# MINIE OF

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# FEMINISM AND THE MARXIST MOVEMENT

NATIONAL WAGE CASE \* LABOR IN POWER LABOR & THE CITIES \* SCHOOL DEMOCRACY

of the disorientation of the antiwar

The protraction of the Paris peace talks, and the temporary cessation of further meetings has led to increased speculation regarding the true intentions of the United States in the negotiations, and to widespread pessimism about the outcome of the talks. Kissinger, stung by press suggestions that his earlier statements concerning agreements with the Vietnamese were no more than an elaborate election trick, has tried to place the blame for the delay in signing the agreements on the North Vietnamese.

Earlier it was the Saigon regime that was the stumbling block. Now it is the liberation forces who are responsible for the continuation of the war. Everyone is at fault, it seems, except those who are continuing to pulverise the country with their heavy bombers based in Thailand, Guam, and the U.S. fleet in the South China Sea.

Kissinger has said that he does not wish to confront the American people with a charade. But the American people can hardly be blamed if they see his complicated entries and exits from the Paris talks as a charade. The real question at issue is whether the United States really intends to withdraw from Indochina, or whether the peace talks are only a smokescreen for continued American aggression. Kissinger is no doubt aware that he is expendable, and that if the



peace talks fail it will not be difficult for Nixon to dispense with his services while turning to the American people with an air of sorrowful regret, and the plea that, after all, he had tried.

The gloom surrounding the future of the peace talks has had its reflection in the discussions within the antiwar movement. Opinions range from the euphoria of those who believe that the war is over and that the time has come for reconstruction of the devastated countryside of Vietnam, to those who think that because the war has been forgotten by many people, the antiwar movement should seek some other issue on which to focus its attention. At the most recent general meeting of the antiwar coalition in Sydney, those who defended the aims and tactics of the November 18 action were accused of blindly following an outmoded slogan, and raising the "OUT NOW" demand as some mystical talisman that ought to have long since been buried.

Those pressing for unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. military forces have no cause for regret that they have refused to be diverted from the main issue of the war over a period of several years. Unlike those who have become easily discouraged by difficulties and who look around constantly for some new gimmick, the supporters of the withdrawal demand recognise that the cause of the war is the imperialist aggression, and that the war cannot be ended until U.S. aggression has ceased. There can be no peace until there has been a total withdrawal of U.S. forces without conditions.

If the Communist Party of Australia, the Worker-Student Alliance, the Communist League and other groups who so vehemently attacked the "OUT NOW" demand barely a month ago were serious, if they really believed that the nine point agreement contained the key to peace in Vietnam, why have they dropped their proposals for a campaign around the slogan "SIGN NOW" so readily? What has happened to the demand for "solidarity" with the Vietnamese fighters! Apparently it is 'solidarity" one month, "sign now" another month, and recognition of the DRV and the PRG next month!

At the Sydney meeting it was argued that the victory of the Labor government has convinced most people that the war is over. Since people do not understand the character of the war, and have been deprived of access to the truth it is evidently no longer incumbent upon us to build a movement aimed at destroying this myth, bringing the truth home to the Australian people, and striking a blow at Nixon's strategy of deception.

If the majority of the Australian people really have forgotten the existence of

movement. The constant search for new slogans that might have some transient currency, the desire to seek popularity instead of confronting people

with the brutal truth, the inability of many activists in the movement to appreciate what is the central issue of the war, of developing a strategy based on this appreciation and putting forward demands that undermine the capacity of the aggressor to wage war, has thrown the antiwar movement into disarray. To make an analysis of the causes of the war, to advance demands that, if granted, would eliminate these causes, and to form- Unly a campaign aimed at the ulate such demands in a clear and concrete ment of a mass movement are form that can be readily understood by wide circles of people, to fight uncompromisingly for the acceptance of these demands by the greatest possible numbers of people, and to strive for the expression

the antiwar movement. At the Sydney meeting, the importance of the withdrawal demand was not denied. But the submerging of this in a long resolution in which the main emphasis was placed on demanding recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government without withdrawal of all support for the Saigon regime, and the proposal for the development of a campaign to compel the Labor government to invite representatives of the DRV to Australia, shows a very poor and totally unrealistic conception of either the state of the war

of these demands in the form of mass

street demonstrations, such is the task of

The great masses of Australian have far less understanding of of the DRV than the propone campaign imagine, and they likely to respond to such a can to the simple demand for with U.S. forces. It requires a muc level of understanding to support for admission of representatives DRV to Australia whilst the w in progress, than it does for ac of the need for withdrawal of Il

ively formulated single issue d striking at the vital role of the I military machine will contribute ially to the ending of the war and victory of the Vietnamese revolu-

If a cease fire is signed, of come antiwar movement will be unable rally great numbers of people on streets in support of the Vietnam But it will still be necessary to be to respond to any further overt as imperialist aggression should the The antiwar movement was former specific response to the Indochine If the war in its present form end revolutionary socialists will com defend the Vietnamese revolution their press, through demonstration various other forms of action. The te for such acts of solidarity will not cere until the triumph of the socialis in ion in Indochina.

BY JOHN COMPTON

schools.

normal.

1972 has been a year of steadily increas-

ing attacks on the democratic rights

and conditions of teachers around the

hold dissident political views for the

towards students, for protection from

arbitrary and discriminatory Education

Department actions, and for the right to

organise themselves against bureaucratic

There can be not the slightest doubt from

the experience of the last few months that

Liberal governments and their Education

Departments are going onto the full off-

ensive against teachers in an attempt to

con them into silence and passivity. The

number of states has been a turbulent one

like that existing over the last few years,

teaching positions existed and there were

strong teacher movements around condit-

room for manoeuvre was lessened. Now

in a general situation of high unemploy-

ment there are increasing numbers of

graduates and others seeking teaching

jobs. This merely brings the Australian

situation more into line internationally,

Now there are more Australian applicants

for teaching positions, but at the same

time Liberal state governments in NSW

and Victoria are actually cutting down

on the rate of increase of jobs available,

The NSW State Public Service Board has

recently announced plans to increase the

full-time teaching force for 1973 by only

December 14 1972) As the NSW Teachers'

out, this cutback, imposed by the State

memployment. He went on: "In the in-

very tough. The board plans to have only

20,000 teachers in June for these pupils -

47 more than this year, although infants

and primary enrolments will rise by at

least 1000," "Casual" ( or "temporary")

teachers will bear the brunt of the cut-

Similarly, while no figures have been

announced, it appears that there may well

1973. Student teachers who are not bonded

be teacher unemployment in Victoria in

have been warned that they may not get

resignation rates and high actual teacher shortages in the schools, But Liberal Party

administrations and Education Department

bureaucrats are uninterested in teachers or

obs next year despite continued high

in the needs of students, particularly

students in inner suburban and working

class areas. All they know is that in a

period of general recession economic

cutbacks must come about in socialised

against community living standards gener-

illy. Unemployment for teachers, attacks

or students are part of the "package deal"

of general unemployment, inflation and

on teacher unions and poorer conditions

areas such as education as a means of

reinforcing the employers' offensive

fants and primary sphere things will be

611 - from 37, 239 at June 30 1972 to

37,950 next June. ("The Australian",

where high teacher unemployment is

when a drastic shortage of applicants for

recent history of teacher unions in a

is ripe for a showdown. In a situation

repression and rotten conditions in the

country. The omens for 1973 are clear:

teachers will have to unite and fight for

their right to speak out as citizens and to

right to adopt humane and creative educ-

ational attitudes and positive approaches

BY GEOFF PAYNE

Cafeteria employees in Brisbane retail stores decided at a mass meeting on December 5 to end their 25 day strike. The 500 women workers accepted their union officials recommendation to return to work to allow the State Industrial Commissioner to conduct a work value

All retail store cafeterias had been closed With the promise of solidarity action since November 10 when cafeteria workers forthcoming from a section of others. agreed to strike for the same wages their fellow shop assistants were getting. This would have meant a pay rise of \$7.68.

The Brisbane "Courier Mail" reported on Friday, December 1: "The Queensland Retailers Association had not said it was unsympathetic to a wage increase for striking cafeteria workers, the association president (Mr W.R.J. Riddel) said yester-

"If the union were to lodge an application for a work value assessment with the State Industrial Commission, the association felt sure that the matter could be quickly and satisfactorily resolved."

Four days later the strikers did access such an idea. However, throughout whole course of the strike the cafete women had rejected proposals like the and had organised leafletting and many through the city. On Friday, December more than 100 Miscellaneous Works Union members, employed in the majo department stores, pledged their spor for the strike.

store employees, the position of the women was particularly strong, Was then could have transpired that indust the women strikers to accept the base proposals?

"The Courier Mail" of Tuesday, December 5, the day the women december to return to work, reported: "Interobservers say it is almost certain the union officials at this morning's menu. will recommend a return to work tomorrow.

"It is understood that a return to wa would be on the basis of a State la Commission work value inquiry made into the women's claims...

"Talks were held between union in employer officials last Friday, and Trades and Labour Council Dispu Committee has intervened in the

"Yesterday, Industrial Commission G.W. Pont called the parties tog in private conference to hear a rep latest developments,"

What guarantees if any, were give these meetings is not certain. the union officials have backed do because they did not want to make trouble for the new Labor govern Could the employers feel that the position was becoming weaker?

What does seem certain is that the women working in the big retail cafeterias will not be pushed aro more and that they will be more willing to strike again over issues are of concern to all workers.

At the same time, the authorities are trying to destroy teacher militancy and remove dissenting ideas from the schools by attacking the unions as well as selective victimisation of teachers, particularly "temporaries", but also "permanents". In NSW continued ferment and direct action by teachers has resulted in threats to de-register the NSW Teachers' Federation. In Victoria, a series of incidents of victimisation have confirmed a pattern controversial political issues or upon of attack by the Hamer government and the Education Department against teachers rights. The latest incidents have included the Keith Jepson "double jeopardy" case, the unjust threat of transferral placed on a teacher at Princes Hill High School, and the case of the victimisation of 2 militants of the TTAV at Lilydale Technical School, Most recently, a woman teacher at Fitzroy High School has been given the sack over an article she wrote on "bisexuality" in the magazine "Digger", even though no specific charge has been brought against her.

TEACHERS FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

been made on dissenting views or behaviour and on the right to organise or speak out about injustices in education. In the case of Keith Jepson, a technical teacher, he was fined \$200 by a Magistrate's ions and professional action, Departments' Court for "possession of marijuana". The Teachers' Tribunal then took it upon itself to fine him a further \$200 and suspend him from teaching - so that the total extra loss of income amounted to more than \$800. A joint protest meeting on Novemter 23 organised by the TTAV and VSTA heard George Lees and Geoff Reid, Presidents of the 2 unions, support a call for a major campaign by the two associations for democratic rights for teachers, for fair procedures in case of transfer or dismissal, for the right to speak out on political issues, and for an end to secret reports and secret files.

An incredible, archaic situation remains in the Victorian Teaching Service regulations where teachers are without any right to free speech at all, and subject to federation secretary Ivor Lancaster pointed the whims of all higher authorities. They must "pay proper deference and respect freasury, will result in considerable teacher to all seniors" and "obey promptly all

lawful instructions," Also: "in order that all officers may be enabled to render loyal and efficient service to the State . . (no persons employed by the Public Service including the Education Department). . . . shall publicly comment on the administration of any department. . . . " Again. . . . "the Education Department has consistently required

that teachers should avoid comment upon religious matters in the course of their ceaching," Failure to obey these regulations can lead to a fine, transferral or the sack.

Speakers from other Public Service unions, including the ABC stressed at the meeting that the fight for democracy must be one involving all government employees. Many have pinned their hopes on a Federal Labor government introducing a Bill of Rights, including a Teachers' Bill of Rights. This is a real possibility, but can only be made effective, as with any other "legal" protection of popular rights by a united, mass campaign to enforce these rights on reluctant author-

Another recent case was that of a woman teacher at Princes Hill High School who has been transferred to another school, despite clear injustice in the handling of the situation by the Department and a strike of some weeks by 40 teachers at the school, Princes Hill teachers moved very quickly and solidly to back up their colleague. They spoke to more than 30 VSTA school branch meetings and received a good deal of support. Importantly, the VSTA leadership was more active in intervening, and a positive result has been joint action with the TTAV (with talk of federation). More and more teachers are beginning to realise the seriousness of the situation and the need for strong and united action.

A VSTA stop-work meeting on December 4 became an organising prelude to a mass stop-work rally at the Myer Music Bowl on December 6 called jointly by the VSTA and TTAV. At both meetings motions were passed unanimously condemning the actions of the department

in the Princes Hill and the Lilydale Technical School cases.

At Lilydale, two leading militants in the TTAV branch, (actually union officers), were arbitrarily transferred to another school on blatantly political grounds. They had previously been active in a campaign to improve sanitary conditions at the school, and were at the head of a campaign against poor teaching conditions and overcrowding at the school, (In 1973 80% of classes will be in "portable" classrooms.) Action by a small cabal of conservatives in the totally unrepresentative school council and the parents' organisation resulted in their transfer. The injustice of this was further demonstrated by the fact that a broad meeting of parents later backed the two teachers.

The Myer Music Bowl meeting was the first joint meeting there since the penal regulations victory of 1971. It was a good meeting, and completely united in calling for strong action by the two union executives. An important new development was the resolutions of support delivered by other industrial unions and the address by John Halfpenny of the Amalgated Metalworkers Union. The positive response of teachers to this support reflects the teachers' greater realisation of their common needs as working people with other sectors of the working class. The loud applause which followed the assertion that no union could countenance attacks on its shop stewards or on its members signified the growing broadly based feeling among teachers that the time has come to make a stand and that the Department's offensive must be turned back.

This campaign could well become a major, if not central focus, of the 1973 state elections in Victoria. Teachers have combined to throw out a reactionary state government before (i.e. the Dunstan regime in 1945.). They can do it again in 1973 as part of a general movement against Hamer's big business government. This can happen if the campaign for teachers' rights and educational democracy becomes a broad and mass based struggle involving grass roots activity on all levels among teachers, parents and students. A proposal moved by "Teacher Action" speakers at the December 4 VSTA meeting, and passed unanimously, called for an open committee of all people interested in organising the broadest possible support for the campaign. Feeling among teachers is clearly growing stronger on this issue. The beginning of the school year 1973 must be met with vigorous action around the present cases and possibly 200 other cases in which secret reports possibly recommending transfer or dismissal have been submitted.

The campaign must also focus on pressuring the ALP both at federal and state levels to take strong stands on these issues. It is going to take more than a schools commission composed almost entirely of high educational administrators, as Labor has just set up, to solve the deep crisis of education in this country. Already the composition of the commission has drawn strong fire from teacher unions and parents organisations for being "out of touch" and not responsive to the real needs and aspirations of students, parents, teachers. A broad campaign, focussed initially around teachers' democratic rights, and drawing attention to the communities interest in a democratised education and the need for massive redistribution of resources to combat class based inequalities can build real alternatives to present Labor perspectives and place them before many thousands of people for the first time.

On Tuesday 12 December the Australian Insurance Staffs' Federation held a stopwork meeting. The meeting was evidence Behind these kind of conservative stateof the fact that this union has at last come alive; the attendance exceeded 5,000 at the Myer Music Bowl, and is an enormous improvement on the 500 to 1000 that used to turn up.

This meeting was called originally after four months of negotiations and stalling by the employers, to put the demand for a 9% increase for the insurance workers in the only authentic way - industrial action. However, on Monday 11 the employers made a "becalming" offer of 7%. The union leadership said that this offer was in recognition of the union's new found capacity, and accordingly advised the

that it would work for another 9% increase in the new year.

ments and actions by the union leadership lies a fear of the rising worker militancy which was shown on Tuesday by at least 40% of the workers who spoke and voted against the acceptance of the 7%. In fact these workers demanded that the union hold out for 16%. The way it is now, insurance staff will be more than 9% behind the bank officers in the new year as a result of this capitulation. This was the reason the "9% now" slogan was adopted in the first place, to set the Insurance workers' wages in line with their fellow workers in the banking industry.

The most militant section of the ass-

for the first time in the living memory of many.

The elections meant different things to different people. To

McMahon and the rapacious class of exploiters which he represents,

which are a legacy of 23 years of Liberal misrule. To the mass of

election of a Labor government. Our slogan was "Labor to Power -

socialist policies goes on. We think that in order to deal justly with

We explain why we think this, in this issue, we will have more to say

they meant an opportunity to avoid having to solve the problems

DIRECT ACTION fought alongside the masses of workers for the

in future issues. How did Labor come to adopt a socialisation

programme in 1921? Why won't the present Labor leadership

Fight for Socialist Policies". Labor is in power, but the fight for

embled workers were young people, and workers who had come from the country. Their mood was militant and angry; they were angered at the taunt by the employers and by the capitulation of their union leadership. Young workers are of course the worst hit; one young worker stated how he is meant to support himself and his three dependents

> The meeting ended by the whole 5,000 marching down St. Kilda Road into Swanston Street, then into Collins Street, and marching right up to their offices.

on \$40 a week. This was no isolated

With the new consciousness of insurance workers, the potential exists for waging a successful struggle, but only if the conservatism of the present union officials can be overcome.

DIRECT A CONTOUR Why won't Labor nationalise industry? Read

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Send to 139 St John's Rd., Glebe, NSW, 2037. BY ALBAN JOHNSON

When the Tasmanian Labor Youth state executive met in Hobart on Sunday, December3, the main topic for discussion was the ALP state executive meeting to be held the next day - for the whole question of Labor Youth held over from June this year (see DIRECT ACTION Nos. 23 and 26) was to be decided.

Now, this meeting has been held, and the result has caused a big stir in Labor party circles. The special meeting held on Monday morning (4/12/72) saw premier Eric Reece moving a motion to the effect that the LY branches have their charters withdrawn, that a LY accord matter if we do it again." An amendbe given to the 1973 state ALP conference on the inactivity and withdrawing of charters, and that a charter be presented to the conference for the creation of a new Labor Youth. Les Brown, state secretary of the Miscellaneous Workers Union moved an amendment that the charters not be withdrawn. The amendment was lost and the motion carried on anti-union policies in the society as a whole an 8:6 vote. That was to be the end of

The afternoon session of the State executive meeting then proceeded to discuss a resolution from the Lutana branch that Richard Mulcahy's activity be investigated for possible damage to the party. It is important to note that nowhere did the resolution suggest that Mulcahy (Labor Youth State President) be brought before the next state executive meeting to show cause as to why he "should not be expelled from the ALP. " A point of order was raised to the effect that this was an infringement of ALP rules, but this was dismissed by the chairperson; "we've broken many rules, and it won't ment asking that the executive interview Richard Mulcahy was lost indicating the frantic haste with which the right-wing is attempting to destroy Labor Youth and the left wing of the ALP.

Since then the ALP Federal Secretary, Mick Young, has flown to Hobart to "clear up" the whole matter. However, it is clear from the statement issued

after he had met with members of the State Executive that the federal intervention some have called for would not represent a forward step. A joint Senator Barnard - Mick Young communique stated that: "A new constitution for Labor Youth will be prepared as quickly as possible for presentation to the ALP State Conference in March 1973. . . . Representatives from the Labor Youth movement will be invited to participate in drawing up the new constitution." ("Mercury", 14, 12/72)

The State Executive has now paused until December 18 when it will consider Mulcahy's testimony as to why he should not be expelled from the party. Socialists in the ALP must now organise support amongst ALP members and supporters in defence of the right of socialists to organise and be members of the ALP. The spearhead of this campaign must be demands for the immediate reconstituting of Labor Youth and the immediate dropping of all charges and intended charges against Richard Mulcahy and other Socialist Left supporters.

SPECIAL 15 FOR \$1

For the first time in ten years the Arbitration Commission has refused to grant any wage increase in a National Wage Case, Inflation, galloping at an annual rate of about 7% (according o government figures) has been accompanied by no increase in 1971 and a 2.00 increase in May of this year.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) presented uncontested evidence learly showing that workers' wages since the 1970 wage case have been eroded by the bosses' ability to raise their prices without restraint,

The ACTU asked for an across the board rise of \$12, 10 as well as a rise of \$13, 80 in the minimum wage taking it from \$51, 20 to \$65,00.

In what seems certain to receive the 1972 trophy for warped logic the learned entlemen of the Commission said: "We are aware that there was no general international assault on the workers" increase flowing from a national wage case last year.

"But that fact cannot of itself justify the granting of two national wage increases this year.

"Some exceptional or unexpected circumstances would be required to warrant alteration of the (May) 1972 yage decision during the period of its operation.

No such exceptional or unexpected circumstances have been shown. "In broad terms, the case presented by the unions bore a close resemblance to other national wage cases except that some arguments were developed in much less detail.

"We are, therefore, not persuaded to increase wages generally again this

Not persuaded indeed. Nothing shows the blatant class bias of the Commission better than their own words. Not having awarded any increase in '71 they feel no need to compensate workers for the lack of any award. Apparently the principle of having a national wage case every year stops short of having an average of one wage case every year. It has not occurred to the well paid judges that the case they heard in May was in fact the delayed 1971 Wage Case.

The commission in its infinite wisdom correctly observed that the second case they heard this year bore some resemblance to the first one. They should be the last people to be surprised at this marvellous wonder. After all it was the Arbitration Commission which awarded he piddling sum of two whole dollars

to all workers. Did they expect this magnificent sum to change the plight of Australian workers? Did they expect two dollars to increase the workers' standard of living so much as to change the basis of the ACTU's submission?

Maybe on their salaries the judges simply don't know.

The incredible decision of the Commission wasn't predicted by any of the commentators. Following a pitiful raise earlier this year they expected a raise of similar magnitude. With working class confidence at its peak, following the ALP victory, the possibility of a reserved judgement wasn't even considered. The Sydney "Daily Mirror" front page story printed just before the court decision was released gives a classic example of how wrong such predictions turned out to be.

The latest judgement is a part of an standard of living. Deteriorating economic conditions- the end of the long capitalist boom - have forced employers

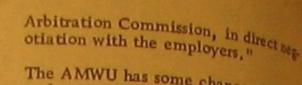
to launch their offensive. A wage freeze has been imposed on both British and American workers, Now a similar freeze is being imposed on Australian workers, Only here the arbitration court is being used for the purpose. No one can deny that wages are falling further and further behind prices. The wage freeze is on now!

While the workers were being robbed in broad daylight of their rightful gains where were the workers' "leaders"? Where was Bob Hawke, what was John Halfpenny saying, and most interestingly where was that ubiquitous defender of workers' rights, including the right to be gaoled for demanding wage increases, where was our new Minister for Industrial Relations - where was Clyde Cameron?

Well, Cameron was "disappointed", Hawke said, "being charitable this is a most unfortunate move". J. Halfpenny, Victorian Secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union was disgusted at the decision. "It leaves metal workers with no alternative but to pursue their claims for an adequate wage outside the

The Arbitration Commission's atrock ruling appears in a different light m under the new ALP government, N longer can the bureaucrats rely on ALP victory at the end of the rainbo Labor is in office. There is no furbe League and the Socialist Youth Alls les shouldn't be subjected to limita for the sake of electoral victory, T standards of living .

the Equal Pay case didn't make a against any rises.



The AMWU has some chance of g such wages though the experience of gain of industry workers and SEC employmake the prospects rather dubiou the strong may do well and the and leaderless can go to the wall trying to reach a private deal with individual bosses.

The commission deliberately atter to help strengthen the union buy in any clash with the militant ran file. Announcing its decision now before the holiday period will help quash any militant action,

Meanwhile the ACTU is going to tale no action to try to smash the bosset the Arbitration Commission, In unions like the Shop Assistants Unio the Vehicle Builders Union may take action but it is going to be limited to their narrow field.

need to put down militancy for the si of an ALP victory. The Socialist Works have fought for a Labor victory, Alve have pointed out before, workers street insincerity of the union bureaucran argued otherwise is being brought into the open by their inactivity and retire around this latest employers' attack, The election of a Labor government han't been sufficient to defend the worker

Some of the onus for the robbery unfortunately must be placed on the new labor government. The ALP, which reopened counter submission to the one presented by the previous Liberal government, As can be expected the McMahon government supported the employers' position

Labor must adopt policies which recognise the fact that wages should not be fixed by class biased judges - they should be based on collective bargaining between employers and employees, All such agreement have to carry a clause granting automatic wage increase with changes in a meaningful cost of living index to be kept by the ACTU,

fought for by the union, Socialists al-

is, of course, the only way workers

to "compulsory unionism" should be

and that all job sites be unionised. That

demands can be won, All the objections

seen for what they really are - attempts

are the workers' most elementary and

basic organisation for the defence of

their rights and conditions.

to weaken the power of the unions which

After 23 years of Liberal conservative rule ways support the closed shop, and demthe first few weeks of Labor rule has seen quite a change. The number of decisions being taken by the Whitlam-Barnard government was so large that by the second week most newspapers carried a special column devoted to the new government's actions.

Many of these actions were around issues on which there had been mass upsurges during the last few years - Vietnam, conscription, black rights, South African sporting tours and so on. The fact that the ALP victory was a victory for the working class and its allies is demonstrated lemented in about one and a half years very clearly. Labor expressed the hopes time. For the moment Labor is full of of thousands whose political consciousness had been awakened by many diverse issues in recent years, and Whitlam's initial reforms are a clear response to the mass movements that developed on those issues.

Whitlam's first decision was to assume office immediately, his new two-man government taking over on Tuesday, December 5. This allowed several promises made during the election campaign to be acted upon and didn't allow the capitalist party an extra fortnight of rule as was the case in New . Zealand.

Australian workers got some immediate benefits from dumping the Liberals. The call up was ended after 30 minutes of Labor government the government intervened in the equal pay case, the sales tax on contraceptives was dropped and they were placed on the pharmaceutical benefits list, South African sporting teams were banned from the country, Wilfred Burchett's passport was returned, steps were taken to preserve aboriginal culture and land rights etc. Most of these measures can be classified as progressive, and in implementing some of them the current leadership of the ALP has earned the wrath and anger of the bourgeoisie.

First and foremost were the Vietnam war and conscription. The last token measure of Australian support for the war against the people of Indochina is gone. If and when Nixon reescalates the war he will not have any Australian support. The release of conscripts, draft resisters, people in army gaols and soldiers gone AWL have been strongly welcomed by the Australian workers. On the other hand those sections of the bourgeoisie opposed to Labor's election, typified by the "Sydney Morning Herald" bitterly attacked BY GRAHAM TUBBENHAUER these measures. They were probably right in suggesting that army morale (i.e. army brass morale), will go down with the release of those people who broke army regulations — such regulations will never be able to be enforced again to the same extent.

Australia's foreign policy, for 23 years one of the most reactionary in the world, can no longer be counted upon to keep this record. The new government measures against the white supremacist government of Rhodesia shows a significant difference between Labor and Liberal policies, as do the measures banning any racially selected sporting teams from South Africa, Unfortunately, Whitlam's progressive measures have been accompanied by a reassurance given to the racist government in Pretoria that trade between South Africa and Australia isn't going to be affected.

A major aspect of the new foreign policy concerned China. The Australian Ambassador has already been withdrawn from Taiwan, Once again, trade with the Chlang Kai Chek gang isn't going to

Unfortunately Australia's recognition of the People's Republic as the sole legitimate government of China isn't going to be carried through to Vietnam. Labor is still recognising the puppet government of Thieu. It is absolutely inconsistent to recognise the Peking government without recognising the Provisional Revolutionary Government of south Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Hanoi.

One of the most controversial actions of Labor in power has been the decision to testrict wage gains to those who are members of unions. The controversy didn't exist in the workers movement. It was limited to the mouthpieces of the ruling classes. They regard it as "Infringing the workers' civil liberties". The principle upon which this decision is based is simply that those who are not members

significant battle looms with large capitalist enterprises in the shape of medical and hospital insurance funds. Their bureaucratic apparatus includes private planes for their directors. The funds, over a hundred in number, have accumulated \$148 million in reserves. The future of the services and the confrontation with these parasites is going to provide some of the toughest tests for the new Labor government.

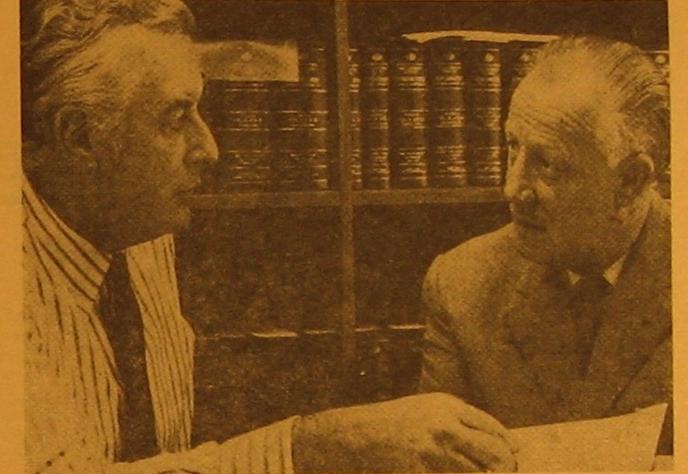
On the home front most of the announce-The other important decision on the ments concerned health, urban developdomestic front involved the reopening of the Equal Pay Case so that a new ment and transport. The universal health scheme is going to be fully impsubmission can be made to the Arbitration Court. (The Liberal government made a submission against equal pay.) The Arbitration Court ruled in favour of fighting words. On December 17 Peter equal pay extended over three years. Durisch reported in the "Sunday Tele-Which was what was to be expected. graph"!"The Labor Government has made The weakness of the Whitlam governplans to smash any doctors' revolt against ment's approach didn't lie in the Equal the Government's proposed national Pay Case. It was the omission of interhealth scheme. If the doctors refuse to vention which represents the worst discooperate the government intends to appointment of the new government to retaliate by setting up large numbers of date. The employers and their Liberal free health centres." The health scheme government both opposed any raises is going to force a showdown which is in the 1972 National Wage Case. The not going to be limited to that implacable result of the lack of any Labor governenemy of socialised medicine - the ment intervention is by now history. The Australian Medical Association. A more Arbitration Commission gave no rise

whatsoever, Since 1970 Australian workers suffered a continuing inflation of approximately 7% per year on government figures. In that period the court awarded the meagre amount of only \$2,00. The lack of government intervention and the implicit support for the McMahon government attitude has resulted in fatal consequences for Australian workers.

Without detracting from any of the progressive measures undertaken in the first few weeks of the Whitlam government, the crucial problems for the Australian working class are still unresolved. It was well expressed by Clyde Cameron, the new Minister for Labor who said unemployment could reach 200,000 early in the new year. The new Treasurer Frank Crean pointed out that there was very little the government could do about it, For despite all the changes the new government has done very little to alleviate unemployment. So far Mr Crean has announced grants totalling \$26.5 million mainly for a new urban employment scheme. This scheme is expected to ensure new employment for approximately 10,000 people. Obviously far below 200,000. It even falls short of the 12,000 thrown back into the workforce through the abolition of conscription!

This central problem has so far been ignored by Labor. It is quite obvious from the nature of the bureaucracy that real measures of combatting unemployment will not be granted by a Labor government, The ALP programme doesn't allow for a shorter working week without loss of pay for all workers. What is more disappointing is that measures which are included in the party programme have not been acted upon Such measures as increased unemployment benefits which could be granted through the states haven't been forthcoming,

The first fortnight of the new Labor government has confirmed an analysis of the dual nature of the ALP, its capitalist programme and its susceptibility to mass pressure. The Labor Party is a completely different party than the Liberal Party. Despite all the disappointment we do not regret fighting and voting for Labor . But obviously ou struggle is only just beginning.



# **EQUAL PAY CASE**

BY MARGARET MCHUGH

The decision on the Equal Pay case handed down by the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission on Friday, December 14 can be regarded as a partial victory for working women. It accepts the principle that women should receive equal pay and should not be discriminated against on the basis of their sex.

The decision of the Commission as well as being a partial victory for women was also a positive step by the ALP government to eliminate discrimination against women.

In the Federal Labor Government's submission to the Commission, 3 main points which the government wanted the Commission to act on were stressed. The first of these was that there should be no discrimination in wages on the grounds of sex of the workers. Rates should be paid on the basis of equal pay for work

of equal value. Secondly where only women were employed the rate should be determined with regard to workers in comparable fields. Thirdly, that the concept of equal pay should be introduced as quickly as possible.

Even the bourgeois press thought a miserly increase might be in order.

In relation to the first point mentioned above in the government's submission, the commission ruled that award rates for all work should be considered without regard to the sex of the employee. That women should have equal pay for work of equal value.

This is a significant broadening of the 1969 judgement which entitled women to equal pay only in jobs where a significant number of men were also employed. Now a rate will be determined on a work value basis for an occupational group or classification regardless of sex.

In cases where women only were employed the Commission stated that it may be

of work value between female classifications within the award and/or comparisons of work value between female classifications in different awards. In some cases comparisons with male classifications in other awards may be necessary."

The Commission further stated that rates in all awards of the Commission and all determinations under the Public Service Arbitration Act should have been fixed by 30 June, 1975. Implementation should take place by three equal instalments so that one-third of any increase is payable no later than December 31, 1973, half of the remainder by September 30, 1974 and the balance by June 30,

It would be fair to say that this last ruling is made solely in favour of the employers, without a thought for women. Even the granting of equal pay immediately would not be enough to compensnecessary to take into account compari as worked on female rates. ate for all the hours that women have

Even though, overall the decision and Commonwealth Arbitration Commonwealth is favourable to women, it also less plenty of leeway for the employes manoeuvre in. The "Sydney Monay Herald" editorial of December 12 comments "Fortunately the Comment judgement allows for a highly desielement of flexibility". This men that there is plenty of potential fall employers to backtrack claiming there is no common work value for and females in certain industries.

Even though the equal pay decision represents a partial victory for wom the new gains are yet to be consolid The employers will do all in their P to roll back the decision in order continue the superexploitation of workers. The only defence again remains the willingness of wom workers to act in a determined an united manner in defence of their

The majority of Australian workers probably regarded the election of a Labor government as the solution to their problems - inflation, unemployment, bad working conditions. However, the Australian Builders and Constructions Workers Federation strike in Adelaide shows that the election of the Labor Government does not mean an end to the employers' onslaught. In fact the bourgeoisie who supported the ALP hope to capitalise on the unswerving allegience which the workers have to the ALP and to use the right-wing Labor officials to dampen any working class upsurge against the offensive. The bourgeoisie would find it harder to carry out this type of policy with the Liberals in power, as workers clearly identify McMahon and his cohorts as

the open party of big business.

The dispute between the ABCWF and

Adriatic Terrazzo and Foundations Pty.

Ltd. originated over the latter's use of non-union labour. After the union organised a picket of a job site of Adriatic Terrazzo, a Supreme Court injunction was served on Les Robinson and Ron Owens, secretary and organiser for the ABCWF respectively, restraining them from interfering with or threatening the business of Adriatic Terrazzo or inducing breaches of the company's contracts. The ABCWF continued their picketing and Robinson and Owens were sent to Adelaide Gaol until they purged their contempt. Ten days after their imprisonment on November 30, the two unionists were released from gaol. This followed a recommendation to Robinson and Owens from the Trades and Labour Council meeting on Friday 8 December to "extricate themselves" from gaol and join with the whole trade union movement and the Labor Government to defeat civil action taken on industrial matters in the civil courts. The following Saturday afternoon the two attended a special hearing of the Supreme Court where they apologised for disobeying a court order and they were

then released.

During the ten days of imprisonment the role of the ACTU and the South Australian Labor Government was to diffuse all rank and file mass activity.

The ABCWF decided to place the strike in the hands of the ACTU. After this the ACTU delayed any concrete decision on positive action. Jack Mundey (NSW secretary of ABCWF) declared on D December 6 that unless the ACTU came up with a positive plan of action on the issue, the building unions were almost certain to take their own industrial action.

On the previous day Hawke had said that he wanted the dispute confined to South Australia. He went on to say he would be extremely annoyed if the building un union held a national strike in difiance of the ACTU.

As early as November 28 Dunstan also hit out at the union. He charged the ABCWF of attempting to defeat Labor governments, both State and Federal, Dunstan's attack centred around the refusal of Robinson "to use the right channels". He summed up his position when he stated "There is nothing I can do to intervene. I am powerless as Mr Robinson refuses to take any of the courses open to him to settle the dispute.

In a confrontation between Dunstan and 200 ABCWF unionists on Parliament House steps on December 7, Dunstan was booed and heckled. As the "Adelaide employers and their organisation, the Advertiser" of the same day said: "In an unprecedented scene involving a State Premier, his voice was drowned out at times in the crossfire of interjections and abuse hurled at him," Dunstan said "We have to operate through the constitution otherwise the whole place will fall apart and their will not be any Labor Government in this country . . . There are a few people who get on these steps and say 'Carn the Labor Government, we are out to be the revolutionaries of tomorrow. It will not work that way and we lose all that the labor movement has been working for for years.

You will find that when it does not work that you will be a lot sorrier and a lot poorer."

Following the 35 minute slanging match Robinson, with the support of the ABCWF Federal Council, issued a writ against Dunstan for slander and libel. Norm Gallagher (General Secretary of the ABCWF) said, "It was a very hot statement by Mr Dunstan and we will be claiming about \$1 million damages, '

The strike illustrates various principles for which the trade union movement has fought for years. Non-unionists expect to receive benefits won by unions but do not contribute to the costs of winning better wages etc. The use of civil courts in settling disputes has been raised before in South Australia. Earlier this year the Kangaroo Island dispute, involving the Australian Workers Union ended up in the civil courts. The Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation Act proposed by Dunstan excluded the use of civil courts. Dunstan does not want the civil courts to be used in industrial disputes as this would bring growing awareness amongst workers of the role that the courts play in defending big business. The clause has been inserted by the Legislative Council to the disgust of Dunstan.

Unfortunately sectarianism within the labour movement precluded the unity necessary for effective action against the Housing Industry Association. Many trade union officials refused to support Robinson because they believe that any industrial upsurge would damage Labor's chances in the Federal elections. Because Robinson is a Maoist many of the Trades and Labour Council delegates would not support him and this was particularly so with union officials who were members of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party.

The only way to defeat anti-working class legislation is through united action by all workers - as was shown by the strikes to free Clarrie O'Shea in 1969,

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# FUND DRIVE SUCCESS

DIRECT ACTION'S \$2000 Fund Drive gone over the top. We have raised, \$2068 - and some more is promise To all our friends and supporters where this result possible DIRECT At sends revolutionary thanks. The of this drive has enabled DIRECT to equip its new premises and pa most pressing debts. We can thus the new year with confidence. the need of the revolutionary soc. press for money doesn't end now. going to be pressed for funds from nuntil the revolution. So, fund drive not, any and all donations are welca

# BY PETER CONRICK

There is no set date for the emergence of the Australian Labor Party. Its formal appearance in the early 1890s coincided with an upsurge in working class militancy, but it was by no means a product of that upsurge.

The Australian Labor Party was the product of an evolutionary process in trade unionism that began in the 1880s and culminated in the spread of mass unions to important sections of the working class such as miners and bush workers. The corresponding growth of elementary forms of class consciousness were expressed in the collectivist ethos of these new bush unions.

The roots of the ALP lay solidly in these unions and their organisational structures were manifested in the emerging political party. To understand the evolution of Labor political representation it is necessary to trace the strands of union development in the 1880s.

tially, the conditions of labour created by the gold rush and its aftermath gave a characteristic shape to the Australian labour movement. The peculiar development of the Australian economy gave the working class a new composition and weight substantially different from their European proletarian counterparts. Thus we find (at least until 1890) that the Australian working class occupied a relatively strong bargaining position with wage increases and reductions in hours, The perennially heavy demand for labour in the pastoral industry was matched by the growth of light industry in Melbourne and Sydney and the demand for skilled and unskilled workers in the housing boom of the 1880s.

Parallel to such heavy labour requirements was the disorganisation and individualism rife among the bourgeoisie, It was not until 1890 that an effective squatters' organisation was formed and ready to take on the Shearers' Union to win back some of the concessions made to labour in the relative prosperity of the 1880s. The story was repeated in the Maritime industry with the organisation of the Shipowners' Association, as well as the mining industry.

The growth of unionism before 1890 appeared in those industries where capitalist ownership was highly concentrated and where the basis of exploitation was more open. Hence the capitalisation of the mining industry in the decade 1865-75 and the close concentration of labourers in this industry saw the growth of the Amalgamated Miners' Association in 1874, first in Victoria and later extending into other colonies.

Similarly the tight grouping of itinerant workers such as shearers facilitated the rapid unionisation of agrarian workers.

In short, the mass unions were organisations of unskilled workers, centred on the most developed sectors of primary industry. Despite the expansion of manufacturing in the urban centres of Melbourne and Sydney, unions here still tended towards the more exclusive, craft orientated organisations of skilled workers. The urban labour movement became a complex of small craft guilds dedicated to the maintenance of an aristocracy of labour. It was these craft

unions which were to prove the greatest obstacle to the growth of independent working class political action.

The basic successes of union action in the decade 1880-1890 laid the essential groundwork for the emergence of a political organisation, based on these newly developed structures. Of course the recognition of the necessity for labour political representation did not blossom overnight. As far back as 1856 Victorian Stonemasons had lobbied parliamentarians on the question of an eight hour day. The Miners' Reform League was a proto-type of this approach. Created after the Eureka stockade in 1854, the League pursued purely parliamentary goals such as the abolition of property qualifications and payment of members. The Reform League sustained the essential petty-bourgeois approach of Australian trade unionism towards political action. Yet even at this early stage we can find the contradiction that the Party's history: The Reform League of working class origin, but at the same time the leadership hierarchy of organised labour restricted its political direction to parliamentary gradualism and reformist measures. This ambiguity has remained in practically the same form to this very day.

This dualism appeared in two of the first speeches made in parliament by Labor representative George Black in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in 1891. "The men we represent" he said "are the wage-earners-those who labour with either hand or head, with either mind or muscle." But on the previous day he had said:

"We have been told that we have come into this House to represent a class. Well, that may be; but that class is the class of all classes. It is a class as wide as humanity - so wide that you may describe trade union interests. At no stage did it as the class out of which all other classes are built up."

Fifteen years later W.G. Spence, the founder of the AMA and at this time a Labor member of Federal parliament wrote that "Our only hope is with the mass of the people, and above all, with the wage-earners." At the same time Spence could write:

Social Party - those who are against society and in favour of class dominance for right, for high moral principles. . . . Labor is not for class but for all."

The movement which placed men such as Spence and Black into parliament was precipitated by the bitter strikes of 1890-94. Within the space of three years the colonial unions had conceded almost every major concession won from the capitalist class to that date. The national confrontations between the unions and capitalist organisations involved all sectors The confusion in the union leadership shearers, coal miners, silver-lead miners, transport workers were all locked out by their bosses. Police and military action horse brought out from the barracks.

The bosses' demands for "freedom of contract" raised during the strikes struck

The impetus for the formation of a Labor

ing class in the previous ten years. In the context of the depression, as tentative prosperity crumbled around the edges the bosses' ultimatum threatened to smash the basis of unionism itself.

The defeats experienced by the working class organisations in this period produced a variety of responses. Most union postmortems stressed the broadening of their organisations, removing restrictions on membership and the like, If the strikes did nothing else, they forced upon the smug labour leadership the realisation that the old exclusionist policies of membership were relics of more prosperous years. In the context of mass unemployment in the 1890s and attacks on wage levels, union membership suffered a decline as owners found workers willing to labour at below average rates.

Also to emerge from these defeats was an increased emphasis on amalgamation and federation. Without the growth of has plagued Labor Party leaders throughout intercolonial trade union congresses, the national basis for the formation of the and its unionist progeny were organisations Labor Party would have been an impossibility. Again the demand for federation did not originate in the strikes themselves but was the product of union growth in the

> The political lessons drawn here have two aspects. On the one hand the shattering of unionist hopes by this latest confrontation encouraged many flights to utopianism. The response of William Lane was but an extreme version of this malaise. Lane's answer to the class struggle was to gather together a few dispirited followers and start an Owenite community in Paraguay. Needless to say this venture ended in abject failure.

On the other hand the majority of trade union bodies pointed to the necessity for an independent political party whose aim should be the direct representation of this proposition contemplate a movement outside parliament - in the minds of men such as Spence the aims of political labour were as an integrating force, where the party could serve as the go-between and point of contact with unions and the capitalist class.

In the words of Spence, the leaders of the trade union movement saw the Labor "There are only two parties now; the Anti- Party as "introducing co-operation instead of competition. . . not because we are going to abandon the principles that and the Labor Party who stands for justice, guided men in the days of the old unionism" but because "we must unite on the common platform when we speak, and when we vote for reforms that are necess-

> Nothing could have been more alien to the leadership of the trade unions than a party adapted to a conscious challenge to the power of the state, let alone to any form of socialism.

over the class basis of the emerging party was not reflected in its rank and file support. Although the early Labor Party were used, thousands of special constables trade unionists and workers it was from the working class through the trade unions that the political power of the ALP arose and was reflected.

at the root of every gain made by the work- Party was not confined to the trade unions.

The Australian Socialist League, is in May 1887 announced a meeting "the purpose of forming an Australia Labor Party." The call was stillion while the ASL could claim the ged of being the first working class both propose a Labor Party, it was left to the Trades and Labour Council to ke the party as a practical objective

In 1874 the TLC set up a Parliaments Committee to act as a lobby and success fully sponsored a worker for parlianer Direct representation was hindered box ever by the heavy financial burder on the unions - it was this realisation that prompted the TLC at the Inter-Colonic Trade Union Congresses of 1884 and 1885 to support payment of members of paris

It was not until mid-1890 that the TIC moved seriously towards parliamentary action - the decision to commit trace unions' funds to form Labor Electoral Leagues was in one sense a measure of desperation as reactions against the strikes hardened . While the union leader ship sought some form of refuge in parliamentary action, the mass of the working class found in the Labor League what they saw as the means by which to defeat both the capitalists and their parliamentary machine.

The collapse of the Maritime Strike in November 1890 accelerated TLC intent in taking concrete organisational step for a political party. On November 23 the executive passed a motion for the establishment of the Labor Electoral Leagues, and the TLC parliamentary committee was delegated to investigate the establishment of branches in all electorates. The impetus for this ion originated within the movement itself, only socialist fringe groups as the ASL exhibited any external poures for independent political action

In the early years of its existence that trade union origin and connections it a cohesion that no bourgeois poll groupings had possessed in Australia was despite the fact that the Party sa from a lack of definition over prop and composition. The division which evolved between the parliamentary extra-parliamentary wings was in real the most concrete statement of the party's ambiguity. Many of the pro ive candidates for Labor representastill retained strong links with establi bourgeois parties. The imprecision the party structure gained reflection the fratricidal conflicts over the p of loyalty to the ALP programme. to be firmly established that the All candidate was not a free agent, but sa bound to a common programme.

Perhaps in no period in its subseque year history has the ALP experi contradictions and confusions of its role more than in its formative year many socialists this confusion rem Revolutionaries cannot ignore or by the ALP today. As in 1890, the La Party represents a fundamental pol step forward for Australian workers It is the only alternative to the part of the Australian bourgeoisie - but also remains an obstacle to the co ion of the mass revolutionary part is necessary for the achievement of socialism and the final emancipation the Australian working class.

# Feminism and the Marxist Movement by Mary-Alice Waters

n her book, Woman's Estate, Juliet Mitchell, the festo in 1848 boldly proclaimed: forward the thesis that "If socialism is to regain an adequate place for them in its theory."

In this she is echoing an opinion that is far from common to all will likewise fall to the women. original. Everyone who is active in the women's libmovement has heard the same arguments in one form instruments of production." or another. Often we hear the charges: "The Marxist novement has always ignored the problem of women's liberation." "The socialist movement played no signifcant role in the struggle for women's suffrage, which proves you don't really care about women." Or, "Historically, Marxism hasn't recognized the oppression cipation of women. But their socialism, as well as their of women as a sex. It is only concerned with the op- theories on the family and women, rested on moral pression of women as workers."

We have heard such charges repeated so often, either ing of the laws of history and the class struggle rooted from ignorance or ill will, that sometimes, even un- in the growth of humanity's productive capacities. onsciously, we begin to accept the fraudulent version Marxism for the first time provided a scientific materialof Marxism and the history of women's struggles that list foundation, not only for socialism but also for womhas been concocted to buttress such assertions. The en's liberation. It laid bare the roots of women's oppurpose of this talk is to begin to cut through the lies pression, its relationship to a system of production n order to restore the true history of Marxism and based on private property and a society divided between

eration began to unfold in the late 1960s, the Marx- society, and the function of the family in perpetuating st movement in this country-the Socialist Workers the oppression of women. Party and the Young Socialist Alliance-responded in a revolutionary fashion. We recognized the profound nportance of the fact that women as women were beginning to move into action. We threw ourselves into the movement, to learn from it, to better understand it, to help lead it in an independent and fighting direction, and win the most conscious feminists o an understanding that only a socialist revolution these burdens, Marx pointed out, the masses of women

he complete liberation of women. st classics more deeply than before and tried to apply pulsion on which it necessarily rests, the bourgeois and political orientation in the fundamentals of selves would be transformed into free relations of free

Now, in addition to action and theory there is a hird step we must take. That is to go back and retrace liberation out of the sphere of utopian yearning by the true lines of our history in order to establish the proving that capitalism itself produces a force-the ontinuity of Marxist theory and practice.

do we have to contend with the now familiar problems of discovering the true history of women and of writing jurselves as women back into the historical record. We nust also cut through the problems created by the fact that most authors who are concerned with women's history are anti-Marxist. They are not interested in discovering what role socialist women played or accuratey portraying the political positions taken by revolutionary Marxists. That is a job only we can do.

# Is our theory adequate?

want to begin by stating what I consider to be the most important generalization we must draw from the record of revolutionary Marxism in relation to the struggle against the oppression of women. It is this: From the inception of the Marxist movement to today, for nearly 125 years, revolutionary Marxists have waged an unremitting struggle within the broad working-class movement in order to establish a revolutionary attitude toward the struggle for women's iberation. They have fought to place it on a sound historical and materialist basis; and to educate the entire anguard of the working class to an understanding of he significance of the struggles by women for full equal-

between revolutionary and reformist currents within the working-class movement, between those committed to a class-struggle perspective and those following a line of class collaboration. Women's oppression and how o struggle against it has been an issue at every turning point in the history of the revolutionary movement Our ideological and political forebears, the revolutionary Marxists, both male and female, have led the fight against all those who refused to inscribe women's liberation on the banner of socialim, or who supported it in words but refused to fight for it in practice.

This is very important Our opponents often try to saddle us with responsibility for the positions taken, not by the revolutionaries within the working-class movement, but by the reformists - by the right wing of the pre-World War I American Socialist Party, by the refused to recognize the complexity of the class struggle the 1880s the movement was divided between the folor the need to fight for democratic rights. But those lowers of the late Ferdinand Lassalle on one hand and responsibilities. or the need to fight for democratic rights. But mose and the Marxists under the leadership of Wilhelm Lieb-with sixty or seventy additional years of revolution-tendencies do not represent our tradition. It is precise knecht and August Bebel on the other. In 1875 the knecht and August Bebel on the other.

The first dividing line came as early as the founding If the Marxist movement itself. The Communist Mani-

geois family, based? On capital, on private gain. . . its status as the revolutionary politics . . . it has to The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of make good its practical sins of commission against production. He hears that the instruments of production women and its huge sin of omission—the absence of are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being

"He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed eration struggle or familiar with the literature of the at is to do away with the status of women as mere

The line of division established here and in all the subsequent writings of Marx and Engels on this subject was that between utopian and scientific socialism. The pre-Marxian utopian socialists - such as Fourier and Owen-were also fervent champions of the emanprinciples and abstract desires - not on an understand- in any way. a class that owned the wealth and a class that produced As the new stage of the struggle for women's lib- it. Marxism explained the role of the family within class

More than that, Marxism pointed out the road to achieving women's liberation. It explained how the abolition of private property would provide a material basis for transfering to society as a whole all those onerous social responsibilities today borne by the individual family - the care of the old and sick; the feeding, clothing, and educating of the young. Relieved of ould provide the necessary material foundations for would be able to break the bonds of domestic servitude, they would be able to exercise their full capacities At the same time, we began the process of arming as creative and productive-not just reproductiveurselves theoretically. We studied the relevant Marx- members of society. Freed from the economic com-

And finally, Marxism took socialism and women's working class-strong enough to destroy it, capable We have a doubly difficult job, however. Not only of carrying through the momentous task of abolishing the tyranny of the possessing few over the overwhelming majority of humankind. For the first time, socialists could stop wishing for the new and better society and begin to organize to bring it about.

The struggle for women's liberation was thus lifted out of the realm of the personal, the "impossible dream," and unbreakably linked to the victory of the progressive forces of our epoch. It became a social task in the interests of all humanity. Thus, Marxism provided a materialist analysis and a scientific perspective for women's liberation.

Those women like Juliet Mitchell who charge that Marxism does not have an adequate place in its theory for women are being dishonest. It is not the degree of adequacy in Marxism's theory that they really question. They fundamentally disagree with its materialist analysis of women's oppression and all that flows from it, including the need for a revolutionary Marxist party to lead the working class and its allies to power.

# Record of the First and Second internationals

hen the First International was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864, socialist theory was put into large-scale organizational practy and for liberation from the centuries-old degrada- tice for the first time. In a radical departure from the This battle has always been one of the dividing lines ingmen's Association elected a British woman tradecil. How far in advance this step was from the practice of other political organizations of the day can be judged from the fact that Marx tells of receiving letters asking if women would even be allowed to join the International Marx himself made a motion in the General Council that special working women's branches be organized in factories, industries, and cities where there were large concentrations of women workers, adding that this should in no way cut across the building of mixed branches as well.

A year after the founding of the First International est, strongest, and most influential socialist party in Party of Germany), but maintained sharp differences solutions to these same problems. There is no separate

British women's liberation activist and author, puts "On what foundation is the present family, the bour- eration was one of the questions that divided them. The Lassalleans were opposed to demanding equal rights for women as part of the party's program. They believed that women were inferior creatures whose preordained place was in the home and that the victory of socialism would return them to their natural habitat by assuring the husband an adequate wage to provide for his entire family. Thus women would not be forced to work for a wage.

The early programs of the German Social Democrats demanded only "full political rights for adults" - leaving purposely ambiguous the question of whether or no women were considered adults. It was not until the class-struggle left wing succeeded in passing a basically Marxist program in 1891 that the party demanded political rights for all, regardless of sex, and the aboli tion of every law which discriminated against women

A decisive element in the victory of the Marxists on this question was the book by August Bebel entitled Woman and Socialism, published in 1883. Although it came out a year before Engels's Origin of the Family Private Property and the State, it is basically a develop ment of the ideas outlined by Engels, a powerful explanation of the roots of women's oppression, the forms it has taken over the centuries, the historically progressive effect of the integration of women into industrial production, and the need for a socialist revolution to clear the way for women's liberation. Woman and Socialism created a sensation not only in Germany but throughout Europe and was instrumental in the educa-

tion of several generations of Marxists. The adoption of a Marxist program, however, was not the end of the struggle within the SPD for a revolutionary position on women's oppression. After the Lassalleans had ceased to exist as a distinct tendency, a new reformist current arose in the party pressing for adaptation to the capitalist status quo on a variety of fronts. Clara Zetkin, one of the staunchest supporters of the Marxist left wing, led the socialist women's movement throughout the entire prewar period and fought within the SPD to develop a revolutionary perspective Zetkin's leadership limited to this one question. In 1914, when the majority of the SPD leaders capitulated to German imperialism and voted to support their "own" ruling class in the First World War, Clara Zetkin was one of the tiny handful of German Social Democrats who, along with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, broke with the SPD and maintained a revolutionary

internationalist position. Throughout the early 1890s the SPD concentrated primarily on the trade-union organization of women and made some important gains. Then, in 1896, under Zetkin's urging, the SPD adopted a motion to begin developing special organizations for more extensive political activity among women. In addition to working for the general aims of the party, they were to concentrate on a whole range of issues of special concern to women: political equality, insurance for childbirth, protective legislation for women workers, education and security for children, and political education for women.

Until 1908 it was illegal for women in most of Germany even to join a political group of any kind. The SPD got around this by setting up dozens of "societies for the self-education of women workers," loose associations which were partly outside the boundaries of the party but closely linked to it. From 1900 on, biannual Socialist Women's conferences were held to unite these groups and provide leadership for them.

But the reason for these special working women's organizations was not just to solve the legal problem. Revolutionary leaders of the women's movement in Germany argued for the need to have separate women's organizations on the basis of the special needs of women, their isolation within the family, their fear of speaking out with men around, and the need to develop the leadership capacities of women.

After 1908, women were legally able to join the SPD directly and those in the special SPD women's organizations did. But the women continued to maintain their own newspaper, Gleichheit (Equality), edited by Clara Zetkin, which reached a circulation of more than 100,-000 by 1912.

They also functioned in a somewhat special way within the SPD. For example, after 1908 women received proportional representation on all the standing committees of the party, and the women members of the committees were elected by meetings of the women coma fight erupted within the German socialist movement rades. This is interesting, not as a final organizational between the Marxists and non-Marxists. In the decades model, but as an attempt by the SPD to work out difahead the German working class would create the larg- ficult problems posed by the need for both independent women's organizations and a single revolutionary parthe pre-World War I era. But from 1865 until well into ty of the working class within which there are no second-class citizens and all members have equal rights

tendencies do not represent our tradition. It is processed by against such forces that revolutionary Marxists have been groups united in a single party, the SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands - Social Democratic ary Marxists have worked out different, and better,



special subgroups—we call them "fractions"—to orga- portance of the suffrage struggle, and on other demands can labor and socialist history. nize and carry out the decisions once they are made being raised by women. these experiences of the German Social Democrats be- of this debate and the views put forward by some of fore them and developed an organizational form on the left-wing members of the American SP. which ours is basically modeled.

nto a historical question like the oppression of women women." We must resist the inclination to project backward in pay more attention to it. will not be able to learn from the past.

revolutionary party of the working class: first, from against men." the early years of the American Socialist Party; second, lastly, from the founding of the Fourth International

he backward, reactionary, patriarchal ideas con- aspects, moral inferiority of woman as against man cerning women's nature which were prevalent as they did in Germany. That is to be expected. No accrued to men." ought to establish a correct line in theory and in prace explained:

The American Socialist Party

try for the first time in 1904.

Within the Socialist Party, which was founded in 1901, tion of a new consciousness in women." so little. While socialists had no intention of trying to work for it." restrict women to the home, once the economic compulsion to work was removed it was also that below the contribution argued that if women won the referred to earlier. We derive our organisational ideas program for the contribution argued that if women won the referred to earlier.

similar to the then prevalent view of the Black struggle: women's oppression, like racial oppression, would be solved in passing by the class struggle. It was not a is no command over one's own body. If a woman to the facts. The Party must have organs—working its own organizational forms or put forward its own

James P. Cannon, in his study, The First Ten Years of American Communism, describes the left wing of the Socialist Party as a "theoretically uncertain and somewhat heterogeneous minority." It took the Bolshevik revolution and the influence of the ideas and example of Lenin, Trotsky, and the new Third (Communist) International to place this left wing on solid foundations. The young Communist Party of the 1920s brought the American socialist movement out of what Cannon calls the "theoretical wasteland of its prehisthe Communist Party on the importance and character

Communist Party on the importance Blacks were exploited as Blacks in addition to being exploited as workers, that a program of special demands for this oppressed nationality was needed.

I am sure a similar process took place on the ques-

women's section or caucus within the SWP or YSA. an articulate group of women and men who made Everyone has equal voice and vote in reaching all their views known and tried to win the Socialist Party decisions on all questions. At the same time, we have to a revolutionary position on feminism, on the im-

and to help lead and direct the work. The Bolsheviks, I will return a little later to the question of the sufwho had to solve the same problem, likewise drew on frage struggle, but here I want to give one example

The New Review, a monthly magazine published We should take note of two important points here. by SP members, was one of the organs expressing the First is the realization that questions such as the rela- opinions of the left wing. It frequently carried articles tionship between a revolutionary party and an inde- dealing with socialism and feminism. One of the most pendent women's movement and how the leadership of interesting exchanges occurred in 1914, starting with this work within the party should be organized are the March issue. Mary White Ovington (who was also not new problems that suddenly emerged in 1970. The one of the founders of the NAACP) published an ar-Marxist movement does have a history and tradition ticle entitled "Socialism and the Feminist Movement." on these questions that is worth studying and learning She began by stating that "Socialism and Feminism are the two greatest movements of to-day. The one aims Second is a word of warning. When we start to look to abolish poverty, the other to destroy servitude among

and the struggle against it, we need to guard against She went on to explain why women were not willing the gravest error of all - one that most of our critics to wait for socialism to begin to struggle for their in the women's liberation movement make. That is rights, any more than men were; why this was a revthe error of approaching history in an ahistorical way. olutionary struggle; and why the Socialist Party should masses to the conquest of power,

time our current level of consciousness or stage of Ovington's defense of the feminist movement elicited development instead of judging the past by what was a reply, in the May issue of the New Review, from known and what was possible then. Unless we take British "socialist" E. Belfort Bax who informed her pains at each step to place things in their concrete his- how ignorant she was because he, E. Belfort Bax, torical context and understand them in that light, we had conclusively proved in his book, The Fraud of Feminism, that things such as masculine despotism I want to give three more historical examples of and female "slavery" did not exist. On the contrary the way in which the question of women's liberation the real problem was that of female privilege, of "womhas been an integral part of the struggle to build a an's immunity from punishment for crimes committed

Bax asserted that it was unfortunate a plank in from the early years of the Third International; and favor of female suffrage had been included in the party's program, but it was not too late to put an end to such foolishness if people would only think rationally. "Given an average intellectual, and, in certain

... there is obvious reason for refusing to concede in late nineteenth-century society found their re- to woman the right to exercise, let us say, administra-

that surrounds it But it was the right wing of the so- an indignant response. For the rest of the year, month in the divisions. However, unlike some of the earlier gle would be guin't cialist movement that acted as the main conduit for after month, the New Review carried articles blasting debates and differences, this time many of the opponents On further many of the opponents out that this consexist ideas. Many in the left wing of the movement him. In defense of the term "feminism" one author of revolutionary Marxism were ultraleft, not reformist gress of wom 'u and increase unrest,

for the American public. It was published in this coun- in laws and institutions, the author developed the theme in 1921. that feminism "means a changed psychology, the crea-

italism was forcing women to work because men earned as woman can obtain real freedom. Therefore I must Progress Publishers, 1968].)

she wishes . . . she is certainly a slave."

And so it went, article after article explaining socialism rousing the broad masses of women. . . and feminism in terms that sound like they could have Zetkin commented that many party members had been political and been written in the 1970s. Provide the could have it, and participated in it. The fact that they were not people in general." able to educate the entire socialist movement to the "How," Lenin asked Zetkin, "do such guardians of same level of understanding is attributable to three the 'purity of principles' cope with the historical necessitory." Cannon explains at length how this help from deeper and more pervasive than today; American so in the face of the inexorable necessities."

tion of women's oppression, as the resolutions of the the heroic battles of the Wobblies, their great free speech society. Workers of the World. When most of us think about propertied classes who also suffer under bourgeois work directed specifically to women were far superior well as men. But one of the most dynamic revolution as Finally, Lenin was sharply critical of the national work directed specifically to women were far superior well as men. But one of the most dynamic revolutionary sections of the Comintern for not doing as much as to anything the prewar Socialist Party had ever figures of the early years of the century, Elizabeth Gurley they should. They adopt a passive, wait-and-see attitude However, the question was handled differently than

She helped lead the famous Spokane, Washington, free ing women under communist leadership." He attributed the Black struggle. In the first place, there were several thousand women members of the Socialist Party pant and according to the customs of the time about the weakness of women's work in the International to the eral thousand women members of the Socialist Party
as compared to a small handful of Black members.

specta ugar—ucspite me fact that she was visibly pregnant and, according to the customs of the time, should persistence of male chauvinist ideas which led to an persistence of male chauvinist ideas which led to an persistence of building as compared to a small handful of Black members.

And second, the prewar and immediate postwar years in the important IWW-led Lawrence textile at the importance of building to the customs or the time, should persistence of male chauvinist ideas which led to underestimation of the vital importance of building And second, the prewar and immediate postwar years in the important IWW-led Lawrence textile strike in a mass women's movement. For this reason he thought

cialist Party leaders and labor organizers like Rose Pastor Stokes, Ella Reeve Bloor, and Mother Jones were women who made historic contributions to Ameri-

# Lenin's views on female emancipation

he Third International was built on the shoulders of the victorious Bolshevik revolution. It was founded when a line of blood was being drawn between the new revolutionary international and the old Social Democracy. No quarter was given to those who wavered between the two. It was a life-and-death struggle for the young Soviet Republic, which was fight ing the invading armies of fourteen countries, trying to hold power despite the devastation of war and civil war. famine and disease, in the most economically backward country of Europe.

From 1917 through 1923, the Bolsheviks and many others saw that the struggle for state power was on the agenda not only in Russia but in Germany and other European countries as well. In this they were not wrong, But no leadership other than the Bolsheviks proved capable of meeting the challenge and grasping the historical opportunity to bring the insurgent working

As the first revolutionary wave subsided, many in the young International failed to understand the meaning of the new situation, the need to readjust the tactics and the Sovie strategy of the International to accord with the new objective situation, the need to adopt a united-front strategy and i toward the Social Democracy and other working-class how it would parties. They didn't understand that repeated denunciations of the betrayals by Social Democracy would not in order to be in order to be it a disciplined to the by themselves convince those workers still loyal to the quires as a man that women Commu-

Lenin and Trotsky together led the fight in the Third on a locid and price International against the ultraleft tendencies that sprang Lenin's racing probable approval. up. They recognized that ultraleftist errors could be But he question at communist fraction at just as disastrous for a revolutionary party as reformist such a corpus a pational scale would be

It is in this general political context that Lenin's opin- whether the burge termist women might not ions about the proposed work of the International be stronger lead that the thought it was Women's Commission of the Comintern should be seen. not a great dange the communist women flections within the American socialist movement, just tive and legislative functions such as have hitherto Again, this was at a new turning point in the history would have be be and proposals for acof the revolutionary Marxist movement Again, analysis tion And am I bless it would be no disorganization is immune to pressures from the society Bax's bigoted and pompous opinions brought forth of women's oppression and the struggle against it figured aster. Lenis street int after a stubborn strug-

Clara Zetkin's book, Recollections of Lenin, contains uncertainty, "No one doubts that women are changing. We need the fullest presentation of Lenin's views at this stage. of the bourgests presentation was a more and more deadly stranglehold on the revolu-For example, it was Daniel DeLeon, the central lead- an appropriate word which will register this fact. The Zetkin's account is based on two meetings with Lenin congress would also er of the Socialist Labor Party and one of the founders term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as in Moscow in 1920. These were preliminary discussions, the forces of the common term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as in Moscow in 1920. These were preliminary discussions, the forces of the common term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as in Moscow in 1920. These were preliminary discussions, the forces of the common term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as in Moscow in 1920. These were preliminary discussions, the forces of the common term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as in terminology of the common term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as in terminology of the common terminology of of the LW. W., the Industrial Workers of the World, well as any other word. . . . It means woman's strug- part of the process of drafting the resolution on work of the energy a strengthening of our along the lines indicated at the Third Congress. The As an integral part of this process the gains made by who translated Bebel's work, Woman and Socialism, gle for freedom." In addition to demands for changes among women for the Third Congress of the Comintern forces."

First, Lenin urged that the document should stress out to convice at a de laternational of They realized that there was no possibility of transquite discernible right, center, and left wings rapidly
materialized. Typical of the attitude held by right wing.

Louise W. Kneeland wrote in the August 1914 issue:

and social position and the private ownership of the German and Limits, the two parties with

without makellate the country and left wings rapidly

and social position and the private ownership of the German and Limits, the two parties with

without makellate the country and an advanced capitalist country and an advanced capitalist country and an advanced capitalist country and private ownership of the graph without makellate the country and the private ownership of the country and the private ownership of the graph with the country and the private ownership of the country and the country and the private ownership of the country and materialized. Typical of the attitude held by right-wing "The socialist who is not a Feminist lacks breadth. The Feminist lacks breadt elements within the party was an article printed in the The Feminist who is not a Socialist is lacking in strat-April 28, 1901, issue of The Worker, one of the many egy. To the narrow-minded Socialist who says: 'Sonewspapers published unofficially by SP members (the ciallien is a working in the family, communists in the femshould seek to link the women's movement with "the What will be not be participants in the femSocialist Region on Women in the Chinese Revolution." Again newspapers published unofficially by SP members (the cialism is a working class movement for the freedom proletarian class struggle and the revolution." (Clara inist movement in the Chinese Revolution. Again and again the Left Opposition led by Trotsky proletarian class struggle and the revolution. It is an interview with Chen Pi lan today a leader of the sounded the alarm against these measures and exposed SP had no official press; all its publications were individually owned and controlled and reflected differnothing to do the far-sighted Fermination of the working class movement for the freedom proletarian class struggle and the revolution." (Clara inist movement for the freedom proletarian class struggle and the revolution." (Clara inist movement for the freedom proletarian class struggle and the revolution. The first struggle and the revolution. The first struggle and the revolution of the working class movement for the freedom proletarian class struggle and the revolution. The first struggle and the revolution of the sounded the alarm against these measures and exposed dividually owned and controlled and reflected differnothing to do the far-sighted Ferminational who was a what they meant, both on the ideological plane and dividually owned and controlled and reflected differing points of view). The Worker explained that capSocialist movement is the only meant, both on the ideological plane and
the SWP and Elisabeth the need to build to the Chinese Section of the Fourth International, who was what they meant, both on the ideological plane and
the SWP and Elisabeth to the Chinese Section of the Fourth International, who was on the level of human suffering for millions of women. ing points of view). The Worker explained that cap- Socialist movement is the only means whereby woman phlet Lenin On the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of Women [Moscow: a broad missing in the control of the Emancipation of the Emancipat

Lenin next took up the organizational questions I this time as a sion to work was removed, it was clear that "ninetyright to vote one of the things they must do is "repeal from our ideological conceptions," he told Zetkin. "We jective pour interest to provide the second pour ideological conceptions," he told Zetkin. "We jective pour interest to the second pour ideological conceptions, he told Zetkin. The second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions, and it is not to the second pour ideological conceptions. nine women out of every hundred would choose the lot the law which, by penalizing the spread of information want no separate organisations of communist women! But the most of wife and mother." A widespread attitude within the Socialist Party was enforce upon women the tyranny of accidental and Party, Just as he who is a Communist. They have the same rights and duties."

> may not keep her body for her own uses as long as groups, commissions, committees, sections or whatever else they may be called - with the specific purpose of of the late

been written in the 1970s. Reading such contributions, denouncing her for making similar proposals on the one senses the depth and breadth of the female radicali- basis that such ideas were a return to Social Democratic there were many socialist moments. And realizes that traditions, and that "since the Communist Parties gave of the many socialist moments." there were many socialist women who understood the full significance of that radicalization identificance of the control of the radicalization identificance of the radicalization identificance of the radicalization identificance of the radicalization identificance of the radical radicalization identificance of the radical rad full significance of that radicalization, identified with work without differentiation among all the working the Communication

factors: Social prejudices against women were even ties of our revolutionary policy? All their talk collapses against the deeper and more pervasive than today. A series of our revolutionary policy? All their talk collapses

majority of the members of the Socialist Party were as men," he demanded, "not even in Soviet Russia? Why Before going on to the early years of the Third Inter- In sharp terms he defended the need to put forward national, I want to mention one more aspect of our special demands for the benefit of all women, of working revolutionary heritage in this country: the Industrial women and peasant women, and even women of the

saw a massive upsurge in the suffrage struggle, an 1912 and many others. Both the IWW and the Socialist the resolution for the Third World Congress of the actual movement involving tens of thousands of women in actions all over the country. These two features the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which often the resolution for the Third World Congress of the textile mills and the garment industry which of the resolution for the res en in actions all over the country. These two features the textile mills and the garment industry which often on the agenda would itself give an impetus to the work

wives, and the status legislation, and legal a similar conferences

and also pointed out the communist women

strong enough to the delegates,

abortion issu 12

he "Theses on Prope need for a socialist tration, and the nethe Community of the revolution, the

the revolutionary

argeols feminism. ald be achieved by nationals and join the Comintern to fight for their libera- these are reflected in language and innumerable so-

lack of section within the party; and on the other hand, why there will find many examples of pleasantries at the expense makes clearer duty must be special organs of the party for work among of women and language which we would never allow women. It made it obligatory, indeed almost a condition in the revolutionary movement today. some point to this as "proof" that the socialist moveevery section must set up a women's commission ment doesn't understand the oppression of women. This structure that would function at every level of the party is simply a dishonest subterfuge, an example of the kind from the central national leadership to the branches of ahistorical thinking I referred to earlier. It fails to or cells. It instructed the parties to assure that at least see the wood because some of the leaves are wormone comrade be put on full-time paid staff to direct eaten. It's an attempt to substitute subjective criteria this work on a national level. And it established an for an honest evaluation of the political line advocated, International Women's Secretariat to oversee the work adopted, and carried out by the revolutionary Marxist stoletarian policy and call regular six-month conferences of representamovement in its evolution Judging on that basis, which

and agitational tasks and some of the key demands to oppression and the road to liberation than any previous be raised in all three sectors of the world: in the Soviet organization in world history. Union, in the advanced capitalist countries, and in the It also makes us extremely conscious of the depth Orient (that is, in the colonial countries that were most of the Stalinist counterrevolution and betrayal. On the in ferment at the time). There was no nonsense such as question of women's liberation—as on the national we hear from ultralefts today who argue that women's question, youth, the united front, and others-broad liberation is of interest only to the relatively privileged layers of revolutionaries are only now starting to work eing organized inside women in the advanced nations or a question that back to—or up to—positions that were established

kinds of action that could help mobilize women through- of Marxist traditions during that lost half-century. out the world. These included demonstrations and strikes, public conferences involving nonparty women, classes, cadre schools, the sending of party members into factories where large numbers of women were Second International. It was necessary to expose the nists work in the sand at the congress employed, use of the party press, and so forth. The were designated as the central arenas of activity.

tional in a very uneven way, with some sections respond- bedrock on which the Trotskyist Fourth International ing well, and others changing their tempo and character was built. Once again, as with all the earlier turning of work very little. One would hardly expect anything points in the history of revolutionary Marxism, the else, given the different levels of development of its sec- question of women's liberation was one of the differtions. For example, in the United States, the fledgling ences which divided revolutionaries from nonrevolu-CP did establish a women's commission in 1921, but tionaries. I have been unable to discover anything about what it 
The years of isolation, the economic backwardness did or did not do.

and a half later at the end of 1922, the main line of the paid by the October Revolution in its struggle for sur-1921 resolution was reaffirmed. The congress called at- vival were too much. The revolution could not emerge tention to the fact that some sections - unspecified - had unscathed. While capitalism was not restored, under and thereby weaken made of the effective work among women being done tion in all spheres - foreign policy, national minorities, Comintern attached great importance to work among women following the October Revolution were reversed, With Lenis tar be proposal, Zetkin set the particularly oppressed women of colonial countries. one after the other. The family was replaced on its

Especially pertinent to this question is an article that shortened, coeducation was eventually eliminated, and that began with the crest of the bourgeois-democratic campaign around the recruited to the Chinese Communist Party in 1922 after on the level of human suffering for millions of women. tere concentrating at a CP leader came to her girl's boarding school and In The Revolution Betrayed Trotsky devoted an entire With the post-Civil War enfranchisement of Black male out of our whole gave a speech on Women's Position in Society." She chapter to the effects of the Stalinist reaction on women adults - the formal if not real enfranchisement - only because of the ob- is an outstanding example of the kind of women who and the family. He explained the material reasons why women were denied the vote. of consciousness. were won to the Marxist movement by the correct policies the revolution was unable to provide the necessary the same-building of the Communist International during its revolutionary alternatives to the family system, and why the privileged a principled basis. years. Chen describes how they organized the girl's bureaucracy was compelled in its own self-interest to school, demanding the right to cut their hair, to have reinforce the family and deepen the oppression of women. coeducation, to hold discussion circles on questions such displed by the Third as freedom to love and freedom of marriage, in addition ment Still Follow the Principles Adopted Twenty Years in June of 1921 to participating in strikes, May Day demonstrations, and Ago?, Trotsky summarized the process by which the

anizational aspects forming working women's clubs. hat emerges from this sketchy outline of the ing indicator for evaluating a social regime and state be used as a device to undercut the deepening workingb win the support ingly clear picture. And I should point out that within progressive legislation in history on marriage and the one vote, and the poor obviously outnumber the rich were to lead the so- the framework of this talk I have not attempted to deal sould be achieved with the developments that were taking place within life' was immediately in store for the Soviet woman.

Identity subservient to the interests of the workers? pointed out that if the Soviet Union itself. To do so would even further

of mobilizing the strengthen the positive points I have stressed. The real situation was far from one of indifference or The real situation was far from of women. On the hostility to the special oppression of women. contrary, the Comintern recognized the crucial impordemale questions. tance of struggles by women around every question there are no issues ranging from the right to divorce, to equal pay, to al demands around abortion, to communal kitchens and laundry services. this is clear from They made it mandatory that every section of the Inolution. This state ternational develop a program of demands and an distrature of the pe- orientation toward winning the leadership of mass strugof question of con- gles by working women, and integrated this work into toader social ques- the perspective of the struggle for power.

Was there resistance to this line, and an unevenness and female commu- in carrying it out? Yes, of course there was Just as against the need there was unevenness, resistance, and backwardness on but just the op- every other question on which the Third International p. 170.) ckward male and built it foundations. But the leadership of the Internathot be dismissed tional led, they fought to educate the International and And where it was carried out, the correctness of the national. We can proudly and legitimately lay claim to knowledge of Marxism will conclude: so there is no of the women's orientation was proven many times over.

and with the consciousness of communist men and women to death say today is in harmony with this tradition, and a struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, basis for the liberation of women. Everything we do and struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, basis for the liberation of women. Everything we do and struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, basis for the liberation of women and that is what we need. The fuller the freedom of and with the cend and Third inter

they even as aware as we are today about the depth

continuation of it. and Third inter- of the social prejudices against women, and the way continuation of it

The 1921 thesis of the Comintern explained both why today reading Lenin, or the proceedings of the Cominthere could be no separate organization for women tern congresses, or any other literature of that period,

finally the prominent tives from all the sections to discuss and coordinate is the only one that counts in the long run, we must Finally, the resolution outlined the general propaganda a more advanced, revolutionary analysis of women's say that the Third International in its early years had

by the Bolsheviks some fifty years ago. Humanity has In conclusion the resolution discussed the concrete paid an incalculable price for the break in the continuity

# The Fourth International

he revolutionary ideas and methods of the early Comintern did not die with the Stalinization of the International and the political counterrevoluitself as a im and that they act together trade unions and women's professional associations tion in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s. They were carried on by the Soviet Left Opposition, and then by This resolution was implemented within the Interna- the International Left Opposition. They became the

of pre-World War I Russia, the terrible devastation of At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held a year imperialist war and civil war, the great human price

In 1938, in an article entitled Does the Soviet Governgains made by women after the revolution were reversed:

Genuine emancipation of women is inconceivable without to the family supper and the family laundry, that is, less under capitalism, Lenin said: the household slavery of woman. To cap it all the "That objection reveals complete failure to understand

were carried over into our heritage upon the founding bedroom, nursery, kitchen.

The suffrage movement and "bourgeois feminism" want now to deal specifically with the suffrage lovement because there is probably no other single chapter in the history of women's struggles where the position and role of socialists has been so falsified, misunderstood, or distorted.

The problem is two-sided. On the one hand, the popular historians of the suffrage movement, who are mostly anti-Marxist, have had little interest in ferreting out the role of the socialist movement. One can read book after book on the suffrage campaign and not come across even a passing reference to the participation of

On the other hand, many sectarian or ultraleft "soialists" have taken the position that the suffrage movement was for nothing but a trivial bourgeois reform, a diversion from the real class struggle, of no concern to working-class women who did not at all benefit from winning such a nebulous democratic right under capitalism. These so-called socialists have had no interest in discussing the real record of the revolutionary parties in the fight for female suffrage either, as it would completely contradict their fanciful sectarian interpretations. To begin with, let me take up one question that has bothered a good many who have read some of the socialist literature on the suffrage and feminist movement at the turn of the century. Over and over, the articles and resolutions denounce "bourgeois feminism," or just plain feminism, as a threat to the working-class movement. Even today, women in organizations like the International Socialists or other sectarian groups use such references to accuse the Trotskyists of breaking with the Marxist tradition of implacable opposition to bourgeois feminism.

What was the real point at issue? What is bourgeois feminism? And why was so much fire directed against

First let's dispose of a misunderstanding which sometimes makes communication difficult even today. It happens that the European radical movement has always used the term feminism as synonymous with opposition to a materialist analysis of women's oppression. In this usage, a feminist is someone who consciously rejects the idea that we must abolish private property if we are to achieve women's liberation. Socialism and fem-

inism are thus mutually exclusive. The American radical movement - as we saw even from the articles in the New Review-has not always used the terms in that way. For us a feminist is any woman who recognizes that women are oppressed as a sex and is willing to carry out an uncompromising

The goal of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century suffrage movement was to achieve a reform in the voting laws, to further democratize the electoral base revolution in the late eighteenth century. In the United States, universal white male suffrage had been achieved by the 1830s or 1840s through a series of struggles and reform laws that finally eliminated property qualifications for white males over twenty-one years old.

In Europe it was different. In most countries universal male suffrage had not been won, and often the suffrage struggle was a combined one for males and

As with all struggles for reforms, the suffrage movement affected and involved many different layers and all classes of society. The reform was not in and of itself unacceptable to the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. "The position of woman is the most graphic and tell- Within the limits of parliamentary democracy it could political orientation and activities of the Third policy. The October Revolution inscribed on its banner class radicalization and further disguise the class na-International during its early years is a strik- the emancipation of womankind and created the most ture of the capitalist state. After all, if every adult has family. This does not mean, of course, that a happy by millions to one, isn't the government they elect ev-

But the fight for democratic reforms is also in the a general rise of economy and culture, without the interests of the working class, as Lenin explained over destruction of the petty-bourgeois economic family unit, and over again. It is what he called the ABC of Marxwithout the introduction of socialized food preparation, ism. For example, in rejecting the views of one P. Kievand education. Meanwhile, guided by its conservative sky, who had argued that socialists should abstain instinct, the bureaucracy has taken alarm at the 'dis- from the fight to win for women the right of divorce integration' of the family. It began singing panegyrics on the grounds that such a reform would be meaning-

bureaucracy has restored criminal punishment for abor- the relation between democracy in general and captions, officially returning women to the status of pack italism. The conditions that make it impossible for the animals. In complete contradiction with the ABC of oppressed classes to 'exercise' their democratic rights Communism the ruling caste has thus restored the most are not the exception under capitalism; they are typical reactionary and benighted nucleus of the class regime, of the system. In most cases the right of divorce will i.e., the petty-bourgeois family." (Writings of Leon remain unrealisable under capitalism, for the oppressed Trotsky, 1937-38 [New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970], sex is subjugated economically. No matter how much democracy there is under capitalism, the woman re-In such terms the positions of revolutionary Marxism mains a 'domestic slave', a slave locked up in the

of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth Inter- "Only those who cannot think straight or have no Were the leaders of the International perfect in their Marxist movement against world which alone can lay the Were the leaders of the International perfect in their establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class establish a socialist world which alone can lay the not abolish class oppression.

of their 'domestic slavery' is capitalism, not lack of rights. The more democratic the system of government, the clearer will the workers see that the root evil is

capitalism, not lack of rights. . "All 'democracy' consists in the proclamation and realisation of 'rights' which under capitalism are realisable only to a very small degree and only relatively. But without the proclamation of these rights, without a struggle to introduce them now, immediately, without training the masses in the spirit of this struggle, socialism is impossible." (From "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," written August-October 1916. In Lenin's Collected Works [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964], Vol. 23, pp. 72-74.)

It was in that spirit that revolutionary Marxists fought unconditionally for full male and female suf-

It was in the quite different spirit of reforming capitalism in order to improve an already "good system" that many bourgeois and middle-class women participated in the suffrage struggle. And they took positions that reflected their upper-class, anti-workingclass bias-to use Marxist terminology, their bourgeois bias. Many women honestly believed that once women gained the vote they could rid capitalism of its wars, poverty, and other evils.

In England, prior to World War I, most of the suffrage movement was demanding the vote for women on "equal terms with men." This meant on the basis of property restrictions that would have disfranchised most working-class women. Revolutionists opposed this, of course. They demanded universal female and male suffrage, nothing less. Such a fundamental difference was a difference in class outlook and program, and thoroughly justified the designation of the half-way suffragists as bourgeois in their political perspective.

In both the United States and Britain, the majority of the suffragists supported their "own" bourgeois government in the first imperialist world war. All revolutionary Marxists-male and female-opposed that war, and a class line was drawn on that question as well.

Many women within the suffrage movement opposed the perspective of independent mass actions by women to win the vote and other forms of militant tactics aimed at involving large numbers of women. For us the strategy of mobilizing the masses to take control of their own destiny is a class question, a question of principle. Many suffragists in the United States appealed to racist and anti-immigrant prejudices. They argued that women should have the vote to save the South from being controlled by Blacks and the North and West by foreigners.

Revolutionary Marxists condemned such positions, ought against them, and refused to be identified with hem. That is no different from what we do today. Today we polemicize with "bourgeois" and "petty-bourgeois" feminists who believe that liberation can be position vis-a-vis the male workers. achieved or even advanced by voting for McGovern or some other capitalist party candidate. In the same oppose the perspective of mobilizing masses of women within the system.

In the same way we polemicize with those feminists way we try to win the largest possible number of fight- not an insignificant question. women's liberation.

Having said that, it should also be added that some Second International's campaign on this issue. an easy way to cover up for their chauvinist preju- to the call was beyond all expectations. dices against women. This is basically what Lenin In Germany and Austria, for example, the action the Party and among the masses."

widely understood. Over the years they have been so in Austria. misused in the radical movement that they usually Alexandra Kollontai, the Russian revolutionary womobscure differences rather than clarify them.

The question of "bourgeois feminism" also arose in Day in 1911 in the following way: connection with the organizational relationship between "Germany and Austria . . . were one seething trem-

1908 the convention of the Socialist Party in this country 1972], p. 2.) passed a similar resolution. What exactly did this In Austria, 30,000 women and men took part in involve? We can be sure that such resolutions were some- the largest street demonstration. Thereafter, Internatimes used as justifications for a sectarian abstention tional Women's Day became an annual event. from the suffrage struggle, but that was not the intent of In the United States, too, the Socialist Party played

Such statements did not mean that the socialists would refuse to collaborate, or cooperate, or work with non-socialists or anyone else. What they did mean was that socialists or anyone else. What they did mean was that revolutionaries would refuse to compromise on questions organized demonstrations and meetings were establish new facts, new conclusions will inevit revolutionaries would refuse to compromise on questions of class principle such as the attitude to imperialist war, as well as broader or and meetings were establish new facts, new conclusions organized—demonstrations called by the party itself gest themselves. We may want to modify, as well as broader or and every conclusions and every conclusions and every conclusions. of class principle such as the attitude to imperialist war, as well as broader ones in which the socialists took further develop our initial impressions and evaluations. They also meant that the Social Democratic part.

were talking about mass participation.

If the Socialist Workers Party was strong enough today to mobilize 30,000 or 50,000 women in the streets of New York demanding abortion-law repeal under our own banner, you can be sure we would do it. This would not be a refusal towork with other forces, or to join together to mobilize 100,000 or a million under a united-front formation. But if it were feasible we would not hesitate to call such actions on our own and urge the masses of workers to join with us, not with Shirley Chisholm or Betty Friedan.

What is meant by not collaborating with bourgeois women is well explained by Bebel in his introduction to Woman and Socialism. He sharply attacks the idea that women from different classes cannot fight alongside one another for specific demands aimed at eliminating the oppression of all women. He points out:

"The class-antagonism, that in the general social movement rages between the capitalist and the working class, and which, with the ripening of conditions, grows sharper and more pronounced, turns up likewise on the surface of the Woman's Movement; and it finds its corresponding expression in the aims and tactics of those engaged in it

"All the same, the hostile sisters have, to a far greater extent than the male population - split up as the latter is in the class struggle - a number of points of contact, on which they can, although marching separately, strike jointly. This happens on all the fields, on which the question is the equality of woman with man, within modern society." (Published in this country as Woman Under Socialism [New York: Schocken Books, 1971], p. 5.) Bebel's formula, "marching separately, strike jointly," the classic definition of the united-front tactic, was pro-

of the Third International under Lenin and Trotsky. Socialists in the suffrage struggle

et's review the record of what the parties of the Second and Third internationals actually did to "why there seem to be more Socialist women a help win the suffrage struggle.

posed more than forty years before it became the byword

First, and not the least important, was that they established a clear line of principle on what they were fighting for. This was settled at the 1907 Stuttgart Congress of the Second International. The Austrian Social suffrage was one reason why the SP attracted pro-Democrats were then in the midst of a suffrage fight, outspoken women leaders than the capitalist part and they had decided that the key task was winning But that was not all that was involved. The decision universal male enfranchisement Arguing that the join the revolutionary working-class movement demand for women's suffrage might endanger the possi- represented a qualitatively higher level of consciousness bility of winning the vote for working men, Victor Adler concerning the problems of women's oppression and and the other reformist Austrian leaders decided not to what would be necessary to achieve liberation 7 campaign for female suffrage.

be settled by the international congress. After debate the door to their liberation as a sex was the transfer the congress voted to condemn the Austrian party for of state power from the hands of the capitalist rele sacrificing the principle of equal rights for women to to the working class. what the Austrians thought would be a more expedient

The same question came up in Belgium, where the Social Democracy was led - as in Austria - by openly way, we direct our fire against those feminists who reformist forces. In 1902 and again in 1918 the Social Democrats refused to demand suffrage rights for women and believe they can find a personal solution either by because they believed that most women would vote for individually dropping out of the system or by making the reactionary Catholic parties. Belgian women did not

who believe that class divisions and exploitation stem Against this background, the fight to pass a prinfrom sex oppression and not vice versa. In the same cipled, revolutionary position on women's suffrage was

ing women to our banner because we know that only With a clear, principled line established, the second by building a mass revolutionary party can we as- important thing the Social Democracy did was make sure the victory of the socialist revolution and gain the campaign for women's suffrage international in scope. This was the origin of March 8 as International In that sense we agree 100 percent with the condemna- Women's Day. We know from experience in the antiion of "bourgeois" feminism and our fight today is war movement that organizing and building internasimply a continuation of our forebears' fight to win tionally coordinated actions is no small job, and we the women's movement to a working-class perspective. shouldn't underestimate the impact and power of the

on bourgeois feminism did not stem from such po- women's suffrage organized by the socialist women in itical or revolutionary considerations. There is no the United States, the International Socialist Women's doubt that many reformist, pseudosocialist, and just Congress in 1910 called for an international day of plain backward but revolutionary minded men and action demanding universal female suffrage. The unifywomen often used the term bourgeois feminism not ing theme was to be: "The vote for women will unite as a scientific political designation, but as an epithet, our strength in the struggle for socialism." The response

was referring to when he told Clara Zetkin, we must was broadly built committees were formed, publicity root out the old slave-owner's point of view, both in put out, demonstrations and meetings organized, articles prepared for the press. Special newspapers were If we often avoid terms like "bourgeois" or "petty- issued the week before the day of action. The Vote bourgeois" feminism today, it is because they are not for Women appeared in Germany and Women's Day

en's leader, described the turnout for the first Women's

the broad suffrage movement and the work done by bling sea of women. Meetings were organised everywhere-in the small towns and even in the villages. For example, at the world congress of the Second Halls were packed so full that they had to ask work-International held in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1907, a ers to give up their places to the women. This was resolution on the fight for women's suffrage was passed certainly the first show of militancy by the working which said, among other things, that women workers women. Men stayed at home with the children for a should campaign for the franchise, not in conjunction change, and their wives, the captive housewives, went with the bourgeois supporters of women's rights, but in to meetings." (International Women's Day by Alexandra conjunction with the class parties of the proletariat. In Kollontal [London: North London Socialist Woman,

an important role in the final stage of the suffrage struggle, from 1907-08 on. Party conventions discussed as a beginning. Much more research needs to and debated how to party conventions discussed as a beginning. Much more research needs to an analysis of the suitrage.

parties would carry out a campaign for suffrage in their own name. We should not forget that these were created as one of the many SP and the state of continuity in our Marxist history and threads of continuity in our Marxist history and the state of continuity their own name. We should not forget that these were mass parties, with tens of thousands or hundreds of ever the SP had legislater. The socialist Woman was in threads of continuity in our Markist in this properties, with tens of thousands or hundreds of ever the SP had legislater. mass parties, with tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of members, leading the entire trade-union bills. In 1909, women's suffrage rediscovering our own past, the richer will be our traditions. The deeper we go thousands of members, leading the entire trade-union bills. In 1909, women's suffrage rediscovering our own past, the richer will be our traditions. thousands of members, leading the entire trade-union bills. In 1909, women's suffrage was one of the themes standing of today, the better prepared and more standing of today. movement in country after country. And when they of the May Day meetings and actions. And in 1908, talked about organizing their own forces to fight, they the party selected a full-time paid organizer to direct tasks and challenges in the future.

the work on a national scale.

In at least three states the Socialist Party around the suffrage issue played an in perhaps decisive part in the winning of the Nevada, Kansas, and the crucial 1917 ban York. During the height of the New York Socialist Party organized suffrage meetings so in the city every single night. SP strength in state New York and New York City was decisive in securing the narrow margin of viete

The Socialist Party also ran many women dates for office, which was a demonstrative take. For example, Kate Richards O'Hare ran House in Kansas in 1910, Anna A Maley ernor of Washington in 1912, and Ella Re for lieutenant governor of New York in 1918

Far from the suffrage struggle passing the Sort Party by, as one would assume from numer counts, many of the most articulate and skilled wo and certainly the most politically conscious the Socialist Party. The SP was a mass par tens of thousands of members. Feminists and so like Rheta Childe Dorr joined the Socialist Party they came to realize, as Dorr explained, that full ization of the laws governing men and women part of the Socialist platform in every country

A roster of women who were in the Socialists reads like an honor roll of the early decades of century: Ella Reeve Bloor, Mary Mother Jones R Richards O'Hare, Margaret Sanger, Hellen Keller Louise Strong, Rose Pastor Stokes, Antoinette Kon and many more.

In fact, Ida Husted Harper, author of the Reof Woman Suffrage, 1900-1920, testified below House Judiciary Committee in 1912 that the 80 Party was "the only one which declares for you suffrage and thereby gives women an opportunity come out and stand by it." In her opinion this erels Republican or Democratic." (Cited by James West in The Decline of Socialism in America, 1812. [New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967], p. 62.)

The fact that the Socialist Party fought for your women who joined the Socialist Party did so because Clara Zetkin and others demanded that this question they understood that the only key which could open

# The Bolsheviks and the suffrage movement

he party that made the greatest contributo the struggle for women's suffrage, hower was not the amorphous American SP but more unequivocally revolutionary Russian Bolshevia And their contribution was not only national but into national in scope

Despite the illegal conditions of czarist repression both the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks organized at tivities for International Women's Day starting in 18 Alexandra Kollontal describes how they organized a illegal Morning Teach-In on the Woman Question's Petrograd in 1913 (at the end of which almost a the party speakers were arrested). She points out what an inspiration this action was - despite the arrestothers around the world.

Those early actions in 1913 and 1914 laid the ba for the massive women's demonstration of Mant 1917 (February 23 by the Russian calendar), \*100 Petrograd women poured into the streets dental Bread for our children," and "The return of our bands from the trenches." The Russian Reval marked its beginning from that day.

The legal equality won by the women of Soviet was a tremendous embarrassment to the so democracies around the world where women were the right to vote. Women in Russia won the in with the February Revolution and during pickets at the White House frequently carried contrasting "Free Russia" with "Kaiser Wilson."

Supporters of the Women's Party in the U.S. a "watch fire" in an urn in front of the White and every time Wilson made a speech abroreferred to freedom, even in passing, a cop) speech was burned in the watch fire Women the world gained powerful support in their sdemands from the fact that even in "backward" h

women had won the right to vote. With the victory of the Bolsheviks in October, a st assumed a cabinet post for the first time in Alexandra Kollontai became the head of the Soci fare Ministry. When Kollontai was later appoint first woman ambassador in history, the aris diplomatic corps of the world was rocked by o sions. Not only was she a woman, but a morally one at that, who was hardly fit to associate with it queens, and heads of state.

We can point to the victory of the Russian Revolu and the establishment of the first workers' state world as an historic contribution by our forebe to the struggle for women's suffrage, women's liber tion, and the progress of all humanity.

What I have tried to do in this talk should be dent we will be to break new ground as we lat

# THE STUMBBUATION!

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

The following, tenth installment of our translation of Pierre Frank's The Fourth International: A Contribution the History of the Trotskyist Movement completes the third and final section of Chapter 6: "The International

# Chapter 6: From 1948 to 1968 (Cont'd)

The Campaigns of the International The Second Congress After Reunification

Internal difficulties and attacks of hostile groups were fortunately, not the only matters claiming the attention of the united leadership of the International. The entire Trotskyist movement was engaged in increasing its acfivities, consolidating the reunification and preparing for an expansion of the International.

The International undertook a campaign in defense of the imprisoned Polish revolutionists, two young leaders in particular, Modzelewsky and Kuron, who were spokesmen for left currents at the University of Warsaw. The International was responsible for the publication of their "Open Letter to the Polish Workers Party,"34 which was the first programmatic document of the antibureaueratic revolution to come out of a workers state since the days of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. The International also publicized the positions of Communists who criticized, from the left, the Yugoslav Communist League's solicies. For the first time in many a year, Marxist revolutionary thought was being formulated in places where Stalinism had exercised almost total domination, or where right-wing leaderships prevailed.

Moreover, the Fourth International was at various times able to publicize positions and documents coming from critical elements within the Soviet Union itself. Quite recently, the International brought the positions of a left current in Czechoslovakia35 to the attention of world working-class opinion.

The Fourth International intervened in various ways In the Sino-Soviet conflict. All the sections utilized the opportunities available to them for influencing the crisis in the Communist parties. As their differences became exacerbated, the two leaderships, Soviet and Chinese, each accused the other of playing into the Fourth International's

We have already mentioned the defense of Cuba. On this subject, it should be pointed out that the activity of Latin American Trotskyists contributed a great deal toward clarifying the Cuban positions on Trotskyism. In accordance with the decision of the world congress mentioned above, an international campaign was launched for the defense of Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyist militant and leader of the Peruvian peasants. After a somewhat slow start, this campaign attained considerable proportions. Declarations of solidarity arrived from all over the world; more and more meetings and demonstrations were held in numerous cities everywhere. This campaign was so strong that it reached the reformist trade-unions as well as organizations linked to the Communist parles. Never before had the International waged such a world campaign. Undoubtedly this campaign coincided with a development of the objective situation, first in Latin America and then in Vietnam, which assured it of a broadaudience. At first this campaign resulted in several postponements of the trial - a trial at which Hugo Blanco defended himself in masterful fashion. The campaign succeeded in averting the death penalty that the court would most certainly have pronounced, considering the charges against Hugo Blanco, if world opinion had not been alerted and mobilized.

34. Available in English, together with Isaac Deutscher's proest to Wladyslaw Gomulka and the Central Committee of the Polish Workers party, under the title Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York.

35. For documents in English from the Czechoslovakian leftcommunist opposition, see The Invasion of Czechoslovakia, edited by Les Evans. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York - Trans-

Finally, from the beginning of 1965, i.e., immediately following the Yankee escalation of the war in Vietnam, the International alerted all its sections, the entire vanguard, to carry out actions in support of the Vietnamese revolution.

Less than two years after the reunification, the decision was made to call a world congress. Represented at this congress, held in December 1965 with over sixty persons present, were twenty-five countries. The congress demonstrated that the reunification had been effectively consolidated, the centrifugal forces having been largely overcome. The organization was able to turn most of its forces outward and implement its policies under more normal conditions.

The congress gave top importance to the defense of Vietnam. On the heels of the serious defeats of the masses in Brazil and Indonesia, the congress forcefully proclaimed the need to counterpose a world strategy for socialist revolution to the global strategy of imperialism. It issued the following call for the defense of the Vietnamese revolu-

workers, youth, intellectuals of the workers states:

"Initiate and broaden your campaign to compel the Kremlin to end its shady and underhanded dealings with the imperialist aggressor while it gives only miserly driblets of aid to the heroic masses of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. By the millions raise the slogan, 'Planes, guns for the Vietnamese people!"

"Workers, poor peasants, militant nationalists in the semicolonial countries:

"Rise up resolutely against imperialism, strike against it everywhere at the same time. Take advantage of the fact that imperialism has engaged its main forces in Vietnam. Open up many new fronts, and strike down imperialism's lackeys and toadles wherever conditions are favorable

"Workers of the entire world:

"Compel the leaders of all mass organizations, the leaders of all workers states that claim to speak in the name of socialism, to form an unshakable anti-imperialist united front, under whose devastating blows imperialism will be forced to retreat"

In addition to a political resolution dealing with several essential points, among others the crisis of leadership in the colonial revolution-which had resulted in a series of grave defeats - and the new oppositional currents that had appeared in the United States, several documents were discussed and adopted at this congress.

The development of West European capitalism and the tasks of revolutionary Marxists was the subject of one of these documents. This document analyzed in detail the development of the economic situation, which evinced different characteristics in different countries, and the contradictions of the Common Market. It stressed the trend toward a "strong state" and the obstacles countering the trend. It took note of the appearance of reactionary currents and racist tendencies exploiting the immigration of foreign workers, often dark-skinned, in several countries. The document pointed out the thoroughgoing degeneration of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships and the danger of integration into the bourgeois state bearing down ever more heavily on the trade-union organizations. It pointed out further that in countries where the Social Democracy dominated the working-class movement, left tendencies made their appearance more often inside the trade-union movement, because part of the tradeunion bureaucracy felt constrained to make a show of opposition in order not to lose all credibility with the workers. Finally, the document stated that, contrary to the thinking of numerous currents which maintained revolutionary positions theoretically but proved total skeptics concerning revolutionary possibilities in the present period, the contradictions of capitalism, even in the framework of neocapitalism, were such that defensive economic struggles of the masses could at certain times lead to offensive struggles to win transitional demands, and to a revolutionary situation with the appearance of organs of dual power. Starting with these considerations and taking into account the international situation, a specific transitional program for each country had to be formulated.

The document on "The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Cri-

sis in the International Communist Movement started off by examining a question that had frequently been raised in various places: Was there a Stalinist phase in China (and, more generally, would there necessarily be such a phase in every backward workers state)? Replying in the negative, the document pointed out the differences between Maoism and Statinism, and reaffirmed Trotsky's view that Stalinism was a form of bureaucratization that would be unique, because it was due to a particular combination of circumstances - a combination that would never again occur in history. This document then proceeded to a detailed examination of pro-Peking parties and groups, on the one hand, and pro-Moscow parties and

to Castroism. Another lengthy document dealt with "Progress and Problems of the African Revolution." About ten years had elapsed since the old African colonialism had largely given way to new structures. The document distinguished three major sectors in Africa: where colonialism and racism still exist; where there is a distinct neocolonial struc-"Communists, worker-members of Communist parties, ture; and where revolutionary transformations have taken place

groups, on the other. A section of the text was devoted

The first sector was essentially confined to the southern part of Africa. It did not pose any special theoretical problems, the important matter being the problems raised by the struggle, which would become exceptionally intense there

In the second sector were to be found countries like Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, most of the former French colonles in West Africa, the Congo, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, etc. Nor did this sector pose any difficult theoretical problems. Its neocolonialist nature was perfectly clear, and the tasks of revolutionists could easily be formulated.

The third sector comprised countries like Ghana, Zanzibar, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria. Generally speaking, these are countries where independence had been won by mass struggle, or countries which had adopted antiimperialist, sometimes anticapitalist, measures and which had been in the vanguard of the struggle against the colonial or neocolonial systems. A goodly portion of the document was devoted to describing what had happened in these countries, their development, their class structure, measures taken, etc. The document dealt with the Algerian revolution at great length, with special attention to the Ben Bella experience and to the new situation that had been created just a few months be the coup d'état of June 19, 1965, that had carried Boumedienne to power. In addition, the document pointed out the contradictions in these states and endeavored to formulate the conditions that would assure a mass upsurge capable of transforming these countries into workers states.

The document ended with a section devoted to perspectives and tasks, as well as to several essential conclusions. It highlighted specific characteristics of the African revolution: the existence of very backward sectors; the confrontation between disintegrating tribal structures and the social perspectives of the twentieth-century world; the extraordinary combined development that marks this continent. The document demonstrated that even where victory was assured by the presence of revolutionary Marxists, there would be no simple solutions to these problems without very substantial and unselfish assistance from the workers states. Such African countries would especially need the help of workers states created in the industrialized countries of Western Europe and North America. The document held it to be the duty of members of the International to help in the formation of African cadres capable of creating genuine revolutionary

This document met with considerable discussion, especially the parts dealing with the Algerian revolution; characterization of the Ben Bella government; characterization of the regime in Egypt, etc. The document was adopted by the congress, although the latter felt that while the document could provide a good working basis, various questions needed further and more intensive study. It was therefore decided that discussion of this document should continue after the congress, and that the question of the African revolution would be placed on the agenda of the next world congress.

[To be continued]

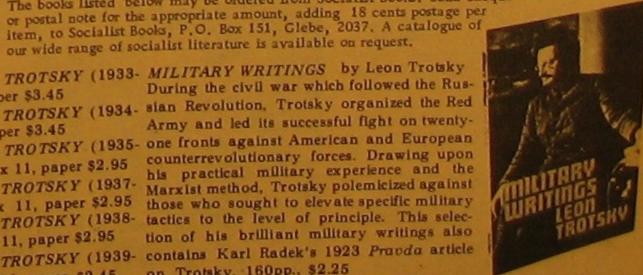


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# THE WORLD REVOLUTION Jenness, Pulley Campaign Scores Big Gains

Although the votes cast for Nixon, McGovern, Schmitz (candidate of the right-wing American party), and Spock (candidate of the left-liberal People's party) have been tallied and the totals published, U.S. election officials and news media have continued, for the most part, to refuse to report the votes cast for socialist candidates. As a result, only fragmentary information about the vote received by Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley, and ninety-three other Socialist Workers Party candidates is available.

In Cuyahoga County, Ohio, (which includes the city of Cleveland), where Jenness and Pulley appeared on the ballot despite a ruling by the Ohio secretary of state that they were ineligible because of their age, the Trotskyist ticket got 9, 773 votes (1.4 percent) with 65 percent of the polling places counted. Schmitz received 9, 567 votes, and 1,256 were cast for the Communist Party ticket of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

In Texas, Jenness and Pulley won 9, 700 votes (, 28%). Local candidates in Texas scored some impressive, although still modest totals. Debby Leonard, the SWP candidate for governor, got 23,404 votes Tom Kincaid received 58, 384 votes (3.3%) for state Attorney-General and Anne Springer drew 92, 039 (3.9 %) for comptroller.

Whatever the final tally of SWP votes may be, it will not provide an accurate measure of the accomplishments of the revolutionary-socialist campaign. In the December 1 issue of "The Militant", a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in New York, Larry Seigle, who was national campaign manager for the SWP wrote: "...the Jenness-Pulley campaign and the nearly 100 local and state-wide socialist campaigns constituted the most important, most successful, and most extensive socialist election campaign since the time of Eugene Debs."

Linda Jenness travelled to ninety-nine cities, speaking to 332 meetings with audiences totalling 37,000 persons. Pulley visited seventy-five cities, speak- The Zionist establishment has been ing to 11,000 persons at 297 meetings.

The national convention of the Young

with the Socialist Workers Party, was

The gathering, attended by some 1,200

persons, focused on the impact of the

In the international report, Geoff Mirel-

. . . reflects a new stage for the Vietnam-

ese struggle and for the world revolution.

We are seeing the effects of world events

on the Vietnamese. The result is that the

prospect of a settlement to the war that

ful completion of the Vietnamese revol-

ution. The imposition of this agreement

on the Vietnamese is a result of Nixon's

detente will have a negative impact on

although it will not change the long-term

perspective of intensifying struggles for

Mirelowitz reported on the expansion of

time to build the Fourth International all

over the world," he concluded, "and to

build the Young Socialist Alliance and

The political report, given by YSA Nat-

the Socialist Workers Party."

national liberation and social justice."

the Fourth International, "Now is the

other struggles for liberation as well,

agreements with Brezhnev and Mao, This

Vietnamese are now faced with the

owitz said that "what is happening now

Socialist Alliance, a revolutionary-

In addition, they addressed more than 250,000 people at antiwar rallies.

The SWP candidates were able to make important gains in media coverage. Articles about Jenness and Pulley appeared in nearly 600 newspapers published in 473 cities and towns, with a circulation of nearly 53 million. They appeared on almost 250 local radio and television shows during the campaign. Fifteen thousand persons endorsed the SWP campaign as an alternative to the capitalist parties.

The Communist Party the strongest opponent of revolutionary socialism on the left in the United States, made its most intensive electoral effort in more than three decades. While seeking to appear "independent" of the Democratic Party, the CP candidates frequently expressed their sympathy for McGovern and other liberal Democrats

Although SWP candidates directed most of their fire at the capitalist candidates and their policies, the contrast between nickel for paid advertising), it seems the Trotskyist and CP campaigns reflected that the votes for the SWP candidates are

ship of forces on the U.S. left,

"The SWP won ballot positions in twice as many states as the CP," wrote Larry Seigle. "Meetings for the candidates on campuses throughout the country were generally larger than those for the CP. The candidates of the SWP were more widely known and better regarded among movement activists than were the candidates of the CP.

"Even the capitalist media, which usually tends to emphasize (and exaggerate) the role of the CP in radical protest movements, was forced to recognise the greater peculiar logic, a vote for the SWP, which impact of the SWP campaign.

"And, in spite of the fact that the Hall-Tyner Campaign Committee spent literally tens of thousands of dollars in the last weeks of the campaign on paid TV, radio, and newspaper advertising (the SWP, unfortunately, couldn't afford even a

Stung by these results, the November 9 issue of the "Daily World", which reflects the views of the Communist Pare

"The larger vote in some areas received by the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and even the Socialist Labor Party was attributed largely to anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and myths about the (Communist) Party itself ... A vote for the Communist Party requires more consciousness than a vote for other minority parties." According to this made defence of the Vietnamese revolution ion against imperialist attack the central issue in its campaign, becomes an expression of "anti-communism."

By presenting the ideas of revolutionary socialism with enthusiasm and imaginate the Socialist Workers Party won a greatly increased audience for the Trotskyist movement.

# New Frame-ups in Israel

BY SOL SALBY

In what appears to be the largest frame-up in memory, over forty people have been arrested in Israel. The arrests took place in the week commencing December 9. Allegedly those apprehended have been involved in a spy ring for Syria. It is also alleged that the group planned to kidnap or assassinate prominent Israeli officials such as "Defence" minister Moshe Dayan,

Eric Marsden writing in the December 12 issue of the London "Times" reported from Jerusalem: "The extent of the alleged spy ring, and the apparent involvement of ment for the first time, have caused deep viction and sentences in British cases. shock here".

notorious for its frame-ups in the past,

But, up till now the victims have been Palestinians and other Arabs. Now, for the first time, Sabras (Israeli-born Jews) are involved. What astounded Israelis even more was the fact that two of those arrested have served in the Israeli army.

The nature of the arrests and the disappear- face or when they will appear in court." ance of the most elementary pretence to bourgeois justice didn't escape the eyes of the "Times". This conservative, pro-Zionist journal used moderate and extremely guarded language in describing the setting. Marsden continued: "The emotional atmosphere has been inflamed by the publicity given to the alleged activities of Jewish suspects. The reports Israel-born Jews in an Arab terrorist move- are of the kind that normally follow con-

> "Generalised accusations are being made against left-wing groups and warnings have been given against the danger of

political witch-hunt. The Histadrut (General Federation of Labour) newspaper "Davar" complains of incitement against the Hashomer Hatsair Kibbutz movement one of whose members is one of the suspects.... No indication has been given of the charges that members of the group will

While the names of the Arabs arrested law not been printed in the western press the Jews arrested were: Ehud Adiv, 25, a former paratrooper of Kibbutz Gan Shmuel Dan Vered, 28, from Tel-Aviv; Yeherhiel Cohen, 36, also from Tel-Aviv and German born David Cooper 25.

Part of the frame up involves connecting Adiy and Vered with as many political organisations as possible. Thus Vered and Adiv are alleged to be founding member of the Israel Communist Party. In fact Vered was three and Adiv was just born when the Communist Party of Palestine (CPP) changed its name to the Communist Party of Israel. The CPP itself was formed two decades earlier. Adiv and Vered are said to be former members of the Israeli Socialist Organisation which is better known as Matzpen (Compass - the Israeli sympath ising organisation of the Fourth International). They are also said to be currently members of the Revolutionary Communis Alliance - a small breakaway Maoist faction from Matzpen.

The extension of all opponents of the Zionist regime have always been a thoma the side of the bourgeoisie. In the past the Israeli authorities, aware of the consequences of any publicity anti-Zionisti may gain, refused to acknowledge their existence.

In recent months these forces continued to grow. There has also been wide spread resentment of particular facets of Zionist policies, especially the treatment of the inhabitants of Biraam and Brit (see D.A. 27). In an attempt to tun back the tide of opposition the government resorted to the smear tactics, associating all its opponents with kidnapping and assassination.

The witch hunt has one more purpose Israel has been going through a wave of wildcat strikes. As the old mode of attacking strikers has been wearing thin a new national hysteria had to be created

From now on accusations of "stabbing the army in the back" are going to serve as a more forceful weapon against striken with most of the nation in hysteria.

The Zionist gains from the current frame up are going to be short lived. Already their carefully nurtured myth of absolute national unity has been destroyed. No longer are they able to paint Israel as a nation fighting for survival when members of the armed forces are supposing the Palestinians' struggle for self determination.

The developments are not only going to encourage the Palestinians—it will also raise the level of conciousness in their ranks, and in Israel itself there will be others who will replace those arrested in the joint struggle of Arab and Hebren against Zionist oppression.

Gains for SPD in German Elections

Bundestag, the SPD (German Social Democratic party) received the largest vote in its history. For the first time it will be the largest party in parliament. The coalition between the SPD and the FDP (Free Democratic party — the small liberal party with which the SPD has ruled since 1969) was returned to power with a comfortable majority.

The SPD succeeded in increasing the number of its Bunderstag seats from 224 the 1969 election) to 230. The FDP increased its share from 30 seats to 42, while the CDU/CSU (Christian Democratic Union and its Bavarian affiliate, the Christian Social Union) fell from 242 to 224.

In the Federal republic of Germany, each voter casts two ballots, the first (Erststimme) for an individual candidate the second (Zweitstimme) for a party. With a voter turnout of 91,2% - the highest in German parliamentary history the SPD drew 45.9% of the Zweitstimme, the CDU got 35.2%, the CSU 9.6% and the FDP 8.4%. With 114,000 votes the German Communist party got 0.3% and the extreme rightist NDP got 0.6% (207, 000 votes). The SPD's success becomes even more impressive when one considers it got 48,9% of the Erststimme, that is, of the votes cast for individual candidates.

These figures indicate the sorry state of the once-large Communist party which, during the Weimar Republic, polled millions of votes. Many Communists appear to have voted for the SPD rather than their own party. The CP ran on such an ultra reformist programme that its total cannot even be considered as a revolutionary protest vote.

In this election, for the first time since the 1950s, there was a visible process of polarisation, one that reached not only into the factories but even into families. This led to intense debate and public expression of support (stickers, buttons) for one party or another.

The employers made their preference for the CDU/CSU so obvious (they spent about \$10 million on press advertisement alone) that they stepped up the process of polarisation. The employers issued "bans" against government ministers and the chancellor (Brandt), forbidding them to hold meetings in the factories, even though these were common practice during the Adenauer regime. Unlike previous elections the bosses gave almost no money to the campaign of the SPD, despite its efforts to get the trade unions to scale down their demands.

However, the anti-SPD propaganda of the bosses and the Catholic church failed to win any votes for the CDU/CSU from the working class. Sophisticated polls conducted by sociological institutes revealed that the SPD won over about 1,7 million voters - mostly workers - from the CDU/CSU, and about 1.1 million people - mostly from the "middle strata" - outside trial of Marie-Claire

shifted to the CDU/CSU. And although 60% of Catholics still voted for the CDU/ CSU, the SPD won 5% more of the Catholic vote - especially among the lower layers of the working class, the youth and women.

Undoubtedly, the SPD picked up its biggest gains from people voting for the first time, the 4.8 million youth between eighteen and twenty-one who were just granted the right to vote. A pre-election poll revealed that as of October 60% of voters under thirty planned to vote for the SPD. When compared with the corresponding official statistics for 1965 and 1969 when 38,9% and 46,5%, respectively, of voters under thirty voted for the SPD these figures reveal a clear shift to the left among the youth.

This shift came between 1965and 1969. That is, it occurred as the revolt in the universities, the struggle against the emergency laws, and also the 1966-1967 recession gave the youth radicalisation a mass character. This growing ferment, has now formed a parliamentary carryover in these elections in which the youth went to the polls in massive numbers for the first time.

women and won votes for the SPD and FDP. The repeal of the abortion law was very much an issue - the Catholic hierarchywaged an intense campaign against the repeal of the abortion law. The high turnout and the large vote for the SPD reflect the still-deep parliamentary illusions of the West German workers. But given the type of campaign the CDU/ CSU waged and the absence of a strong revolutionary socialist pole of attraction the large vote for the SPD represents a rejection by the West German masses of strong-statism and cold-war anticommun-

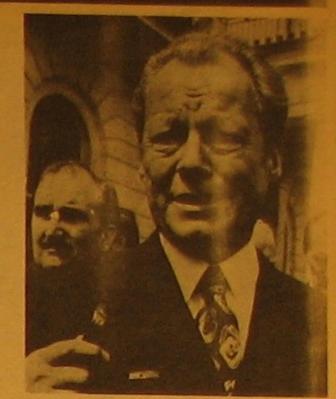
ist demagogy. The reactionary bourgeois press, especially Axel Springer press, waged a massive pro- bourgeoisie is openly relying on the FDP CDU/CSU campaign. Springer's news- to act as a brake on any too sweeping papers polemicised most sharply against the reforms.

SPD 's Eastern and detente policies, trying to mobilise the anticommunism of the 12 million refugees (from East Germany) and the former-Nazis for the CDU/CSU. However the opposition of the CDU/CSU to the treaty with East Germany (they abstained in the Bundestag vote and a few days before the election Rainer Barzel, the CDU/CSU leader, rejected the treaty) did not pay off.

Clearly the establishment of a detente with the East German and the workers states is in the interests of German big capital. In view of the increasingly intense international competition, the German bourgeoisie has every interest in gaining access to the Eastern market through such a policy. However, for the bourgeoisie, this policy entails a clear danger. The destruction of anticommunism as the central ruling class ideology and the direct contact, to be guaranteed under the new treaties, that millions of people will have with East Germany will interest and committment among the youth long dormant discussion of socialism and capitalism. This will involve not only the student vanguard, but the workers themselves.

This politicisation especially affected young the dangers of this policy by returning The German bourgeoisie hoped to lessen the CDU/CSU to power, in order to take the necessary step without venturing too far, especially in East Germany's direction Above all the bourgeoisie wants to shield West German workers from too close a contact with East Germany, which, despite its lower living standards offers some instructive examples in many social

The SPD 's reform proposals - since it failed to carry out its 1969 reform promises it felt free to repeat them againhave little likelihood of being carried out. Most meaningful reforms are ruled out by the crumbling of West Germany's favoured position in the world market. And the



Willy Brandt

Both the SPD and the CDU/CSU mage efforts even before polling day to halt the process of political polarisation that was occurring. They particularly had in mind the coming wage confrontations and especially those involving the 2,3 millionstrong metal workers union whose contracts expire on December 31.

The pressure on the trade union leadership to hold down its demands and not to press too strongly for reforms has already begun. But the union leadership's position is very difficult: On the one hand they are under pressure by the employers and the government to moderate their demands, on the other hand the victory of the "pro-working class" SPD has aroused the hopes of union members. In the event that the trade union leadership succeeds in moderating the demands of the membership so as to please the SPD-FDP regime it will lose credibility in the eyes of its membership. This will create openings for revolutionary socialists, who foresaw the SPD victory but who warned that this regime could not meet the workers' hopes for reforms, because it was not prepared to take on the thing that prevents passage of the necessary reforms - the capitalist system.

# French Abortion Struggle Continues



Police harass women demonstrators

activities. On a proposal from the work-

shop, the conference endorsed the Inter-

national Tribunal on Abortion, Contra-

ception, and Forced Sterilisation that

will take place in New York City on

March 9-11, 1973. The tribunal will

women have been forced to endure

because of laws which bar them from

Discussion groups took up a variety of

topics including: sexism, capitalism,

women and the media; women and

and educational courses on women.

and the family; women and literature;

marriage as an institution of oppression;

The resolutions adopted by the conference

included support for the withdrawal of

British troops from Ireland, support for

the Vietnamese revolution, and support

which will be held in London in December.

A telegram of support was sent to the women cleaners at Oxford University who

The enthusiasm of the conference was

strengthened by the presence of represent-

atives of women's liberation movements

in many other countries. Greetings were

given by women from Ireland, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, the United States,

Canada, Australia, and Israel. Reports

are presently on strike.

for the Indochina Solidarity Conference

controlling their reproductive processes,

hear evidence describing the experiences

of women's right to abortion gathered at the Mutualite to listen to speakers evaluating a legal judgement concerning an abortion case that could very well have permanently damaged the law's

Earlier that day a court in the Paris suburb of Bobigny acquitted Madame Duboucheix and Madame Sausset, who acted as "intermediaries" for Madame Chevalier in obtaining her daughter's abortion. The mother was fined 500 francs and the abortionist, Madame Bambuck, was sentenced to one year in prison under a law providing for up to ten years' imprisonment and a \$14,000 fine. But the penalties imposed in the latter two cases were suspended. In recent years although the number of

On November 22, nearly 2000 supporters abortions performed has steadily increased the reverse is true of the number of convictions recorded.

> sharply with earlier abortion-law prosec ution in France. For example the last woman to be sentenced to life imprisonment in France was an abortionist, as was the last woman to be executed, in 1943.

At the rally, defense lawyer Gisele Halimi stated "It's a first victory over the defenders of an obsolescent law... A step forward has been taken. It cannot be reversed. And this is what is ringing the death knell of the 1920 law".

Other speakers at the meeting sponsored by the women's group Choisir, which has headed the campaign for abortion rights, were Dr. Petit from the organisation Health Information, three of the defendants, including Madame Chevalie and parliamentary deputy Michel Rocard, a sponsor of Choisir's repeal draft in the National Assembly.

The optimistic mood of the rally expressed a conviction that the dismal history of prosecution of abortion cases is drawing to a close. But Mme. Chevalier expressed the determination of many French citizens to extend their gains against restrictive abortion legislation when she announced, "I've decided to appeal; our fight goes on".

# Women's Liberation Conferences ...

About 1500 women gathered at Acton Town Hall in London November 4-6 for the fourth and largest national conference the Abortion Laws described their of the women's liberation movement in Britain. The weekend conference reflected the tremendous growth of the movement since the first national conference attended by 400 women at Wexford in February 1970

The four basic demands that have been adopted by the women's movement in Britain are: free contraception and abortion on demand, equal educational and job opportunities, equal pay, and free child-care facilities.

Workshops discussed important questions facing the movement: Is it necessary for the women's movement to make demands and build campaigns? Is women's oppression based on male domination? Is it necessary to organise working women in unions? Can women's liberation be achieved without a socialist revolution? Organising workshops took up specific issues, and reports were given to the conference as a whole.

Women in the abortion and contraception campaign workshop discussed ways of obtaining free, safe contraception and abortion and of ending forced sterilisation. A national conference on the abortion and contraception campaign was announced, to be held in January in

A representative of WONAAC (Women's National Abortion Action Coalition)

were also heard from Belgium and South from the USA, and a participant in the Africa. Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal

The last item on the agenda was the appointment of four women who, together with two representatives from each region, will organise the next national conference planned for the spring of next year.

# ... and in Brussels

and discussion on the liberation of women. Between 5,000 and 6,000 women attended this unprecedented event - the first major activity of the Belgian community actions; sexism and education; women's liberation movement.

> Authors Simone de Beauvoir and Germaine Greer spoke at the conference and initiated a lively discussion on the topic of abortion. Beauvoir came to Brussels just after having testified in Paris in defence of Michelle Chevalier and three other women charged with procuring, aiding or abetting an abortion performed on seventeen-year-old Marie-Claire Chevalier.

> Apparently an estimated 150,000 Belgian women are forced to resort to illegal abortions every year although wealthy Belgian women are able to travel to Britain or the Netherlands where abortion is legal. Contraceptive pills are also forbidden by law in Belgium, a country heavily influenced by the Catholic church

Women packed an auditorium in Brussels A report in "La Gauche" a Belgian on November 11 for a full day of speeches revolutionary socialist weekly described the conference as "tremendous" and a "gigantic discussion", "... the first growth, the first demonstration of women as women and the coming together of many ideas - sometimes differing, sometimes congruent - of all the independent feminist groups that were able to compare their experiences and activities in the course of organising "F" Day. (the conference was called Journee des Femmes, or Journee "F" - women's day).

> The conference discussed women's jobs (since only 27% of women work outside the home this question was the ubject of the greatest discussion), ibortion, contraception, maternity, paternity, child-care centres and the double working day of women.

> A broad spectrum of women's organisations took part in the conference which ion demonstration for March or April.

tentatively projected a women's liberat-

# ional Chairman Andy Rose, reaffirmed the YSA's view that "although the radicalisation and level of activity will continue to go through ups and downs, periods of lull and periods of upsurge, the longrange prospect is for a continued deepening of the radicalisation and for new

waves of struggle," Rose noted the belief held by most Americans that the war will soon be over. He said, " The antiwar movement must be prepared to respond if Nixon continues to reescalate the war, but the rapidly shifting course of the negotlations and the likelihood of a military

the spring." He emphasised that the YSA

In the coming year, Rose said, "we moves toward a settlement of the Vietnam expect to see struggles breaking out over a variety of issues, and we anticipate opportunities for the YSA to fight alongside other militant youth in many different movements."

The political report projected plans for increasing the circulation of the monthly "Young Socialist", for supporting the in the 1973 elections, and for sending will pose serious obstacles to the success- teams of organisers into every part of the country.

> The convention heard greetings from revolutionary-socialist groups in France, India, Canada, and New Zealand.

**YSA National Convention** plan at this time for demonstrations in socialist organisation in political solidarity will continue to support the unconditional right of the Vietnamese to control held November 23-26 in Cleveland, Ohio, their destiny.

SWP candidates for state and city offices

Sweden, Venezuela, Sri Lanka, Australia,

Workshops and panels discussed various aspects of YSA activity. Doug Jenness, managing editor of "The Militant", reported on revolutionary-socialist strategy in the trade-union movement. Another workshop discussed the defence of the YSA in Florida, where it has been declared a "subversive" organisation and denied the right to function at any state-supported school.

In the organisational report, Laura Miller announced that the YSA has members on 200 college campuses, in fifty-seven high schools, five junior high schools, and two elementary schools. The YSA now has fifty-six locals, and members in 161 at-large

Andy Rose and Laura Miller were reelected as national chairman and national organisational secretary, respectively, and Andrew Pulley was elected as national secretary.

Singing the "Internationale" at YSA Convention



cease-fire within weeks mean, in our opinion, that it would be incorrect to



# NEW ZEALAND LABOUR'S VICTORY

BY RUSSEL JOHNSON

In the biggest electoral shift in New Zealand in nearly four decades Labour swept the ruling National Party from power in the November 25 general elections. In a record poll, Labour gained a stunning 25-seat majority in the 87-seat House (cf the former National majority of four), defying all the predictions of the bourgeois commentators and pollsters of a close election. These pundits favoured National to continue to hold power, as it has done for all but three of the last 23 years.

The press pointed out that there has only been one larger voting shift in New Zealand history - in the 1935 parliamentary elections that brought the first Labour government to power. The 1935 Labour government, elected as a result of a mass radicalisation spawned by the depression of the thirties, introduced sweeping reforms, particularly in the areas of housing and social welfare, political loyalty of the New Zealand

Like the 1935 victory, Labour's win in 1972 reflects first and foremost the depth of the general discontent and radicalisation in New Zealand, This has been reflected in escalating strike activity over the past decade, and above all by the rapid rise of the antiwar movement over the past three years. The 30,000 odd strong antiwar mobilisation of 1971 and 1972 represent the biggest street demonstrations New Zealand has experienced since the thirties if not ever, They have given powerful impetus to mass protests over a whole range of issues. from capitalist destruction of the environment and NZ's sporting relations with South Africa, to abortion and French nuclear testing in the Pacific. It has been the growth of the independent protest movements challenging the government on key questions, that has been a major factor in creating the political climate for the Labour win.

The elections showed that the radicalisation had even had an impact among traditional bases of National support. The government, despite attempts by Prime Minister Marshall to present a "liberal" image, lost significant numbers of votes in some wealthy city suburbs to the newly formed Values Party, The Values Party was an electoral formation presenting a liberal platform on questions such as women's rights and the environment and attracted significant support from among younger professional and executive layers, the National party

The electoral result represents both a swing against National, the party of big business, and a swing to Labour. The dissatisfaction with Tory rule, and a feeling that the government had to go at any cost was no doubt a factor in bringing out many previous non-voters (usually Labour votes), and in encouraging minority party supporters to switch to

But Labour also gained because it came across as a definite alternative to National In fact a closer examination of Labour's electorate. It pledged to end the country's speaks to many of the issues, it is masthousing crisis and take measures against skyrocketing rents. Labour promised to reverse Nationals' erosion of social welfare and to abolish the wage-freeze

board. It pledged that it would move against inflation and unemployment if elected, and take a strong stand against further French nuclear testing in the Pacific - to the extent of sending a Navy frigate into the test area.

Labour was identified with opposition to military involvement in South-east Asia and to the raising of Lake Manapouri. (The damming and raising of Lake Manapuori to provide power for an international aluminium smelting combine has been a central issue for New Zealand conservationists. In 1970, a petition protesting the raising of the lake and signed by 250, 000 people was presented to Parliament.) It indicated that it would abolish military conscription. Their sweeping victory was a clear mandate to take firm action on these questions, and expectations that Labour will do so are high.

But no sooner was the Labour win clearly established than the Kirk leadership began to backtrack on its election promises. Reassuring the business establishment that it had nothing to worry about was a first priority: "No one has anything to fear from the election of Labour. This is the point I want everyone in this country to know. We are not going to turn the country upside down," was one of Kirk's first reported comments.

In fact, the country's business circles were not at all unduly alarmed by the Labour win, and are hoping that a Labour government will be better able to hold down wages than National was, A November 27 Christchurch "Press" editorial put it quite plainly: "The new Government is committed to abolishing the Remuneration Authority; but any trade unionist who thinks that this will mean the end of any form of wage restraint is probably deluding himself. The Government will attempt to restore the Arbitration Court to its former position of authority. . . But, the "Press" warned, however in attempts to restrain wages, it will incur the displeasure of the militant unions, and the first real test of the new Cabinet may well be its ability to handle the

And similarly on foreign policy questions, the ruling class is confident that Kirk has no intention of breaking from the pro-imperialist position of the National government. The "NZ Herald's" diplomatic correspondent, J. C. Graham, wrote on November 29: "A notable aspect of Mr Kirk's methods while in Opposition has been the manner in which he had kept his options open in foreign affairs. While proclaiming principles, he had shown an appreciation of the conflicting pressures on a Government in office."

Already Kirk has pulled back on the question of withdrawing NZ armed forces from Malaysia and Singapore. And his twisting of the 1971 Labour Conference's demand for withdrawal from SEATO, into a demand for its replacement by a "more effective" alliance, illustrates both what the "Herald" meant by Kirk's keeping his options open and what he has in store on other questions involving

election manifesto reveals that while it erfully vague in its actual proposed solutions. And on many of the more cont-1 oversial questions of key concern to young activists, such as abortion law

repeal, high school rights and ending discrimination against gays, the manifesto had nothing to say.

Kirk was not allowed to go unchallenged in his attempt to avoid important issues and put across an inadequate platform as a meaningful alternative to the National party. Activists from the antiwar, women's liberation, gay and other protest movements, were much more active than in previous elections, intervening at candidates' meetings and demanding that Labour politicians take a stand on key issues. Antiwar and pro-abortion pickets were held outside the meetings of both National and Labour leaders.

But the most determined opposition to the Kirk misleadership came from the revolutionary socialists. Taking advantage of the opportunity for reaching a wide and receptive audience a "Socialists for Labour" campaign was initiated by the Socialist Action League at the annual conference of the Labour party last May. While unconditionally supporting the return to power of the mass party independent of the business establishment, the campaign emphasised the need to develop a socialist alternative to the current reformist programme and leadership of the Labour party.

Nor was this "Socialists for Labour" campaign a "sideline" or "commentary" intervention into the elections. It was in fact an election campaign in its own right. Tens of thousands of leaflets, posters, buttons and other campaign materials were circulated across the country by campaign activists, who were and the "Red Federation". The aim of organised in the Young Socialists for a Labour Government, Several hundred people were signed up for the YSLG in about twenty towns and cities, mostly during the last month of the campaign. The circulation of the revolutionary socialist biweekly, "Socialist Action", doubled in the course of the election period. Hundreds of copies of the paper were sold at the major election meetings, sellers often running completely out as people queued to buy them.

YSLG representatives debated official Labour candidates, spoke at Socialists for Labour rallies, and fired questions at Labour candidates. The official campaign was forced to relate to what one newspaper columnist referred to as one of Labour's most "vociferous group of supporters",

"The Socialist Action League has a different idea of what are the real issues in this election, " began the address of one candidate who is now Labour's Junior Whip, "Leftwing fascists," muttered another. In reply to a question on abortion by one YSLGer, the man who will be the Minister of Justice in the new government stated that he supported a woman's right to choose. And the negative response of Labour's defence spokesman to a YSLG question on whether a Labour government would break all ties with the "US war machine" received nationwide press coverage.

Even National politicians referred to the campaign. In a national broadcast, the Tory Minister of Labour identified the Socialists for Labour campaign as one of the forces who were pressurising Labour to take action against anti-union

The Labour leadership took the challenge very seriously. Soon after the Socialist campaign was launched the party's National Executive declared that members of the Socialist Action League could not remain in the Labour party. Later, the leadership prevented a leading feminist figure in the socialist campaign, Kay Goodger, from speaking at a Wellington regional seminar of the party.

Young Socialists for a Labour Government organised teams which toured the country publicising the campaign. Through these teams the campaign was able to have a presence at almost every single major meeting of Kirk's during the election period. The Labour leader was obviously rattled at having to be constantly walking the gauntlet of "Socialist Action" sellers to get into his meetings, frequently made snide remarks and more than once became abusive. One such encounter merited a front-page photograph and comment in one of the major dailies. In some cases, local party officials tried to prevent socialist literature from being distributed in the foyers of meeting halls. This also received press coverage. During his final election address the day before polling, Kirk devoted two minutes of his speech to a full-blown attack on "Socialist Action".

Outside of the Socialist Action League, almost the entire radical left rejected a serious orientation towards the election. Ultraleft student forces and the remnants of the Communist party combined in formations with grand sounding names such as the "Radical Election Campaign these forces was to prove to the people that parliament was a "fraud" and a "farce". The means they chose to enlighten the voting public was by disrupting the meetings of the major parties.

The press swooped on the antics of the disruptors, headlining their threats to "shutdown" election meetings and so on, seeing in them a chance to discredit the radical and protest movement as a whole, The Socialist Action League was named as being among the disruptors by at least two major newspapers, despite the fact that they had been supplied with material explaining the socialist opposition to disruption,

The Socialists for Labour campaign actively campaigned against the disruption advocates, labeling their tactics as infantile, antidemocratic and aiding the right wing. It was also pointed out how a number of the leading organisers of the disruption had also used similar tactics against left wing opponents.

In general, the Socialists for Labour campaign was successful in getting socialist ideas and the Socialist Action League more widely known than ever before. And of course one goal of the campaign, the election of a Labour Government, has been achieved. But the fight for a socialist alternative to the status quo policies of the present party leadership has only just begun. The wide support and interest in the socialist campaign, and the aggressive intervention into the elections of activists from the rising independent movements, shows that there are today more forces than ever before in New Zealand to carry this struggle forward.

# IN BRIEF.

O BE CAREFUL YOU YOUNG BRATS

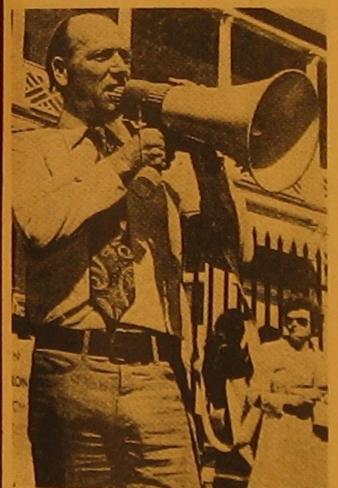
Speaking at the school's annual speech night J. Buckham, principal of the Presbyterian Ladies' College, Pymble where education is highly valued by those who can get it, she had been "led to wonder if universal education sometimes leads our pupils to look too lightly on the privilege they enjoy". A dose of Suharto type education would soon

# TORTURE IN FREMANTLE

a royal commission enquiring into allegations of brutality and racism in prisons no black population. n Western Australia has been told that prisoners in Fremantle Gaol have been subjected to beatings by prison staff. One prisoner claimed that prisoners were often Speaking in Port Moresby recently, forced to squawk like parrots, he went on to say that after a beating he was placed in a room and a stale loaf of bread was placed on the floor outside the noom. He was told to pick the bread up and when he refused it was kicked to him, he was given nothing else to eat,

## WAINER THREATENED WITH DEREGISTRATION

Abortion law reform campaigner Dr. Bertram Wainer has been told by the Medical Board of Victoria that he will have to face charges of "infamous conduct because he allegedly advertised himself. The charges could lead to his deregistration as a doctor. Speaking after a meeting with the Medical Board, Wainer said that he would continue to speak to the media. He went on to say: "The Board knows tragic women are going around this city looking for help and I said I would make myself available teacher shortages and overcrowding in to them. "



Dr Bertram Wainer addressing abortion law, the National Committee of the Commreform rally outside NSW State Parliament unist Party of Australia). The meeting

# ANSETT "BREAKS" STRIKE

A'few days after the new Labor government announced that it would instruct (AA (the government owned airline) to lower its fares as its profit margin was too high, pilots for the two domestic airlines struck in support of a pay rise. The pilots rapidly won their rise as a result of a deal with Reginald Ansett, chairman and managing director of Ansett Airlines. The pay rise takes the salary for a Boeing 727 captain to around \$23,000 per year.

The pay rise granted by Ansett forced TAA to follow suit, cutting its profit margin and probably eliminating any possibility of a fare cut. The Sunday newspapers which announced Ansett's deal claimed that Ansett had broken the strike, unusual language for the press to use in a situation where an employer has just granted a wage demand to strikers - maybe they did not consider this a normal run of the mill strike?

A few days before the strike, Ansett had said, commenting on Labor's proposed fare cut that such action was not justified, one of the reasons he gave was that labour costs in the industry were rising. Could Ansett's deal have had anything to do with the fact that TAA's fare cut would have forced Ansett to take similar action?

LAND RIGHTS

The NSW Government recently announced that it was setting aside a total of about 6,000 acres of land to be controlled by commented that after travelling in Java, an Aboriginal Lands Trust. The announcement is obviously a concession to the growing demand for aboriginal land rights. However the nature of the concession reveals the contempt with which the NSW Government views the aborigines. Of the 6,000 acres at least 200 are in a useless mangrove swamp, another area straighten out the wayward young devils. consists of an island which is periodically inundated by floods and many of the other areas granted were deserted by the black people long ago. Many of the areas granted are isolated and contain almost

# THINGS HAVE CHANGED

R. W. Furlonger the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia said: "Indonesia of 1972 is a very different place from the pre 1965 Indonesia of Sukarno". The thousands of political oppositionists who have been imprisoned without trial by the Suharto regime since 1965 would probably agree. When Suharto came to power in 1965 his forces murdered thousands of people using the "justification" that they were Communists, at the same time thousands more were imprisoned. It is estimated that there are probably 160, 000 political prisoners whose cases have never come to trial in Indonesia at the present time.

## NSW GOVERNMENT'S SOLUTION TO THE EDUCATION CRISIS

The NSW government recently took another step toward what they think is the solution for the crisis caused by the NSW education system. Their solution is to shift the costs of running the education system off the government and onto individuals. Their latest move in this direction is to increase the amount of the bond into which student teachers must enter from \$1,000 to \$6,600. If a student who accepts training from the NSW Education Department, later decides for any reason not to continue teaching after completion of their course, they will be liable to pay back \$6,600. That should attract thousands of young people to teaching and put an end to the teacher shortage for all time.

### INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS

On December 10 a meeting of the NSW Preparatory Committee for the International Festival of Youth and Students to be held in East Germany during 1973 took place in Sydney. Present were such notable youth and students as Bill Brown and Pat Clancy (members of the National Committee of the Stalinist Socialist Party of Australia) and Mavis Robertson and Bill Gollan (members of developed into a full scale dog fight between the CPA and SPA and was dominated by these two organisations to such an extent that two delegates , one from the NSW Secondary Students' Union, announced that they were withdrawing from the Preparatory Committee, they were talked into staying by some CPA

Probably the most notable feature of the evening occurred when the delegate from the Sydney University ALP Association moved a motion that the Australian delegation to the festival would, among other things "struggle for an expression from the Festival of solidarity with the struggle for socialist democracy in the so called "socialist countries" and "raise the demand for the release of all political prisoners in such count ries". The motion was placed on notice for the next meeting. The SPA's position on the issue is clear - it thinks that socialism already exists in the workers' states and presumably that denial of civil rights, persecution and imprisonment of oppositionists and discrimination against racial minorities is a normal part of socialist society.

The CPA's position is less clear, it claims to have broken with Stalinism, denouncing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and speaking out in defence of the oppositionists who have been put on trial in Czechoslovakia since that date. Their attitude to the ALP Association's motion at the next meeting of the Preparatory Committee will reveal just how far the CPA is prepared to go in its break with Stalinism and whether it is prepared to accept the conclusion that flows from its break - that it should take up the fight against Stalinism in a vigorous way in all of its activities.

# NOT EXCLUSIVE

Merrilie Roberts, retiring principal of Ascham school in Sydney insists that the school is not exclusive. "We have children from all classes here" she told the press recently. Fees at the school range up to \$275 per term.



### EXORCISM IN CALIFORNIA

A group of ex "Jesus freaks", parents

and bible experts is reported to be working in California to persuade young people who have become "Jesus freaks" that they are misguided and should return home. The persuasion consists of sessions lasting for up to ten days during which the elders complain that the "Jesus freaks" are the victims of religious brainwashing and that "Jesus freak" leaders use the fear of God and a distorted interpretation of the Bible to lead their young people away from the true superstition. One unwilling victim of the group jumped from a second storey motel window and ran away to escape the treatment, the Almighty no doubt remaining impartial while awaiting further developments refrained from striking him down. Perhaps He is hoping that the "Jesus freaks" will prove better at and superstition than the outfits that He is stuck with at the moment.

# WESTGATE KILLS ANOTHER WORKER

One worker was killed and two others injured on December 7 when a steel girder crashed into the platform on which they were working on Melbourne's Westgate Bridge. The employers at Westgate seem to be having trouble determining just what are adequate safety precautions, but no doubt they're working on the problem.

# CHARGED EXTRA FOR BEING BLACK

A black woman has taken legal action under the South Australian Prohibition of Discrimination Act against an Adelaide hotel licensee who charged her extra for beer and cigarettes because she was black.

# MINER KILLED

A miner was killed when a section of the roof collapsed at the Brimstone No. 1 Colliery near Camden (NSW) recently. His death brought the number of miners killed in accidents in NSW this year to

# UNIONS OPPOSE NEWPORT POWER STATION

Two unions have so far black banned work on the Newport power station which was to be built in the inner suburbs of Melbourne, they are the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union and the Building and Construction Workers Union. The power station, if built will discharge gases into the atmosphere through a 600 feet high chimney and will discharge over 500, 000 gallons of heated chlorinated water per minute into Port Phillip

### RELIGION IS THE OPLATE OF THE MASSES

At least that was the opinion of Karl Marx on the role of religion in capitalist society. The sectarian Socialist Labour League apparently has different ideas. The SLL's latest contribution to the development of Marxism in this country is a front page advertisement in their paper for a christmas bazaar, I always thought that christmas was a christian ritual, but apparently the SLL sees nothing wrong with helping to peddle the

# MEATWORKERS REJECT BOSSES!

A recent mass meeting of over 500 members of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union employed by Thomas Borthwick and Sons in Brisbane voted to reject the company's offer of an interim agreement while discussions over a log of claims continued. The company's offer was for a 15% bonus payment to replace the present 10% payment, with a system of penal clauses still attached and equal pay for women if the union would agree to extension of the area of female employment.

The Meatworkers were angry with the trifling offer and with the union officers who decided to bring such an offer before the membership to be voted on, The Federal Council of the union had been pressing for a \$103 per week base pay rate, with no penal clauses, a 35 hour week and equal pay, among other items, then the Assistant Federal Secretary of the union, Jack O'Toole came before the meeting with an offer of a \$3 per week rise if the workers did not make trouble. The meeting endorsed a motion calling for industrial action from January 1 1973 if the employers continued to refuse to negotiate.

### BIRTH CONTROL HORROR LOOSE IN NORTH SYDNEY

"After a heated and rowdy exchange between two aldermen, North Sydney Council resolved last week to invite the Family Planning Association of Australia to set up a clinic in the municipality", reports the "North Shore Times" (a weekly suburban paper) of December 6. Opposing the resolution which would have the effect of making cheap information concerning birth control more easily available to local residents, was Alderman W. A. Salcer, described by the "North Shore Times" as "a member of the strong catholic contingent on North Sydney Council". Salcer, in one of his more notable outbursts declared "I don't think council should give its imprimatur to this. I realise some of the aldermen have Socialist leanings, but never in my wildest dreams did I ever imagine they would try to influence the process of procreation". Oh horror, what next! If this sort of thing keeps up, before you know it women will be demanding the

.. STEVE PAINTER

right to control their own bodies.



WOMEN DEMAND CHILD CARE

FACILITIES About 50 women recently demonstrated outside the Palatial Theatre in Burwood

(Sydney) calling on the Burwood Counci to turn the disused theatre owned by the council into a child care centre for children of working parer

# Labor and the Cities

**Urban Renewal and Regional Growth** 

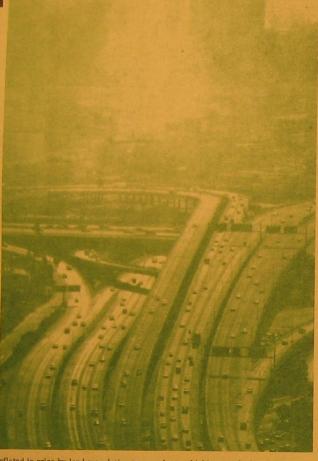
RENEREY CLARKE

EY RENFREY CLARKE
There are few spheres in which Australian people have suffered as bitterly for electing reactionary coalitions to state and federal government as in that of urban policy. In 1949 the electors discarded a sophisticated regional planning system, intended to divert industrial growth away from established large cities into selected country centres which would serve as foci for the planned development of carefully delineated regional areas. For a measure of concerted planning in the interests of people was substituted "freedom of the market", the fragmentary planning of private enterprises for private profit, co-ordinated only in defence of the right to exploit. The fear of conservative graziers' groups that their exorbitant political power millions of city workers to pollution, high costs of housing and transport, feelings of alienation, and to life in a squalid, unnatural environment. Well aware of the exploitative possibilities of operation in large cities, the dominant capital owning class allowed the regional divisions of Labor's Department of Post-War Reconstruction to atrophy. The vision of provincial centres serving integrated regions was lost; country areas stagnated or declined in population while Melbourne and Sydney acquired problems endemic in regions much more cramped for space than south eastern Australia.

Lacking a consistent analysis of capitalist economics and society, the Labor Party has responded to these developments while it was in opposition with the superficial, empirical reaction it would term "pragmatic". It has not recognised basic contradictions in the social system, and has not proceeded from them to anticipate future developments and draw attention to incipient problems. Consequently it has found itself confronted by problems already far developed. It has propagandised about urban and environmental crises only since independent pressure groups have begun to do so, and since it recognised the issue would sway votes. Operating with reactionary rather than anticipatory methods, the leadership of the Labor Party can be thankful that its promise to redeem the urban environment anticipated that of the Liberal Party by some years. Despite the Chiffley government's recognising the need for federal intervention and co-ordination in planning cities, and despite abundant evidence of urban crisis in comparable American cities, it was 1968 before Whitlam outlined proposals for a federal department of Urban Affairs.

ment of Urban Affairs.

The development of urban crises, as of all capitalist crises, is preconditioned by the basic conflict between a system of production which is socialised to the point where it can require the interaction of thousands of people, and a system of ownership and appropriation which concentrates profit and managerial power in the hands of a few percent of the population. In the struggle to maximise profit in a competitive system, social benefits of all kinds are commonly subordinated to the private benefit of the capital owners. It is in the competitive struggle for private profit that large shareholders, living mostly in the outer suburbs, prevent the allocation of capital for pollution control devices: the desire to appear socially responsible is frequently quietly dropped after reflecting on the competitive disadvantage suffered from 'unproductive' use of capital. A similar rationale governs the location of new industries, Australian cities have not yet reached the extreme size where high land and storage costs, and costly transport delays, penalise enterprises established in them. For the availability of a varied labour force and for proximity to markets, it is still advantageous for industries to set up in established metropolitan areas - from the viewpoint of shareholders' profit.



inflated in price by land speculation to the point where the hope of owning one's own home has become slim for a large minority. The cost of supplying water and of sewage disposal is far above that which applies in large country centres, due to the large watersheds which must be tapped, the distances sewage must be piped, and the frequent necessity for the complete replacement of service systems which manticipated growth has rendered inadequate. It is clear then, that industries which set up in established cities and which extract greater profit from doing so are not paying anything like the real cost of their production, either financially or in terms of their destruction of the environment. This cost is passed on to the workers in a score of diffuse ways.

The situation, in short, involves a present

The situation, in short, involves narrow-ly conceived and appropriated profit, and broad but concealed social loss. It would be churlish to maintain that the Labor leadership never glimpses this contradiction, it recognises, for example that inner suburban high-rise developments, themselves potential slums, directly serve the interests of inner-city businessmen. But there is a good deal of evasive hedging, of unwillingness to admit obvious conclusions. In its booklet "Regional Development", the Labor Party notes:

"If the choice of location is left to each individual entrepreneur the inevitable consequences of these micro-economic decisions based on each isolated supply-demand study can be the further growth of Melbourne which on a micro-economic scale becomes increasingly expensive.

. . . as long as the location of the individual enterprise, the growth of Melbourne is likely to the decision of the individual enterprise, the growth of Melbourne is likely to be unlimited. The advantages of city location are too obvious and the costs hidden."

The costs are hidden, but who pays them ultimately? Micro-economic planning by management adversely affects large numbers of employees. Why should the employees not engage in a little macro-economic planning, and relocate by democratic decision industries which the Labor Party leadership hopes to relocate by bribes? For Whitlam and his

cohorts, thinking out the bases of their programme would be traumatic indeed, especially if they were to recognise that the conflict between private and social interests which generated their urban policies extends far beyond this area. They pontificate, for instance, about the alienation, the sense of personal worthlessness and irrelevance, which arises in individuals immured in large cities. Alienation is a terrible condition; it must be alleviated by setting up local bodies of representatives to participate in planning: "Labor does not desire pseudo-participation, but a living involvement in any matter which affects the daily lives of citizens. This sort of participation is an important counter-balance to the allenation factor so prevalent in modern western societies," It is clear that in Labor's cities "living involvement" will be strictly on night shift. For the duration of the working day employees will continue to be subject to every kind of arrogant hierarchical dictatorship without the Labor leadership uttering a word about "participation".

There is no doubt that even though a Labor government has been returned, capitalist industry will retain a very considerable power to abuse and distort urban and regional programmes. In the choices which must arise between the interests of people and those of capital, it is difficult to see the present Labor front bench intransigent and impenetrable to powerful industrial lobbies. There are intimations of this in "Regional Development". It is soundly established that a region can give its inhabitants an adequate range of commercial services with a principal city of 100,000-200,000 people. This figure presumes a total regional population of about 250,000. If the Labor Party really wished to, it could provide such regions with educational, cultural and recreational facilities to outdo those at present available in Sydney and Melbourne, With more than 200,000 people, however, the social advantages of smaller size can already be frighteningly impersonal and the Labor-endorsed "lense of community" and opportunity for personal involvement are under dangerous strain. Travelling times can become distressingly long, and utilities' costs rise sharply. But the booklet notes without comment that "few

big industries can find the varied work force they need in regions of fewer than 100,000 people, and many industrialists believe that the relevant figure is about 500,000 persons as the smallest size of a city which can find the facilities and market they need," Who is to prevail? There is also a real possibility that indeprialists, recognizing that Labor is indeprialist, recognizing that labor is indeprialist, recognizing that with the country areas until the government, finding its programmes dangerously behind schedule, offers inflated subsidies.

There is further evidence of such distortion in the Labor leadership's complacent towards the imposition on Australians of private cars, possession of which should be made genuinely optional. In "Toward a New Australia" Tom Uren correctly recognises that the building of freeway has been proven furthe and destructive wherever undertaken, But nowhere does he counterpose to it the development of public transport; his solution runs: "transport safety and traffic congestion increasingly hold the attention of the community. The way we can solve both problems is to increasingly automate the guidance and control of vehicles. We must not limit individual mobility. "Presumably he is content that huge profits should continue to be extorted from individuals, and that mobility should be practically non-existent for people unable to pay thousands of dollan for vehicles which, however automated, still need parking space. Not even the Labor Party, it seems, has the courage to try to disarm General Motors.

In perspective, the ALP's urban and

In perspective, the AIP's urban and regional policies function as part of the leadership's claim to be able to administer the bourgeois state better than the bourgeois's traditional political wing, the Liberal Party, A capitalist state which allows social pressures to mount indefinitely through its failure to divert urban crisis faces a swift and devastating collapse. On the other hand, a capitalist state which summons the fortitude to disperse its operations, at the expense of temporary losses, may survive to face more profound consequences of its economic anarchy. That the Liberal Party senses this only dimly, and that most of the capital-owning class are oblivious to it, is immaterial; the Labor leadership acts to save capitalism in spite of capitalism. The recent identification of "liberal" capitalism with the Labor Party during the election campaign is indicative of this.

campaign is indicative of this.

Despite its rhetoric of "free enterprise" present day capitalism extracts profits more efficiently when backed by the regulation and organisation of a compliant state apparatus. The integration of monopoly capitalism with the state shows up particularly strongly in postwar Europe, where capitalism has turned to the state to guarantee its profits with subsidies to the unprofitable baic sectors of the economy. Revenue raised largely by taxation of workers is used to provide raw materials at less than the real cost of production from nationalised or seminationalised coal, iron and oil industries. The reactionary ALP leadership repudiates nationalisation of industry, but not nationalisation of industry, but not nationalisation of industry, but not nationalisation of industry to roposes to effect with its decentralisation subsidies and freight concessionsto pay industry to avert the decline and ultimate stagnation of profits which a deteriorating urban environment must finally bring. It is an ominous precedent; we can expect the institution of subsidies and concessions to become more accepted with each strenuous bailing out of capitalism.

Australians must not feel bound to