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## Woman's place in the fight for a better world

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

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# WOMAN'S PLACE—

IN THE FIGHT

FOR A

BETTER WORLD

*By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*

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*WOMAN'S*  
*PLACE*—IN THE FIGHT  
FOR A BETTER WORLD

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is a member of the National Board of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and a veteran leader of the American labor movement. She participated actively in the powerful struggles for the industrial unionization of the basic industries in the U.S.A. and is known to hundreds of thousands of trade unionists as one of the most tireless and dauntless fighters, organizers, lecturers and writers of the working-class and Communist movements. In 1946 she traveled to Paris where she attended the International Women's Conference, meeting many of the heroic women who played active and leading roles in the resistance movements of the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe. She is the author of numerous pamphlets, and is at present working on a book of memoirs and experiences covering more than four decades in the American labor movement.

# WOMAN'S PLACE—

## In the Fight for a Better World

By ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

### It's American Born

March 8 is International Women's Day in every language, celebrated around the world. It was born in the U.S.A. in 1908, on the lower East Side of New York, stopping off place of so many immigrant families, who could go no further. They came eagerly, seeking freedom in "the new world," as it was then called. They were determined to take their children away from the tyranny and poverty of "the old world." They were handicapped by their inability to speak the language. Wherever they found employment they were overworked, underpaid, cheated and abused as "greenhorns." They were crowded together in the slum tenements, firetraps without heat or light, infested with vermin. Some of these, the property of big, rich, rent-greedy corporations, are still in use.

At the close of the last century, in the needle trades, beginnings of unionism were evident among the bolder workers. Long and bitter struggles began, lockouts by the employers, strikes by the workers. The bosses, then as now, were out to smash the unions. The workers were determined to build unions. They learned through struggles that "*the Union makes us strong.*" Like the immigrant textile workers of New England, the miners and steel workers of Pennsylvania, these East Side men and women were never crushed. They fought constantly for every right they had confidently expected. Some had been driven from their birthplace by political persecution. Others had voluntarily come to a far-off land, for a better life. All of them had come to stay. We are their children or the chil-

dren of people like them—"immigrants and revolutionists," as President Roosevelt described the founders of our country.

### Votes for Men Only?

These immigrant workers became American citizens, as soon as possible. In those days a woman became a citizen when her husband did. The theory was that they were "one." But when it came to Election Day there was only *one vote*, and he got it. She was not allowed to vote, nor were the native born women. American women were zero politically, except in a few western states. They were arrested if they tried to vote. "*Indirect influence*" was supposed to satisfy women. But if they sent a petition to a Congressman, governor, or a mayor, he threw it in the waste basket. "*A bunch of women! They don't count,*" he said scornfully.

"*Votes for Women!*" was in the air. Parades and meetings were held by middle class, wealthy and college women, demanding suffrage—for equality, justice, as taxpayers, as property owners. The Socialist Women's Committee organized the East Side women to demonstrate for a more compelling reason—their need for political action to improve working and living conditions, to protect their children.

### "Working Women Demand Votes"

They wanted laws against the sweat shops, to clean up the tenements, for a minimum wage, against child labor, for shorter hours. They began to hold women's conferences in 1904. *In 1908, March 8 was adopted as a day to agitate and demonstrate for the right to vote.* The tired overworked women from the factories, the harassed mothers from the slum kitchens, poured out enthusiastically for the mass gatherings in the squares of the East Side. These obscure anxious women of the poor, with shawls and kerchiefs over their heads, with worn clothes and shabby shoes did not know that they were making history far beyond the silken garbed ladies who met at fashionable hotels. *Their day* became known around the world.

## It Became International

An International Socialist Congress was held at Copenhagen, in 1910. *Clara Zetkin*, Socialist leader from Germany introduced a resolution to make the American day, an *International Women's Day*. It was unanimously accepted. Among the delegates who voted for it were *Lenin*, the leader of the Russian Revolution in 1917, and *Rosa Luxemburg*, famous Polish born, martyred woman leader of Germany, who was murdered with *Karl Liebknecht* in 1919, by the forerunners of the Nazis. Big *Bill Haywood*, fighting leader of the Western miners, was an American delegate. During the past thirty-seven years this day has made history. It coincided in Czarist Russia, in 1917, with the beginnings of the revolution, when 90,000 workers downed tools. Women and men demonstrated together for "Peace, Bread, Land." In *Women in the Soviet Far East*, Dr. Fannina W. Halle writes of how the women of the Central Asian cities—Samarkand, Bokara and others—gathered around Lenin's statues in 1938, and defied a thousand year old convention by burning the symbol of their slavery—the veils that had covered their faces. Within ten years many of these Far Eastern women were elected Mayors of cities, and members of Soviets (governing bodies).

Agnes Smedley tells in her *Battle Hymn of China*, how March 8, 1938 was celebrated by the Women's National Salvation Association, attached to the Chinese Red Army hospital behind the Japanese lines "in guerrilla land."

## Remember the Women of Spain

On March 8, 1936, 80,000 Spanish women demonstrated in Madrid for "progress and liberty," led by *Dolores Ibarruri* (*Pasionaria*), now Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, in exile, in Toulouse, France. The prisons of Franco's fascist Spain are overcrowded today with men and women anti-fascists. It is the responsibility of women everywhere to demand that the tyrant Franco, tool of Hitler and Mussolini, be removed and the Spanish Republic be reinstated. From these examples, we learn that International Women's Day is a day to be proud of. It is identified with the struggles of the



poor and oppressed. It is identified with democracy and freedom.

Meetings will be held this year—in all the countries of the United Nations, and in Germany, Italy and Japan, where it has long been treason for women or men to speak of these purposes. Every meeting held in 1947 will be a link of solidarity binding together the women of one world for a *peaceful, safe and free life*.

### **End Fascism Everywhere**

Women, soldiers on the home front, who worked in war industries, served in civilian defense, rationed, saved, and sacrificed while their men fought, will be in meetings in the United States, England, and the Soviet Union. Women who fought with guns in their hands, as partisans and guerrillas; who served in the vast underground movements of countries occupied by the enemy; who were in prisons, concentration camps or at forced labor—will be in meetings throughout Europe and Asia. They are still suffering—grief over lost ones, hunger, cold, want. But they are working devotedly to help rebuild their countries. Millions of women, under the banner of the *Women's International Democratic Federation*, (organized in Paris, France, in November, 1945) are pledged to root out fascism. Only then the horrors, bloodshed, suffering and sorrows of the war of liberation will not be in vain. We American women who were spared so much our sisters elsewhere endured must pledge to them, on this day: "*The end of fascism everywhere!*"

### **March 8, 1947—For Peace**

Celebrating International Women's Day dramatizes past accomplishments and highlights the struggles ahead. Great progress has been made by women. We have the vote in our country since 1920. Soviet women have voted since 1917, British women since 1928. In the liberated countries one of the first political acts was to guarantee suffrage to women citizens. *Today there are forty-six million American women eligible to vote*, a larger number than in any country except

the Soviet Union. But let us not forget that five million Southern women, Negro and white, are deprived of their votes by the poll tax as are an equal number of men. Violence and impossible tests keep Negro citizens from voting throughout the South. Those of us who can vote have a responsibility to demand of our representatives *the abolition of the poll tax and adequate protection for all voters to go freely to the polls.* Without this there is no equal democratic suffrage in the U.S.A.

### **We Are Many**

*There are sixteen million American women who are self-supporting wage earners. Over one-fifth of these are heads of families. Three and a half million are union members. There are thirty-seven million housewives, in cities and on farms. Women are in auxiliaries; professional, community, educational, and language associations; parent, consumer, voter and shopper groups, and in all political parties—from the G.O.P. to the Communist Party. It has been said: "You have to be very poor, very remote, or very stubborn not to belong to something, if you are an American woman."*

Are there common hopes that can unite these millions: Are there common fears and anxieties? Except for a handful of extremely rich women, whose capitalist financial interests would dictate otherwise—the universal reply to "What do you desire most in the world today?" would be as one voice: "*Women want lasting peace!*" Mothers and young wives of veterans, mothers of growing children, youth facing the future, want a world free from the fear of war, and everything that breeds war.

### **For the Safety of Humanity**

Wars have been horrible enough in the past. The development of the atomic bomb by American scientists have unleashed a force that can destroy all life on our planet. To save humanity from such a fate, the mothers of the race must demand that the manufacture of this monstrous weapon be outlawed forever. All existing stock-piles in our country must be destroyed.

On December 14, 1946, the 54 nations of the United Nations unanimously adopted a resolution "for the general regulation and reduction of armaments." At this writing the debate on disarmament and atomic control is on, at the Security Council of the U.N. The resolution clearly called for world-wide reductions of arms and troops, elimination of atomic bombs, and all other weapons of mass destruction. It provides that arms reductions and atomic disarmament be controlled by the Security Council. The U.S. representatives insist on a priority on atomic bombs and that atomic controls be removed from the United Nations' jurisdiction. Do the women of America want this December 14 resolution to be empty words or do we want it carried out for the safety of humanity? Let us speak out!

### Our "Atomic Diplomacy"

Our statesmen act like excited schoolboys playing "hide and seek" with a deadly toy. "Spy! He peeked!" they shout, at another country. We women are not interested in "me first" in a game of world suicide. The scientists and engineers who developed the bomb, are worried. They know how dangerous it is. Dr. L. W. Chubb, Director of the Westinghouse Research Laboratory, worked with the atomic bomb project from its beginning. In *The World Within the Atom* he says: "Man has entered the age of atomic energy—we are faced with the greatest challenge of all times. Will we use this power to blast civilization from the earth, or will we learn to apply it usefully in a world where each of us is the next door neighbor to everyone else?" Mr. E. V. Murphee, vice-president of the central research organization of the Standard Oil Company, also connected with the atomic bomb project, discussing "how will nuclear energy be geared into our industrial and social system" (*The Lamp*, June, 1946), warns against "misuse of atomic energy by trouble makers anywhere." He concludes: "When man's philosophy and statesmanship catch up with his science, the atom can go to work for him safely." Scientists generally want the bomb outlawed.

It is stupid for our statesmen to assume that we can long have a monopoly on atomic bombs. Scientists for years have

worked on the atom and how to release its energy for industrial and scientific uses. The atomic bomb was a by-product. It can be abandoned without stopping peaceful uses of atomic energy. Can we expect other countries will wait for us to show them the atomic bomb in another war?

### **Our "Get Tough" Policy**

The "Get Tough" policy with friendly nations, especially our brave fighting ally, the Soviet Union, is atomic diplomacy, a "we have it, so we can be tough" attitude without reason or justice. In our common struggle against the Nazis the Soviet Union's casualties were twenty-one million dead and wounded. They lost 81,000 cities and towns, six million homes, 84,000 schools, 40,000 hospitals, 32,000 factories, and 71 million farm animals. Let us salute the magnificent women of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of International Women's Day, and pledge to them friendship and peace, to help rebuild their war-ravaged regions. Let us demand, in the spirit of International Women's Day, that our delegates to the United Nations join in outlawing atomic bombs. Let us demand, in the spirit of International Women's Day, that our scientists develop only peaceful uses of natural forces. One more world war with atomic bombs on all sides, as there surely will be, and our "great, wide, beautiful, wonderful world" will be a dead planet—a grave rolling in space. Is this to be the end of all our dreams for our children, our hopes for a better life—that in seering flames, deadly gas, and instantaneous destruction, all perish?

### **Power of Women for Peace**

American women have the power to help stop it. Women are 50.6 per cent of our population. Let the voice of American women be heard. Let every organization of women speak out quickly and emphatically to the President and State Department, to our delegates to the United Nations, to Congress, for international disarmament. Let us re-affirm, on International Women's Day, our determination to achieve "an enduring peace for many generations to come," as our spokes-

man Franklin D. Roosevelt pledged at the Big Three meetings, which led to the United Nations. American women have tremendous political power. We must use it intelligently, to place our country in the vanguard for peace.

### **The Atomic Bombers at Home**

*The struggle for peace and against fascism, is the world-wide keynote of International Women's Day, which we share with millions of determined women around the world. In addition, American women must rally to the struggle for the rights of labor and for an adequate standard of living, which is the keynote on the national scene today. They are two parts of one struggle against profit-greedy atom bombers. Those who hug the atomic bomb to their bosoms to use it against the people's land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, will smash labor unions, abolish rent control, lower wages and raise prices for the American people—if they can get away with it here. The present 80th Congress is an unholy alliance between the poll-tax Democrats of the South and the Republicans of the North. They are the majority. The government print shop is overflowing with their anti-labor bills, which will deprive fifty million people, trade unionists and their families, of their strongest weapon as wage earners. Can we permit this to happen? Women have the power to help stop it. If we understand how important unions are.*

### **Unions Are Part of Democracy**

Unions have raised wages, shortened hours, fought for decent living and working conditions, helped to abolish company towns, sweatshops and company control of the ballot box. Unions fought in the Civil War to save the nation, and to abolish Negro slavery. They fought against property limits on voting, for the free public school system, against imprisonment for debt, for women's suffrage, for the secret ballot, against child labor. Unions are a part of democracy. They have defended democracy, at home and abroad. *To smash labor unions* was a major part of the fascist pattern which swept Europe under the Nazis.

## The Rights of Labor

Here in the U.S.A. after years of struggle the rights of labor became law in the Wagner Labor Relations Act. The Norris-LaGuardia Act prohibited the use of injunctions against labor. Labor has won the right to organize, make demands, strike if necessary, picket, to have collective bargaining by unions of their own choosing, a closed shop and a contract with the employer, covering wages, hours, seniority, conditions of work. During the war the unions served their country well, increasing production "to keep 'em flying, sailing and fighting." Labor voluntarily made and kept the "no strike" pledge for the duration. The Taft-Ball-Smith Bill (S 55) is an all-inclusive bill to destroy long fought and hard won rights of labor. The Ball Bill (S 133) will bar the closed shop, the union shop, and maintenance of membership agreements. The Ball Bill (S 133) would prohibit industry or company-wide negotiations and would force unions to deal with employers (even though *they* are nation-wide) on a local scale. The O'Daniel Bill (S 124) would repeal the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

### 80th Congress Would Make Workers Slaves

Many of you who read this are working women. This anti-labor program will destroy your rights. Many of you who read this are wives of working men. This program of the reactionary 80th Congress will make slaves of workers and their families. It is the most serious and critical struggle in many years. It is "get tough" with labor, atomic diplomacy at home. Union leaders will be jailed if they violate any part of these laws. Hitler did all this and later hung, shot and guillotined brave labor leaders in Germany, Hungary, France and elsewhere, who defied him. Maybe later the Tafts, Balls, and O'Daniels have this, too, in store for America's workers! Let us, as American women, create the greatest possible pressure on Congress to defeat these Senate anti-labor bills. If every Senator and Congressman knows now he will not go back to Washington ever again if he votes *for slavery for the American workers*—we talk a language they understand. Wire your

Senators, get all organizations you can contact to do likewise, also the individual members. Every International Women's Day meeting must speak out firmly and vigorously, in the name of the millions of women who believe in democracy. Let us pledge to organized labor our full support in their just cause to preserve the very life of their organizations.

### **Our Standard of Living**

From the baby in the crib to grandpa, everyone is a consumer. But women usually have the unhappy job of making ends meet. There has been a 68 per cent rise in prices since 1938. Has there been an equal rise in wages? To hear the employers, and their mouthpieces in the press, on the radio, and in Congress—its all the fault of the unions. Government figures of the Department of Commerce show that *workers' wages and salaries rose only 6 per cent in 1946 while "business incomes"—salaries paid to corporation officers, etc. went up 10 per cent and dividends and interest payments to owners and stockholders of companies went up 24 per cent. Corporation profits are now between fifteen and sixteen billion dollars a year, which is divided among a comparatively few people. This is an all time high in the U.S.*

### **Higher Wages Do Not Increase Prices**

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.) has shown (in the Nathan Report) that the excess corporate profits are so great that a general wage increase of 25 per cent could be granted without raising prices or without reducing profits below the 1936-39 peacetime level. The average weekly earnings of workers in manufacturing industry has declined from \$47.50 in January, 1945 to \$39.24 in October, 1946. Wartime overtime and bonuses stepped them up temporarily. In every industry where there was a wage increase the actual price increase was far more than would offset it. In food, where 1.3 per cent would equal wage increases, the price rise was 26.2 per cent in 1946, according to O.P.A. In textiles, where 4.5 per cent would equal wage increases, the price rise was 26.2 per cent. In hides and leather the wage increase could be offset by 3

per cent, the price rise was 20.1 per cent. These figures speak eloquently to women. Big Business, not the unions, are responsible for price increases on food, clothing, and shoes.

### **Now They're After More Rent**

The luxury-loving capitalist roars, "What a big wage—outrageous!" But the wife and mother sees the pay envelope as "take it out to the butcher and grocer; pay the rent, gas, electric bills; buy Johnny new shoes." It doesn't go far!

The fixed income groups, teachers, people who draw old age benefits, workers on pensions or unemployed insurance, all get the increased prices without any rise in their incomes. Now the real estate interests want "more rent" and are fighting to end rent controls. It is a bitter struggle against powerful interests, who deliberately failed to provide adequate housing for veterans and their families, hoping to raise rents sky high on all tenants. If the landlord's lobby wins in Washington, D. C., there will be wholesale evictions and great suffering among families in over-crowded cities. "*Hold the line on rent control,*" is a "must" to express emphatically to Congress, in the militant tradition of International Women's Day and thereafter. Unless Congress acts favorably all "rent control" will end June 30th.

### **Communists Want Socialism**

Sometimes I am sure you ask yourself, "When will it all end, when will we be able to live peacefully, happily, with work and plenty for all?" It is an important question to ask ourselves. It is a hope of women around the world.

I am writing this pamphlet as a daughter of a Socialist and suffragist, as an American woman who has been active in the labor movement for forty-one years, and as a *Communist*. (Don't go away. Remember Red-baiting, union smashing, anti-Semitism, and racial "superiority" theories are the pattern of the Nazis.) We Communists believe it is possible to have a system of society with peace, work, and abundance for all—*Socialism*. We believe in fighting hard to hold every gain made by the unions and the people generally in



their democratic struggles. But we go further. We believe in the *abolition of capitalism*. It is no more the last word in human progress than was savagery, barbarism, or feudalism. To finally solve the economic and political problems of the American people, we believe we need Socialism. It will abolish private ownership by a few men and women, of the land, natural resources and the industries of our country, which they use to make tremendous profits on the labor of others without working themselves.

### **Crimes of Capitalism**

Our country is beautiful, our people are capable. But its vast resources and its people are exploited by a handful of greedy monopolists. Their crimes are innumerable. They allow veterans to remain homeless, children to starve around the world, miners to die in the depths of the earth. The capitalist system causes war, unemployment, depressions, prostitution. It takes advantage of colonial people, depriving them of independence. It helped build up the Nazis and fascists through international trusts (cartels). It is now building up Germany and Japan as buffers against the Socialist country—the Soviet Union. It deprives youth of education and self-development. It has kept women in an inferior position, has not safeguarded maternity or childhood, nor taken drudgery out of the home (except for its own women). It pits people against each other on the basis of sex, color, religion, national origin. It has created the Jim Crow system against the Negro people, that disgraces us everywhere. It retards the full use of the resources of our country, of inventions, and the benefits of science for health, and progress. It cramps the intelligence and cheapens the cultural life of our country.

### **Get Ready for 1948**

We know the majority of the American people are not yet convinced, as we Communists are, that this is all true. Meanwhile we Communists do not place ourselves apart from the masses of people nor wait for them to agree with us,

before we work together. Irrespective of what views honest and progressive people may have on Socialism, they do not constitute a bar to unity for all our immediate and important daily struggles. We have no interests separate from the welfare of the people of our country, of which we are a part. Communists are workers, farmers, housewives, veterans, Negroes, professionals—a cross section of our population. We engage actively, with other like-minded people, in struggles against that which oppresses these groups. Communists are producers, consumers, parents, voters, and as such join together with others who have the same interests—for higher wages, housing, education, against the high cost of living and to unite all progressive forces for the critical election of 1947 and 1948. These elections will be a show-down, we hope a defeat for those who represent Big Business (monopoly capital), who would enslave the American people and hurl us into an atomic war. To support those who fight these dangerous reactionary forces, progressive men and women candidates who stand for democracy at home and friendly relations with other countries, is our common obligation for the elections ahead.

Women, 46 million eligible voters in our country, have a great responsibility. They have a tremendous political power to put our country in the vanguard of human affairs or to turn it in the direction of fascism. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. greets the women of America on International Women's Day in 1947, and expresses its confidence in their understanding and devotion to the cause of peace, for the American standard of living, for the rights of labor and the people generally. We believe that the great mass of American women can and will do their duty in the grave political struggles ahead, that our country and its people will be saved from the disaster of fascism. Let us all pledge, in keeping with the fighting tradition of International Women's Day, the annihilation of all open or disguised fascist ideas, tendencies and policies in our country.

## The Communist Party Advocates . . .

1. Equality of women in the political, economic, legal, professional, cultural, and social life of our country.
2. Adequate legislation for maternity and child care, to safeguard the health of mother and child.
3. The right of all women to work; equal pay for equal work; equal training; upgrading and seniority with men in all occupations; legal safeguards for health; minimum wage laws, including for domestic workers; old age benefits for working women and workers' wives at age of 60; defeat of misnamed "Equal Rights Amendment," which would destroy indispensable labor legislation.
4. Removal of legal disabilities on women citizens.
5. Full equality for Negro women, from segregation, discrimination, intimidation, poll-tax, downgrading in employment.
6. Adequate child care facilities, with federal and state support for nurseries, recreation centers and schools, with hot lunches.
7. Basic 5 day week of 40 hours, especially because women workers have double duty of job and care of home.
8. No discrimination or quota system against women in colleges, schools, as students, teachers or staff, or in professions.
9. Equal appointment of capable women to posts in federal, state and city governments and in diplomatic service.
10. Election to office in legislative bodies, labor unions, and all public organizations, of capable women, Negro and white.
11. Adequate funds for the Women's Bureau, Children's Bureau and other governmental agencies concerned especially with needs of women and children.

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