

This is a quite serious issue with each contributor being a specialist: Annette Allen, from Southern Methodist University, with a Ph. D. teaches a course in "Women: Images and Perspectives" and here together with Osborne Wiggins, is author of "The Feminist Critique of Self and Society: a phenomenological metacritique" (Wiggins being a philosopher at the same university, dissertation on Piaget).

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Mina Davis Caulfield also a Ph. D. of anthropology from Berkeley who teaches women's studies at Cal. State University at S.F. Her interests are analysis of imperialism, resistance movements and Marxist theories of the family here writes on "Universal Sex Oppression? a critique from Marxist Anthropology"

Barbara Eaton who teaches at Merrill College and U.C. Santa Cruz and her Ph. D. was on the impact of industrialization on women and the family. Here she writes on "The Decline of Patriarchy and the Rise of Feminism: a critique of feminist theory."

Alena Heitlinger who is at Trent University in Peterborough, Ont. seems to have the only serious contribution, and it's this which I will summarize "The Historical Development of European Socialist Feminism."

This is a study of the theory and practice of the German and Russian SDs before RR, and the Czechoslovak CP between the 2 world wars, stating that the German material is from secondary sources, especially Werner Thonnesson. She calls attention to the fact that whereas the SPD had a separate organization for women, in Russia one was established only after the RR. The work, therefore, begins in Germany in 1863-68, when the Lassalleans opposed female labor in the factory, but since they were for work at home being paid, the author calls attention to the similarity between that and wages for housework. She then deals with Bebel's work Women and Socialism, 1875, Engels' 1884, followed by Zetkin. (Compliments Red Rag for a Marxist position, which was not simplistic, i.e., class struggle is all.) CZ was the one who developed the question of women's emancipation into political strategy in all her work beginning with "The Question of Women Workers and Women at the Present Time"

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She then lists the <sup>1st</sup> women's conferences. The first was in Mainz in 1900, and the fact that by 1913, 190,000 women were members of the unions; 140,000 of the SPD and circulation of Gleichenheit was 122,000. The references to congresses ~~there~~ since 1898 at Stuttgart was clearly sexist. There is a reference to Babanoff's book, p.22, about a deliberate discrimination against RL, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The author then goes over to the Russian SP where Bebel's book was likewise used, with Krupskaya having written the first complete Russian analysis of the WQ in 1900. "Krupskaya also acknowledged existing male prejudices and criticized those workers who argued that politics should remain a 'male affair'." There seems to have been nothing on the WQ between then and 1908 when Kollontai published "The Social Basis of the WQ". It is clear that Kollontai did more than anyone on the WQ, and yet her ideas were constantly dismissed as "right deviation toward Menshivism." This especially because she changed so many times between Mensh. and Bolsh. She also participated in more strikes, especially after 1910, when the women workers on strike became militant. Evidently there is a reference to a strike in Moscow in 1913 at the Trisov factory (she's quoting from an article by Anne Bobroff "The Bolsheviks and the Working Women, 1905-1920" from Soviet Studies, Oct. 1973). The attitude of the factory administration is revolting. There is no other word for it than prostitution.<sup>44</sup> And indeed one of the demands of the women was for right treatment and no swearing, since the foremen would use the most obscene words to women (pp. 54-55). Such actions and demonstrations did force the Bolsheviks to reassess their policy of opposition to a separate organization for women. They brought out a separate newspaper in 1919, Rabotnista.

"It was their activism rather than their backwardness which compelled the Bolsheviks to recognize the 'woman question' as an important socialist issue and incorporate specific women's demands into their agitation." (p.139) A good reference to celebration of IWD, 1917, which was independent of the Bolsheviks and sparked the Feb. revolution.

The IWD conference in Stuttgart, 1907, in connection with the general international socialist conference and a separate women's bureau was then established with CZ as secretary. (The period 1906-11 was thus characterized by an extensive participation by women workers in the election campaigns of their respective parties in Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Austria, the U.S. and 'elsewhere'. The socialist women's movement

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1908

Key/Orwell  
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Heitlinger

was beginning to take root in most European countries."

The 2nd Int. Women's Socialist conf. took place in Copenhagen in 1910, and they related it to March 8, 1910, choosing it as the date to express solidarity with the current strike of the NY seamstresses. IWD celebrated in 1911 in Germany, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland and the U.S. The 3rd was scheduled for Aug. 1914 in Vienna but was not convened because of the outbreak of the war, but another conference was called by CZ in 1915. This time, on her own, initiated, without the approval of the SPD. Bolshevik women played a prominent role in that conference and under Lenin's direction, called for a new International, but the majority opposed it.

After RR, the First International Congress of Women Workers took place in July, 1920, in conjunction with the Second Congress of the Third Int. CZ again became its head. (The 3rd CI returned to the old position that there was no specific WQ and no specific women's movement; "Women were therefore urged to concentrate on the general struggle for socialism rather than on their specific forms of oppression.")

The final section is on the Czechoslovak CP and shows that it had the highest percentage of women among its members and that the Czech CP women's congress actually preceded the founding of the congress of the CP. Two women Anna Krenova and Marie Strenadova, leaders of the SD women's movement, left the party and organized the Communist women's conference March 12-13, 1921, and the CP was 2 months later, May 14-17. The Nazi occupation and the creation of a separate Slovak state in 1939 stopped all forms of political activity, and with the Communist seizure of power Feb. 1948... see p.148, where she speaks of the fact that female demands did not figure on the list of trade union priorities until 1959, more than a decade after the CP victory and during which time women's employment increased rapidly. Debates about "overfeminization" and "social profitability of women employment" in the mid-1960s began to re-examine the negative attitude towards feminism in a socialist society. A separate women's organization was established in 1967, completely under the control of the CP.

In summary and conclusions, she makes it clear that the Marxist position needs some reassessment for the relationship between class and sex, esp. as they always fail to address the social relations of the family-housewives and the family have been left completely out of the organization of the proletariat.

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