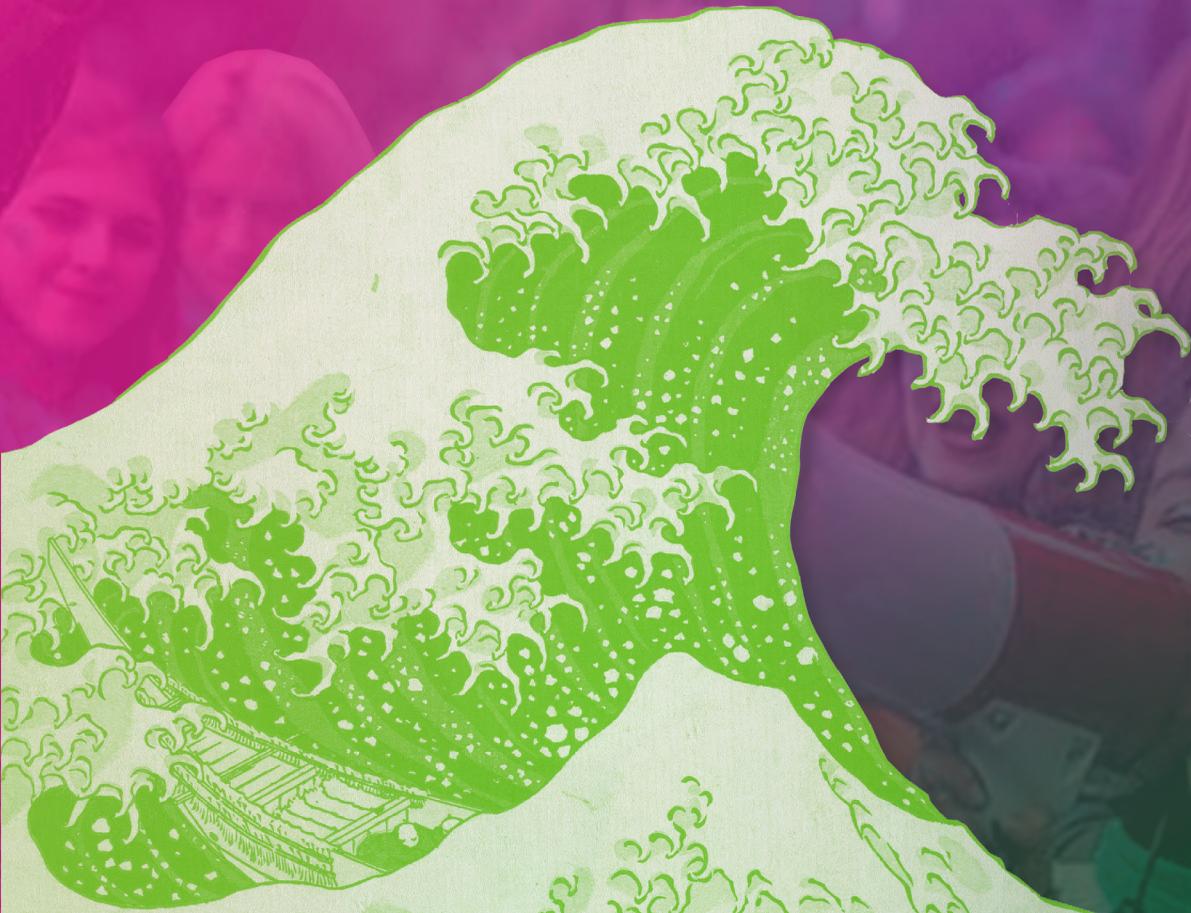


WOMEN'S REBELLION

Present day struggles and our policy



ISADORA

MUJERES EN LUCHA



**IZQUIERDA
SOCIALISTA**
+ independientes

**FRENTE DE
IZQUIERDA**
Y DE LOS TRABAJADORES



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English translation

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Introduction

Since 2015 to now, a new wave of global struggles has been incubating, bursting in, overflowing and shaking the world. We are facing a true revolution led by women who question everything: the mobilizations go against the governments, the bosses' parties, and the churches defending and perpetuating the patriarchal capitalist system.

The global rebellion of women has a strong presence of young women, working women, and women from the popular sectors. The feminist demonstrations reflect the weariness in the face of gender-based violence. The fight for equal pay for equal work, the right to abortion and against femicides grow. Women are making history and revealing how the conquest of rights can only be achieved by mobilising on the streets.

Isadora and Izquierda Socialista in the Left Front wrote this magazine that recovers not only present-day struggles of women around the world (pages 2 to 5) but also, a historical overview of previous waves (pages 6 to 10); some of the current debates within feminism (pages 16 to 23) and the main claims that cross the movement (pages 24 to 30). An analysis of the origin of patriarchal oppression and its combination with capitalist exploitation from a Marxist and revolutionary perspective proper to socialist feminism (Pages 11 to 15).

We invite you to read this magazine and debate with us these proposals to continue promoting mobilisation, the only way to advance in the achievement of rights.



A feminist wave shakes the world

Since #NiUnaMenos ("Not one [woman] less") was born in Argentina in 2015, the struggles of women, lesbians, transvestites, and transgender grow. In places of study and work but fundamentally on the streets, women organise and take to the streets to demand for their rights. The year 2018 showed this: demonstrations in the US a year after Trump took office, the movement #MeToo denouncing sexual violence, in the Spanish State for the scandalous ruling for the Manada (Wolfpack) gang rape, Argentinian women for the right to legal abortion and against femicides, the feminist occupations of universities in Chile, and in Brazil heading the movement #EleNão (#NotHim) against Bolsonaro.

These mobilisations combine with the fight against the austerity plans all capitalist governments apply on the people. The present economic crisis aggravates the place of women as another austerity variable and the governments in the entire world attack them to ensure greater profits for business. Cut backs and austerity is the plan of imperialism that women are unwilling to endure. Thus, they organise and take to the streets to confront current governments responsible for their situation.

In this fourth wave, they achieved wins such as the right to abortion in Ireland, one of the countries with the greatest weight of Catholicism in the world. In Saudi Arabia, after decades of prohibition, women may drive cars. In Argentina millions demonstrated in the Green Wave for the right to abortion against Macri's government, bosses' parties, and the churches, in particular the Catholic Church, financed by the state.

Three years making the earth tremble

In 2017, the first international women's strike took place on 8 March. The call was the result of the mass mobilisation of women in the US (Woman's March) when the reactionary, misogynist, and racist Trump took office. The idea of a women's strike emerges from

the experience of the Icelandic women who called a strike for equal pay in 1975.

In the first international women's strike (IWS) actions carried out in over 50 countries. In 2018, the second IWS was called under the precept of "building feminism for the 99 per cent, grassroots, anti-capitalist feminism, in solidarity with working women, their families and their allies around the world". In most countries it included -demands against labour reforms, femicides, rapes and other male chauvinist violence, for the right to abortion, and against the growing degradation of life that particularly affects women workers and women in the popular sectors.

A tsunami that challenges everything

From demonstrations against femicides women started questioning other forms of violence silenced for years, like sex, economic, and psychologic, violence, among others. Thus, this wave became a tsunami that challenged everything: violent practices naturalised in institutions, labour discrimination, objectification of bodies, imposition of compulsory maternity, among others.

This fourth wave is a force that arrived to stay: women woke up, stopped blaming themselves, and started to fight back. They question sexist violence and raise it not as an individual problem but as part of a system that seeks submissive, silent, obedient women and turns them into goods. To end oppression is not enough to change discriminatory or violent practices from the individual but it is necessary to organise to overthrow the patriarchal capitalist system. The present challenge is to deepen the fight for the fall of patriarchy and capitalism together and to build a different socialist society where all people are socially equal, humanly different, and totally free.

The green wave does not stop

The right to abortion is a historical demand of the women's movement. It refers not only to the need to end the deaths because of clandestine abortions, mainly of young poor women, but also to the decision about one's own body. The possibility of choosing maternity constitutes the tip of a thread from which to pull to unravel the fabric of the historical construction of women's oppression, on which the capitalist over-exploitation of most women is based.

In 2018 in Argentina, young women, women workers and from popular sectors massively took up the demand of the National Campaign for the Right to Abortion, developed in the National Women's Encounters. This Encounters developed the slogans: for sex education to decide, contraceptives not to abort, and legal abortion not to die. The personal experience of clandestine abortions, unwanted pregnancies, and forced maternity were transformed into political and collective demands, which were synthesised in the green headscarves.

On 19 February 2018, a "pañuelazo" (women showing their green headscarves) took place in front of the Congress. Its massive repercussion was a milestone which, together with the 8 March mobilisation that had the right to abortion among its main slogans, established the debate of the voluntary interruption of pregnancy in the public arena. They crossed the doors of Congress which for years has refused to discuss the subject, leaving on the table the bill prepared by the Campaign on six previous occasions.

Over two months, 734 speakers presented the most varied arguments for and against the legalisation of abortion in Congress. However, the legitimacy of the right to voluntary abortion was settled on the streets, in family conversations, in schools, in workplaces. Obstacles to women's right to decide were dis-

cussed, transcending the demand for abortion rights and strengthening other demands of the movement.

For example, among adolescents and students, the demand for the application of secular, scientific, and gender-sensitive sex education was a fundamental proposition in this process. These same young people were those who carried out the so-called "daughter revolution" which took into their hands the outstanding task of convincing adults to be in favour of the claim.

Another example can be seen in the different workplaces where commissions or gender spaces have proliferated, from which not only actions were organised to support legal abortion, but also protocols were drawn up to prevent gender-based violence and to accompany victims.

Over a million people participated in the vigils for the 13 January and 8 April sessions of Congress and in the squares throughout the country. This historic event of mobilisation was fed by the previous days of struggle as well as by the international events that, in Poland, Ireland, or Chile, women led, demanding legal abortion.

For the first time for many people, it became evident it was not the "votes" of the deputies that achieved the preliminary approval but the mobilisation that succeeded in imposing the project to be dealt with. On 8 August, when it was rejected by the Senate, the role of the bosses' parties and their interest in defending religious dogmas against women's lives became clear.

This learning shows the rights of the oppressed and exploited sectors do not come from the good will of those who rule, they are conquered through mobilisation and organisation, as has been demonstrated throughout history.

#NiUnaMenos

A RALLYING CRY

The fourth wave of the women's movement started when thousands took to the streets in Argentina on 3 June 2015 to shout #NiUnaMenos (Not One Less). Thousands had the courage leave their homes for the first time to denounce the violence they suffered and view themselves as victims. They took to the streets to yell for those who cannot do it, becoming a rallying cry against male chauvinism.

The figures are chilling: according to a UN report 64,000 women and girls are murdered globally every year. Femicide is the most extreme form of patriarchal violence, in which men believe they own women's bodies and lives.

Since #NiUnaMenos to the present day it has been possible for more and more women to denounce the violence they suffer on a daily basis and, at the same time, to recognise the practices which until recently were considered "normal" or "natural". Since that call, progress has been made in identifying the different ways in which male chauvinism is expressed and it has begun to be socially condemned. Therefore, there is almost no longer any mention of "crime of passion" in the media as happened before but rather the struggle has led to these hate crimes being catalogued in the justice system as femicides or travesticides.

It was from #NiUnaMenos that a strong radical change began in the face of gender violence: it was the start of a "not any more" against the model of a submissive woman who is silent and resigned in the face of sexist violence.

Attitudes and reactions that previously went unnoticed, such as flirtatious remarks, today are identified as harassment. Gender violence began to be visible and denounced in all its forms: physical, psychological, symbolic, economic, and sexual.

The Gender Equality Observatory of Latin America and the Caribbean, based on information from 16 countries in the region, shows that a total of 2,554 women were victims of femicide in 2017. Brazil stands out with 1133 cases.

The numbers grow when including the countries that have the highest rates such as Mexico with 49 femicides per week or Colombia with 15 cases per week.

Faced with this, governments are responsible for the situation of women because they do nothing to reverse the numbers of femicides and, even if they take pictures with the #NiUnaMenos poster, they do not develop any real policies for the attention and prevention of gender violence. For example, in Argentina 225 cases were counted in the first ten months of 2018 according to La Casa del Encuentro (Encounter House, an NGO) and Macri's response to this alarming number was to cut even more the money allocated to combat gender violence in the 2019 budget which was approved in Congress with the votes of Peronism in all its colours. Therefore, the women's movement must continue in the streets against male violence demanding the declaration of a national emergency in gender violence and a budget for Law 26,485 so the #NiUnaMenos is complied with.

Transvesticide: last link in a chain of violence

In Argentina, organisations of transgender collectives and transvestites maintain that life expectancy is of 35 years old and denounce the violence they suffer every day: lack of access to education, health and housing.

The stigmatisation, persecution and repression of the collective is rife in our country and hate crimes are the last link in this long chain full of violence.

With the mobilisation, the law of the Same Sex Marriage and in 2012, the Identity of Gender. Both laws have in practice many restrictions to implement

it. Only in 2018 a historic decision meant the condemnation to life imprisonment of Gabriel Marino, the murderer of Diana Sacayán, and for the first time the figure of transvesticides was used in justice. From the feminist movement one of the demands must be to denounce the hate crimes and police persecution of the LGTBIQ collective (lesbians, gays, transvestites and non- binaries). It is necessary to continue the fight for the labour quota, access to health and education without any discrimination to ensure a better quality of life.

From #MeToo to #MiráComoNosPonemos (SeeHowWeAre)

On 11 December 2018, the organisation *Actrices Argentinas* (Argentinian Actresses), which brings together more than 500 theatre, film, and television female workers, called a press conference in which an open media secret was made public: actress Thelma Fardín told that in 2009, when she was 16 and on tour in Nicaragua, she was raped by actor Juan Darthés, who at that time was 45 and the adult responsible for the group. With the tag #MiráCómoNosPonemos (SeeHowWeAre), the actresses called for a collective response to situations of sexual violence. This denunciation was an unprecedented event in the Argentine artistic milieu and touched the entire society. It even encouraged thousands of women to relate and denounce different situations they suffered throughout their lives. According to official statistics, the day after the complaint, there was an increase of 123 percent in calls to the 144 helplines for victims of gender violence.

This local phenomenon has as its background what happened in October 2017 in the United States when a group of Hollywood actresses launched on social networks the hashtag #MeToo under the slogan: "If you have been harassed or sexually assaulted, write me too. Thousands of complaints quickly came to light. This milestone marked the beginning of a rebellion against sexual violence, which spread around the world and goes far beyond the social networks because it cuts across all the spheres and institutions that women go through.

The #MeToo or #MiráComoNosPonemos phenomenon has managed at the local level to break the silence of thousands and make visible what until now was invisible, what was always there, but not even the victims themselves could recognise, let alone denounce. Women stopped blaming themselves and began to understand that sexual violence is part of the patriarchal norms to which they are subjected. Sexual abuse and rape are as old as patriarchy and women endured them in silence because they knew they would not be believed, or even turned into culprits. What is new, progressive, and revolutionary is that women are beginning to denounce, in many cases after years of anguished silence, the abuses and rapes they suffered and they are heard and understood by many others. Thus, progress is made in breaking the pacts of silence to protect the perpetrators and ignore the victims. And sexual

violence ceased to be an individual problem, something intimate, which is not talked about, to become a public problem that is producing a change of consciousness about patriarchal violence.

Today, when a woman dares to say she was abused, thousands respond #YoTeCreoHermana (#Ibelieveyousister). That is why women are encouraged to speak out and the denunciations begin to gain visibility and credibility not only in the women's movement but also within many institutions. The males who had been enjoying patriarchal privileges are losing their impunity to perpetrate sexual violence even within relationships.

The reaction of millions of women around the world against sexual violence uncovered the phenomenon of subordination of the body and the sexuality of the bodies of women, boys, and girls. The different forms of harassment are common in workplaces and places of study, which is why abusive practices by bosses, managers, and supervisors were totally naturalised and presented as supposedly "consensual" to get employment, or in universities to have a better score and which respond to the exercise of patriarchal power in all institutions. Hence, in study and work places, women began to organise themselves and go out to face harassment and sexual violence: from there cases are taken up, violent people are denounced, and specific protocols for action against gender violence are demanded.

The court's ruling on La Manada (The Wolfpack)

The women in the Spanish State massively rebelled against the patriarchal court's ruling on La Manada (The Wolfpack). La Manada is the name given to a group of friends that while collectively raping a woman, during the Saint Fermin festivities, they filmed it. They shared the video on social media as an accomplishment. The case came to justice and the sentence was a scandal because they were not convicted for rape but only for sexual abuse, alleging that she had not resisted enough. This generated a massive repudiation in the social networks with the hashtags #NoEsNo (No is No) and #Cuéntalo (Tell us), with massive mobilisations in several cities around the country.

The previous waves

During the French Revolution (1789), women actively joined in the fight against the remnants of feudal power, monarchic absolutism, and for the republic. They also raised their specific demands as women and numerous feminine clubs emerged. The French writer and pamphleteer, Olympe de Gouges, paraphrasing the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* and the Citizen in 1789, wrote two years later the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*, a founding text that proposes equal rights and legal equality for women. This writing cost her her life as she was guillotined.

Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the first English feminists published in 1772, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, in which she

THE PIONEERS

poses that bourgeois women should participate with all the political and social rights in the administration of property.

In France, Flora Tristan, writer, feminist, and socialist, was one of the first women to claim, in 1840, that the women's struggle should join the working-class struggle. Her tragic life was full of violence and drove her to reflect on the situation of all the oppressed.



[Olympe de Gouges]

"If women have the right to mount the scaffold, she must equally have the right to mount the tribune." Article X of the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen, 1791.



[Flora Tristán]

"I have everyone against me. Men because I ask for the emancipation of women, owners because I demand the emancipation of the workers."

THE FIRST WAVE

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the first wave of feminist struggles developed. These were years of a strong rise, in which important labour rights and suffrage for women over 30 were won in several European countries.

Here there was a first division among women because liberal feminists fought mainly for the right to vote for the “ladies” and their aim was to belong in public life within bourgeois politics. On the other hand, socialist feminists, while fighting for the right to universal suffrage, led the fight to improve working conditions, for an eight-hour work day, against the high cost of living.

In 1917, with the Russian revolution and the first workers’ government in history, enormous rights such as the right to abortion and divorce were won. The Marxist and socialist parties played a very important role in this period. Their most Outstanding leaders were Rosa Luxembour, Alexandra Kollontai, and Clara Zetkin, among others.

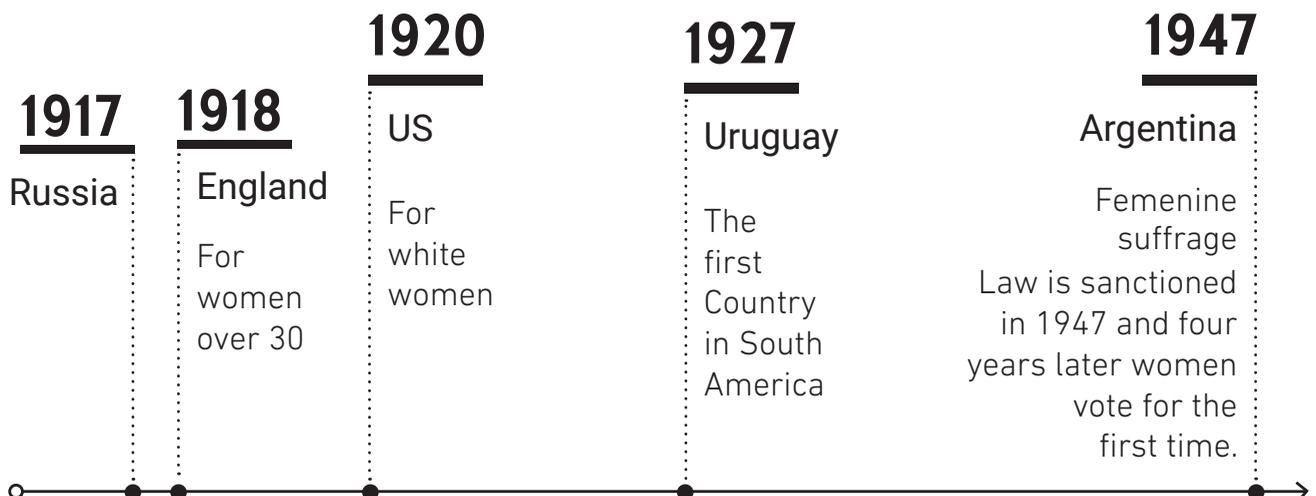


[Rosa Luxemburg]

In England, the fight for women's suffrage was the engine of massive demonstrations that had Sylvia and Emmeline Pankhurst as leaders. The Fabian Society, within the Labour Party, demanded the restricted vote, only for women of the owner classes. On the contrary, the Federation of Suffragettes of East London, led by Silvia Pankhurst, insisted on universal suffrage, supported the Russian Revolution, opposed the First World War, and carried out campaigns for equal salaries and other demands of working women.

In Argentina you are taught in school the female vote was achieved because of the figure of Evita Peron ignoring the struggle that feminists of the first wave gave in the country. María Abella Ramírez, a Uruguayan teacher living in La Plata, and Julieta Lanteri, an Italian physician, were the voices raised for the right to vote for women. Alicia Moreau, physician and representative of the Socialist Party was an outstanding fighter. Elvira Rawson argued that suffrage should be universal. Anarchism had great relevance in the origins of Argentine feminism, among its referents were the working-class leaders Virginia Bolten and Juana Rouco Buela.

CONQUEST OF WOMEN'S VOTE



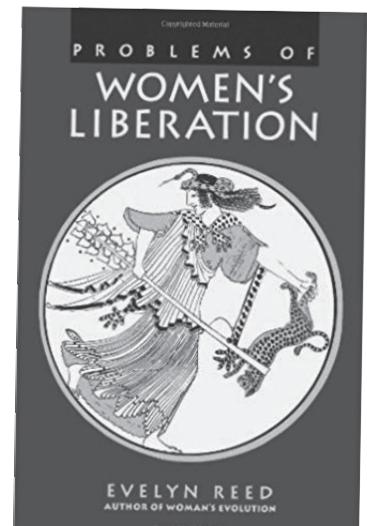
THE SECOND WAVE

At the beginning of the 1960s a “nameless” malaise ran through an ever-growing group of women in the world. Especially in the United States and Europe, many women had been working in factories a few years earlier, supporting their families alone and being part of local political life, while men fought in the Second World War. But in the post-war period, the vast majority of them were sent back to their homes to fulfil the subordinate function of “housewives” which was lived with great discomfort.

The second wave had as its central axis the demand against sexual discrimination and the prevailing stereotypes that sought to reduce women to the maternal role enclosed in the family and mainly the fight for the right to decide about one’s own body, such as the right to abortion. The emergence of the contraceptive pill was a tool that played an important role in unleashing the so-called sexual revolution which combined with other social movements such as those of the French May youth, against racism, against the Vietnam War, and the decolonization of Asia and Africa.

While in those years the women’s liberation struggles were of intense mobilisation, unlike the first wave, in this one there was not a clear class

division. In this context, the renowned American radical feminist, Kate Millet, pointed out that the root of all forms of domination in all societies is the male domination of the patriarchal order. In her work, Millet went so far as to assert that women should be regarded as a social class. At that time, this mistaken position was strongly debated by Evelyn Reed, an anthropologist and member of the Socialist Worker Party (SWP). Being a referent of a Marxist approach to feminism, she argued the importance of making a historical analysis of the oppression of women, linked to the emergence of private property, social classes, and monogamous marriage (see patriarchal oppression and capitalist exploitation on page 11).



THE THIRD WAVE

Between the years 1980s and 1990s, a fundamental critique of feminism arose in the academic sphere, which vindicated a model and stereotype of a western, white, and heterosexual woman who was the hegemonic figure of liberal feminism. On the face of this, the need arose to think of multiple types of women depending on social, ethnic, national, or religious issues. Thus, different feminisms emerge that look after their specificities: black feminism, lesbian, post-colonial, trans-feminism, LGBT theory.

Regarding the third wave, it did not have a sustained repercussion of feminist struggles on the streets, although there was much academic production. There are very important theoretical de-

velopments such as those proposed by Judith Butler “Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity” (1999) and other authors, who place the heterosexual family as the main enemy of women, i.e., male and female: what is known as the heteronormative system, as a mandatory rule. These approaches give impetus to the development of a post-feminism or LGBT movement in which movements for gender identities, particularly transgender identities, become relevant, which turned out to be very positive. However, it is a mistake not to question patriarchal capitalism when faced with the issue of the ultimate cause of the oppression of women and dissident identities.

The Gains of the Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution started none other than on 8 March when the call to action for International Women's Day turned into the beginning of a week of intense mobilisations and strikes that ended with 300 years of czarists empires. Fed up with the poverty that war brought about, housewives stormed bakeries and textile women workers went on strike and convinced metal workers to follow them. Four days later, Nicolas II, the last Russian Czar, fell. Eight months later, the soviets, led by the Bolshevik Party, took power and opened the way to the first workers' government in history, which took the first steps in the actual and material liberation of women, a task that capitalism could not and will not carry out in any country in the world.

The conceptions of the Bolshevik revolution aimed to achieve as soon as possible a comprehensive system of maternity wards, nurseries, kindergartens, collective canteens, laundries. This was not only for the benefit of the entire population but particularly for women, freeing them from domestic chores.

From the first days civil marriage was established (taking it away from the Church), divorce with a simple procedure and at the request of either spouse, the decriminalization of transvestism, marriage between people of the same sex, access to the duma (parliament) for women, the female vote, and, in 1920, it was the first country in the world to legalize abortion, free and in hospital.

The Third International

The Communist International was founded in March 1919. From the beginning, it condemned the double condition of women as oppressed and exploited. In June of that year, they held the first International Women's Conference, where the German Clara Zetkin and the Russian Alexandra Kollontai stood out. A women's secretariat was formed and the parties affiliated to the International were required that women militants had the same rights as men.

The betrayal of Stalinism and the intense process of bureaucratization that the International underwent led to a retreat not only in the women's world organization but, fundamentally, in the gains that had been achieved thus far, such as, for example, the right to abortion that was prohibited in the USSR in 1936.



[Clara Zetkin]

"What made women's labour particularly attractive to the capitalists was not only its lower price but also the greater submissiveness of women."

[Alexandra Kollontai]

"Capitalism has placed a crushing burden on woman's shoulders: it has made her a wage-worker without having reduced her cares as housekeeper or mother..."



8 March: A history of revolutionary feminism

March 8 was born as a date to unite the world's women workers and to show their strength. International Women's Day was founded by the female leaders of socialist parties and organised by women workers in several countries of Europe and the Americas since the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the years, and not by chance, it became one of the most distorted dates by governments and the ruling class. A day to "flatter" women with flowers and discounts on dinners and beauty treatments, it is now regaining its true meaning and origin in the heat of the fourth wave of feminist struggles in the world.

On 28 February 1909, the American socialists called for actions for women's rights that led to massive demonstrations. In the words of Alexandra Kollontai, this was, in fact, the first Women's Day, and it was these women who brought this proposal to the Second Socialist Women's Conference in Copenhagen the following year. They especially vindicated the more than fifteen thousand textile female workers who mobilised in New York in March 1908 demanding a reduction in the working day, better wages and the right to vote. Clara Zetkin took up this initiative and presented a resolution to promulgate the International Women's Day which would be celebrated on the same day in all the countries organised by the socialist parties (of the Second International). The initiative was approved with the motto: "The vote for women will unite our forces in the struggle for socialism". The first goal of Women's Day was to take advantage of the momentum of the mobilisation for women's suffrage (of all women) to bring the ideas of socialism closer to working women in particular.

In 1911, the first Women's Day formally convened by the socialist parties was March 19, the anniversary of the German revolution of 1848 and the date on which the Prussian king first promised a vote for women. In that first year (1911), the call was successful, especially in Austria and Germany where dozens of meetings were convened, attended by thousands of women who were doing so for the first

time while their comrades took care of the children. In 1913, 8 March was finally adopted and Working Women's Day was also celebrated in Russia despite a brutal czarist repression. The Bolshevik newspaper Pravda published articles referencing it and called a secret meeting in Petrograd at a market that was overflowing with women until police entered and arrested the speakers.

In the following years, with the advent of the First World War, it was impossible to convene new mobilizations because several of the leaders were in czarist prisons. In Russia, the democratic slogan for women's suffrage meant a revolutionary call against the dictatorship. At the same time, the betrayal of the socialist parties (they supported the First World War) made the calls in other European countries impossible and squandered the international character of the date.

From 1977, the UN eliminated the word "worker" from the name, staying only as Women's Day, with the clear goal of reframing its meaning, deleting not only its workers' content and origin but also its revolutionary character. In recent years, in the heat of the fourth wave of feminist struggles and the call for international women's strikes on 8 March, this tradition of struggle, this workers' origin and this revolutionary character has been taken up again to fight to give shape to a revolutionary feminism that is anti-patriarchal, anti-capitalist, internationalist, and socialist.

Patriarchal Oppression and Capitalist Exploitation

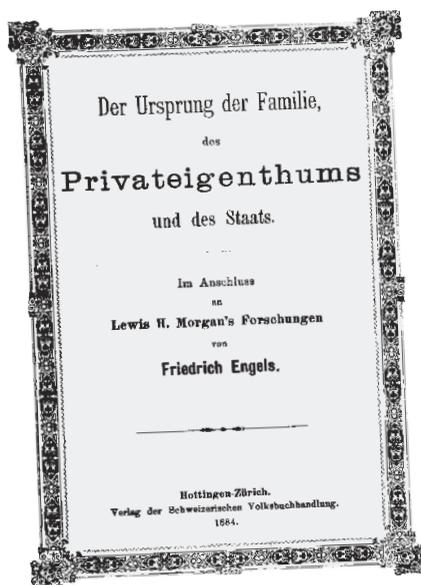
For centuries, the submission and subordination of women was explained and even justified with different arguments: from a supposed irrational nature to their consideration as incomplete beings or with smaller brain size and intelligence than males. At different times, theories were invented to justify women's place in the domestic space, in charge of the care of children on the basis of a supposed maternal instinct that would exist "in the feminine nature". These approaches were not only present in religious discourses, but also in scientific discourses mainly in anthropology, biology and psychology.

From the Marxist tradition, socialist feminists hold another view. Of course, the devaluing of women, the violence towards them, and being reduced to sexual objects are very old issues. Marxism, from its beginnings, positioned itself against any discrimination and for the full equality of rights and opportunities between the genders. In their research on the emergence of societies, Marx and En-

gels were able to discover that there is nothing "natural" about such subordination. Rather, it is a social process linked to the emergence of private property, which he called the oppression of women and which was historically consolidated from an institution: the patriarchal family. Part of this is raised by Marx himself in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), and extensively developed by Friedrich Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), among other works.

In the 1970s, the Trotskyist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, based on Engels' classic work pointed out that in societies where all people had to work to achieve their survival (primitive communism) there was no social differentiation and, even though there was a division of tasks between genders or age groups, these were equally valued by the communities. In those societies, there had been no state, no private property, but collective ownership of everything that was produced. And sex-affective relations could vary in terms of durability and the number of spouses. Even kinship relationships were very different from those we know today because, depending on the community, there could be collective upbringing of children. The way of knowing the offspring was through the mother or matriline age.

With the end of primitive communism (based on hunting and gathering food) and the passage to animal husbandry, agriculture, and urban handicrafts, which led to a great wealth in food production (the surplus), a very complex process began by which the male appropriated the surplus, liquidating gender equality. To formalise this transformation, it was not only necessary the appearance



The Origin of the family, Private Property and the State (1884)

1. Some feminist currents coincide with the notion of the feminine essence as a source of social subordination of women. It is enough to recall the ideas of the radical feminism current in the 1970s in the United States where one of its referents, Kate Millet, pointed out that subordination had been present throughout history.

of the state as a tool of organisation and social domination but also to achieve the existence of “legitimate” heirs of the male owners. To this end, matriline age was destroyed and the children became the property of the father (patria potestas). This gave rise to monogamous marriage, the control of female sexuality and the family organized around the power of the father (patriarchal family), who in the first manifestations was the owner of the wife, children, slaves, and animals.

Evelyn Reed said about this: “As men took over most of the activities of social production, and with the rise of the family institution, women became relegated to the home to serve their husbands and families. The state apparatus came into existence to fortify and legalize the institutions of private property, male dominion and the father-family, which later were sanctified by religion.” [https://www.marxists.org/archive/reed-evelyn/1970/caste-class-sex.htm]

Therefore, the subordination of women is not because of any biological difference, nor did it always exist, but is the result of the social events that destroyed egalitarian societies, replacing them with a patriarchal class society that, from its inception, was characterised by discrimination and inequality of all kinds, including gender.

In short, not only has patriarchy not always existed but it goes beyond gender relations. For, as a system of domination, it is linked to the emergence of the state, private property, social classes and the service of exploitation.

Oppression and exploitation are different categories

In the book *Mujeres trabajadoras y marxismo* (Working Women and Marxism, 1981/2009) by Carmen Carrasco and Mercedes Petit, the authors state that oppression is “the use of inequalities to put at a disadvantage and subject a social group based on racial, sexual, national, or other differences, which produces a situation of inequality of rights, of social, cultural, and eventually economic discrimination. For example, blacks, because of their colour, cannot go to white schools in the United States, or are brutally segregated in South Africa.” Instead, exploitation is an economic category: the appropriation of the work of the dispossessed class by the class owning the means of production, which has histori-

cally resulted in the struggle of the different classes against each other.

In capitalism, entrepreneurs take advantage of pre-existing situations of oppression (e.g., of women) to increase exploitation and their own entrepreneurs privileges. And capitalism also creates new situations of oppression (for example, the oppression of the Palestinian people by the Zionist-imperialist invasion that the State of Israel installed since 1948).

The distinction between oppression and exploitation makes it clear that the former - oppression - encompasses sectors of all social classes, that is, it is multi-class. Upper, middle class, and working women are all oppressed, they are all victims of patriarchy and male chauvinism (although they live and suffer it in a totally different way).

Now, the existence of patriarchal oppression is not only a big problem for women in general, but greatly benefits the capitalist system and worsens the condition of those women who, in addition to being oppressed, are also exploited: the working women.

In practice, oppression and exploitation are not totally separate operating dimensions. It is incorrect to say women are oppressed by men at home and exploited “just like the men” at work. In the world of work, the bosses use all the tools of oppression to increase exploitation and make greater profits. Thus, women workers receive lower wages, are harassed, discriminated against, etc. Therefore, they are super-exploited. In addition, domestic chores are added to them when they arrive home, which makes it a second working day.



Mujeres trabajadoras y marxismo (Women Workers and Marxism) by Carmen Carrasco and Mercedes Petit

United in the streets, Independent in the organisation

The women's movement is multi-class because women from all the social classes take part in it. And, as it is also the case with all the workers' and popular struggles in the world, the women who mobilize have leadership sheding them. In most cases, these leaderships tamper with and negotiate, and therefore, they do not carry the struggle to the end. They look for short cuts, settle in, make their own NGOs and stop fighting.

For example, in the United States the Democrats have a great influence among those who go out to fight against Trump or who rebel against sexual harassment with #Metoo. As a solution to their demands, they propose to the thousands of women who are mobilising to vote for their candidate, Hillary Clinton. A closer example is Argentina and how to take part in the fight for legal, safe, and free abortion. Some organisations propose as a strategy the parliamentary lobby, others the plebiscite, and others, like Isadora and Izquierda Socialista, the permanent mobilisation to win this fundamental right for women.

So, to take part correctly in these struggles, we must always act from the broadest unity in the mo-

bilisations but without relenting in the political fights against those leaderships of the movement that seek to divert and paralyse it. It is necessary to denounce them when they betray the demands of the movement or they hand over the struggle to sectors that are against women's rights, such as, for example, the Church.

This way of acting is called united front tactic and means we must promote the unitary mobilisation for the common tasks and slogans that drive the struggle, in unity of action both with those enemy and traitorous leaderships and with their file and rank, with the highest broadmindedness and without sectarianism. At the same time, this must be done from an independent and revolutionary political position, without falling into opportunism, criticising, demanding, and denouncing the majority leaderships seeking control to demobilise or capitulate to parliamentary hopes. We do this to show it is possible to liberate women under capitalism. The other political will eventually lead the movement into a dead end.



Argentina: Global Cry for Legal Abortion, 28 September 2017.

To end patriarchy is not just about a “cultural change”

We live a general crisis of the capitalist system and there are struggles all over the world. With the fourth wave, there are big and progressive cultural changes. But it is wrong to say that the feminist struggle must set itself to fight the oppression of women, essentially the battle against the “patriarchal culture” or male chauvinist culture.

Patriarchy is not simply an ideology; it is a system of oppression that must be fought in all areas. Therefore, we must promote sex education, repudiate sexist jokes, the naturalisation of gender roles, and support all the cultural battles against male chauvinism present now and those that will follow.

But that alone is not enough. Patriarchal oppression is much more than cultural and serves capitalism to get greater profits, thanks to the super-exploitation of half of humanity. It is therefore wrong to turn “cultural change” into an end by itself. The feminist movement, in all its aspects, has to put itself in the forefront and order around the struggles against the governments in power and all the institutions functional to oppression such as the Church, parliaments, justice, and their laws that hold up the system of oppression that guarantees super profits to multinationals and big business.

We have to fight against capitalism because patriarchy and capitalism go hand in hand and do not relent: they are two systems that combine and feed each other. And that combination is harmful to women.

With mobilisation, partial victories, several rights, reforms, and gains can be achieved, as shown by women's long struggle for the rights to vote, to education, to abortion, divorce, shared parental authority, and so on and so forth.

But, as long as capitalism exists, every gain achieved by the struggle will be partial and can even be reversed, as shown by Bolsonaro's victory in Brazil. That is why the women's struggle against patriarchy must unite with the struggle against capitalism: to end with males' privileges and the contempt for women and dissident identities. Both systems must fall together for women to triumph in their liberation. There is no possibility of defeating patriarchy as long as capitalism exists and that is why the feminist struggle will always criss-cross and be indivisible from the struggle of the working class against capitalist domination and for the triumph of socialism.



For capitalism and patriarchy to fall together



The National Women's Meeting is a unique event in the world in which thousands of women take part every year. The first was in 1986 and since then the number of participants has grown and the debates have deepened. The current challenge of these Meetings is that they decide on a plan of struggle to conquer all the rights of women, lesbians, transvestites, transsexuals, and non-binary identities.

We are feminists, socialists and revolutionaries

We can sum feminism in one simple phrase: it is a broad political movement fighting for women's rights.

That is why we are feminists. As revolutionary socialists, we are part of the struggles of all the oppressed. In this way, we also recognise ourselves as part of the democratic struggles against racism, of the Palestinians, of the sexual diversity movement, etc.

Marxism has taken up the problems of women's oppression from its origins with great force, throughout history and in particular under capitalism. With the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, while males were conquering new and important democratic rights (such as reading and writing, equality before the law, freedom of opinion, or the vote, even in the context of workers exploitation), women were left behind in those same rights. The pre-existing patriarchal oppression combined with the mechanisms of the

new capitalist domination of the world, which gave rise to the different waves of women's struggle.

But to say the struggle for women's liberation poses democratic tasks and that women from different social classes are part of it does not mean diminishing its importance at all. On the contrary, we need to be part of this great movement to strengthen it. And within the movement, we say we are feminists, socialists, and revolutionaries. Not only because we are against all forms of oppression, not only because patriarchal oppression allows greater exploitation of working women, but also because in this stage of capitalist crisis, no gain, however minimal, can be guaranteed in the medium term if we do not end up destroying the exploiting capitalist system that survives at the cost of the degradation of humanity and the destruction of nature. And the only class interested in taking these demands to the end is the working class.

Our Parliamentarians, on the streets and the Parliament



From left to right: Laura Marrone (MP for City of Buenos Aires), Mónica Schlotthauer (National MP- Buenos Aires), Mercedes Trimarchi (Provincial MP Buenos Aires Province), Liliana Olivero (Cordoba), Angélica Lagunas (Neuquen), Anisa Favoretti (Santiago del Estero).



Why feminism(s)?

Though we can reach consensus within the feminist movement and perform unified actions about to some demands, there are also tension, different views, and, above all, a great deal of debate. It is a false image to represent feminism as a place of complete agreement and harmony. It is so because, as we previously defined it, this is a multi-class and heterogeneous movement. Within the women's movement, there are many big and small groups, organisations, and personalities. Debates are relevant. For example, in

the meetings previous to 8 March in Argentina, we discussed the slogans with which to call the demonstration. A classic debate in these meetings is whether to denounce the government in office as responsible for the situation of women, as Isadora and Izquierda Socialista (IS) put it, or whether to simply put "state" abstractly, removing the responsibility, for example, from Mauricio Macri or previously from Cristina Fernández and even from provincial governors.

The different feminist currents

Within the movement we can locate big theoretical currents with which many groups and organisations at a general level.

EQUALITY FEMINISM	It fights for equal rights and opportunities for women and males in sexual non-conformity. For example, the demand for universal suffrage and access to categories of jobs.	<p>Liberal. It argues that since the demands of the movement are democratic, they can be achieved under capitalism. Generally, it is a white, western feminism driven by international bodies in the development of gender policies. For example, it argues more positions of power for women are enough to conquer equal rights. A reference in Argentina could be the MP of Cambiemos, Silvia Lospennato.</p>
		<p>Popular. It notes the need to develop a colonial, Arab, black, indigenous people's feminism to combine it with other forms of oppression. Several social organisations converge here, including NGOs developed under the influence of the capitalist and popular front governments of Chavez in Venezuela and Lula in Brazil, allies of the Catholic Church. In Argentina, for example, Cristina Fernandez and Juan Grabois propose unity with the light-blue-headscarves [those pro-life who strongly reject legal and free abortion. They demand both lives (pregnant woman/child and unborn) be saved, no matter if the origin of that pregnancy is rape or if it is unwanted).</p>
DIFFERENCE FEMINISM	It fights for a reassessment of what is "feminine". It holds that the main contradiction in society is between the sexes and not between the social classes.	<p>Socialist. There are different currents, from reformists and centrists, to revolutionaries. They agree in understanding the feminist struggle against oppression must be combined with the struggle against capitalist exploitation. Reformism argues this struggle should be mainly parliamentary and with the gain of small changes. Isadora and IS pose the need for social mobilisation to snatch partial gains and the fight to destroy patriarchal capitalism through the revolutionary struggle for socialism.</p>
		<p>Of the difference. It is a current originated from psychoanalysis and holds the exacerbation of "feminine values" as superior to male values. It raises the need to vindicate the feminine "essence" and maternity. There are several individualistic autonomist groups that adhere to this view. They do not make anti-capitalist demands.</p>
		<p>Radical. They establish the opposition between the sexes (in the biological sense) as the main contradiction in the different societies. They pose patriarchy as a universal social organisation that has existed forever and the one we have to destroy. Most feminists (not all of them) assert they are anti-men and even, anti-transgender people.</p>

“My mum does not work, she’s a housewife”

In general, to clean the bathroom, dust the furniture, do the shopping, delouse kids, help with homework, clean the cat poop, and prepare meals are women’s tasks. These activities are time consuming, unpaid and yet fundamental to our lives and even to keep studying or working. These tasks are called domestic or reproductive and, in most cases, women perform them.

The sexual division of labour is another of the consequences of patriarchy that capitalism takes advantage of. Thus, historically men devoted themselves to paid productive labour and women to unpaid reproductive labour. Reproductive labour is those tasks necessary to maintain the care, well-being, and survival of people. This work ranges from biological reproduction (pregnancy, birth, and breastfeeding), to social reproduction (housekeeping and habits and norms that include upbringing, education, and food). This sexual division of labour works even with women who work outside their homes, so after a long working day, they take care of the domestic chores.

In the entire planet, the time women and men devote to housework is uneven. In Argentina, according to a Survey made in 2013 by INDEC (Census and Statistics Institute) on unpaid labour and use of time, women are in charge of 76 percent of domestic chores. And, for example, a study conducted on South Africa, Tanzania, Korea, India, Nicaragua, and Argentina estimates that, if a monetary value were assigned to housekeeping, it would represent between 10 and 39 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of these countries.

Now, what would happen if women did not do these tasks for free? For example, if people bought

takeout food, it would cost much more than if somebody cook it at home for free.

According to INDEC (2013), the Survey on Unpaid Labour and Use of Time holds that a working woman spends more time in domestic chores (5.5 hours) than an unemployed male (4.6 hours)

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates that if one adds paid and unpaid work globally, women work 2.6 hours more, on average, than men on a daily basis.

The same happens when you hire a nanny to look after the kids instead of the mother. All those tasks cost money, but women do them for free. This is another of the ways in which the marriage of patriarchy and capitalism is manifested. Both systems feed off each other, they are functional and above all, at the expense of women’s freedom, greater profits are extracted. That is why one of the historical demands of the women’s movement is the recognition of these tasks as work and the demand for a salary for the realization of these tasks.

More women in power or more power to women

Women face greater obstacles than men to reach the spaces of power in every institution. It is called the glass ceiling, an invisible barrier almost imperceptible but still there: patriarchy. This happens in all areas, even in politics. Now, with more women in power, are the rights and opportunities guaranteed, as popular and liberal feminism argue?

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In 2014, Latin America had for the first time in history four female presidents: Michelle Bachelet in Chile, Cristina Fernandez in Argentina, Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, and Laura Chinchilla in Costa Rica. But, despite these women being in office several years, neither the femicide rate nor the deaths for clandestine abortions diminished because they did not legalise abortion. Moreover, in the context of the capitalist crisis, and because of the policies they themselves applied, more and more women were condemned to live in poverty and marginality.

In Argentina, it was since 2016 that for the first time there were five women governors (María Eugenia Vidal in Buenos Aires, Alicia Kirchner in Santa Cruz, Claudia Ledesma Abdala in Santiago del Estero, Lucía Corpacci in Catamarca, and Rosana Bertone in Tierra del Fuego) who administer almost half of the country's economy. In all these provinces, the austerity plan is applied with the same force as in the rest, where men rule. They even have strong restrictions on access to non-punishable abortions. In the case of Catamarca and Santiago del Estero, they do not even have protocols for dealing with cases of legal termination of pregnancy).

Gender parity on the slates does not solve women's oppression

In 2017, Macri's government carried forward a great campaign for gender parity on the slates, which must be interspersed by a woman and a man. All the bosses' parties supported that reform and held it as a great progress. They even equated it to the feminine vote at the beginning of the 20th century.

Parliament is another institution of the patriarchal capitalist system whose goal is neither to provide solutions to women's nor to other oppressed sectors of society. Traditional bourgeois parties, including women parliamentarians, have always stood up for the policies of the patriarchal capitalism that beat mainly women, despite the number of women on the slates. This government's manoeuvre was used to generate false expectations in Parliament. It is enough to see how the women of the bosses' parties voted against the law of Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy, in 2018 (see box).

To advance towards a greater equality in women's political participation, it is important to get achievements and victories that favour all women. In fact, throughout history, all the rights achieved were thanks to struggle and mobilisation. No government or parliament gave them anything. For example, for women to vote was the result of the struggle of the suffragettes of the first wave. In that period also, and with big strikes, an-hour nursing break, the reduction of working hours, and day care centres were won.

In this framework, it is important to highlight the fight women workers of the Sarmiento Railway line

(western Greater Buenos Aires) gave for the labour quota, against discrimination, so more women could have access to better-qualified jobs and not only be relegated to cleaning jobs, which are the worst paid (see page 24). These concrete demands, those woven from below and in unity with the male workers, are what women need to achieve equal opportunities with men and not a false representation imposed from above.

To overcome the social obstacles that patriarchal capitalism imposes on women's political participation, we must make progress towards econom-

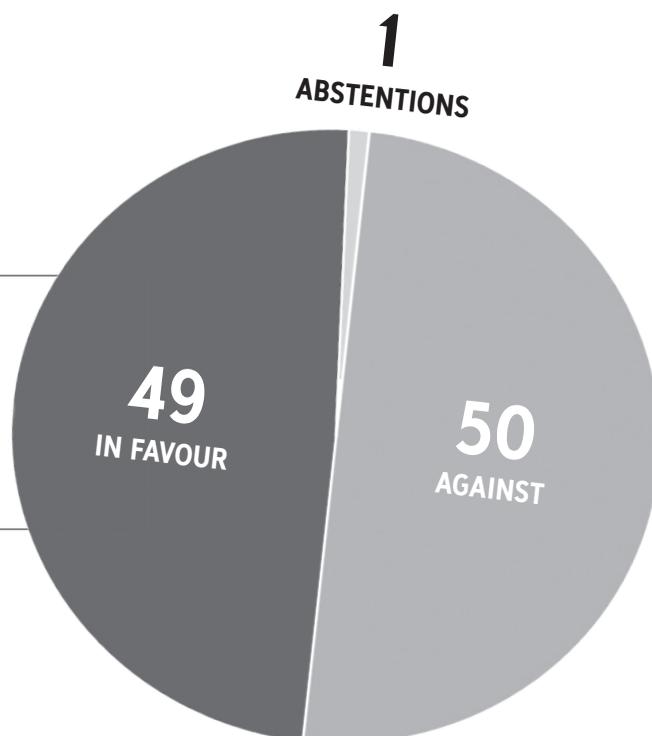
ic and social equality: access to education, work with a salary in accordance with the family basket, domestic work must be recognised as such, there must be children's day care centres, free sports clubs, among others.

If we advanced in these rights, women would have a better quality of life, but those who rule are not willing to give any of these concessions. Therefore, women must organise independently of governments and bosses' parties and fight together with all the oppressed and exploited sectors to achieve each one of their rights.

Abortion Bill: How did the parliamentarians vote?

In 2018, the bill on the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy, drafted by the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, was submitted to a vote in Congress. On 13 June, after a session that lasted 20 hours, the half-sanction came out with 129 votes for and 125 against. Then it went to the Senate and the result was 38 votes against and only 31 for. That's why the law was not passed: because the bosses' parties voted against it. Because it is part of their programme, only FIT voted in bloc for it. One could infer that being a bill that directly affects women's health, all the women legislators would vote in favour but that was not the case. In both the Lower House and the Senate, women's votes were split in half. Fifty percent voted for and the same percentage against.

From the 100 female parliamentarians present on 13 June, 50 voted for, 49 against, and 1 abstained. From the 29 female senators present on 8 August, 14 voted for, 14 against, and 1 abstained.



The prostitution issue: a necessary debate

The worst faces of patriarchy and capitalism are condensed in prostitution because it is patriarchal violence that puts female sexuality and her body in terms of male use and enjoyment. There is prostitution because there is patriarchy and women together with dissident identities are treated as an object and thus transformed into sexual objects.

Prostitution emerged at the same time as the patriarchal family and monogamous marriage, when a group of women was left outside these marital alliances and for different reasons -mainly the need for subsistence- they developed practices known as prostitution.

Is prostitution work?

From a Marxist point of view, under capitalism, those who do not own the means of production and, therefore, those who must work for a living wage are part of the working class. Any work involves the material, physical, emotional wear of people to produce goods or services. Prostitution is a work in which the body and sexuality of prostituted persons become commodities.

Now, is prostitution the same as any other wage-earning job? In economic terms, it is because it produces value. But, it has a particularity: in prostitution we can see the objectification of female sexuality and dissident identities. It is the degradation of prostituted persons where all forms of gender violence are naturalised.

So, what to do about prostitution? Isadora and Izquierda Socialista are against all forms of oppression and exploitation in general and, particularly, against the oppression and exploitation suffered by women and others in prostitution. In

Marxist terms, to recognise prostitution as a job, as it produces profits used by businessmen, far from embellishing prostitution, implies recognising and denouncing the atrocities caused by patriarchal capitalism.

Regulate, abolish or ban prostitution?

As socialists and feminists, if we conceive a future socialist society where all forms of oppression and exploitation are eradicated, we will not stand up for any form of bonding in which human relations, including sexuality, are objectified, starting with prostitution.

We are not in that socialist society, we are in a capitalist society in crisis, which condemns more and more people to increasing poverty. Reality is, more and more people find themselves in a situation of prostitution.

To put an end to prostitution it is not enough to focus the problem on the client, although we do not agree with the consumption of prostitution. The prohibition of prostitution by the capitalist state only leads to greater hiding and violence for people in prostitution. The prohibition policy ends in greater repression for those who engage in prostitution and not for pimps. We repudiate all the contravening codes that seek to criminalise people in a situation of prostitution, while the same officials and rulers are those who manage or frequent brothels, facilitating the clandestine business.

Many countries, including Argentina, have abolished prostitution through legislation. However, the capitalist and patriarchal character of the state allows the prostitution business to increase further and further. Therefore, we also

do not agree with the abolitionists, in all their aspects, who restrict the struggle to the laws of the state without considering that prostitution can only be eradicated if we can destroy the capitalist and patriarchal state.

Nor do we agree with the regulators who claim prostitution as another job, which would imply an autonomous decision by women and a form of sexual liberation, as Georgina Orellano, General Secretary of AMMAR (Prostitutes' Union), argues, denying patriarchal violence, the basis for the existence of prostitution. Nevertheless, we accompany and respect the right to organisation and unionisation of people who consider themselves sex workers and we demand public policies so those who want to get out of prostitution can do so with every guarantee.

We hold that only with the seizure of power by the working class and the people, with the destruction of capitalism and the triumph of the socialist revolution and its subsequent development, will prostitution be ended, along with the patriarchal family and the other institutions that guarantee the oppression of women and dissident identities.

WORLD DATA

The UN (2014) estimates that in the world there are about 40 million people in prostitution, 80 percent are girls and women and the vast majority are under 25 years old. As for the type of situation, it is estimated that over 90 percent of people in prostitution are victims of trafficking, i.e. victims of kidnapping, who are involuntarily in prostitution and who have entered the circuit by confinement and deceit. Of the rest, a significant percentage is in the form of dependent on a procurer, i.e. under the control of a pimp who, in many cases, is a family member, close person or partner. And finally, the remaining percentage exercises voluntary prostitution.

Among these cases we consider the prostitutes associations and other modalities but, likewise, they are not beyond the control and persecution of the police.

DIFFERENT WAYS OF PROSTITUTION CONTROL	Capitalist countries adopt different positions about prostitution, which derive in different approaches: regulatory, legislative, abolitionist, and criminalisation.
	Regulatory approach: It spans from the idea that prostitution is an inevitable evil that should be controlled to avoid the spread of disease. It is a hygienist model which compels prostitutes to have regular medical exams, to register, and to have a health card. It implies police and administrative control of public space: exclusion zones and designated locations where to operate. Those who don't comply face fines and arrests.
	Legalisation approach: It is the current model in the Netherlands and proposes that prostitution be legalised. That the installation of brothels be regulated, that health books be created, that pension contributions and other labour rights be made. At the global level, the International Labour Organisation holds this position with the argument that, in this way, with the regularisation of the exploitation of women's sex work, they would be protected from the most violent practices that take place underground.
	Abolitionist approach: It emphasizes prostitution is a form of slavery and gender violence, defines brothels as clandestine torture centres, fights procuring, and does not differentiate between prostitution and sexual exploitation. In Argentina, the abolitionist approach is in force.
	Criminalisation approach: It considers the activity an offence and criminalises pimps, clients, and prostitutes. This approach only forces prostitutes to go underground.

What is the rape culture?

For years, there has been the belief that a rape is the one that occurs in open spaces, where one man or many intercept a woman, beat her, and rape her. This image, reinforced by the media, helped create the idea that only this would be rape. However, this situation changed when more and more women denounced being raped and sexually abused by acquaintances, members of their families, teachers, and bosses.

Most rapes take place in the private sphere, even with partners or husbands. According to a report (2017) by the Criminal Enforcement Public Prosecution Unit of the Attorney General's Office, 70 percent of the cases denounced for grievous bodily harm abuses are behind closed doors, i.e., inside the home or perpetrated by acquaintances.

Rapes are common and, many times, naturalised. But a rapist is not a "monster or sick". Therefore, to show this, the motto "toxic masculinity" is used in specialised magazines. The patriarchal system turns women into objects for male consumption and enjoyment, thus a man can rape her as she belongs to him.

The culture of rape is an idea that emerged in the 1970s in the United States posed by radical

feminism. Today, we use it to emphasise that rapes are neither isolated incidents nor by sick males. For example, the culture of rape holds it is not so serious to trespass a woman's limits; if he mistreats her and she stays with him, she is also responsible; if a woman is drunk and incapable of articulating a "NO" loud and clear and oppose firmly to a sexual relationship, she consents, etc.

Sexual violence is a naturalised and legitimised practice where the victim is made responsible. It is common to hear: "she encouraged him" or "deep inside, she wanted it" or "she asked for it", etc. We must condemn these disparaging comments, together with sexual abuses, rapes, and any kind of justifications.

Under the heat of the women's movement uprising, years of male impunity begins to fall apart. The phenomenon of #MeToo in the US, #Cuentalo in the Spanish State, or #MiraComoNosPonemos in Argentina fuelled denunciations against sexual violence and rape culture, practices silenced for years. Thus, we should go to the bitter end with the denunciations and rapists should go to jail.

Todas magazine (1979)

In its number two issue *Todas* (All of Us Women) magazine (1979) edited clandestinely by *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores* (Socialist Workers Party, PST), predecessor of IS, an article appears debating with currents of the time arguing that males raped driven by a voracious instinct. This article denounced rape culture and its way of blaming the victims.

"It is obvious the yellow press finds it more comfortable (and profitable) to make us believe rapists are abnormal individuals suffering from mental illnesses."

"Instinct or culture? ... At home, at school, at work, they convince boys of the superiority of their sex. Women exist to be taken, male-dominated, possessed, and, if they are not under the tutelage of other men they are supposed to be 'easy', that 'they are asking for it'."

Later the article points out there is "a popular belief that says women provoke and are responsible for rape".

The complete article in Spanish can be found in <https://revistatodas.blogspot.com/?m=1>



What is the role of males in the feminist struggles?

The women's fight for their rights belongs to them: there is no doubt they are the main characters in this struggle because they are the ones who suffer in the flesh all the violence and oppression of the capitalist patriarchal system. American anthropologist Evelyn Reed expressed this well in the 1970s when she wrote

“no segment of society which has been subjected to oppression, whether it consists of Third World people or of women, can delegate the leadership and promotion of their fight for freedom to other forces —even though other forces can act as their allies” (<https://www.marxists.org/archive/reed-evelyn/1970/caste-class-sex.htm>). The specific forms of organisation and mobilisation, such as the different spaces, collectives and groups, and their assemblies and the women's commissions of the trade unions and left-wing parties, should have the exclusive participation of women. The leading role of women, who lead and head the mobilisations, does not invalidate the fact that other social sectors may accompany and be in solidarity with their struggles. Furthermore, they must do it. Even if you think about other scenarios: Is it wrong for students to support a workers' strike? Or that Santiago Maldonado (an artisan killed by the border police) has shown solidarity with the Mapuche people (native people on Argentina and Chile)? Or that singer Roger Waters denounces in his shows that Zionism oppresses the Palestinian people? Or that people who consider themselves heterosexual take part in the Pride March? Absolutely not. Not only is it not bad but it is necessary to strengthen those fights.

Males who rethink their patriarchal privileges and practices can and must accompany feminist struggles. That is why we consider it wrong when some sectors within the feminist movement reject male support for women's demonstrations. It is important that those who show solidarity and support do so by questioning their own privileges and that this questioning be not only on the day of the protest but that be a reflection that truly questions the male chauvinist practices during the 365 days of the year.

It is wrong to consider all males as enemies by nature, as if their genes and hormones were impregnated with society's own male chauvinism. We believe that males should take responsibility for their misogynistic practices and for keeping their privileges. We also demand punishment for rapists, violent and femicidal men. But the fight of the women's movement must be to eradicate male chauvinism and the patriarchal system, not males. The male chauvinist behaviours and prejudices were learned and incorporated through all the institutions of the patriarchal capitalist system: the family, school, and media, among others. We must combine the fight against individual male-chauvinist behaviour and also against all the institutions that foment these practices from above and which support the capitalist and patriarchal system. The struggle must be directed against this system and can only be carried out to the end by those who suffer the consequences of its policies of hunger and poverty: the working class.

Equal job, equal pay

Working women are the most affected by the capitalist crisis. In times of austerity, they are the first to be laid off, the most precarious, and the worst paid. Besides, most of them carry the additional burden of the domestic chores when they arrive at their homes. In Argentina they earn on average 26 percent less than males. This difference is recorded in all occupational categories, and is even greater for managerial positions where the difference reaches 30 percent on average.

Another aspect is that some women are not inserted in the same activities, since there are feminised and masculinised branches. Wom-

en occupy the largest number of jobs in the areas of services and education, while men work in industrial activities, which are better paid. For example, in health, nursing services are mostly occupied by women and are the worst paid jobs.

The fight against labour discrimination is a fundamental task of the women's movement and must be taken up by the working class to strengthen its fight against employers, against the government, also against dismissals and for an increase in wages equal to the basic basket.

DATA

20 percent of Argentinian women workers work in domestic service, which is the worst paid and most precarious area. 76 percent of these women have no superannuation contributions because they are unregistered workers.

First Woman Rolling Stock Fitter in the Railways

In the fight against labour discrimination, the workers of Sarmiento railway stand out with the group "Mujer Bonita es la que lucha" (Pretty Woman is the One Who Fights), part of the militant and anti-bureaucratic trade unionism of the Maroon slate that directs the Western Greater Buenos Aires branch of the union. On 12 September 2018, for the first time in Argentinian history, a woman became a Rolling Stock Fitter.

This important achievement is added to the accumulated history in the fight they give to break with the logic that women should only be in the cleaning jobs. They insistently fought for the female quota in all the specialities and went from being 18 women in 2011 to be over 360 today in the entire line. Some years ago, with organisation they also won, for example, to have the first woman conductor and the first signalling women.

Monica Schlottahuer, railway delegate and national deputy of IS in the FIT states that: "The fight continues. We still need to break with the patriarchal male-chauvinism of the company Trenes Argentinos and the misogyny of the bureaucracy of La Fraternidad (train engineer's union) so women can run the trains. Being an engineer today is reserved only for men with reactionary arguments such as 'women are more sensitive or not trained'. "As pioneers in the struggle for labour equality, the Sarmiento railway women workers continue to demand that they run trains.

The House that Embraces

In the context of the fight against male violence in April 2017, the Sarmiento Railway women workers opened the House that Embraces, a space that works within the union branch headquarters. This experience consists not only of providing psychological care and free legal aid to fellow victims of gender-based violence, but also of holding prevention workshops of gender-based violence for male and female railway workers in their work places. It is an innovative space that challenges naturalised gender-based violence in the workplace, home, work, street, and other places. This tool allowed railway workers to get a leave of absence when suffering gender violence.

Enough of femicides and male violence

In 2009, because of the struggle of the feminist movement, Act No. 26,485 on comprehensive protection was passed to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women in the areas in which they develop their interpersonal relations. As often happens with these partial achievements, to a large extent the law does not go beyond paper because it does not have a budget to allow its implementation. However, progress was made in increasing visibility and repudiation of situations of sexist violence.

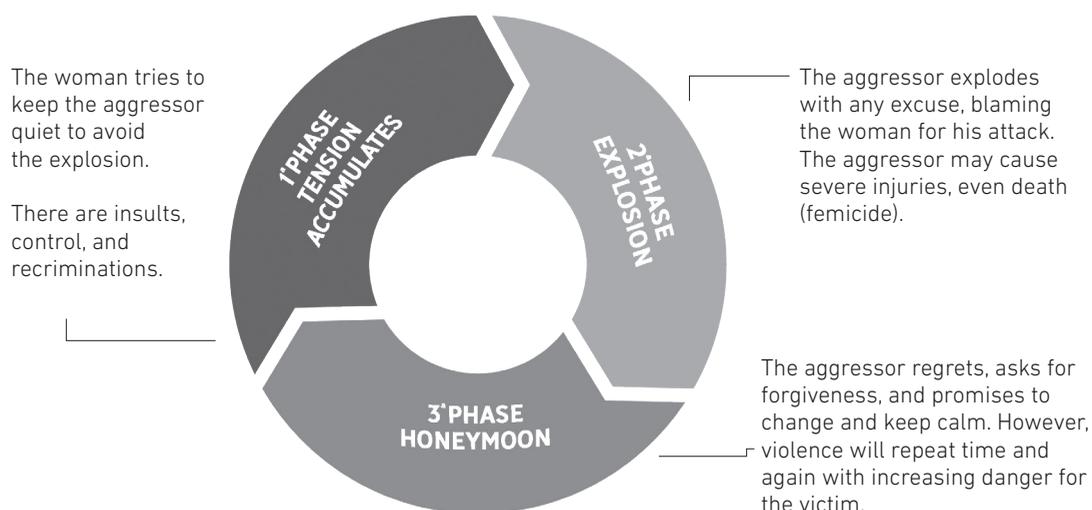
It is easy to recognize physical violence because it leaves marks on the body (blows, burns, kicks) but it is not the only way in which patriarchal violence manifests itself. Psychological violence, for example, is that which is expressed through humiliations and manipulations to destroy the woman's psyche, making her submissive and vulnerable. Sexual violence takes place when, for example, a man forces a woman to have non-consensual sex and violence against reproductive freedom is observed when women are forced to continue unwanted pregnancies or cannot access contraceptive methods. Another kind of violence is symbolic violence, which appears in the media with stereotypes and mocking of women. Finally, there is the economic violence that seeks to control women,

for example, when they may not work outside the home or when the father of the child does not pay their allowance. These types of violence are manifested at work, in institutions, and at home. That is why we have to fight them in all these areas.

On 13 June 2015, with the mobilisation for #NiUnaMenos, the most extreme form of gender violence that is femicide was made visible and the government of Cristina Fernandez was asked to increase the budget to fight gender violence. However, as of 2018, there is still about one femicide per day. It is urgent that the national emergency in gender violence be declared, accompanied by an extra budget quota, to guarantee, for example, housing, as proposed in the bill presented by Laura Marrone, legislator of IS in the FIT in the City of Buenos Aires, of "Integral Housing Solution for Women in Situations of Gender Violence".

It is unacceptable that of 2019 budget, voted by Congress with the official votes of Pro-Cambiamos but also of the Peronism "opposition", only allocate AR\$11 per woman per year are to combat gender violence. Governments are responsible for the situation of women.

CIRCLE OF VIOLENCE

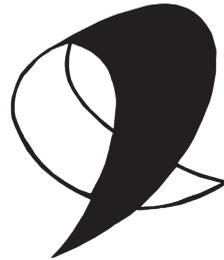


Legal, safe, and free abortion

In most countries of the world abortion is legal. However, over 1.4 billion women are still subjected to the clandestinity of this practice, with health problems and the consequent criminalisation. It is the workers, the poor, young people, and migrants who end up paying with their lives for having been born in countries where it is not yet legal to voluntarily terminate a pregnancy.

In Argentina, though prohibited, there are half a million abortions a year. Women, no matter their religion, social class, or even their stance on the subject, interrupt their pregnancies. As it is banned, around a hundred women die each year because of clandestine abortions. Most of them are poor. Those who can pay for it, abort in private clinics in better sanitary conditions. In 2018, the bill passed the Lower House, the vigils in front of the Congress concentrated over a million people, in a historic demonstration. Though the bill did not pass the Senate, they did not defeat the women's movement because they won the streets and the debate. The fight continues and eventually abortion #SeraLey (it will be law).

In Isadora and Izquierda Socialista (IS) we are part of the National Campaign for the right to abortion, where over 500 organisations gather with different political viewpoints but with a common aim: to legalise abortion in Argentina and to make it free and covered by the health care system.



What is the National Campaign for the Right to Abortion?

The Campaign resulted from the National Women's Meetings and was officially launched on 28 May 2005, Action for Women's Health Day. Since then its slogan is **"sex education to decide, contraceptives not to abort, and legal abortion not to die"**. They submitted the first draft bill for voluntary interruption of women's pregnancy and it was subsequently left on the table for several consecutive sitting periods. For the first time, and because of the green wave, Congress debated it in 2018 and it was passed by the House of Deputies.

Abortion: a public health issue

According to official data from the National Health Ministry, 43 women died in 2016 for abortions and 47,000 women were hospitalised for the same cause.

The human life debate

One argument used by the anti-rights sectors against the legalisation of abortion is the defence of "life". They mistakenly equate the condition of foetus to that of the human person. As Alberto Kornblihtt, Ph.D. in Chemistry and Conicet (Argentinian Science and Research Council) researcher, points out, "An embryo in gestation is not a human being, it is an embryo. An embryo could not reach term outside the mother's womb. It is not correct to say that an embryo is a person because it is not a person from the biological and social point of view."

From a legal point of view, Marisa Herrera, a lawyer and Conicet researcher, states: "If it has not yet been born, the civil rights that can be recognised for it remain latent until it is born alive, when the protection of the person is full. The possibility of recognising a person is subject to live birth. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights speaks of gradual protection; it is not the same to be a person as a foetus. The foetus has less protection than a born person."

Legislation in the world

If we look at the world map, 61 percent of women live in countries where abortion is permitted. The remaining 39 percent have restrictions on voluntary termination of pregnancy. We find the last portion in the poorest regions of the world, such as Africa and Latin America.

In many central countries, where this right was won decades ago, governments in alliance with the churches intend to snatch it away under cover of the political course of budget cuts in health. As they tried to do in Poland (2016) where a massive strike of women stopped the attempt to criminalise this practice or in the Spanish state (2014), where the mobilisation achieved to maintain its legality that exists since 2010. In the United States, Trump introduced the principle of the right of the “unborn child”, challenging the right of women to decide on their own body, won decades ago.

In the poorest and most unequal regions such as Africa and Latin America, women face greater limitations and in countries such as Nicaragua or El

Salvador, abortion is totally banned. For example, they sentenced Evelyn Hernandez (19) to 30 years in prison in El Salvador after being raped and having a miscarriage. Here, along with the local government and misogynist justice, the Catholic Church was the main institution in socially condemning this victim, thus teaching the rest of the women. In Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic women denounce that they are forced to maintain pregnancies with foetuses that will not survive childbirth or even at the cost of their own lives.

Nevertheless, despite the ban, 46 million women around the world end their pregnancies each year for a variety of reasons. As a result, more than half of the world’s pregnancies end in abortion. But because of the criminalisation of the practice, 47,000 women die each year from complications related to clandestine abortions. It is the working, poor, young and migrant women who end up paying with their lives, abortion being the main cause of death of pregnant women in countries where it is illegal.



1. Legal abortion.
2. Legal only when there is life risk for the mother.
3. Legal only with grounds: life, health, foetal malformations, rape and others.
4. Completely banned. In Latin America there are five countries: Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Suriname.

Secular, scientific sex education and with a gender perspective

The fight for sex education has been on for years. When the law was enacted in 2006, the Catholic Church strongly opposed it. However, its parliamentary lobby allowed the final drafting of the law to be so confusing that today each institution teaches anything, according to its ideology (art. 5). For example, in denominational schools, they teach that sexual relations have to be only for procreation, or that contraceptive methods should not be used, among other nonsense.

The high rates of teenage pregnancy or the proliferation of sexually transmitted diseases of

recent times show the importance of using contraceptive methods and using them well. Sex education prevents unwanted pregnancies but also allows you to know your own body and learn how to take care of it. Integral Sex Education (ESI) helps to warn about violent dating, to learn that a person may say no and should be respected.

During 2018, the teenager protagonists of the green tide were those who denounced that at their schools the Integral Sex Education did not apply. Because of mobilisation, the discussion in

Teenage pregnancies

According to the National Health Ministry, in Argentina 300 teenagers between 15 and 19 years of age give birth to babies every day. Seven babies a day are born from girls younger than 15.

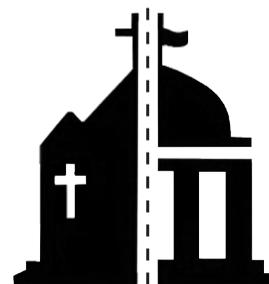
Congress reopened and a reform of the bill is possible. Specifically, in this reform it is incorporated the secular education, scientific, and public, i.e., obligatory in the country.

These progressive modifications stirred a strong resistance from the conservative and reactionary sectors of the churches, which under the slogan "No to gender ideology", encouraged by Pope Francis, launched a campaign against Integral Sex Education using the hashtag #ConMisHijosNoTeMetas (Don't mess with my kids).

Faced with this retrograde and reactionary vision of conservative sectors that ignore the advances in science and gender studies, the feminist movement must respond forcefully. We cannot allow the regression in the rights of children and adolescents to receive information, as part of the fight for the defence of public education, amid a brutal attack by Macri. That's why we have to continue on the streets, fighting.



Church and State: separate affairs



Religious beliefs are private matters. That is why we respect if a person has a preference for some religion but those in positions of power should not impose it on society. This is how we synthesise this democratic demand raised by the women's movement and the left.

Although the Argentinian state is not defined as confessional, it does not do so expressly as a secular state. In theory, all religions can be practised without discrimination, but Catholicism has a hierarchical place under the laws in force. Article 2 of the National Constitution states that "The federal government supports the Roman Catholic apostolic cult" and that support is mainly economic.

In 2018, Macri (PRO-UCR) earmarked AR\$130 million from the national budget to pay the bishops' salaries. But why are salaries paid to them? Because there are decrees from the last military dictatorship that allow it and that no subsequent government, neither Peronist nor Radical, repealed.

Many times, the bishoprics have the power equivalent to a municipality. For example, they collaborate with the distribution of health kits in some towns but they remove the contraceptives and do not distribute them.

In education, besides the subsidies it receives to maintain its faith schools, it has a strong ideological interference. In 2006, the Peronist government of Nestor Kirchner sanctioned a national education law that was a great concession to the Catholic Church. On the one hand, because it includes the religious dimension as part of the integral nature of education, and on the other, because it defines the family as a natural agent and not as a social or cultural construction.

The Catholic Church is an institution that historically opposed women's rights and promotes deeply reactionary conceptions in all areas. It supported the last dictatorship and every coup d'états. And it covers up the paedophile priests. Because of this record, we must stop the funding of the Catholic Church and other religious institutions so the church and state are definitively separate matters.

THEY DO NO PAY TAXES

Religious institutions, which carry out all kinds of financial activities, are exempt from income tax and VAT on the products they import. For example, the Archbishopric has a parking lot in the city's heart of Buenos Aires that does not pay VAT or Profit Tax. Nor does it pay taxes for the exploitation and use of the Luna Park stadium owned by Caritas (a Catholic charity organisation).

The cathedral of Buenos Aires has not paid for electricity since 1978 and the headquarters of the Argentinian Catholic University (UCA) in Puerto Madero should pay \$702,000 pesos per month for ABL (town taxes) but hasn't done so since 2003.

THE CHURCH IS ANTI-RIGHTS

The Catholic Church opposed the abortion law in 2018. In 2006, it was against the enactment of the law on integral sexual education and against surgical contraception that allowed tubal ligation and vasectomy for adults. In 2012, it was against the law of gender identity and two years before, against the law of same sex marriage. In 2013, it opposed the law of assisted reproduction and in 1987, the law of divorce. In 1947, it opposed women voting and that women exercise a right that males had had since 1912.

Dismantling of trafficking networks

Trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation is one of the most profitable illegal businesses in the world, along with drug trafficking and arms sales. The impunity rate for trafficking is high. Unlike drug trafficking, where now and then one of the great “bosses” is caught, with human trafficking, the number of traffickers arrested and sentenced is the lowest of all existing crimes. The fundamental cause of this impunity has to do with the complicity of the politicians, judges, and police, who are part of this horrendous web. An example of this is the link between pimp businessman Raúl Martins and Mauricio Macri. Martins owns brothels in Buenos Aires and Mexico with an international arrest warrant. However, he is among those who contributed financially to Macri’s electoral campaign. Corruption, bribes, and complicity end up with the traffickers acting with impunity.

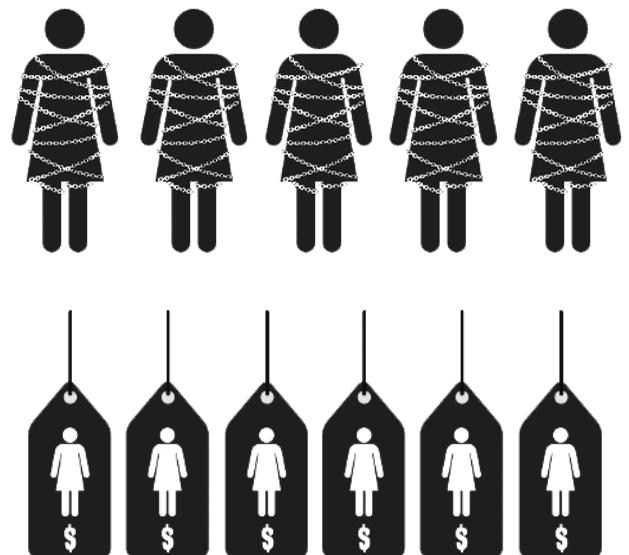
In Argentina, law 26,842 was passed in 2012 and since then, they have rescued 11,000 women and

the 145 phone line receives an average of 100 calls a day. But despite this, not a single network has been dismantled and they continue to act with total impunity. They reformed the law after the ruling that freed all those involved in the kidnapping and disappearance of Marita Veron (a young woman kidnapped and forced into prostitution). The reform changed some articles, for example, it is no longer the victims of trafficking who have to prove they do it against their will. Some articles of the law remain unregulated.

Threatened with fear, many families are afraid to denounce the pimps who usually act together with the drug trafficking networks and in total agreement with the security forces, the justice system and the government. Therefore, the organisation and rapid response to each disappearance is the only way for the women’s movement to get the kidnapped girls returned.

Isadora’s programme for trafficking in human beings

- Return alive of Johana Ramallo, Sofia Herrera, Marita Verón, Florencia Penacchi, and all the kidnapped persons, victims of the trafficking networks.
- Immediate dismantling of all the trafficking networks and imprisonment of the pimps, officials, police, and judges involved.
- Regulation of Law 26,842 on “Prevention and Punishment of Trafficking in Persons and help to their victims.”
- Incorporation of the concept of “Trafficking Network” to prosecute crimes.
- No more persecution, kidnapping, disappearance and murder of women, transgender, transvestites, girls, and boys in prostitution.



LET'S GO WITH ISADORA

MUJERES EN LUCHA

The women militants of Izquierda Socialista together with independent women comrades are promoting Isadora. In this space we bring together working, students and popular sector women, who get organised to better fight for our rights. We invite you to join Isadora to strengthen the struggle.

For many, the fight we had in 2018 for legal, safe, and free abortion meant a great change in their lives. Perhaps, they went that year for the first time to a march or a green headscarf demonstration or to the vigils on 13 June or 8 August. On this path, a consideration was central: to be able to count on other friends, sisters, and comrades strengthened the struggle. From Isadora we also share it and we are convinced we must continue to mobilise and organise to keep on fighting for the right to abortion and for all those rights we have ahead of us, such as ending gender-based violence, dismantling trafficking networks and for all the rights of working women.

Women were historically a sector that was denied a voice, the possibility to decide and to choose. Strangely enough, we have not been allowed to vote for long, and even in the 21st century we earn less than men and suffer all kinds of abuses. Whenever we won a right, it was because we had huge struggles and no government ever gave us anything. That's why we don't trust parliament, which votes laws against women, nor Macri's government, nor the bosses' parties. And we organise ourselves against reactionary institutions, such as the Catholic Church which always opposed all our rights: abortion, voting, equal marriage, among others.

We are part of this great international women's wave that is revolutionising everything. Our struggle has no borders and we support the fight that women are fighting all over the world. From Isadora we urge that the anti-patriarchal struggle also join the anti-capitalist struggle in a socialist way out. Because in a world in which exploitation and inequality reigns

against women, we understand we must organise and fight for a different system, where nobody is oppressed, where we can make our rights come true to live a life free of violence.

Who was Isadora Duncan?

She was a dancer who confronted aesthetic standards, a sensitive fighter against injustice, a free woman who was moved by the Russian revolution of 1917. Inspired by her history and pushed by her strength, we took her name for our group.

She was born in 1878 in the United States. Raised among women, at 10 Isadora lived from dance. She dropped out of school to give dance classes with her sister to help her mother financially. She began her apprenticeship alone, and when she could enter an academy, she discovered that ballet was an unnatural and rigid expression with pointed shoes that hurt her feet. Isadora danced experiencing her emotions to the maximum, showing a feeling of respect for the world, that's why she saw the traditional ballet as a showcase of oppressed bodies.

She was an atheist; she defended women's rights, free love and made Darwin's and Marx's thoughts her own. She was against formal education and questioned not only ballet, aimed at an elite audience, but the whole bourgeois culture. In March 1921 the revolutionary government called her to install her school in Russia. And she was there, practising her art in full freedom. She died in 1927 in France, in a tragic accident.

JOIN IZQUIERDA SOCIALISTA

Izquierda Socialista (IS) is part of the Left Front and is a party that fights daily against the policies of Macri and his accomplices (bosses' parties and union bureaucracy) who carry out a fierce austerity programme commanded by the IMF and other international financial organisations that mainly affects working women and popular sectors.

This government and the previous ones pay every peso of the foreign debt with money taken out from education, health, and even plans to combat gender violence.

This fight we give in Argentina from Izquierda Socialista, we also give it in other countries led by parties which are a part of our world organisation, IWU-FI (International Workers' Unity – Fourth International). This international struggle is very important because governments impose austerity plans all over the planet in a similar way. It is the

politics of capitalism, a perverse world system that has nothing to offer to humanity except more social exclusion, poverty, and hunger. It is enough to look for example at the report of the NGO Oxfam, which says the eight richest people on the planet (all males) possess the same wealth as 3.6 billion people in the world (50 percent of the world's population). It is the governments with their parties that sustain the patriarchal capitalist system and the handful of rich who benefit.

Necessarily, the working class and all oppressed sectors must build our own party and fight for a government of our own. We invite you to join Izquierda Socialista, to fight for a different society opposed to the current one: a socialist society, in which there is neither oppression nor exploitation among people.

Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST)

In the 1970s and in the heat of the second wave of feminist struggles, our current, taking up revolutionary Marxist traditions, promoted several activities to support women's liberation. With the formation of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) and its weekly *Avanzada Socialista*, it included notes on the struggles against the oppression of women.

In 1972, PST invited Linda Jenness, the SWP's candidate for president in the United States and a feminist militant, into the country. She gave talks and took part in various events. They published the bulletin *Muchacha* (Young woman) and later *Todas* (1979).

In 1973, the electoral platform of the PST, besides presenting a woman in the presidential formula, included a block of specific demands such as the legalisation of abortion and for free, the free sale of contraceptives, state protection for single mothers, equal pay for men and women, salaries for housewives, among others.



**ANA MARÍA MARTÍNEZ
PRESENT!**

Militant of the PST, feminist and socialist. Kidnapped and murdered in 1981 by the military dictatorship. After 37 years demanding justice, they sentenced her murderers to life imprisonment. Isadora and Izquierda Socialista, accompanied family and friends during the trial that took place in the Courts of San Martín, Buenos Aires Prov-

In Argentina, "pañuelazo" in front of the Congress demanding the right to legal, safe and free abortion.



JUSTICE FOR MARIELLE FRANCO

PSOL COUNCILLOR / MURDERED IN RIO DO JANEIRO FOR BEING BLACK, LESBIAN, A FEMINIST AND A SOCIALIST



In Brazil, women lead the demonstrations against the misogynist, racist, homophobic and neofascist of Bolsonaro under the slogan #EleNão



"For a world
where we are
socially equal,
humanly different
and totally free"

Rosa Luxemburg