

DIRECT ACTION

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A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



FEMINISM AND THE MARXIST MOVEMENT

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

DAYLIGHT ROBBERY

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 to 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 clearly 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 gentlemen of the Commission said: "We are aware that there was no general 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 wage 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 year."

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 the 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 international assault on the workers' 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 their rightful gains were being taken away. 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

Arbitration Commission, in direct confrontation with the employers."

The AMWU has some chance of gaining such wages though the experience of Oil industry workers and SEC employees make the prospects rather dubious. For the strong may do well and the weak and leaderless can go to the wall in trying to reach a private deal with individual bosses.

The commission deliberately attempted to help strengthen the union bureaucracy in any clash with the militant rank and file. Announcing its decision now, just before the holiday period will help quash any militant action.

Meanwhile the ACTU is going to take no action to try to smash the bosses and the Arbitration Commission. Individual unions like the Shop Assistants Union or the Vehicle Builders Union may take action but it is going to be limited to their narrow field.

The Arbitration Commission's atrocious ruling appears in a different light now, under the new ALP government. No longer can the bureaucrats rely on an ALP victory at the end of the rainbow - Labor is in office. There is no further need to put down militancy for the sake of an ALP victory. The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance have fought for a Labor victory. As we have pointed out before, workers struggles shouldn't be subjected to limitations for the sake of electoral victory. The insincerity of the union bureaucrats who argued otherwise is being brought into the open by their inactivity and reticence around this latest employers' attack. The election of a Labor government hasn't been sufficient to defend the workers' standards of living.

Some of the onus for the robbery unfortunately must be placed on the new Labor government. The ALP, which reopened the Equal Pay case didn't make a counter submission to the one presented by the previous Liberal government. As can be expected the McMahon government supported the employers' position against any rises.

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 agreements have to carry a clause granting automatic wage increases with changes in a meaningful cost of living index to be kept by the ACTU.

LABOR IN POWER

BY DAVID NIZOZ

After 23 years of Liberal conservative rule the 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 very clearly. Labor expressed the hopes 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 gaoles 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 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 Chiang Kai Chek gang isn't going to cease.

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 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 restrict 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

of a union should not benefit from gains fought for by the union. Socialists always support the closed shop, and demand that all job sites be unionised. That is, of course, the only way workers' demands can be won. All the objections to "compulsory unionism" should be seen for what they really are - attempts to weaken the power of the unions which are the workers' most elementary and basic organisation for the defence of their rights and conditions.

On the home front most of the announcements concerned health, urban development and transport. The universal health scheme is going to be fully implemented in about one and a half years time. For the moment Labor is full of fighting words. On December 17 Peter Durich reported in the "Sunday Telegraph" that the Labor Government has made plans to smash any doctors' revolt against the Government's proposed national health scheme. If the doctors refuse to cooperate the government intends to retaliate by setting up large numbers of free health centres. The health scheme is going to force a showdown which is not going to be limited to that implacable enemy of socialised medicine - the Australian Medical Association. A more

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.

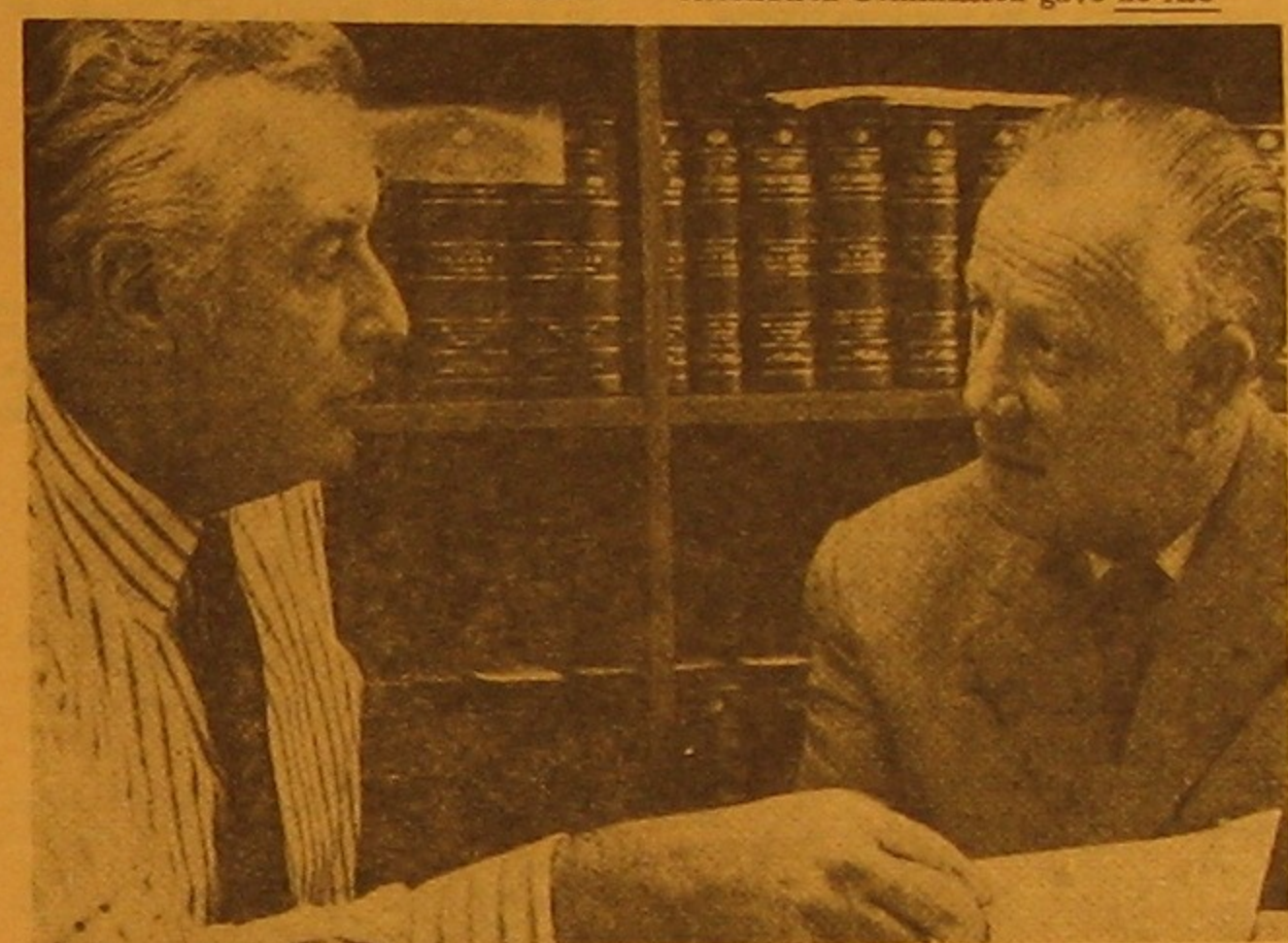
The other important decision on the domestic front involved the reopening of the Equal Pay Case so that a new submission can be made to the Arbitration Court. (The Liberal government made a submission against equal pay.) The Arbitration Court ruled in favour of equal pay extended over three years, which was what was to be expected. The weakness of the Whitlam government's approach didn't lie in the Equal Pay Case. It was the omission of intervention which represents the worst disappointment of the new government to date. The employers and their Liberal government both opposed any rises in the 1972 National Wage Case. The result of the lack of any Labor government intervention is by now history. The 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 our struggle is only just beginning.



BUILDERS LABOURERS RELEASED

BY GRAHAM TUBENHAUER

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 Construction 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 unwavering allegiance 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 Munday (NSW secretary of ABCWF) declared on 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 amoyed if the building union held a national strike in defiance 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 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 there will not be any Labor Government in this country... There are a few people who get on these steps and say 'Come on the Labor Government 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 sorer 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 employers and their organisation, 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.

LIFT-OUT TV GUIDE IN COLOR CENTRE PAGES
BIGGEST WEEK-DAY SALES IN N.S.W.
Daily Mirror
LATE LOTTERY FINAL

WAGE RISE FOR 5 MIL
National pay decision

CHRISTMAS BOOST FOR WORKERS

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

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.

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 necessary to take into account comparisons

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, 1975.

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 compensate for all the hours that women have worked on female rates.

Even though, overall the decision of the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission is favourable to women, it also leaves plenty of leeway for the employers to manoeuvre in. The "Sydney Morning Herald" editorial on December 12 comments "Fortunately the Commission's judgement allows for a highly desirable element of flexibility". This means that there is plenty of potential for the employer to backtrack claiming that there is no common work value for men and females in certain industries.

Even though the equal pay decision represents a partial victory for women, the new gains are yet to be consolidated. The employers will do all in their power to roll back the decision in order to continue the superexploitation of women workers. The only defence against this remains the willingness of women workers to act in a determined and united manner in defence of their interests.

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.....PHONE.....
.....POSTCODE.....

FUND DRIVE SUCCESS

DIRECT ACTION'S \$2000 Fund Drive has gone over the top. We have raised \$2068 - and some more is promised. To all our friends and supporters who made this result possible DIRECT ACTION sends revolutionary thanks. The success of this drive has enabled DIRECT ACTION to equip its new premises and pay off its most pressing debts. We can thus begin the new year with confidence. Of course the need of the revolutionary socialist press for money doesn't end now. We're going to be pressed for funds from now until the revolution. So, fund drive or not, any and all donations are welcome.

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR HISTORY THE ORIGINS OF THE LABOR PARTY BY PETER CONRICK



Some delegates to the First Interstate Labour-Political Conference, Trades Hall, Sydney, 24 January 1890.

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.

Initially, 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 has plagued Labor Party leaders throughout the Party's history: The Reform League and its unionist progeny were organisations 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 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 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:

"There are only two parties now, the Anti-Social Party—those who are against society and in favour of class dominance—and the Labor Party who stands for justice, 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 of production. Seamen, waterside workers, shearers, coal miners, silver-lead miners, transport workers were all locked out by their bosses. Police and military action were used, thousands of special constables were sworn in and detachments of light horse brought out from the barracks.

The bosses' demands for "freedom of contract" raised during the strikes struck at the root of every gain made by the working 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 post-mortems 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 intercolonial trade union congresses, the national basis for the formation of the 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 1880s.

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 trade union interests. At no stage did 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 Party as "introducing co-operation instead of competition. . . not because we are going to abandon the principles that 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 necessary."

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.

The Australian Socialist League, formed in May 1887 announced a meeting for "the purpose of forming an Australian Labor Party." The call was stillborn and while the ASL could claim the credit of being the first working class body to propose a Labor Party, it was left to the Trades and Labour Council to launch the party as a practical objective.

In 1874 the TLC set up a Parliamentary Committee to act as a lobby and successfully sponsored a worker for parliament. Direct representation was hindered however by the heavy financial burden on the unions—it was this realisation that prompted the TLC at the Inter-Colonial Trade Union Congresses of 1884 and 1888 to support payment of members of parliament.

It was not until mid-1890 that the TLC moved seriously towards parliamentary action—the decision to commit trade unions' funds to form Labor Electoral Leagues was in one sense a measure of desperation as reactions against the strikes hardened. While the union leadership 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 capitalist and their parliamentary machine.

The collapse of the Maritime Strike in November 1890 accelerated TLC interest in taking concrete organisational steps for a political party. On November 28 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 formation originated within the movement itself, only socialist fringe groups such as the ASL exhibited any external pressures for independent political action.

In the early years of its existence the ALP's trade union origin and connections gave it a cohesion that no bourgeois political groupings had possessed in Australia. This was despite the fact that the Party suffered from a lack of definition over programme and composition. The division which evolved between the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary wings was in reality the most concrete statement of the party's ambiguity. Many of the progressive candidates for Labor representation still retained strong links with established bourgeois parties. The impression of the party structure reflects over the plebeian, the fratricidal conflicts over the pledge of loyalty to the ALP programme. It was to be firmly established that the ALP candidate was not a free agent, but was bound to a common programme.

Perhaps in no period in its subsequent 80 year history has the ALP experienced the contradictions and confusions of its dual role more than in its formative years. Many socialists thus cannot ignore or bypass the contradictions and confusions of its dual role more than in its formative years. Revolutionary cannot ignore or bypass the contradictions and confusions of its dual role more than in its formative years. Revolutionary cannot ignore or bypass the contradictions and confusions of its dual role more than in its formative years.

Feminism and the Marxist Movement by Mary-Alice Waters



Alexandra Kollontai



Rose Pastor Stokes



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn



Mother Jones



Chen Pi Lan



Clara Zetkin

In her book, *Woman's Estate*, Juliet Mitchell, the British women's liberation activist and author, puts forward the thesis that "if socialism is to regain its status as the revolutionary politics . . . it has to make good its practical sins of commission against women and its huge sin of omission—the absence of an adequate place for them in its theory."

In this she is echoing an opinion that is far from original. Everyone who is active in the women's liberation struggle or familiar with the literature of the movement has heard the same arguments in one form or another. Often we hear the charges: "The Marxist movement has always ignored the problem of women's liberation." "The socialist movement played no significant 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 of women as a sex. It is only concerned with the oppression of women as workers."

We have heard such charges repeated so often, either from ignorance or ill will, that sometimes, even unconsciously, we begin to accept the fraudulent version of Marxism and the history of women's struggles that has been concocted to buttress such assertions. The purpose of this talk is to begin to cut through the lies in order to restore the true history of Marxism and women's liberation.

As the new stage of the struggle for women's liberation began to unfold in the late 1960s, the Marxist movement in this country—the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—responded in a revolutionary fashion. We recognized the profound importance 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 to an understanding that only a socialist revolution could provide the necessary material foundations for the complete liberation of women.

At the same time, we began the process of arming ourselves theoretically. We studied the relevant Marxist classics more deeply than before and tried to apply them to the current reality. We grounded our practice and political orientation in the fundamentals of Marxism.

Now, in addition to action and theory there is a third step we must take. That is to go back and retrace the true lines of our history in order to establish the continuity of Marxist theory and practice.

We have a doubly difficult job, however. Not only do we have to contend with the now familiar problems of discovering the true history of women and of writing ourselves as women back into the historical record. We must 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 accurately portraying the political positions taken by revolutionary Marxists. That is a job only we can do.

Is our theory adequate? I 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 liberation. They have fought to place it on a sound historical and materialist basis; and to educate the entire vanguard of the working class to an understanding of the significance of the struggles by women for full equality and for liberation from the centuries-old degradation of domestic slavery.

This battle has always been one of the dividing lines 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 to 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 socialism, or who supported it in words but refused to fight for it in practice.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. . . . The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

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-Marxist utopian socialists—such as Fourier and Owen—were also fervent champions of the emancipation of women. But their socialism, as well as their theories on the family and women, rested on moral principles and abstract desires—not on an understanding of the laws of history and the class struggle rooted in the growth of humanity's productive capacities. Marxism for the first time provided a scientific materialist foundation, not only for socialism but also for women's liberation. It laid bare the roots of women's oppression, its relationship to a system of production based on private property and a society divided between a class that owned the wealth and a class that produced it. Marxism explained the role of the family within class society, and the function of the family in perpetuating the oppression of women.

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 transferring 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 these burdens, Marx pointed out, the masses of women would be able to break the bonds of domestic servitude, they would be able to exercise their full capacities as creative and productive—not just reproductive—members of society. Freed from the economic compulsion on which it necessarily rests, the bourgeois family would disappear. Human relationships themselves would be transformed into free relations of free people.

And finally, Marxism took socialism and women's liberation out of the sphere of utopian yearning by proving that capitalism itself produces a force—the working class—strong enough to destroy it, capable 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
When the First International was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864, socialist theory was put into large-scale organizational practice for the first time. In a radical departure from the laws and customs of the time, the International Workingmen's Association elected a British woman trade-union organizer, Henrietta Law, to its General Council. 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 a fight erupted within the German socialist movement between the Marxists and non-Marxists. In the decades ahead the German working class would create the largest, strongest, and most influential socialist party in the pre-World War I era. But from 1865 until well into the 1880s the movement was divided between the old leaders of the late Ferdinand Lassalle on one hand and the Marxists under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel on the other. In 1875 the two groups united in a single party, the SPD (Sozialistische demokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic Party of Germany), but maintained sharp differences

within the organization. Perspectives for women's liberation 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 pre-ordained 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 not 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 abolition of every law which discriminated against women in any way.

A decisive element in the victory of the Marxists on this question was the book by August Bebel entitled *Women and Socialism*, published in 1883. Although it came out a year before Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, it is basically a development 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. *Women and Socialism* created a sensation not only in Germany but throughout Europe and was instrumental in the education 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 pre-war period and fought within the SPD to develop a revolutionary perspective on the struggle for women's emancipation. Nor was 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 1895, 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.



women's section or caucus within the SWP or YSA. Everyone has equal voice and vote in reaching all decisions on all questions. At the same time, we have special subgroups—we call them "fractions"—to organize and carry out the decisions once they are made and to help lead and direct the work. The Bolsheviks, who had to solve the same problem, likewise drew on these experiences of the German Social Democrats before them and developed an organizational form on which ours is basically modeled.

We should take note of two important points here. First is the realization that questions such as the relationship between a revolutionary party and an independent women's movement and how the leadership of this work within the party should be organized are not new problems that suddenly emerged in 1970. The Marxist movement does have a history and tradition on these questions that is worth studying and learning from.

Second is a word of warning. When we start to look into a historical question like the oppression of women and the struggle against it, we need to guard against the gravest error of all—one that most of our critics in the women's liberation movement make. That is the error of approaching history in an ahistorical way. We must resist the inclination to project backward in time our current level of consciousness or stage of development instead of judging the past by what was known and what was possible then. Unless we take pains at each step to place things in their concrete historical context and understand them in that light, we will not be able to learn from the past.

I want to give three more historical examples of the way in which the question of women's liberation has been an integral part of the struggle to build a revolutionary party of the working class: first, from the early years of the American Socialist Party; second, from the early years of the Third International; and lastly, from the founding of the Fourth International.

The American Socialist Party

The backward, reactionary, patriarchal ideas concerning women's nature which were prevalent in late nineteenth-century society found their reflections within the American socialist movement, just as they did in Germany. That is to be expected. No organization is immune to pressures from the society that surrounds it. But it was the right wing of the socialist movement that acted as the main conduit for sexist ideas. Many in the left wing of the movement fought to establish a correct line in theory and in practice.

For example, it was Daniel DeLeon, the central leader of the Socialist Labor Party and one of the founders of the I.W.W., the Industrial Workers of the World, who translated Bebel's work, *Women and Socialism*, for the American public. It was published in this country for the first time in 1904.

Within the Socialist Party, which was founded in 1901, quite discernible right, center, and left wings rapidly materialized. Typical of the attitude held by right-wing elements within the party was an article printed in the April 28, 1901, issue of *The Worker*, one of the many newspapers published unofficially by SP members (the SP had no official press; all its publications were individually owned and controlled and reflected differing points of view). *The Worker* explained that capitalism was forcing women to work because men earned so little. While socialists had no intention of trying to restrict women to the home, once the economic compulsion to work was removed, it was clear that "ninety-nine women out of every hundred would choose the lot of wife and mother."

A widespread attitude within the Socialist Party was 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 special struggle that had its own dynamic or needed its own organizational forms or put forward its own demands.

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 prehistory. Cannon explains at length how this help from the Comintern was decisive in educating the young Communist Party on the importance and character of the Black struggle, of convincing the party that 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 question of women's oppression, as the resolutions of the early years of the Comintern on the organization of work directed specifically to women were far superior to anything the prewar Socialist Party had ever adopted.

However, the question was handled differently than the Black struggle. In the first place, there were several thousand women members of the Socialist Party as compared to a small handful of Black members. And second, the prewar and immediate postwar years saw a massive upsurge in the suffrage struggle, an actual movement involving tens of thousands of women in actions all over the country. These two features produced a real debate within the Socialist Party, and

an articulate group of women and men who made their views known and tried to win the Socialist Party to a revolutionary position on feminism, on the importance of the suffrage struggle, and on other demands being raised by women.

I will return a little later to the question of the suffrage struggle, but here I want to give one example of this debate and the views put forward by some of the left-wing members of the American SP.

The New Review, a monthly magazine published by SP members, was one of the organs expressing the opinions of the left wing. It frequently carried articles dealing with socialism and feminism. One of the most interesting exchanges occurred in 1914, starting with the March issue. Mary White Ovington (who was also one of the founders of the NAACP) published an article entitled "Socialism and the Feminist Movement." She began by stating that "Socialism and Feminism are the two greatest movements of to-day. The one aims to abolish poverty, the other to destroy servitude among women."

She went on to explain why women were not willing to wait for socialism to begin to struggle for their rights, any more than men were; why this was a revolutionary struggle; and why the Socialist Party should pay more attention to it.

Ovington's defense of the feminist movement elicited a reply, in the May issue of *The New Review*, from British "socialist" E. Belfort Bax who informed her how ignorant she was because he, E. Belfort Bax, had conclusively proved in his book, *The Fraud of Feminism*, that things such as masculine despotism and female "slavery" did not exist. On the contrary the real problem was that of female privilege, of "woman's immunity from punishment for crimes committed against men."

Bax asserted that it was unfortunate a plank in 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 aspects, moral inferiority of woman as against man... there is obvious reason for refusing to concede to woman the right to exercise, let us say, administrative and legislative functions such as have hitherto accrued to men."

Bax's bigoted and pompous opinions brought forth an indignant response. For the rest of the year, month after month, *The New Review* carried articles blasting him. In defense of the term "feminism" one author explained:

"No one doubts that women are changing. We need an appropriate word which will register this fact. The term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as well as any other word. . . . It means woman's struggle for freedom." In addition to demands for changes in laws and institutions, the author developed the theme that feminism "means a changed psychology, the creation of a new consciousness in women."

Louise W. Kneeland wrote in the August 1914 issue: "The socialist who is not a Feminist lacks breadth. The Feminist who is not a Socialist is lacking in strategy. To the narrow-minded Socialist who says: 'Socialism is a working class movement for the freedom of the working class, with woman as woman we have nothing to do,' the far-sighted Feminist will reply: 'The Socialist movement is the only means whereby woman as woman can obtain real freedom. Therefore I must work for it!'"

Another contribution argued that if women won the right to vote one of the things they must do is "repeal the law which, by penalizing the spread of information in regard to the prevention of conception, attempts to enforce upon women the tyranny of accidental and unwelcome pregnancy." The author added:

"There is certainly no kind of freedom where there is no command over one's own body. If a woman may not keep her body for her own uses as long as she wishes . . . she is certainly a slave."

And so it went, article after article explaining socialism and feminism in terms that sound like they could have been written in the 1970s. Reading such contributions, one senses the depth and breadth of the female radicalization at the beginning of the century, and realizes that there were many socialist women who understood the full significance of that radicalization, identified with it, and participated in it. The fact that they were not able to educate the entire socialist movement to the same level of understanding is attributable to three factors: Social prejudices against women were even deeper and more pervasive than today; American socialism was still in its "theoretical prehistory"; and the majority of the members of the Socialist Party were socialist reformers, not revolutionary Marxists.

Before going on to the early years of the Third International, I want to mention one more aspect of our revolutionary heritage in this country: the Industrial Workers of the World. When most of us think about the heroic battles of the Wobblies, their great free speech fights and strike battles, we don't visualize women as well as men. But one of the most dynamic revolutionary figures of the early years of the century, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, was a Wobbly organizer for some ten years. She helped lead the famous Spokane, Washington, free speech fight—despite the fact that she was visibly pregnant and, according to the customs of the time, should not even have been seen in public. She played a role in the important IWW-led Lawrence textile strike in 1912 and many others. Both the IWW and the Socialist Party helped lead the hard-fought battles to unionize the textile mills and the garment industry which often employed predominantly female, immigrant labor. So-

cialist Party leaders and labor organizers like Rose Pastor Stokes, Ella Reeve Bloor, and Mother Jones were women who made heroic contributions to American labor and socialist history.

Lenin's views on female emancipation

The 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 fighting 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 masses to the conquest of power.

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 strategy of the International to accord with the new objective situation, the need to adopt a united-front strategy toward the Social Democracy and other working-class parties. They didn't understand that repeated denunciations of the betrayals by Social Democracy would not by themselves convince those workers still loyal to the Second International. It was necessary to expose the reformist leaders in action.

Lenin and Trotsky together led the fight in the Third International against the ultraleft tendencies that sprang up. They recognized that ultraleftist errors could be just as disastrous for a revolutionary party as reformist ones.

It is in this general political context that Lenin's opinions about the proposed work of the International Women's Commission of the Comintern should be seen. Again, this was at a new turning point in the history of the revolutionary Marxist movement. Again, analysis of women's oppression and the struggle against it figured in the divisions. However, unlike some of the earlier debates and differences, this time many of the opponents of revolutionary Marxism were ultraleft, not reformist.

Clara Zetkin's book, *Recollections of Lenin*, contains the fullest presentation of Lenin's views at this stage. Zetkin's account is based on two meetings with Lenin in Moscow in 1920. These were preliminary discussions, part of the process of drafting the resolution on work among women for the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921.

First, Lenin urged that the document should stress "the unbreakable connection between woman's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production." To change the age-old conditions that subjugate women within the family, communists should seek to link the women's movement with "the proletarian class struggle and the revolution." (Clara Zetkin's book is not available in English. Her report of these interviews with Lenin is included in the pamphlet *Lenin On the Emancipation of Women* [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968].)

Lenin next took up the organizational questions I referred to earlier. "We derive our organizational ideas from our ideological conceptions," he told Zetkin. "We want no separate organizations of communist women! She who is a Communist belongs as a member to the Party, just as he who is a Communist. They have the same rights and duties."

"However," he continued, "we must not shut our eyes to the facts. The Party must have organs—working groups, commissions, committees, sections or whatever else they may be called—with the specific purpose of rousing the broad masses of women. . . ."

Zetkin commented that many party members had been denouncing her for making similar proposals on the basis that such ideas were a return to Social Democratic traditions, and that "since the Communist Parties gave equality to women they should, consequently, carry on work without differentiation among all the working people in general."

"How," Lenin asked Zetkin, "do such guardians of the 'purity of principles' cope with the historical necessities of our revolutionary policy? All their talk collapses in the face of the inexorable necessities."

"Why are there nowhere as many women in the Party as men," he demanded, "not even in Soviet Russia? Why is the number of women in the trade unions so small?" In sharp terms he defended the need to put forward special demands for the benefit of all women, of working women and peasant women, and even women of the propertied classes who also suffer under bourgeois society.

Finally, Lenin was sharply critical of the national sections of the Comintern for not doing as much as they should. "They adopt a passive, wait-and-see attitude when it comes to creating a mass movement of working women under communist leadership." He attributed the weakness of women's work in the International to the persistence of male chauvinist ideas which led to an underestimation of the vital importance of building a mass women's movement. For this reason he thought the resolution for the Third World Congress of the Comintern was especially important. The fact that it was on the agenda would itself give an impetus to the work of the sections.

Zetkin's words were even rarer than the problems of women on a world scale. It is unfortunate that the Comintern's lack of sectarianism or ultraleftism or ultra-rightism or ultra-reformism or ultra-anything else is not better known.

Zetkin proposed various concrete measures and organizational forms to be taken up by the congress of women and sections of society in the post-war period. She suggested that workers in each country should be organized into proletarian political organizations of female physicians, nurses, etc., and to form national committees.

The congress should take up questions like the right to engage in trades and professions, political employment, equal pay, social insurance, special care for mothers, maternity leave, and the status of women in the army, legislation, and legal rights. The proposal for a nonparty women's commission was also included.

She outlined a campaign to publicize and build such a commission and also pointed out themselves to work in a disciplined fashion in order to bring to the attention of all workers as an essential part of women Communist work in all places and at the congress on a firm and solid basis.

Lenin's reaction to Zetkin's proposal was one of wholehearted approval. But he questioned whether a Communist fraction at such a congress would be strong enough to lead the delegates, whether the women's movement might not be stronger. Lenin said that the thought it was not a great danger that the communist women would have to be in a minority and proposals for action. And even if there would be no disaster, Lenin argued that after a stubborn struggle would be a gain.

One further detail pointed out that this congress would increase unrest, uncertainty, and conflicts in the camp of the bourgeois reformist friends. . . . The congress would shake them and thereby weaken the forces of the counter-revolution. Every weakening of the enemy is a strengthening of our forces."

With Lenin's backing, Zetkin set out to convince the rest of the International of its value, but she met opposition of the German and Bulgarian, the two parties with the largest women's sections, the whole project fell through.

What will be most participants in the feminist movement to agree to which in proposed conference general way in which the SWP and YSA approached the need to build a broad, international campaign around the abortion issue. We are concentrating at this time on one aspect of our whole program for women's liberation because of the objective position and level of consciousness. But the method and the same—building a broad, unified campaign on a principled basis.

The Third International

The resolution adopted by the Third Congress of the Comintern in June of 1921 dealt with organizational aspects of the International's work. The "Theses on Propaganda Work among Women" began with a socialist political analysis of women's liberation, and the necessity for the Comintern to win the support of the masses of women.

Zetkin pointed out that if the Comintern failed to mobilize the masses of women in the revolution, the reactionary parties would try to organize women against them.

It stated that there are no issues of special concern to women which would be the basis of a separate women's revolution. This statement is clear from the literature of the period—simply put, there is no question of concern to women which is not also a concern to the revolutionary movement for women's liberation, but just the opposite, to raise special demands for women's liberation cannot be dismissed as unimportant.

The resolution also mentioned the question of bourgeois feminism. The resolution stated that the women's movement could be achieved by the Comintern calling on women to reject that orientation and work with the Comintern and the Third International who wavered.

Lenin conveys an even clearer message than Zetkin's approach of women on a world scale. It is unfortunate that the Comintern's lack of sectarianism or ultraleftism or ultra-rightism or ultra-reformism or ultra-anything else is not better known.

The 1921 thesis of the Comintern explained both why there could be no separate organization for women within the party; and on the other hand, why there must be special organs of the party for work among women. It made it obligatory, indeed almost a condition of membership in the Communist International, that every section must set up a women's commission or structure that would function at every level of the party from the central national leadership to the branches or cells. It instructed the parties to ensure that at least one comrade be put on full-time paid staff to direct this work on a national level. And it established an International Women's Secretariat to oversee the work and call regular six-month conferences of representatives from all the sections to discuss and coordinate their activity.

Finally, the resolution outlined the general propaganda and agitation tasks and some of the key demands to be raised in all three sectors of the world: in the Soviet Union, in the advanced capitalist countries, and in the Orient (that is, in the colonial countries that were most in ferment at the time). There was no nonsense such as we hear from ultralefts today who argue that women's liberation is of interest only to the relatively privileged women in the advanced nations or a question that concerns only middle-class women.

In conclusion, the resolution discussed the concrete kinds of action that could help mobilize women throughout 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 employed, use of the party press, and so forth. The trade unions and women's professional associations were designated as the central arenas of activity.

This resolution was implemented within the International in a very uneven way, with some sections responding well, and others changing their tempo and character of work very little. One would hardly expect anything else, given the different levels of development of its sections. For example, in the United States, the fledgling CP did establish a women's commission in 1921, but I have been unable to discover anything about what it did or did not do.

At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held a year and a half later at the end of 1922, the main line of the 1921 resolution was reaffirmed. The congress called attention to the fact that some sections—unspecified—had not implemented the decisions of the last congress, and urged them to rectify the default. Special mention was made of the effective work among women being done by the Chinese comrades, who had organized themselves along the lines indicated at the Third Congress. The Comintern attached great importance to work among the particularly oppressed women of colonial countries. They realized that there was no possibility of transferring power to the working class in an underdeveloped country any more than in an advanced capitalist country without mobilizing women in struggle for their liberation.

Especially pertinent to this question is an article that appeared in the June 1970 issue of the *International Socialist Review* on "Women in the Chinese Revolution." It is an interview with Chen P'ian, today a leader of the Chinese section of the Fourth International, who was recruited to the Chinese Communist Party in 1922 after a CP leader came to her girl's boarding school and gave a speech on "Women's Position in Society." She is an outstanding example of the kind of women who were won to the Marxist movement by the correct policies of the Communist International during its revolutionary years. Chen describes how they organized the girl's school, demanding the right to cut their hair, to have coeducation, to hold discussion circles on questions such as freedom to love and freedom of marriage, in addition to participating in strikes, May Day demonstrations, and forming working women's clubs.

What emerges from this sketchy outline of the political orientation and activities of the Third International during its early years is a strikingly clear picture. And I should point out that within the framework of this talk I have not attempted to deal with the developments that were taking place within the Soviet Union itself. To do so would even further strengthen the positive points I have stressed.

The real situation was far from one of indifference or hostility to the special oppression of women. On the contrary, the Comintern recognized the crucial importance of struggles by women around every question ranging from the right to divorce, to equal pay, to abortion, to communal kitchens and laundry services. They made it mandatory that every section of the International develop a program of demands and an orientation toward winning the leadership of mass struggles by working women, and integrated this work into the perspective of the struggle for power.

Was there resistance to this line, and an unevenness in carrying it out? Yes, of course there was. Just as there was unevenness, resistance, and backwardness on every other question on which the Third International established its foundations. But the leadership of the International led, they fought to educate the International and establish the correct political line on this key question. And where it was carried out, it was successful.

Were the leaders of the International perfect in their own attitudes or understanding? Did they have the consciousness of communist men and women—or were they even as aware as we are today about the depth of the social prejudices against women, and the way

nationals and join the Comintern to fight for their liberation on a worldwide scale.

these are reflected in language and innumerable socially accepted stereotypes? Of course not. Feminists today reading Lenin, or the proceedings of the Comintern congresses, or any other literature of that period, will find many examples of pleasantries at the expense of women and language which we would never allow in the revolutionary movement today.

Some point to the "proof" that the socialist movement doesn't understand the oppression of women. This is simply a dishonest subterfuge, an example of the kind of ahistorical thinking I referred to earlier. It fails to see the wood because some of the leaves are worm-eaten. It's an attempt to substitute subjective criteria for an honest evaluation of the political line advocated, adopted, and carried out by the revolutionary Marxist movement in its evolution. Judging on that basis, which is the only one that counts in the long run, we must say that the Third International in its early years had a more advanced, revolutionary analysis of women's oppression and the road to liberation than any previous organization in world history.

The Fourth International

It is revolutionary ideas and methods of the early Comintern did not die with the Stalinization of the International and the political counter-revolution in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s. They were carried on by the Soviet Left Opposition, and then by the International Left Opposition. They became the bedrock on which the Trotskyist Fourth International was built. Once again, as with all the earlier turning points in the history of revolutionary Marxism, the question of women's liberation was one of the differences which divided revolutionaries from nonrevolutionaries.

The years of isolation, the economic backwardness of pre-World War I Russia, the terrible devastation of imperialist war and civil war, the great human price paid by the October Revolution in its struggle for survival were too much. The revolution could not emerge unscathed. While capitalism was not restored, under Stalin's leadership the privileged bureaucracy acquired a more and more deadly stranglehold on the revolution in all spheres—foreign policy, national minorities, political freedom, economic planning, education, etc. As an integral part of this process the gains made by women following the October Revolution were reversed: one after the other. The family was replaced on its pedestal, abortions were made illegal, divorce became more and more difficult and costly, prostitution and homosexuality again became crimes punishable by imprisonment, day-care centers were closed or their hours shortened, coeducation was eventually eliminated, and more.

Again and again the Left Opposition led by Trotsky sounded the alarm against these measures and exposed what they meant, both on the ideological plane and on the level of human suffering for millions of women. In *The Revolution Betrayed* Trotsky devoted an entire chapter to the effects of the Stalinist reaction on women and the family. He explained the material reasons why the revolution was unable to provide the necessary alternatives to the family system, and why the privileged bureaucracy was compelled in its own self-interest to reinforce the family and deepen the oppression of women.

In 1938, in an article entitled "Does the Soviet Government Still Follow the Principles Adopted Twenty Years Ago?", Trotsky summarized the process by which the gains made by women after the revolution were reversed:

"The position of woman is the most graphic and telling indicator for evaluating a social regime and state policy. The October Revolution inscribed on its banner the emancipation of womankind and created the most progressive legislation in history on marriage and the family. This does not mean, of course, that a 'happy life' was immediately in store for the Soviet woman. Genuine emancipation of women is inconceivable without a general rise of economy and culture, without the destruction of the petty-bourgeois economic family unit, without the introduction of socialized food preparation, and education. Meanwhile, guided by its conservative instinct, the bureaucracy has taken alarm at the 'disintegration' of the family. It began singing panegyrics to the family supper and the family laundry, that is, the household slavery of woman. To cap it all the bureaucracy has restored criminal punishment for abortions, officially returning women to the status of pack animals. In complete contradiction with the ABC of Communism the ruling caste has thus restored the most reactionary and benighted nucleus of the class regime, the petty-bourgeois family." (*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1937-38* [New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970], p. 170.)

In such terms the positions of revolutionary Marxism were carried over into our heritage upon the founding of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International. We can proudly and legitimately lay claim to national, we can proudly and legitimately lay claim to the unbroken continuity of a 125-year struggle by the Marxist movement against women's oppression, and to the establishment of a socialist world which alone can lay the basis for the liberation of women. Everything we do and say today is in harmony with this tradition, and a continuation of it.

The suffrage movement and "bourgeois feminism"

I want now to deal specifically with the suffrage movement 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 faltered, 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 Marxist women.

On the other hand, many sectarian or ultraleft "socialists" 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 it?

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 feminism 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 struggle to end that oppression. Thus we say the most consistent feminist must be a socialist. This difference in terminology often causes confusion and misunderstandings.

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 in the existing bourgeois states. It was a continuation of the struggle to extend the franchise to the masses that began with the crest of the bourgeois-democratic 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. With the post-Civil War enfranchisement of Black male adults—the formal if not real enfranchisement—only women were denied the vote.

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 females.

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. Within the limits of parliamentary democracy it could be used as a device to undercut the deepening working-class radicalization and further disguise the class nature of the capitalist state. After all, if every adult has one vote, and the poor obviously outnumber the rich by millions to one, isn't the government they elect evidently subservient to the interests of the workers?

But the fight for democratic reforms is also in the interests of the working class, as Lenin explained over and over again. It is what he called the ABC of Marxism. For example, in rejecting the views of one P. Klevsky, who had argued that socialists should abstain from the fight to win for women the right of divorce on the grounds that such a reform would be meaningless under capitalism, Lenin said:

"That objection reveals complete failure to understand the relation between democracy in general and capitalism. The conditions that make it impossible for the oppressed classes to 'exercise' their democratic rights are not the exception under capitalism; they are typical of the system. In most cases the right of divorce will remain unrealizable under capitalism, for the oppressed sex is subjugated economically. No matter how much democracy there is under capitalism, the woman remains a 'domestic slave', a slave locked up in the bedroom, nursery, kitchen. . . ."

"Only those who cannot think straight or have no knowledge of Marxism will conclude: so there is no point . . . in freedom of divorce, no point in democracy. . . . But Marxists know that democracy does not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, and that is what we need. The fuller the freedom of divorce, the clearer will women see that the source

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 58,354 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, speaking to 11,000 persons at 297 meetings.

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 the Trotskyist and CP campaigns reflected

changes that are occurring in the relationship 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 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 nickel for paid advertising), it seems that the votes for the SWP candidates are

uniformly higher than those for the Communist Party."

Strung by these results, the November 9 issue of the "Daily World", which reflects the views of the Communist Party wrote:

"The larger vote in some areas received by the Trotskyist 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 logic, a vote for the SWP, which made defence of the Vietnamese revolution 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 imagination, the Socialist Workers Party won a greatly increased audience for the Trotskyist movement.

New Frame-ups in Israel

BY SOL SALEBY

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 Israel-born Jews in an Arab terrorist movement for the first time, have caused deep shock here."

The Zionist establishment has been 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 disappearance of 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 are of the kind that normally follow conviction and sentences in British cases."

"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 Hatzair 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 face or when they will appear in court."

While the names of the Arabs arrested have 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; Yehoshua Cohen, 36, also from Tel-Aviv and German born David Cooper 25.

Part of the frame up involves connecting Adiv and Vered with as many political organisations as possible. Thus Vered and Adiv are alleged to be founding members of the Israeli 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 symbolising organisation of the Fourth International). They are also said to be genuine members of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance — a small breakaway Maoist faction from Matzpen.

The extension of all opponents of the Zionist regime have always been a thorn in the side of the bourgeoisie. In the past the Israeli authorities, aware of the consequences of any publicity anti-Zionists 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 Biram and Beit (see D.A. 27). In an attempt to turn 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 strikers 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 supporting the Palestinians' struggle for self determination.

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

Gains for SPD in German Elections

On November 19, in the election to the 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 Bundestag 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 and 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 comes 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" —

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 1965 and 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, interest and commitment among the youth has now formed a parliamentary carry-over in these elections in which the youth went to the polls in massive numbers for the first time.

This politicisation especially affected young women and won votes for the SPD and FDP. The repeal of the abortion law was very much an issue — the Catholic hierarchy waged 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 anticommunist demagoguery.

The reactionary bourgeois press, especially Axel Springer press, waged a massive pro-CDU/CSU campaign. Springer's newspapers polemicised most sharply against the

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 obtained 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 inevitably lead to a reactivation of the long dormant discussion of socialism and capitalism. This will involve not only the student vanguard, but the workers themselves.

The German bourgeoisie hoped to lessen the dangers of this policy by returning 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 areas.

The SPD's reform proposals — since it failed to carry out its 1969 reform promises it felt free to repeat them again — have 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 bourgeoisie is openly relying on the FDP to act as a brake on any too sweeping reforms.



Willy Brandt

Both the SPD and the CDU/CSU made 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 million-strong 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 outside trial of Marie-Claire

On November 22, nearly 2000 supporters of women's right to abortion gathered at the Mutualite to listen to speakers evaluating a legal judgement concerning four women accused of involvement in an abortion case that could very well have permanently damaged the law's power.

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

abortions performed has steadily increased the reverse is true of the number of convictions recorded.

The mild Bobigny judgements contrast sharply with earlier abortion-law prosecution 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 Gisèle 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 Chevalier, 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!"

YSA National Convention

The national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, a revolutionary-socialist organisation in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party, was held November 23-26 in Cleveland, Ohio. The gathering, attended by some 1,200 persons, focused on the impact of the war toward a settlement of the Vietnam

plan at this time for demonstrations in the spring." He emphasised that the YSA will continue to support the unconditional right of the Vietnamese to control their destiny.

In the coming year, Rose said, "we 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 SWP candidates for state and city offices in the 1973 elections, and for sending teams of organisers into every part of the country.

The convention heard greetings from revolutionary-socialist groups in France, Sweden, Venezuela, Sri Lanka, Australia, India, Canada, and New Zealand.

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 areas.

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

Singing the "Internationale" at YSA Convention



Women's Liberation Conferences ... in London

About 1500 women gathered at Acton Town Hall in London November 4-6 for the fourth and largest national conference 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 Liverpool.

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

from the USA, and a participant in the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws described their activities. On a proposal from the workshop, the conference endorsed the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilisation that will take place in New York City on March 9-11, 1973. The tribunal will hear evidence describing the experiences women have been forced to endure because of laws which bar them from controlling their reproductive processes.

Discussion groups took up a variety of topics including: sexism, capitalism, and the family; women and literature; women and the media; women and community actions; sexism and education; marriage as an institution of oppression; and educational courses on women.

The resolutions adopted by the conference included support for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, support for the Vietnamese revolution, and support for the Indochina Solidarity Conference which will be held in London in December. A telegram of support was sent to the women cleaners at Oxford University who are presently on strike.

The enthusiasm of the conference was strengthened by the presence of representatives 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

... and in Brussels

Women packed an auditorium in Brussels on November 11 for a full day of speeches 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 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

A report in "La Gauche" a Belgian 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 Journée des Femmes, or Journée 'F' — women's day).

The conference discussed women's jobs (since only 27% of women work outside the home this question was the subject of the greatest discussion), abortion, 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 tentatively projected a women's liberation demonstration for March or April.



Huge antiwar demonstrations set the stage for Labour victory in New Zealand.

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 (of 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, which secured for the party the enduring political loyalty of the New Zealand workers.

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 "youth".

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 voters), and in encouraging minority party supporters to switch to Labour.

But Labour also gained because it came across as a definite alternative to National on many of the issues concerning the electorate. It pledged to end the country's housing crisis and take measures against skyrocketing rents. Labour promised to reverse National's 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 Manapouri 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 unions.

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 "principles".

In fact a closer examination of Labour's election manifesto reveals that while it speaks to many of the issues, it is masterfully vague in its actual proposed solutions. And on many of the more controversial 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 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 Socialist rallies 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 YSLG'er, 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 pressuring Labour to take action against anti-union legislation.

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" and the "Red Federation". The aim of 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, labelling their tactics as infantile, undemocratic 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 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.

SO BE CAREFUL YOU YOUNG BRATS

Speaking at the school's annual speech night J. Buckham, principal of the Presbyterian Ladies' College, Pymble commented that after travelling in Java, Indonesia — that bastion of democracy 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 straighten out the wayward young devils.

TORTURE IN FREMANTLE

A royal commission enquiring into allegations of brutality and racism in prisons in 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 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 room. 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 to them."



Dr Bertram Wainer addressing abortion law reform rally outside NSW State Parliament

ANSETT "BREAKS" STRIKE

A few days after the new Labor government announced that it would instruct TAA (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 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 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 no black population.

THINGS HAVE CHANGED

Speaking in Port Moresby recently, 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 teacher shortages and overcrowding in 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 Socialist Party of Australia) and Mavis Robertson and Bill Gollan (members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of Australia). The meeting 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 members.

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 countries". 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 states and 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

Merrilee 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 religious brainwashing and sowing misery 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 16.

UNIONS OPPOSE NEWPORT POWER STATION

Two unions have so far black banded 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 300,000 gallons of heated chlorinated water per minute into Port Phillip Bay.

RELIGION IS THE OPIATE 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 SL'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 SL sees nothing wrong with helping to peddle the opiate.

MEATWORKERS REJECT BOSSES' PROPOSAL

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 right to control their own bodies.

... STEVE PAINTER



WOMEN DEMAND CHILD CARE FACILITIES

About 50 women recently demonstrated outside the Palatial Theatre in Burwood

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

Labor and the Cities

Urban Renewal and Regional Growth

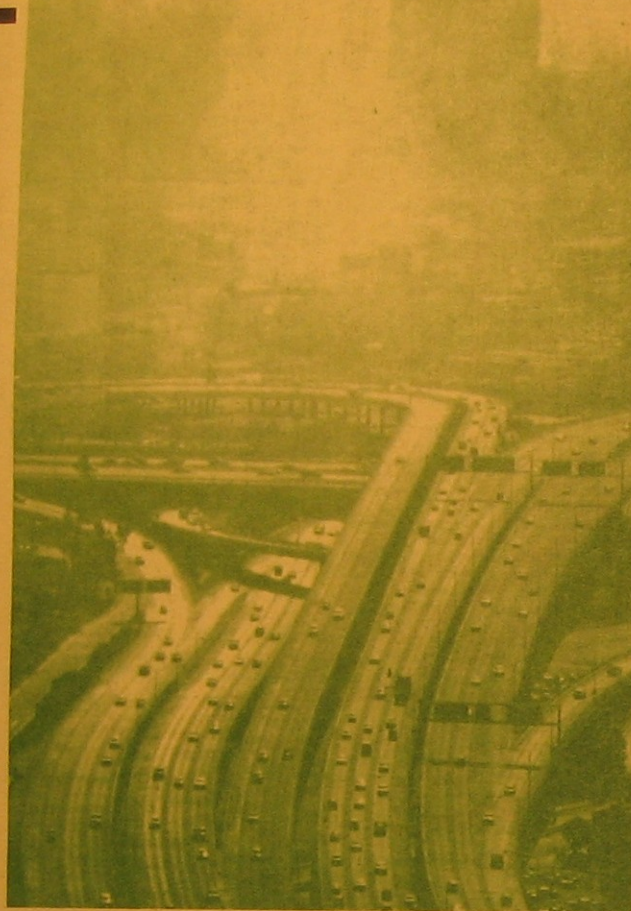
BY RENFREY CLARKE

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 might be eclipsed by a movement of workers to country areas helped to condemn 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 propounded 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 Chifley 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.

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.

For the other 90% of the population the advantages are, predictably, less. Studies show three quarters of the workers resident in Green Valley, a Housing Commission low income ghetto in outer Sydney, travel between 25 and 50 miles per day; for a quarter of them, travelling adds the equivalent of two working days to the week. The city's lowest wages pay some of its highest fares. Besides being remote from work places, housing has been



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 unanticipated 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 narrowly 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 industry is left entirely 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 immersed 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 alienation 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 cities begin to break down. A city of that size can already be frighteningly impersonal and the Labor-endorsed "sense 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 industrialists, recognizing that Labor is irresolutely pledged to carry out decentralisation, will collude to delay new investment in 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 complacency towards the imposition on Australians of private cars, possession of which should be made genuinely optional. In "Towards a New Australia" Tom Uren correctly recognises that the building of freeways has been proven futile 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 dollars 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 regional policies function as part of the leadership's claim to be able to administer the bourgeois state better than the bourgeoisie'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" capitalists with the Labor Party during the election campaign is indicative of this.

Despite its rhetoric of "free enterprise" present day capitalism extracts profits more efficiently than ever before, and the regulation and organisation of a compliant state apparatus. The integration of monopoly capitalism with the state shows up particularly strongly in post-war Europe, where capitalism has turned to the state to guarantee its profits with subsidies to the unprofitable basic 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's losses. This is, in essence, what it proposes to effect with its decentralisation subsidies and freight concessions to 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 coddle and nurture their exploiters. They must recognise the especially gross social exploitation carried on by industries within large cities, and demand that the relative economic disadvantage incurred by decentralised industry be annulled by specific taxation of the capitalists who remain behind. Nor should this re-accounting merely involve a transfer of funds within the bourgeoisie.

Labor must cut the profit margins of the bourgeoisie as a whole until the chaos and distress their operations have caused are paid for in full. For having created cities in which many workers are compelled to spend hours of every day in travelling; the capital-owning class must provide free, fast, convenient public transport. For having drawn enormous profits from land speculation the bourgeoisie must subsidise land prices, rates and rents paid by workers in large cities so that these are not above those that apply in rationally planned regional centres.