20	50	—
Newark	15	50	25
San Diego	15	75	15
Phoenix	10	100	15
Los Angeles	90	200	125
Riverside	14	50	—
Washington, D. C.	30	150	100
Houston	20	200	50
Austin	30	250	65
El Paso	10	50	35
Fort Worth-Dallas	—	25	—
Atlanta	36	150	60
Tampa	15	50	3
Chapel Hill	5	25	—
Cincinnati	16	65	100
Yellow Springs	13	50	15
Oxford	8	50	10
Cleveland	50	200	100
Columbus	15	50	25
Denver	20	100	30
Boulder	10	—	10
Colorado Springs	10	25	10
LaCrosse	12	35	5
Madison	27	100	100
Milwaukee	12	50	50
Berkeley	50	200	200
Hayward	6	25	5
San Francisco	75	300	100
San Joaquin	5	20	6
Kansas City	15	60	30
Bloomington	20	75	30
Chicago	140	350	200
DeKalb	10	100	25
Portland	15	100	5
Seattle	50	150	125

young socialist the organizer

A BI-WEEKLY ACTION PUBLICATION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, A MULTINATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION.

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DECEMBER 23, 1970

The Column: Hansen and Camejo

There will be two public programs at the convention. On Monday evening, at 9 p.m. Joseph Hansen will speak on "Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of World Revolution." Hansen was one of Trotsky's personal secretaries during the last years of the great revolutionary's life in exile in Mexico. His speech will deal with the living confirmation of Trotsky's ideas in the upsurge of revolutionary struggle around the world today.

Joseph Hansen is the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, a weekly English-language magazine with a worldwide circulation which reports on international events related to the labor, socialist, national self-determination and women's liberation movements. He is a leading figure in the international revolutionary socialist movement and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He has been editor of *The Militant* and of the *International Socialist Review*.

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On Wednesday evening at 9 p.m. Peter Camejo will speak on "America's Road to Socialism: Historical Roots of the Coming Revolution." His talk will deal with the relationship between the development of the world position of U. S. imperialism and the exacerbation of social contradictions within the United States.

Camejo is widely known on U. S. campuses as a spokesman for revolutionary socialism. He is the author of *How To Make a Revolution in the U. S.* and *Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action*.

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In addition, on Wednesday evening following Camejo's talk there will be an international panel of revolutionary youth leaders from around the world, discussing the current stage of the struggles in their respective countries.



From *Hundred Flowers*