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Irene Greenwood: A voice for peace

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ABSTRACT

The thesis establishes the contribution to feminism and peace of Western Australian broadcaster, (Dr.) Irene Greenwood (AM). In spite of efforts by organised peace groups to persuade governments of the social, political and environmental consequences of violence and warfare, ours is still a violent and war-torn world. Feminism has made significant contributions to peace and justice and Greenwood's social activism provides the opportunity to explore these links. The media are a powerful tool for social change. In a global climate where violence and warfare are the media's currency, Irene Greenwood's broadcasting career provides opportunities to explore the historical connections between internationalism, feminism and peace.

Despite this remarkable woman's distinguished career, her work has never been extensively explored or analysed. In this study, analysis of her work occurs using feminist methodology to make visible Greenwood's contribution through her own personal records and oral history taped interviews. Data are drawn from Greenwood's voluminous archive, the *Irene Greenwood Collection*, and interviews with participants illuminate her understandings of and contributions to Australian feminism and world peace. This study explores Greenwood's broadcasting career and her extensive published articles in newspapers.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

- (i) Incorporate without acknowledgment of any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;
- (ii) Contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or
- (iii) Contain any defamatory material.

SIGNATURE....



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission/Corporation
AFWV	Australian Federation of Women Voters
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AM	Member of the Order of Australia
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOPZ	Indian Ocean Peace Zone
MUA	Maritime Union of Australia
MWC	Modern Women's Club
NCW	National Council of Women
NSW	New South Wales
OBE	Order of the British Empire
UAW	United Associations of Women
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
USA	United States of America
SIP	Sisterhood of International Peace
WA	Western Australia

WCTU Women's Christian Temperance Union

WEL Women's Electoral Lobby

WILPF Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

WSG Women's Service Guilds

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

An incentive for undertaking this research is that I share with Irene Greenwood a commitment to peace, justice and human rights, and her fascination with broadcasting as a medium for communication of these issues. In the introductory chapter, firstly, I introduce the landmark influences shaping her social activism in Perth and Sydney. Secondly, I outline, briefly, my theoretical stance on issues related to feminism and peace, and the role of the media for achieving these aims. Thirdly, I provide a chapter summary to guide the reader through the thesis. Although Greenwood was active in the women's movement on the twin doctrines of feminism and peace well into the 1980s, her story has not been told, leaving a gap in Western Australian history. The thesis seeks to keep her energy alive to help ensure that her history and knowledge is not lost to future generations. So who was Irene Greenwood?

- **Childhood influences, Albany**

Irene Adelaide Greenwood was born in Albany, a small port town in the South West of Western Australia (WA) on 9 December, 1898 to Mary and Henry Driver, the eldest of five children, one of two girls. She lived with her family in Albany until going to boarding school in Perth at age thirteen. Publicly, in her latter years, she changed her date of birth to 1899 to coincide with the year that non-Indigenous women won the vote in WA (Giles, 1999). This is not surprising

for an avowed feminist as her suffragist mother was president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the campaigns for the vote in the late nineteenth century suffrage movement (Giles, 1997). In the early 1920s, her mother formed a branch of the Women's Service Guilds (WSG) in the post-suffrage era in the campaigns for women's equal representation in State and federal parliaments, profoundly influencing Greenwood's liberal feminist origins and activism. The WSG lobbied since 1909 for the enfranchisement of Indigenous Australians. Greenwood attended boarding school at thirteen years of age and worked in Perth until 1920 when she moved to Broome as a young wife and mother, where with her husband, Albert, she sought legal changes for the human rights of Aboriginal Australians. After returning to Perth from Broome in 1925, she moved to Sydney with her husband in 1931 where she came into radical political consciousness.

- **Internationalist radio radical, Sydney**

Greenwood's broadcasting career began in Sydney in 1931 where she broadcast for *Women's Sessions* on the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) and commercial radio after becoming active with the United Associations of Women (UAW) in New South Wales (NSW) led by Jessie Street. In Sydney she was exposed to Marxist philosophies and socialist internationalism, influenced by Street and journalist, Linda Littlejohn. Greenwood's five-year experience in the Sydney women's movement introduced her to Sydney radio. Her Sydney broadcasts marked the beginning of her extensive radio career in Perth where she

broke new ground in *Women's Sessions* broadcasting international talks for the ABC (1936-1948), and on commercial radio (1948-1953), treading a fine line on media censorship for her controversial worldviews.

- **World news, media personality, Perth**

In Perth on return from Sydney in 1935, Greenwood was influenced by luminary communist, writer and friend, Katharine Susannah Prichard, reinforcing her self-concept as a 'radical' and an 'internationalist' with pro-communist sympathies. She formally retired from broadcasting in 1953, to broadcast on an occasional basis, and writing to newspapers until well into her eighties.

Remaining active through the 1960s and 1970s, at seventy-six years of age, Greenwood experienced what Marilyn Lake (1999), called the "frenzy of Canberra" when Elizabeth Reid, Women's Adviser to the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, appointed her to the National Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs in 1974 in the lead up to the United Nations (UN) International Women's Year in 1975, where she served until 1976. She did so on the basis of her unique feminist history and knowledge.

In 1975, she was honoured as a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) for her services to women and the women's movement (Baldock, 1981, p. 3) (Figure 1). Greenwood writes about the memorable occasion where she received her medal from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II at the Royal Investiture in Canberra in 1977:

I dined at Parliament House – my hostesses being Senator Ruth Coleman...and Senator Susan Ryan whose button I wore on

December 13 campaigning for her Senate Seat. Many MPs came to congratulate me. In the afternoon I was guest in Professor Manning Clark's home and Dymphna Cusack...and associates of the Whitlam era (Greenwood, diary, 1977, p. 37).



Figure 1: Irene Greenwood, AM. Appointed a Member of the Civil Division of the Order of Australia by her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on June 14 1975, presented in 1977. Permission to publish photograph courtesy Grant Stone, the Irene Greenwood Collection.

Irene Greenwood liked to mention her connections with significant people in political and academic life. She accepted the award bestowed by a British monarch as a way of promoting her feminist agenda. But she was in fact a staunch republican and corresponded with one of her heroes, Manning Clark, and other

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intellectuals on the political left. In the 1970s Irene Greenwood was a strategist in the campaign by peace groups for persuading Murdoch University to introduce a chair in Peace Studies (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000).

In 1981, the NSW Association of Women Australia awarded Greenwood, Woman of the Year. In the same year she was awarded the United Nations Association of Australia (UNAA) Silver Peace Medal in New York for her contribution to peace, justice and international women's human rights. A year later she was conferred an honorary life member of the UNAA in WA with whom she was a Charter member.

She was an adviser on women's objectives and world peace to former Western Australian Premier, Brian Burke (1984), who recommended that the flagship in the Stateships fleet, be named the *M.V. Irene Greenwood* in her honour.

Whether liberal feminist or socialist internationalist, the issues of peace, justice and equality of women's human rights engaged Greenwood throughout her life; although public recognition came late for a lifetime of service. *The Way: Who Is Who in WA* (1980) and *The World Who's Who of Women* (1984) record a distinguished career for this remarkable woman.

- **(Dr.) Irene Greenwood**

In 1981 Irene Greenwood was the first woman to be awarded an Honorary Doctorate at Murdoch University "in recognition for a life-time of work in the women's movement and the peace movement in Australia" ("Honour for

Feminist”, 1981). Cora Baldock (1981), Professor of Sociology at Murdoch University, read the citation of Greenwood’s life as a feminist, pacifist, broadcaster, writer and social activist at a colourful graduation ceremony in the Perth Concert Hall (Figure 2).



In her own words, Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) reveals herself as being more than a ‘radical feminist’ but as a ‘radical’:

I think what you’re drawing out of me is the emergence of a radical. Now that’s a thing I never put in the *Who’s Who*. I put feminist, humanitarian, pacifist but I’m more than a radical feminist. I am a radical...I am an inquiring, investigating radical who has never flinched away from joining unpopular

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causes and that's the red thread you might also say of revolution really... that runs for the whole of my life's pattern.

Greenwood conveyed her feminist messages of peace, justice and equality through the media. She was highly active at State, national and international levels throughout the 1970s, travelled overseas once in 1965 and remained active writing letters to the press until she had a stroke in 1988 rendering her virtually speechless in a comatose state until her death in 1992. In her eighties, she continued her media profile, attracting considerable attention for her history and knowledge of feminist activism and work for peace and social justice.

Irene Greenwood as author of unpublished manuscripts is misleading. She had proposed to write her autobiography, "Go Proudly as a Woman", and also to compile a history of the early women's movement in WA (Greenwood, quoted in "Women at the top", 1980). In 1976 she received an Australian Government grant of \$5,000 to complete her "memoirs" but the money was utilised in the first year on running costs and she did not develop any comprehensive writing to a manuscript stage. The writing consists only of rough notes and chapter outlines. No book was written.

Greenwood's records went to Murdoch University and Grant Stone, Curator of the *Irene Greenwood Collection*, began taping interviews with her in 1979 continuing on a regular basis until she was hindered from talking because of her health. Greenwood expresses pleasure to have a place at Murdoch Library for her precious records and her hope somebody else would write her book:

In talking with Grant I revealed despair that my writing would never be completed in my lifetime. I said that the reason for handing more material from 1975 onwards was to have it catalogued in the hope another might research/write a posthumous book (Greenwood, diary, 1984, n. p.).

Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999) explains that:

Irene started giving...material to the library...and they honoured Irene Greenwood for her work with peace and her work with women...we'd started Women's Studies by this stage and were moving on to the end of the 1970s and this seemed a very good move of the university...and Irene became welded to Murdoch.

Greenwood enjoyed talking, discussing and expressing herself in the oral tradition of communications. Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999) realised that "the talking was more important than getting the resources". Greenwood was an active member of the Oral History Association of Australia (Baldock, 1981, n. p.). The thesis draws on her written and taped biographical records.

It is clear from Greenwood's diary (1983, n. p.) that she intended to write her autobiography. "Tomorrow I will get the draft of the overall plan set down clearly so that the intention is plain to who ever comes in to complete the task", questioning why she did not complete her writing:

Is it lacking of discipline? The writer's task is a solitary one and I am gregarious. Can the two roles ever be reconciled of doing and of recording? Tomorrow comes and another interruption. Demands, requests, pleas for help or advice, for sources of information. What is there in my nature that yields so easily to the importuning of others?

Evidence that she did not always yield to the needs of others is clear from the strained relationship with her son, Philip, emphasising the difficulty of balancing her private and public life. In her own words, Greenwood (diary, 1977, p. 50) records her son's exasperation about his mother's typing:

I was torn...between Phil's condition...and my need for solitude to write... You started three weeks after I came home from hospital, showed no consideration for me at all — unable to sleep all night then just when I go off to sleep you clackety clack on that bloody typewriter all night.

Philip, while still a schoolboy, conceptualised his mother in the shape of a microphone:

When one of Irene's children was once asked by his primary school teacher to draw a picture of his mother, he drew only a large microphone. The teacher demanded an explanation (Baldock (1981, pp. 1-2).

Greenwood was recognised as a social activist and a broadcaster. As a broadcaster, she wrote to be heard, and "preferred human warmth to the isolation of writing" (Greenwood, diary, 1986, n. p.). Apart from any of the other excuses or stalling tactics, Patricia Giles (1997, p. 1) explains:

When I came to know her well she frequently expressed her frustration that she had not written of her own life, simply because she did not have the time, being continuously in demand to speak, advise, organise and encourage her sisters young and old, a one woman resource centre.

Greenwood was anxious about her ability to utilise the archival material, which she guarded jealously as she was worried that historical records would be plagiarised. "Write Eastern States publishers to avoid WA readers sighting the material and pinching it" (Greenwood, diary, 1977, p. 34). Greenwood (diary, 1985, p. 38) was particularly distressed in 1985 with the theft of two boxes of tapes stolen from her home containing much of her oral histories:

I returned to find plate glass windows broken and contents of kitchen stolen...and my two boxes of full oral history cassettes missing. Reported by telephone to police, notices over all radio stations appealing to return in all newspapers.

The stolen tapes were never recovered. The loss of her oral history recordings, according to her granddaughter, Meredith Eddington, was a blow from which Greenwood never recovered. Eddington said that suffering from chronic arthritis in her fingers also hindered her ability to write. "So much recorded

history has been lost. I said to Gran, ‘when you die what will happen? You’ve come through so much history’...and there were things in her head that were not written anywhere” (interview, Murray/Eddington, 2000).

A considerable amount of film was recorded in 1986 featuring Irene Greenwood, but access to the sound tapes of the footage is copyrighted to the recordist. Baldock (1981, p. 1) significantly observes that, “she retained all her type-written radio scripts, as well as other research materials about her programs...as an historical record of the lives and achievements of women during two decades”.

- **Researcher’s approach**

I do not come to this study value free, or with what Stanley and Wise (1983) call, “an empty head”. As a feminist, journalist, broadcaster and activist, I bring to the study my own hopes, aspirations and analysis of the connections between feminism and peace. The impact of a particular lens through which a life is read can become the distinguishing factor of any approach to the writing of women’s history. A brief précis of my own autobiographical details are not intended to distract from the main subject, Irene Greenwood. It is merely my purpose to guide the reader through my theoretical stance.

My feminist awareness began in London in 1973 while working for the ABC Bureau where I read American feminist, Betty Friedan’s definitive work, *The Feminine Mystique* (1971), first published in 1963 as an introduction to the concept of ‘patriarchy’ as an explanation for the problem that had no name.

My shift in consciousness from liberal feminism to seeking socialist, and radical feminist ideas coincided with the 1975 UN International Women's Year when the ABC made funding available for an Australian Women's Broadcasting Cooperative. By 1976 women of the ABC went to air with the first national feminist radio program *Coming Out Ready or Not*. I began broadcasting for the program that year covering a broad range of feminist issues, later working as a reporter on national news and current affairs programs. Parallel with my 'debut' into radio broadcasting, I undertook women's studies at the tertiary level, when in the 1970s contemporary feminist theory was dominated by a debate between Marxist and radical feminists.

My interest in peace and conflict resolution began in 1988, on contract to ABC Radio National, producing a documentary series, *Resolution of Conflict: Everyone Can Win*. The series was a co-production of the ABC and the Conflict Resolution Network, a peace initiative of the UNAA, founded by Stella Cornelius (AO., OBE) who also founded that organisation's Media Peace Awards under the auspices of the UNAA. Although I did not interview Greenwood, she was a regular guest on *The Coming Out Show*, during the 1970s and 1980s, participating in a program on feminism and peace that won a Media Peace Award.

Production of the conflict resolution series led to my international peace work, reporting from various UN world conferences as a media-accredited delegate in 1992 and 1993 in Brazil, Bolivia, Thailand and Austria. The Peace and Disarmament Committee of the UNAA NSW branch and the Australian Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) sponsored me. Irene Greenwood held life honorary membership with both peace

organisations.

International reports culminated in a book *For the Love of Peace: Women and Global Peace Building* (Murray, 1995), which won the 1996 Jessie Street Award. (Street profoundly influenced Greenwood's social activism for peace, justice and equality of women's human rights, leading to her 'radical' political consciousness, and providing another invisible thread linking our lives).

The book launch coincided with the eightieth anniversary of the WILPF and the fiftieth anniversary of the UN itself. Since relocating to Perth from Sydney, my academic studies have focused on the life and work of Irene Greenwood.

- **Chapter summaries**

The theoretical framework situates the major first and second waves of feminism to argue Greenwood's role in the so-called interregnum in the 1930s and 1940s feminist activism. I argue that Greenwood was active in a continuous movement bridging both of the major waves of feminism. Definitions of terms used in the study explain the various differing and often-conflicting strands of feminist ideology pertaining to Greenwood's own self-image concept as a 'liberal', 'socialist' and a 'radical' feminist.

In chapter 3, I trace the genesis of Greenwood's feminist influences to her mother's generation of feminist activism and her mother's organisations to establish the influences of the liberal philosophy in her feminist development. The pioneering feminists campaigned for the women's vote vesting their faith in the power of the ballot box, lobbied for women's representation in parliaments and

struggled to secure world peace during the inter-war period. The leaders of the first wave of feminism, the impact of family influences and education explain her early feminist consciousness.

Developing the major influences on Greenwood's unfolding as a feminist, in chapter 4, I provide an analysis of religion as a major influence on her social conscience developing during the post-suffrage feminist campaigns for sex equality in a period when the impact of religion still influenced the dominant ideology of domesticity, upholding mothering as the celebrated virtue for women. Tracing Mary Driver's influences based on values of temperance and respectability, I analyse the Christian tradition and the influence of theosophy on post-suffrage feminism in WA in a climate of British colonial mentality, seeking to restore the 'mother aspect of God' in religion. I make the connections between feminism, socialism and sex equality. In chapter 4, I trace the development of Greenwood's radical consciousness to Broome in the early 1920s, as a young wife and mother, where she became sensitised to social justice for Indigenous Australians.

Analysing what Greenwood called "the red thread of revolution", in chapter 5, I analyse what she calls "the catalyst years" in Sydney (1931-1935), tracing the development of her radical political consciousness in the early 1930s, influenced by socialist internationalist feminists, Jessie Street and Linda Littlejohn to draw inspiration from the international left, while active with the UAW. The Sydney leaders influenced the beginning of Greenwood's broadcasting career, her emergence as a public feminist and a radio voice for the women's movement.

In chapter 6, I relocate Greenwood's activism on her return to Perth from Sydney in 1935 where Katharine Susannah Prichard influenced her leftist ideas and peace activism making the connections among internationalism, socialism and peace and the belief that Marxist socialism offered answers to feminist questions.

In chapter 7, I identify a number of common themes emerging from analysis of the main body of the radio scripts (public and commercial broadcasts) to trace Greenwood's radio career from the immediate pre-war period, her wartime broadcasts on the ABC and short-wave radio to the height of the Cold War era. I explore her responses to programming policies, audiences and censorship, differentiating between State controlled and commercial radio. I examine Greenwood's use of the media to carry her political messages for peace, justice and equality of women's human rights. Analysis of her wartime broadcasts focuses on women's contribution to the war effort to argue Greenwood's support for sex equality for women in military combat, contesting her self-concept as a pacifist.

As the radio heroine is paramount to Greenwood's political messages, in chapter 8, I explore, through media portrayals of the women upon whose lives she based her talks, the embellishment of 'femininity' by first wave feminists, its virtual rejection by the second wave, and how Greenwood's understandings of femininity emerge in her radio scripts within a liberal feminist paradigm.

Greenwood's contribution to the campaigns for equal pay, sex discrimination legislation and the representation of women in State and federal parliaments is traced in chapter 9 to glean insights into her understandings of sex equality within a liberal feminist paradigm.

In chapter 10, I examine Greenwood's contribution to the second wave of feminism marked by the advent of the Women's Liberation Movement in WA in 1971 and the formation of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) in 1972, which she co-founded. I explore her role on the National Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs in the 1970s, when as a feminist historian and activist, she was in demand by the media for her contribution to Australian feminism and world peace.

My focus in chapter 11 is on Greenwood's peace activism with various Western Australian peace organisations by drawing from her scripts and journals some of the key themes concerning major peace groups. I analyse her understandings of pacifism, non-violence and the meanings of peace to explore her stance as an internationalist, feminist and peace activist and her strategic role in promoting peace education at the tertiary level.

My conclusions are drawn in chapter 12 where I draw together the threads of Greenwood's broadcast scripts to summarise her contribution to the women's movement and peace organisations identifying some of the lessons of history that might be drawn from her understandings of internationalism, feminism and peace.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

To illustrate the early influences on Irene Greenwood's own intellectual position, the theoretical framework explains the various strands of feminism extant during her period of feminist activism (1920-1970s) embracing the first and second waves of the women's movements. Greenwood has been portrayed as a liberal feminist with a radical edge:

Irene's definition of feminism was a liberal feminist one. For her, feminism meant the right to get full and free opportunity for women through legislation. But the issues she dealt with were in the best radical feminist tradition, the right to abortion, family planning, [and] peace (Baldock, 1993, p. 4).

In defining Greenwood's own theoretical category, it is construed that she was a liberal feminist with a 'radical' dimension. Yet, while calling herself a "Marxist", evidence indicates that she was not a 'true believer' in Marxist scientific theory, but rather one who sympathised with her socialist and communist friends on the political left during the 1930s and 1940s. In the process of theorising Greenwood's feminism, the distinction is made between 'radical' feminism and 'radicalism' explaining Greenwood as a political strategist.

I am guided by feminist theory to uncover Greenwood's feminist history by posing 'women' as distinct subjects. "Intervention into academic history only occurred from the late 1960s, inspired by the Women's Liberation Movement" (Allen, 1986, p.173). Since then, feminist scholarship has highlighted knowledge that is socially, politically and historically constructed resulting in the problem of androcentric worldviews (Allen, 1993; Alcoff & Potter, 1993; Grosz, 1993;

Thornton, 1993; Gunew, 1991; McCanney Gergen, 1988; Gross, 1986; Spender, 1982). Research constructed from androcentric knowledge produces androcentric worldviews, which have masqueraded as universal, scientifically objective, gender neutral, divinely ordained, and value free.

Feminist scholarship contests the self-interest of patriarchy to question its integrity by replacing it with a woman-centred knowledge. While 'women' constitute a sexual class, they cannot be lumped together as a universal category for analysis of gender and power. By losing the specificity of female diversity and experiences 'differences' in class, race and feminist ideology are ignored. While gender analysis asserts that all women constitute a 'class', there is no one definitive woman. This study is about one woman, Irene Greenwood. Contemporary feminist theory demands attention to difference and diversity. This approach counters the dominant patriarchal knowledge and history writing where issues of gender, class, race and culture are ignored or inadequately addressed, allowing Greenwood's subjectivity to emerge.

Authors Caine (1992) and Allen (1994) are chosen as literature for the theoretical framework because they illuminate a radical edge to liberal feminism through case studies explaining both diversity and the construction of liberal feminism. Caine's study of British women active in Victorian England, and Allen's study of leading suffragist, Rose Scott, focus on the period when Greenwood's mother was active in the nineteenth century campaigns for the vote in the liberal feminist paradigm. Hopkins (1987; 1999) study is selected for its oral history recordings of twenty-six Western Australian peace activists, giving

voice to a diversity of women active in the 1930s and 1940s who were Greenwood's colleagues in the Western Australian women's peace movement.

Literature chosen to illuminate the worldviews of socialists dominant in the period before Greenwood was born and during her mother's feminist activism, are explored mainly through the works of Thiele (1988) and Eisenstein (1979) to demonstrate the theoretical problems of tacking feminism onto Marxism and accepting Engels without a gender examination.

The crux of Caine's study of Victorian feminists in England, illustrates, by taking up the construction of 'femininity' evident in domestic ideology, that Victorian feminists established a basis for demanding female political inclusion within the political world. Similarly, Allen (1994) provides a re-representation of Australian suffragist and liberal feminist, Rose Scott (1847-1925), to highlight the radical dimension to Scott's feminism, by her understandings of women deserving as a special category of analysis.

I define the following terms to show how the study of Irene Greenwood's life requires they will be used throughout the study. The word 'feminism' did not enter the English language until 1894, and so the term 'feminisms' is more appropriate in preserving a sense of historic specificity between first and second wave feminisms. Early liberal feminists did not use the word 'feminist'.

- **Liberal feminism**

Through her mother's influence, Greenwood began reading feminist literature while still in primary school to learn about eighteenth and nineteenth century

liberation and enlightenment writers and activists in England and the United States of America (USA) (Greenwood, interview, de Berg/Greenwood, 1977). Liberal feminism had its origins in England with Mary Wollstonecraft's publication of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). The *Vindication* has been dubbed, *The Feminist Manifesto*, for challenging the myth of women's inferior status to men, prompting Eisenstein (1986, p. 104) to urge that "Wollstonecraft's radical feminist insights of woman as a sexual class should not be lost to the reader". Brody (1982, p. 12) credits the *Vindication* as "the first sustained argument for female emancipation based on a cogent ethical system".

Before Wollstonecraft...there was no single-minded criticism of the social and economic system, which created a double standard of excellence for male and female and relegated women to an inferior status (Brody, 1982, p. 25).

Liberal feminism evolved from a dialogue with liberalism where the social, economic and cultural conditions were conducive to liberal institutions and attitudes focused on the *individual*. Liberal feminism in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century women's movements argued for middle-class rather than working-class women's rights. Eisenstein (1986, pp.113-139) amplifies a radical dimension to the ideas of marriage partners, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor, to explore their understandings of socialism and feminism as possible remedies for the inadequacies of liberal democratic society. Mill and Taylor agreed that a vision of socialism, operating as an ideal, was valuable because it recognises the way "economic classes, by definition, curtail the individuality of the working classes...in their estimation, communism and socialism will at least free labourers from this servitude". Although Mill and Taylor recognise women as members of a sexual class, by failing to identify the specificity of women's labour

in the home to take into account reproduction as unpaid domestic labour, they adopt an individualist ideology of liberal individualism for women. Whereas Wollstonecraft campaigned for civil rights and education for women so they would make better wives, seeing marriage as women's natural profession, Taylor extended the campaigns for women's rights to the public sphere to push for women's right to be eligible for election to juries and Parliament, enter the workforce and continue to practice in a profession, after marriage and children. But she extended the ideology of individualism to *women*.

Focusing on British women, Caine (1992), in her study of Victorian feminists, identifies the theoretical flaw in Wollstonecraft's arguments to note that *Vindication* was decidedly restrained in its ideas about sexuality and sexual relations, emphasising the importance of the need to focus on sexual difference and equality. She shows that Wollstonecraft's philosophical radicalism and her belief in natural rights were both rejected by many later feminists who stressed that it was legal, and not natural rights that were at issue, making the intervention with patriarchal political systems. Mary Driver and Irene Greenwood used similar tactics to focus on the importance of women's inclusion in the patriarchal political world. The ideas in Caine's reading of the lives of disparate mid-nineteenth century Victorian feminists amplifies the great diversity of the ideas of the women active in England in the period to explain how "domestic ideology... offered a way to expound liberalism and to negotiate the patriarchal political world" (Caine, 1992, p. 53).

Three of the Victorian feminists featured in Caine's study bear out her claim that there was a radical edge to the women whose lives she studied. Caine's

reading of the Victorian feminists alerts feminist scholars to the construction of femininity through domestic ideology. All of the women in her study believed both, that women should be equal to men in legal and political terms, and that they were fundamentally different from men. By taking up the construction of 'femininity' evident in domestic ideology, and derived from personal records and writing, Caine shows that the Victorian feminists established a basis for demanding female political inclusion within the political world.

Focusing on Australian feminism in the late nineteenth century, Allen (1994) revisits the records of early Australian suffragist, Rose Scott (1847-1925), who was active in NSW at the same time as Mary Driver was campaigning for suffrage in WA. Allen unmaskes earlier representations of Scott as a "wowsers", "frigid spinster" and "man-hating bigot" to identify the radical aspect of Scott's liberal feminism. Scott's archive contains seventy volumes and boxes of personal papers, correspondences, suffrage speeches, press clippings, unpublished papers and other records. Scott, probably one of Australia's best-known feminists, was founder of the Womanhood Suffrage League in NSW in 1891; during the period that Mary Driver was president of the WCTU.

Allen (1994) draws upon Scott's personal records to unveil aspects of her private life previously unacknowledged. Scott never married but her records placed in the State Library by her cousin, David Scott Mitchell, reveal through correspondences with Mitchell, that she enjoyed an intimate life-long intellectual relationship with him, the great romantic love of her life, deconstructing earlier representations of Scott as a "frigid spinster" and a "man-hating bigot".

But this ought not to deflect from Scott's perception of what she termed the "animal" in man. Allen traces Scott's feminist origins to Newcastle, NSW where she became concerned about colonial sexual relations and the national icon of the "drunkard husband". Scott "deplored the violence and animalism of warfare and imperialist subjugation around the world" (Allen, 1994, p. 1). Allen shows Scott's concern about men's sexual behaviour in colonial Australia and how that shaped her opinion of all men as 'animals', suggesting a stereotyping of all men as oppressors and all women as victims. But Allen wanted to show that rather than being held responsible for universalising women as the 'subjugated' sex, Scott wanted to make 'woman' a specific category for analysis. She understood women's sexual difference from men. She recognised that public life is 'sexed'. Allen (1994, p. 111) describes Scott's radicalism this way:

She was not seeking woman suffrage in pursuit of abstract ideas of equality, nor was she seeking to make government, legal rights and public life, sex-neutral. On the contrary, since the differences between the sexes were for her and her contemporaries, more striking than the similarities, public life could only be sexed. What modern feminists term, phallocentrism, she recognised as a masculine monopoly representing one sex – men.

Scott understood that equality meant independence and economic freedom as demonstrated by a paper in 1903 on 'the Economic Independence of the Married Woman' given to the post-suffragist Women's Political Education League (Scott quoted by Lake, 1999, p. 5). Scott was castigated for her so-called liberal conservatism by focusing on middle-class married women, but as a single woman she would have understood how it feels to be 'other' to her married sisters. She was radical in her understanding of the specificity of 'woman' deserving theoretical attention. But hostility is often the price for outspoken public

feminists. Like the early suffragist, Rose Scott, Greenwood (diary, 1976, n. p.) experienced being on the receiving end of anti-feminist forces:

To be called uncomplimentary names in newspapers, to be told to go back home and cook your husband's meals and look after your children. To be dubbed 'hatchet faced rat bags' and worse. Even the term 'do-gooders', mild as it may seem, was given a condemnatory twist. 'Wowers' they threw back at their detractors as meaning we only want social and economic reform.

'Equality' gained through social and economic reform does not go far enough because it fails to recognise women's sexual rights and sexual autonomy. 'Equality' is a relative concept that fails to acknowledge that 'woman' is not a 'relative being'. Scott understood 'woman' as a category of analysis to focus on the gender specific implications of women's 'equality' within the 'sexed' nature of public life, understanding women's difference (Allen, 1994).

By bringing their own feminist consciousness to the study, Caine (1992) and Allen (1994) show that liberal feminists propounded a feminist theory of patriarchy, providing a theoretical framework for reading Greenwood's understandings of 'femininity' and 'equality' within a liberal feminist paradigm.

- **Socialist feminism**

The most important feature of second wave feminism, theoretically, was its challenge to traditional thinking by connecting issues of reproduction with issues of production, and the personal with the political. As Greenwood claimed sympathies with her colleagues explaining acceptance of the "the radicalism of Marxist theory", Marx and Engels come under scrutiny in a feminist theoretical

analysis of gender and power.

- **Marxism and socialism**

Greenwood states that in the 1920s she learned about philosophical socialism from her husband, Albert, a Fabian socialist, who had read the great liberationists, such as George Bernard Shaw and Beatrice and Sydney Webb. “He jogged me out of my little monarchist attitude into philosophical socialism” (Greenwood, interview, Miller/Greenwood, 1982). By the 1930s she claimed to be sympathetic to Marxist socialism.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founding theorists of Marxism in the middle to late nineteenth century, stated that liberal ideas of justice, individual rights, and human nature were the product of a particular historical period and could be changed. For Marx, capitalist societies are defined by the division into classes, which are determined by their relation to the means of production. The theory of human progress in Marxism views history primarily in terms of the development of efforts to dominate production processes, with little theoretical consideration for women’s reproductive power.

Marx viewed capitalism as a ‘necessary evil’ within a two-stage process that would achieve socialism. Firstly, it involved the triumph of the middle classes over the aristocracy to develop capitalist production, in which capitalists own the means of production. But, as capitalist ownership of the means of production was oppressive to the working people, they would develop the consciousness of themselves as a single class of humanity willing to struggle to overthrow the

capitalist/bourgeoisie and take over the ownership of production. Socialism, in Marxist terms, focused on production and meant abolishing private property to result in a complete transformation of society, conceptualised in a particularly male dominant social and political paradigm, ignoring patriarchy as a factor in social equality for women.

Marx's ideas were popularised in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and with Engels, the influence of their works came to fullness with the Russian Revolution through the Bolshevik victory of 1917, when Greenwood was nineteen years of age. It was in the area of women and work that Marxism had its most powerful impact on later socialist feminist thinkers where assessments of economic gender exploitation put the question, do women constitute a distinct 'sex class'?

The war of 1914 brought revolution to Russia and signalled the collapse of international socialism. The *Third* (communist) *International* was formed following the Bolshevik victory in 1917 under Lenin whose death in 1924 opened the way for Joseph Stalin to assume control of the *International* and rejecting socialism for communism. This provides a frame for analysing Greenwood's response to Stalin during World War II from her war diaries and radio broadcasts.

"The Communist Manifesto ends with the slogan: Working men of all countries unite" (Corrin cited in Kramarae & Spender, 2000a, p.1865), leaving uncontested the gender specificity of women in his vision for the transformation of societies in the socialist revolution. While capitalism developed into a full imperialist system, women raised questions about how capitalism is controlled by patriarchy.

The word Socialism was adopted throughout Europe, beginning in the 1840s, to mean community ownership of land and property in contrast to individualism, in which society is understood to serve the interests of the *individual*. The essence of socialism is the principle of human *equality* based on community to unify the personal and social needs of people (Corrin cited in Kramarae & Spender, 2000a, p. 1864).

Although socialism falls into different categories of ‘utopian’, ‘scientific’, ‘anarchism’, or ‘Bolshevism’, the ideas of Marx and Engels have been adopted by socialist feminists to explain both, the revolutionary class struggle in Marx’s vision and the gender loopholes in the egalitarian societies that Marx envisioned.

Friedrich Engels is important theoretically to the study of Greenwood and her colleagues in the woman’s movement for several reasons. He produced the first materialist analysis of women’s oppression developing a concept of social reproduction in *The Origin of the Family: Private Property and the State*, providing a starting point for a materialist analysis of gender relations. But, more importantly, Engels’ constructions of the family leave the ‘woman question’ untheorised within the realms of production and social reproduction providing an inadequate feminist theory of gender, class and power. Eistenstein (1979) and Thiele (1988) are critical of a Marxist feminism that attempts to graft gender onto Marxist theory without recognising that women are oppressed differently from men and failing to tackle the *causes* of women’s oppression to recognise that women’s oppression predated capitalism.

Marx and Engels envisioned that under socialism, a mass political consciousness would emerge with working class mobilisation to address class

conflict, the economic exploitation of workers by the bourgeoisie, and that the consciousness by the mass of workers of the injustice of their exploitation would result in social change. But by focusing on purely economic factors, Marx and Engels do not place women in the centre of their analyses to recognise women's oppression as something particular, apart from the general oppression of workers. Marx saw women's problems as arising from their status as mere instruments of reproduction, seeing the socialist revolution where women's oppression is her exploitation in a class society, through bourgeois marriage and the family.

The destruction of capitalism and capitalist exploitation by itself does not ensure species existence, that is, creative work, social community and critical consciousness of women (Eisenstein, 1976, p. 11).

Thiele (1988) analysed five male socialists, including Engels, to discuss sexism in socialism and the 'woman question' in Great Britain (1880-1900) to describe the dominant worldview in the period of Mary Driver and around the time that Greenwood was born. Revisiting Marx and Engels from a contemporary feminist perspective, Thiele notes that in *Capital*, Marx dismissed reproduction as irrelevant regarding it as 'natural' and therefore outside history, so that "women are seen to inhabit only capitalist relations, rather than both capitalist and patriarchal relations" (1988, p. 9). The problem for Thiele is that reproduction is seen as a purely biological event shaping the agenda for the departure between Marxism and feminism. Thiele's argument holds that the history of sexuality is being written at the expense of reproduction, which she sees as having three distinctly analytical usages: social reproduction, reproduction of the labour force and biological reproduction (Thiele, 1988, p. 7).

Focusing on the theoretical inadequacies of *Origin of the Family* written by Engels in 1884, Thiele (1988, p. 107) argues that his description of changes in the family and the status of women, defined in materialist terms, “neither discounted reproduction, nor approached it as a serious subject for historical materialism”. Thiele (1988, p. 110) criticises Engels’ own conceptual framework relating to the “woman question” to argue “despite the advantages that Engels’ model held for feminism, he retreated from this feminism into economic determinism”. Arguing that Engels borrowed from Marx where the critique of bourgeois marriage was strongly reminiscent of part of the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Thiele (1988, p. 137) describes *Origin of the Family* as:

essential to the critique of bourgeois feminist tendencies among socialist women. It provided an analysis of the causes of women’s oppression, which exposed the inappropriateness of bourgeois feminist solutions to the problem and, by contrast, vindicated socialisms’ pre-occupation with economic processes.

While changes to *Origin of the Family* in 1891, took the ‘woman question’ beyond the oppression of women as sex to the oppression of women as members of a class, Thiele (1988, p. 136), criticised Engels for focusing on the dominance of economic power, rather than male power, lacking a systematic study of the *specific* oppression of women. In developing her thesis on the interplay of concepts of reproduction and concepts of sexuality in the early socialist accounts of the ‘woman question’, Thiele (1988, pp. 380-381) had fewer sympathies with Marxist feminists who have focused on sexuality at the expense of reproduction, by not rethinking the concept of reproduction and the implications of women’s reproductive biology, arguing that “Engels left its implications unspoken... seeing woman’s paid labour as secondary to her role as mother”. Engels left the sexual

division of labour untheorised. Thiele (1988, p. 384) showed that all five male socialists analysed in her study “assumed that reproduction could only be understood as biological and not material...to revert to a biological paradigm to explain women’s position”.

Corrin (cited in Kramarae and Spender, 2000b) echoes Thiele’s conclusions that the problem with socialist solutions to women’s sex-class position is:

Engels does not recognise male and female sexuality equally but instead assumes that men have greater needs and women wish to submit; that heterosexuality is natural; and that economic factors outweigh other motivations. In the classless society, Engels foresees male domination over women would cease; yet the bases of this domination are inadequately theorised.

It was not until the 1970s with the advent of the Women’s Liberation Movement that theorists adopted an approach that integrates the central ideas of radical feminist thought, with that central to Marxist or socialist class analysis to make the intersection of sex and class oppression. Not until the 1970s, was any attention paid to the theoretical clash of ideologies between radical and socialist feminisms. The point of departure was based on the radical feminist thought that accented the ancient origin and continuing presence of sex role subordination in the family. That is, a rigid division of labour predating capitalism. Socialist thinkers argue that the subordination of women is a distinctive feature of capitalist economic systems since capitalists exploit women in the workforce.

Socialist feminists understood the system of power deriving from capitalist patriarchy that emphasised the mutually reinforcing dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical sexual structuring (Eisenstein, 1979, p. 5). As historical materialism is the foundation of socialist feminism, it

was their present relationship that must be understood if the structure of oppression was to be changed.

Or, as Campioni and Grosz (1991, p. 369) sum up; “Marxism shares the bourgeois thought of a universal representation of humanity that is in fact masculine defining women only in relation to the male norms”.

- **Radical feminism**

‘Radical’ is defined in the *Concise Oxford* dictionary (1964, p. 1013) as “essential”, “fundamental”, “of the roots’ but ‘radical feminism’ is based on specific principles. Although all varieties of feminism are radical in that they work for fundamental social and political change, ‘radical feminism’, as a specific theoretical category, associates an analysis of the links between the micro politics of everyday life and the macro political analysis of capitalist patriarchy, that is, the premise that the political reflects the personal (Stanley cited in Kramarae & Spender, 2000).

Broom (1981, p. 12) defines the origins of radical feminism as having its birth in the Women’s Liberation Movement in the 1960s, stressing an equal rights ideology to make male exclusion fundamental to the new movement. Radical feminism recognises the oppression of women as a fundamental political oppression wherein women are categorised as an inferior class based upon their sex. Its aim is to dismantle the supremacy privileges of the male role (Burton, 1985). Four main ideas of radical feminism are identified.

Firstly, theorising must not be seen as separate from thinking and behaving in everyday life. Uniting practice with theory involves the enactment of small

revolutions in the here and now. Secondly, the personal is political, understanding the dynamics of women's liberation as a continuum between changing macro political systems and structures, and the small changes that can be affected in everyday life. Thirdly, recognising the specificity of women's oppression and the use of force and threat as central to the maintenance of male supremacy, rather than notions of inequality in relation to civil, legal and economic rights. Fourthly, the fundamental nature of women's subordination is based on a 'binary' opposition between masculinities and femininities producing a worldview that specifies and justifies a wide range of social relations, hierarchies and social injustices (Stanley cited in Kramarae & Spender, 2000).

Lesbian theory, as a component of radical feminism, leads the way for the woman-centred journey, positioning compulsory heterosexism as profoundly gendered. Distinguishing 'radicalism' from 'radical', Greenwood's activism was provocative, subversive, reactionary, shocking and confrontational, and expressed in the liberal feminist tradition of seeking women's legal, political and economic inclusions. But while the four main ideas referred to above contribute to an explanation of Greenwood's feminist activism, evolving over time, as a heterosexual feminist, the conventional definition of 'radical', contesting compulsory heterosexism, positioning non-heterosexuals as 'other', was not in Greenwood's theoretical paradigm.

Greenwood recognised her mother's generation as the first wave of feminists as a period of liberal feminism because of its focus on legal recognition of women as citizens. She regarded the second wave as the period of her activism during the 1930s to the 1950s, when she came into radical political consciousness,

swinging sympathies towards her socialist friends in the women's movement. Greenwood would regard the 'second wave', technically in the 1960s, as the 'third wave' of her feminist activism. This third generation feminism experienced by Greenwood, distinguishes her from 'third wave' feminism developing in the 1980s and 1990s to imply new types of feminism constituted by young women who took the gains of the two major waves for granted and attempted to reinvent feminism. But each wave of the various women's movements has been possible because of the political successes of its predecessors and many of the aims, strategies and theories are maintained to co-exist with the newer agendas.

Contemporary feminists challenge the view that *sex* determines gender, which is a primary way of signifying relationships of power, where the dominant man/woman relation is described hierarchically (Grosz, 1993; Gunew; 1990; and 1991; Scott, 1988; Poovey, 1988). Summers (1994, p. 16) explains that in the 1970s, they had yet to grasp the distinction between *sex*, or *gender*, "as an organising principle of social relations, usually to the disadvantage of women, and the aggressive advocacy by individual men of the continuance of this system".

Gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.

- **Peace activists, WA**

Hopkins (1999) fills an important gap in the history of women peace activists in WA, exploring the influences shaping women's common commitment to their dedicated peace activism. Four of the twenty-six women in Hopkins' study are aged over seventy years; Joan Williams, Bernice Ranford, Elsie Gare and

Margaret Davis, who were active, with Greenwood, during the 1930s and 1940s. Joan Williams, a staunch Marxist, is described as “a remarkable woman”, and is a research participant for this study for her shared activism with Greenwood dating to the 1930s. Hopkins (1999) traces Williams’ peace activism to the 1930s through her membership in the Modern Women’s Club (MWC) founded by Katharine Susannah Prichard who profoundly influenced the socialist and peace movements in WA in the 1930s and 1940s. Bernice Ranford, defining herself as a pacifist, was not a Marxist, and did not meet Prichard until the 1940s when she joined the MWC. Ranford and Williams were from working-class backgrounds. Elsie Gare, a Quaker, was from a middle-class background. Gare was active in the Vietnam Moratorium movement, as were Williams and Ranford, shared with Greenwood.

Davis was active in the peace movement in Melbourne in the 1950s where peace activists were considered subversive and harassed. She came into the peace movement through her involvement in the Ban the Bomb Movement in Melbourne, joined the radical People for Nuclear Disarmament, and was harassed by the Federal Police for her radical attitudes, on social justice issues, and the morality of war itself.

Greenwood (diary, 1976, p. 20), active with the four women described in Hopkins’ study knew from personal experience that, “There were NOT two feminist waves but a continuing movement that engaged women in the struggle for women’s rights”.

The important goal in women’s history writing is to ground feminist theory in history. Expounding on evidence of silence and women’s exclusion from

politics, diplomacy, war and economic enterprise, Allen (1996, p. 175) signals a warning to contemporary feminists to analyse the early feminists in terms of their historical past and contextual present:

It simply will not do to think of the centuries and generations of women before the 1950s who 'failed' to analyse the situation of their sex in feminist terms as backward, thoroughly conditioned, or, worse, suffering from 'false consciousness'. We require rather a detailed grasp of options, constraints and gratifications available to the range of different groups of women in past eras and cultures. Only through this perspective will the reasons for the existence of feminism in its present form be clear (Allen, 1996, p. 175).

In conclusion, the literature constituting my theoretical framework describes liberal feminism's argument that women's liberation will be achieved with equal legal, political and economic rights, stressing the radical edge to liberal feminism as a framework for reading of Greenwood's campaigns for social justice, peace, pacifism and female political representation and inclusion within the patriarchal political world. I have applied Marxist-socialist assessments of economic gender exploitation to widen the Marxist concept of production to focus on women's reproduction to highlight sexual divisions in women's productive and reproductive labour. I have argued that radical theorists take the view that sexuality, specifically male violence, is the cause of women's oppression, condoned by the institutionalisation of heterosexuality, and that lesbianism does not accommodate Greenwood's theoretical perspective. But revealing her activism as a continuum over three generations, I argue that countering patriarchy was one of Irene Greenwood's private goals. The study takes up where Allen (1986, p.189) left off to remind feminist researchers that, "our historical silence is then, merely an effect. It is the beginning, not the end of our history".

- **Methodology**

Feminist theory informs the methodology I have used, making women's subjective experiences a legitimate basis for women's history writing and therefore the production of a woman-centred knowledge. The voluminous personal records known as the *Irene Greenwood Collection* held in the Special Collections Library at Murdoch University formed a basis of the thesis. The Collection contains boxes of uncatalogued correspondences, diaries, book reviews, journals, photographs, unpublished manuscripts, press clippings, oral histories and numerous radio scripts that informed an examination of Greenwood's broadcasting career in Perth from 1936 to 1953, through which she carried her political messages.

I have recorded interviews with nine research participants. Joan Williams, Phyllis Wild, Elizabeth McIntosh, Betty-Daly-King, Pattie Watts, Lauris Kidd and Patricia Giles were chosen on the basis of their contribution, with Greenwood, to the women's peace movement in WA. Meredyth Eddington was chosen as a family member and Grant Stone as Curator of the *Irene Greenwood Collection*.

Prominent writer, journalist, broadcaster and feminist peace activist, Joan Williams, now in her late-eighties, was active with Greenwood from the 1930s through the MWC and the Western Australian Council for Equal Pay in 1953. Both women were foundation members of Women's Liberation and Women's Electoral Lobby in 1970. Joan Williams was active on the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the UNAA, founding secretary of the left wing Australian Peace Committee and People for Nuclear Disarmament. She is author of several books and is published in many poetry collections and anthologies. She

participated in the post-war struggle for democratic rights for women and is highly esteemed in the Western Australian women's movement. Williams was awarded the Order of Australia Medal on her eightieth birthday, January 26, 1996, for her services to the community as a writer in the areas of peace, social equality and the environment. She is still active.

Phyllis Wild is ninety-one years of age, and also still active in the women's peace movement. She met Greenwood through the MWC in the 1930s and was active with her on the Western Australian Council for Equal Pay in the 1940s and the WILPF.

Patricia Giles, a former ALP Senator, is prominent in the women's movement in WA. Currently president of the International Alliance of Women, she was a trained nurse and mid-wife and worked as a trade union official with the Hospital Employees Union of WA (now the Miscellaneous Workers' Union) before entering the Senate where she served from 1981 to 1993. She was active with Greenwood as inaugural Convenor of the Women's Electoral Lobby in 1971. Giles was awarded an honorary doctorate by Murdoch University in 1996 for her contribution to the women's movement. She brings to the study her feminist and political knowledge and her personal experience of the international aspect of the contemporary women's movement. She was one of Greenwood's political protégés of the radical left.

Elizabeth McIntosh, in her seventies, is a former international vice president of the WILPF. She became active with Greenwood in the 1960s in campaigns for nuclear disarmament and the Vietnam War protests. She and

husband, former ALP Senator, Gordon McIntosh were highly active in the campaigns for self-determination and independence for East Timor.

Betty Daly-King, in her early seventies was also active with Greenwood in the Vietnam War protests. In 1968 she was Convenor for the UNAA (WA) International Human Rights Year celebration. It was the first of the UN Years to receive Federal Government funding. Her presidency of the WILPF in Perth between 1969 and 1972 coincided with her appointment to the Human Rights Committee. She was on the Ecumenical Western Australian Council of Churches at the time of the campaigns for a Peace Chair in WA, which brought her into close contact with Irene Greenwood, a key strategist for the campaign.

Patricia (Pattie) Watts knew Greenwood through the Western Australian branch of the Fellowship of Australian Writers, the WILPF and the Western Australian branch of the UNAA. She was State secretary of the WILPF during Greenwood's presidency in the late 1960s.

Lauris Kidd, also a member of the WILPF was encouraged to become a member through Greenwood. She was a State secretary during Betty Daly-King's presidency in the seventies. She had been a clergyman's daughter and was raised in a fundamentalist family, married to an academic and "felt very much imprisoned and so she [Greenwood] was quite an amazing women to me" (Kidd, interview, Murray/Kidd, 2000).

In Greenwood's immediate family, I interviewed one of her three grand children. Meredith Eddington, in her forties, defines herself as a feminist.

Greenwood's daughter, April Eddington provided invaluable contributions

to the data collection by making her time available for lengthy telephone and in person conversations, contributing immensely as a family representative.

Similarly, Murdoch University academic, librarian and broadcaster, Grant Stone, in his capacity as Curator of the *Irene Greenwood Collection* and custodian of Greenwood's precious records was helpful. As guardian of Greenwood's personal collection, his oral histories, based on interviews with Greenwood in the 1980s, provide illuminating data for drawing on the diversity of influences, organisations, philosophies and politics underscoring her feminist peace activism.

In the process of the data collection, I established collaborative interaction with the enthusiastic research participants, collecting insights and developing friendships amongst a diversity of opinion. My approach was to record at a location of the participants' choice to create a comfortable environment that encouraged a relaxed interaction. I sought self-disclosure from participants to optimise their input. Transcripts were sent to participants for final comment and editing suggestions responding to questions pertaining to Greenwood's public and private life.

In conclusion, the methodology, based on feminist social research methods, combines Greenwood's archives, written and oral, with recorded interviews with her family and colleagues in the women's movement and peace organisations, providing an extensive basis for the analysis of her contributions to the dual objectives of feminism and peace.

CHAPTER 3

THE GENESIS OF GREENWOOD'S FEMINISM

In this chapter I trace the genesis of Irene Greenwood's feminist origins to her mother's feminist activism and the late nineteenth, early twentieth century women's organisations that vested their faith in parliamentary legislative reform. I discuss the social, political and philosophical milieu in which the early campaigns for equality were conducted, taking into account the impact of her family influences and education on the awakening of Greenwood's feminist consciousness. This chapter also traces her life as a young wife and mother from Broome in the 1920s, opening her eyes to Indigenous injustices.

- **Women's organisations, Perth**

Few born in the late nineteenth century and active in the early twentieth century could say their mother was a feminist. "There is no point in Irene Greenwood's life when she became interested in feminism, she was born into it" (Platell, 1980). Greenwood (quoted in Platell, 1980) said, "I was reared in feminism by my mother, Mary Driver...it is a heritage of which I am very proud". As discussed in chapter 2, the feminists who were active in this period conducted their campaigns in a climate of liberal pluralism where the dominant social milieu of bourgeois conditions shaped their understandings of women's inclusions in legal and political institutions through sex equality. Mary Driver was president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the late nineteenth century

campaigns for the vote. In the early twentieth century she held executive positions with the WSG and the AFWV. Mary Driver was drawn into the elite circle of Bessie Rischbieth and Edith Cowan, the leaders in the women's movement of middle and upper class women in WA. The central character in the women's movement in WA was Rischbieth, founding president of the WSG in 1909. She was managerial president of the Australian Federation of Societies for Equal Citizenship formed in 1921 (Lake 1999, p. 50) soon to become the AFWV. Driver was secretary. Edith Cowan was president of the National Council of Women (NCW), distinguishing itself from the AFWV as the other national body. Through their various organisations these pioneering feminists campaigned for representative government, social, economic and political rights for women, and world peace.

Based on a study of women's organisations in the 1920s and 1930s in WA, the WSG, the AFWV, the WCTU and the MCW, Reekie (1985, p. 576) suggests those women's campaigns:

were to a large extent influenced by a specifically bourgeois ideology of womanhood. The values that they held dear - domesticity, marital fidelity, temperance, industry and respectability - were more characteristic of their own culture than they were of that of the working-class women they attempted to protect.

Women active in the Women's Labour Organisation and the MWC for working class women also upheld the bourgeois ideology of womanhood. Katharine Susannah Prichard founded the MWC in the 1930s, which originated as a women's branch of the Australian Labor Party's (ALPs) Council Against War and Fascism, subscribing to a more radical ideology attracting communist and ALP women. While it was concerned with issues like women's wages,

representing working class women, the MWC placed a high value on family life and women's domestic role, which influenced their sexual ideology. Prichard, as founding leader of the MWC subscribed to the notion of women's sacred mothering function. She would have a significant impact on Greenwood's peace activism, as discussed in chapter 6.

In Western Australia, the WCTU and the Karrakatta Club were the major women's organisations campaigning for women's suffrage. Cowan was a founder of the Karrakatta Club in Perth in 1894, one of the first recorded women's organisations in WA, which is still operational. Driver was a fiercely independent intelligent and feisty woman of pioneering stock. Greenwood inherited Driver's intelligence and energy but she did not follow her mother into the WCTU. She did follow her into the WSG and the AFWV where she became a member of the State Executive. Greenwood was president of the AFWV from 1969 to 1971, board member in 1960 and life vice-president in 1969 of the WSG of WA Incorporated (initially League of Women Voters, non-party). Rischbieth was the Western Australian president of the International Peace Committee, which had its origins in Europe in the 1930s and Driver was secretary. Greenwood followed her mother on the International Peace Committee.

For over sixty years, Rischbieth controlled the WSG and the AFWV, both very powerful lobby groups. There was political and social diversity between the various women's organisations and each pursued its own specific agenda. The post-suffrage women's movement was split between non-party feminists and activists aligned to the political left. Rischbieth stressed the 'non-party' philosophy that women had a special role to play in woman-centred reform and

should remain independent of broader political affiliation such as the ALP and the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) who sought to improve wages and working conditions for women workers (Reekie, 1985, p. 577).

The not so conservative Rischbieth (quoted in Wearne, 2000) stated “There are women on the warpath and we mean to make it plain that dictatorial parties won’t get our votes again”, inspiring the title of Davidson’s book, *Women on the Warpath* (1997). This suggests an adversarial aspect to Rischbieth’s peace interests, but she used the militarist language, ‘warpath’ to describe her mission. Rischbieth’s stance on the non-party principle of the WSG and the AFWV was based on a belief that women had a set of values different to men that would civilise the party politic (Lake, 1999).

Since its inception, the AFWV adhered strictly to the non-party political principle believing that neither of the major parties represented women’s concerns and issues. As the non-party strategy implies, the political philosophy and vision was to create women as ‘citizens’, who as a specific political force, would transcend party and sectional interest. One of the strategies for non-party allegiance was to keep men guessing about which party women would vote for, in order to make the parties compete for the women’s vote (Lake, 1999). The strategy of non-party political, as upheld by the AFWV, was based on three main policies; that the organisation is non-party, non-sectarian and it promoted equality of opportunity, status and reward. The non-party political was radical as a feminist strategy as it sought to avoid the lure of party politics on men’s terms, attempting new gender specific political paradigms.

The NCW, led by Edith Cowan, was a liberal woman's organisation, bringing together women from various religious and cultural groups concerned with charitable work for women and children. The WSG, in contrast, directed their efforts towards legalistic reforms aimed at bringing women's social, political and economic status more closely in line with men's (Reekie, 1985). Either way, the NCW and the WSG sought reform within liberal pluralism, which promoted equality of opportunity, status and reward, upholding equal moral standards between men and women for equal citizenship.

By the inter-war period, lines were drawn between the non-aligned women's organisations and those affiliated either officially or otherwise to the ALP and the CPA. The NCW distanced itself from party affiliation and was hostile to socialism, withholding support from socialist groups. The various power struggles and antagonisms of personalities from the non-aligned organisations and those affiliated to the ALP and CPA are discussed in chapter 5.

Of the women's organisations discussed before the 1930s, only the WCTU were directly involved in the fight for women's political rights. By the 1930s, Communist Party women such as Prichard, who distanced themselves from the non-party stance, believed women's position in society would improve only through direct political intervention in the interests of the working class.

Mary Driver was active with the legalistic wing of the women's movement to seek demands by acting as a pressure group within the context of liberal pluralism through the WSG and League of Nations Union. This was, "more particularly, so far as the Women's Service Guilds was concerned, by the election

of chosen women Members of Parliament who ran on an independent ticket” (Richardson, 1988, p. 11).

Supported by the WSG in the State election in 1921, Nationalist candidate, Edith Cowan, won a seat as the member for West Perth, making her the first woman in Australia to be elected to a State Parliament. The AFWV was a national coordinating body for the organisations that supported such women parliamentarians. But as feminists had no control in the political system, they were not free to work out their own political destiny because, “in the process... feminism itself became more assimilationist” (Lake, 1999, p. 163).

Rischbieth, a member of the Perth socialite upper class, widowed in 1925, with no children, was in a favourable financial position to travel frequently to international conferences as president of the Perth based women’s organisations. Rischbieth’s campaigns were focused on achieving better conditions in women’s prisons, widow’s pensions women’s right to stand for parliament or serve on a jury and to become police officers or Justices of the Peace.

Rischbieth and Cowan campaigned for the establishment of the first maternity hospital in WA, King Edward Memorial Hospital, and the right of single women to be admitted there. Other achievements included introducing free kindergartens and a training college for kindergarten teachers, inaugurating the Girl Guides and founding the Slow Learning Children’s Groups (Wearne, 2000). Mary Driver is not present, but Bessie Rischbieth is photographed in the front row holding a teacup (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Women's Service Guild founded by Bessie Rischbieth (1909) seated centre front row. Permission to publish photograph courtesy Grant Stone, Curator, the Irene Greenwood Collection (n. d).

The WSG of WA directly addressed issues affecting women's lives to lobby politicians on issues such as home life, housing, health, education, and employment. The WSG were strong supporters of environmental issues and Aboriginal citizenship rights. Irene Greenwood was appointed as the WSG representative when an Equal Pay for Equal Work Committee was formed in WA in 1941. She was Speaker of the House for the WSG Mock Parliaments, a strategy for mastering political debate. She is represented as a campaigner with a significant contribution to the Equal Pay campaigns and lobbying efforts for ensuring representation of women in State and federal parliaments.

The various leaders of the women's movement in WA in the post-suffrage era believed that women's special moral values would humanise parliament. They believed that this difference of shared distinctive values and priorities, once translated into government policy, would create a more humane State, a welfare

State. Given a welfare State, political consciousness leading to sex equality would be facilitated (Lake, 1999).

Driver established a branch of the WSG in Albany in 1916. Through Driver's efforts, Florence Cardell-Oliver became the president and Driver was elected secretary. Greenwood learned from her mother's various roles many of the skills she would use in her own social activism on various executive committees.

Mary and Henry Driver owned a small business in Albany, moved to Perth and then to the wheat belt areas as pioneering pastoralists. Both parents were engaged in church activities. Greenwood had observed her parents writing up their minutes under a kerosene lamp, inheriting her mother's belief that social, political and economic gains for women could only be achieved by legislation gained through the democratic parliamentary processes.

Driver was on the committee of the first four women to sit for Parliament in WA, to make a significant contribution to feminism in that State. Greenwood (*Reflections*, 1978, p. 64) expresses clear admiration for her mother's organisations for achieving social change:

In the 1920s many legal reforms resulted from the pressure of women's groups who lobbied Premiers and Cabinet Ministers to amend archaic laws as they pertained to the social and economic position of women and children and social conditions...As a result of success in gaining more liberal laws, this State became what may be called a pace-setter in social legislation.

Greenwood lived through all the vicissitudes and the significant legal gains for women in WA. Driver, Cowan and Rischbieth believed that education was the key to equality for women to achieve legal and political status. As president of the WCTU, Driver was a staunch advocate of education, along with temperance as major tenets of the faith. Edith Cowan (cited in Lake, 1999, p. 37) wrote a radical

paper on women's right to economic independence that: "Their dependence on men...was a waste of their mental and physical powers and they should seek congenial employment". The Federal Government passed a Bill allowing women to be elected to Parliament in 1921 and when Edith Cowan, Australia's first woman parliamentarian, made her maiden speech in Parliament, Irene Greenwood, then in her early twenties, was there to hear it. She heard Cowan introduce the Women's Legal Status Act that paved the way for WA's first women lawyers ("An ideal fulfilled", 1984) (Figure 4).



Cowan was the first woman born in the British Empire to become a member of any parliament in the British Empire (Cornish, 2001). She was sixty years old when she was elected and died in 1932, representing an exception from the many

Australian pioneering feminists hidden from history.

In her work with the AFWV, Driver travelled regularly to the national triennial conferences of sister organisations in the Eastern States where she mingled with women leaders of other non-governmental organisations within the orbit of the League of Nations until World War II (Greenwood, diary, 1978, p. 67). Although Driver, disadvantaged financially, was unable to travel to international conferences, she made the critical connection with the leaders in Sydney, prominent socialist internationalist feminists, Jessie Street, Linda Littlejohn and Ruby Rich, who significantly impacted on Greenwood's radical political consciousness in the early 1930s. Ruby Rich was on the Executive of the International Peace Committee, and Driver, as secretary, came under surveillance by Australian Security Information Organisation (ASIO), as discussed in chapter 5.

Rischbieth, as president of the AFWV, travelled overseas regularly to attend conferences of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, with which the AFWV was affiliated. The Alliance became the International Alliance of Women after World War I, now headed by Patricia Giles. "The Driver family was not well off" (Greenwood, diary, 1983, n. p.) and Greenwood (diary, n. d., n. p.) describes her family as "working class", which demanded that when Driver travelled interstate to mingle with the middle and upper class women in the Eastern States, the family took measures to ensure that, "mother was the best dressed woman at the conference".

During World War I, the Western Australian Government introduced repressive venereal disease legislation. In 1915, the WSG opposed the new Health

Act that allowed it greater powers to apprehend women suspected of suffering from the disease, which “discriminated against women and infringed their civil rights” (Reekie, 1985, p. 578). During the immediate World War I period, Greenwood recounts in her diary an occasion when, as a young girl, she accompanied her mother in the parliamentary gallery to observe how sex discrimination works through the invisibility of women in politics. Driver, with her colleagues in the women’s movement believed that prostitution was alcohol related to focus on intoxicated men. The young Irene described the place of women in the gallery. “Women had to be silent. They must not speak” (Greenwood, diary, 1978, n. p.). Quoting a politician she writes:

Mr. Speaker, I draw your attention to the fact that there are strangers in the gallery. I could scarcely call them ‘ladies’ because ladies would have no knowledge of so unsavoury a matter as prostitution.

Women in politics were conspicuous by their absence:

That was when I began to notice the pictures of Government assemblies and all of them were black suit clad males...never was a female face brought in to brighten up the scene (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

For Greenwood’s mother and her colleagues, the lobbying efforts focused on male drinking, prostitution, venereal disease and falling moral standards rather than support for women’s right to work in the sex industry. In 1938 they presented evidence to a Royal Commission to investigate regulations of brothels in the ‘red light’ district in the notorious Roe Street in Perth.

During World War II, “the attitudes of Perth women’s organisations to prostitution, venereal disease, contraception and public sexual behaviour...reveal deep political and personal confusion over the issue of sexuality” (Reekie, 1985,

p. 590). For the early feminists, prostitution was perceived as a threat to the unity of the family by endorsing sexual relationships outside marriage. The WSG believed that Roe Street attracted crime and corruption and sought moves to prevent regulation of the male indulgence. It was the trivialising of the issue of prostitution that led Greenwood to describe herself as “a rampant feminist” (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). Her radical stance on prostitution through WEL in the 1970s focused on women’s autonomous sexual rights to protest who was reaping the harvest from the proceeds of prostitution where the purchase of women’s bodies is a blatant example of male sex right and the maintenance of male supremacy.

Driver was involved with the Mother’s Unions in Albany. Henry Driver had been Vestryman and Church warden at Saint John the Evangelist and a member of the Church of England’s Men’s Society. “We attended Church three times a week” (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). So Christian values underpinned Greenwood’s early consciousness on social justice and women’s rights, although temperance was not on her social reform agenda.

Greenwood (diary, 1983, p. 2) praised the WCTU for their lead in the campaigns for the vote and the emphasis on the connecting attributes of human rights, the rights of the individual and the struggle for women to gain a place within the legal and constitutional systems. She regarded the first international women’s organisation as the true architects of feminism:

So it was they who worked for women’s rights in its truest sense and formulated the women’s movement, which had its roots in the emancipation of slavery and general social justice. Young feminists don’t seem to realise this. They think they invented feminism, a la the ‘Coming Out Show’.

As the title *Coming Out Ready or Not* in 1976 implies, the program aim was to break the silence and to make women's history visible, often by interviewing feminist elders such as Greenwood. It is clear from her records that Greenwood (diary, 1977, p. 34) wanted the history of her mother's generation to be recognised as 'progressive':

Why not concentrate on publishing the life of Mary Driver as her own affirmation on one whose life style as an independent thinker, activist, business women, early politico who set patterns being operated by today's young feminists...under the false impression that they thought it all out (and up) themselves, a la the 'Coming Out Show'.

Even after the title was changed to the *Coming Out Show* it is surprising that Greenwood, a regular guest on the program, missed the irony of the title.

In Albany, a port town, during World War I, troops passed through while in transit en route to combat in Europe. Driver, as president of the Soldiers' Association in Albany during the War, "organised spinning circles where women spun fleeces and knitted warm comforts for men at the battle-fronts; a local activity" (Greenwood, *Reflections*, 1978, p. 64). Edith Cowan also worked with visiting troops in Fremantle, concerned mainly with the wounded. Driver was understandably concerned about the visiting troops' drinking problems and the implications for women of unwelcome sexual advances from "drunken soldiers". Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) recounts an occasion during World I when Driver climbed on the ship moored in the harbour to see the Minister for Defence to ask him to close the hotels when New Zealand troops were in town, which he did.

Greenwood was petite in stature, with bright red hair and green eyes. Stone (Personal Conversation, 1998) described her as being "a real knock-out looker

when she was young”. In physical contrast, Greenwood describes her mother as, “an imposing figure, tall, with golden hair and blue eyes, a fine and eloquent speaker, of great dignity” (Greenwood, *Reflections*, 1978, p. 65). She was immensely proud of her mother, describing her as a pacifist:

This is what stabilised her pacifism...These contradictions of fighting and war, just war and the Gallipoli Retreat and her brother coming back injured from the campaign at Gallipoli made my mother feel more entrenched than ever that wars were not a means of solving problems (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

So Greenwood was influenced by her mother’s feminist history in which she took great pride. Throughout her life she kept informed on feminist writings and read every new book that came off the feminist press. On the Editorial Board of Sisters Publishing Co-operative and a member of the Australian Society of Authors (Baldock, 1993, p. 2), she was very critical of Anne Summers’ book *Damned Whores and God’s Police* (1975), which she considered to be derogatory and misleading about her mother’s generation of feminists. Greenwood felt that the title ridiculed the contribution of her mother and other leaders of the first wave, and communicated this to Summers. Again, it is surprising that she missed the feminist critique evident in the irony of the title. But Greenwood and Summers were regular correspondents and shared a spirit of sisterhood. Summers’ respect and admiration for Greenwood is clear in her letter to her a few months after Summers was awarded the 1976 Walkley Award for excellence in national journalism. She expressed the joy of winning the prestigious award, as blighted some weeks earlier by the death of her young brother at the time of receiving the eminent media prize. Summers (1976, p. 1) was eager to read Greenwood’s proposed autobiography:

I am glad that you are pressing on with your memoirs. Do please try to finish them...you should do the job that no-one else can do...

In Sisterhood, Anne Summers.

- **Family influences**

Greenwood's diaries reveal that "writing her memoirs", though sparsely documented and consisting of vague scattered pages, was a journey of self-discovery. She sought to know who and what she was by tracing the formation of what she called her ego identity. "If you want to know what you are and how you became so, go back to your beginnings" (Greenwood, diary, 1978, p.17). Tracing her origins to her Irish ancestry on both sides of her family, Greenwood rated family influences as the most significant factor shaping her identity. She attributes her longevity to her mother's side of the family, the O'Neills, who were strong independent pioneering women. Both her grandmothers, maternal and paternal, lived to ninety-plus years of age. Greenwood (diary, 1978, p.17) writes about her foremothers as being, "a society of self reliant women assuming responsibility of management of the estates, even to the building of houses".

A striking feature of Irene Greenwood was her blazing red hair, which she attributes to the "Red O'Neill's" (Greenwood, diary, 1978, p.16). She was very proud of her red hair, which she believed represented genetic superiority. In a radio interview when in her eighties, she was asked about the paternal influences on her feminist activism, shifting the focus to the maternal factor, which she considered more significant:

They [husband and father] supported and reinforced my sense of independence...but the matriarchal influence on my feminism was clearly inspired by the maternal strain of independent, unconventional women, notably my mother and grandmothers (Greenwood, interview, Miller/Greenwood, 1982).

Influences that Greenwood (diary, 1978, p. 17) traced to the maternal strain of her family heritage include being “strong minded”, having “a well-defined self-concept, vocal – able to verbalise easily...active and outgoing, impulsive and impetuous, quick tempered and impatient, bossy like to organise things”.

Describing herself emerging as a feminist, Greenwood was not a passive recipient of the status quo but rather someone who could, “take control of persons and events, thorough and painstaking - perfectionist, difficult to live with, a sense of humour, hatred of injustice” (Greenwood, diary, 1977, n. p.). She distinguishes between a matrist and a matriarchal society to argue that women would bring new values to politics and humanise governments, upholding the notion of woman’s moral superiority as an expression of sexual difference:

A Matrist society (not to be confused with matriarchal which assumes female domination) depends on the predominance of feminine ideas, ideals and attitudes. Attitudinal changes in value systems. Thus the challenge to a Patrist doctrine as determining government, i.e., rules, laws, and male oriented as derived from Victorian England of the 19th Century (Greenwood, diary, 1977, n. p.).

Greenwood subscribed to her mother’s beliefs that women’s different values formed a basis for women’s inclusion in politics. She dedicated her proposed autobiography to Mary Driver:

In honour of my mother, who by example and by precept showed me how to be and to do (Greenwood, “Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.).

Mary Driver and Irene Greenwood were not single-issue feminists. Racial discrimination was perceived as slavery of Indigenous Australians and a social ill to combat. The women's movement in the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) had developed with the movement for the abolition of slavery. In WA, by contrast, as members of a settler society, the Drivers were part of a culture tolerating the violation of Indigenous rights, but they and their daughter attempted to disassociate, fostering an anti-slave sentiment in the young Irene. Her sensitivity to and awareness of Aboriginal culture, influenced by her parents, is discussed in the next chapter.

Due to, "the tragic death of her husband by accident on their farm which they had pioneered in the far wheat belt north of Mukinbudin" (Greenwood, *Reflections*, 1978, p. 64), Mary Driver came into contact with the Aboriginal community and later, after becoming widowed, living with Greenwood's brother, John Driver, in Alice Springs, "developed activities that focused upon the welfare of Aboriginal people and support of the Flying Doctor Service" (Greenwood, 1978, p. 64).

Greenwood was very proud of her brothers John and Arthur Robert (Mick) who, like Greenwood, had red hair. Both became important public figures contributing to the history of the Northern Territory post-war reconstruction after the bombings of Darwin. She writes about John and Mick in *Reflections* (1978, p. 64) with great pride. The eldest son, John, became a Surveyor General in the Northern Territory where he owned a cattle station 'Alkedra', named after the Alkedra river. Surveyor, John, became the first post-war Administrator to set right the damage done by bombing to the Northern Territory and to Darwin and to

communications generally (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). “His task was to clean up the war damage and re-build the town and restore the Government” (Greenwood, 1987, p. 64). In 1946, Mick became the Administrator at Government House, Darwin, in the first post World War II years having been called up as an Engineer in the bombings of Darwin. As John was between marriages during his term as Administrator, Mary Driver served as his hostess for official visitors at Darwin. “Among the famous guests were the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, Governor General, Sir Anthony Eden...and ‘Ben’ Chifley” (Greenwood, 1978, p. 65). In the 1950s, John Driver hosted Dr. Herbert (Nugget) Coombs at his station, which served as a stopping place to official dignitaries. He hosted the visit of the Governor General, Sir Paul Hasluck and his wife, writer, Lady Alexandra Hasluck with whom Greenwood formed a firm friendship.

Greenwood developed connections through her brothers and mother through their role in the history of the Northern Territory, but according to April Eddington, she did not visit the Territory herself until 1953, after formally retiring from broadcasting, spending six months with brother, John, on Alkedra station. Here she established and maintained a lifelong friendship with Lady Hasluck, reinforcing her concerns for conditions for Indigenous people in the Northern Territory.

Despite her claim that all five children in her family contributed to public life, she does not mention the other brother, Frank or her sister, Gertrude (Girlie) who both had brown hair. The other brother, Frank had always been a mystery until after he died, but “She never talked about him” (interview,

Stone/Greenwood, 1983). According to Stone, Greenwood believed that she would never reach the heights of success of John and Mick “because she was a woman”. Her sister ‘Girlie’, ten years younger than Greenwood, is not mentioned in Greenwood (1987) either. “Aunt Girlie had no interest in the feminist movement. I loved it when she came to stay. She was not political. She was gentle and kind with all the motherly skills” (April Eddington, Personal Conversation, 1999).

So feminism, race relations and education were instilled in the young mind of Irene Driver throughout adolescence and by the age of thirteen, when she left Albany to live in Perth on a secondary school scholarship, she was already becoming her own person. After all, independence and self-reliance were, by “precept and by example”, qualities she believed she inherited from her feminist mother, and particularly an understanding of the importance of women’s equal access to education.

- **Most distinguished scholar**

Independence came early in life for the young Irene. While at primary school in Albany in 1912, she won a scholarship to attend the innovative co-educational Perth Modern School. At thirteen years of age, she left Albany to board in Perth with a strong sense of “independence and self-reliance” (Greenwood, “Go Proudly” n. d., n. p.). “I left primary school at 12 with 6 cuts on my hands for rebelliousness, and an award for being the most distinguished scholar” (Greenwood, diary, 1969, n. p). Greenwood (diary, 1983, p. 20) recounts her

departure to attend the prestigious Perth Modern School “when horizons widened and with them a knowledge that the one person I could rely on was myself”.

Entrance into Perth Modern School was selective, only by Scholarship Examination. One school policy was to educate boys and girls for university entrance and study for professions (Greenwood, diary, 1977, p. 25). “Allowance for board away from home was fifty pounds with four pounds a year for books” (Greenwood, diary, 1983, p. 20). Baldock (1993, p. 1) notes Greenwood’s pride in being a student at Perth Modern School, often referring to the other famous Australians who attended the school such as former Labor Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, thirty years Greenwood’s junior, and with whom she shared the same birthday. Hawke attended Perth Modern school decades after Greenwood, but she said, “You only ever heard about Bob Hawke and Nugget Coombs, nearly always men...we proved we could be the intellectual equals of the boys in debating” (Greenwood, interview, Miller/Greenwood, 1982). In later years, Greenwood told Stone, “I have photos of the debating teams with Bob Hawke” (Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

Greenwood was a Prefect at Perth Modern School in 1916. “They didn’t use the word dux then” (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) but Greenwood (1977, diary, p. 20) was incensed that girls were excluded from studying science:

In the society I grew up within boys were sent to boarding schools in preparation for the professions and girls were sent to Church colleges in Perth to be made into young ladies. Such was seen as preparation for marriage that was then the sole destiny for women as Mothers of the Race. My parents were exceptions to the rule.

Mary and Henry Driver were committed to a good education for all their five children, regardless of gender. John Driver also won a scholarship to Perth Modern School. Greenwood's youngest brother Mick obtained a scholarship for education at Hale School. Greenwood's keen oratory skills for public speaking and radio can be traced to the debating skills she learned at Perth Modern School. To improve her voice for debating, Greenwood received formal training in voice production from Lionel Logue who had helped the duke of York, "stammering Bertie" with his stuttering problem, in preparation for becoming King George VI in 1936. Logue repaired the damaged vocal chords of gassed World War II veterans in WA. Greenwood recounts an early romance with one of Logue's clients, a serviceman from New Zealand. "His mother had wanted to meet me, but we never met. He was killed in action" (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). The Logue method taught her how to project her voice in a crowd without the benefit of a microphone preparing her for speaking in public places and in the open air on public platforms, and later on radio. "I learnt to present my voice and to speak so well as I have done before hundreds of thousands on public places" (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

After excelling and matriculating at Perth Modern School, Greenwood did one year of Arts at the University of WA but never completed her degree. She completed a Diploma in Journalism in 1942. After leaving school she learned shorthand and typing at Business College and entered the Public Service working for the Agricultural Department and Agricultural Bank from 1917 to 1920 (*The World Who's Who of Women*, 1984, p. 279). At the age of twenty-one, Greenwood demonstrated for workers' rights when, according to Baldock (1993,

p. 1), “she participated in the first civil servants’ strike in Western Australia in 1920”.

- **Love at first sight**

In her first job, Greenwood (diary, 1976, n. p.) met Albert Greenwood:

I was meant to go into teaching but thought I was better off learning. My parents were not well off and many of my friends went into medicine, into the professions.. I became a secretary at the Agricultural Department where I met my fate...He was much older than I was and I was warned to beware of this charming fair-haired young man.

Albert Greenwood was eleven years Greenwood’s senior. He was a legal accountant and mining entrepreneur who had studied some law and described himself as a broker. His business ventures were “risky”. Later in life, Greenwood (diary, 1976, n. p.) described him as “a compulsive gambler”. As a Fabian socialist, Albert was the first person to influence Greenwood’s thinking along socialist lines, which Greenwood (diary, 1983, n. p.) attributes to “awakening my young mind”.

Whatever Albert’s profession, it led to long periods of what Greenwood refers to as “self-inflicted unemployment” (Greenwood, diary, 1983, n. p.) leaving her to be the sole breadwinner for long intervals leading to economic hardship. They became engaged on Armistice Day, November 11, 1917 and were married in 1920. As a young bride, Greenwood moved to the remote pearling centre of Broome, in WA where she bore two children, Philip and April (Greenwood, “Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.).

Referring to men in general, and Albert in particular, Greenwood (diary, 1983, n. p.) writes about, “the forces that drive men are the will to success, to achieve, money”. Speaking specifically about Albert she writes:

As well as a belief in his own superiority...a philosophical socialist, an agnostic, not a believer as he'd been brought up to be...He was a gambler. All his life he gambled at cards, in shares. A promoter of business enterprises, speculative.

Asked in a radio interview whether she thought Albert was supportive of her feminist activism, Greenwood replied, “always and as a matter of fact it was my husband who opened my young mind because I had a very narrow Anglican upbringing” (Greenwood, interview, Miller/Greenwood, 1982). She remained sexually attracted to Albert until his death, but over time she would become frustrated with him intellectually, and had an extra-marital affair, as we shall see.

Greenwood (diary, 1983, n. p.) describes, marriage and motherhood as “giving hostage to torture...I thought this when my daughter was born...She must come first always. Not my husband...He was an adult”. April Eddington was amused at that quote. “Mother’s public life took priority, always. On sports day I could never be sure that my sports clothes would be washed and ironed” (Personal Conversation, 1999).

In the early 1920s the family lived in Broome, where life was not easy for the new wife and mother of two small children. Albert moved to Broome as an articles law clerk and later with Greenwood, operated two pearl luggers where she lived in what she described as “primitive” conditions. Albert’s business trips related to his mining leases left her at home raising two small children for extended periods when she developed close friendships with local women, including writer, Henrietta Drake-Brockman, then living in Broome with her

husband, an engineer for the North West. Drake-Brockman was concerned about the poor conditions of Aborigines in Broome, as were other white women, developing Greenwood's radical consciousness on social justice concerning Indigenous Australians, which I shall discuss in chapter 4.

In 1925 the family returned to Perth from Broome where Greenwood was busy fulfilling her housewife role during a few years of domesticity with family pressures. From 1925 to 1930, she continued her social activism with local women's organisations, maintaining life-long friendships with Aboriginal and Andro-English women established during her five years in Broome.

In conclusion, I have traced Irene Greenwood's early feminist awakenings to her mother's generation of first wave feminists active in the early twentieth century women's movement in WA. I have shown that Mary Driver's philosophies, through the various women's organisations, were inculcated in the Christian tradition upholding the domestic ideology of marriage and motherhood as the celebrated virtues of 'woman'. I have traced her family influences and stressed the importance placed on education by the post-suffrage feminists, while explaining some confusion about the domestic ideology and sexual ideology characterising the first wave of feminism. And while in love with Albert, Greenwood wrote about "marriage and motherhood as giving hostage to torture" while in Broome where her children were born, underscoring the difficulties that came with balancing marriage and motherhood with her public career in later years. Developing life in Broome in the 1920s, the next chapter evaluates Greenwood's response to religion, socialism and Aboriginal awareness in search of her moral imperative to work for peace, justice and equality of human rights.

CHAPTER 4

GREENWOOD, FEMINISM AND RELIGION

In this chapter, firstly, I examine Greenwood's responses to the tensions between feminism and religion. Secondly, I explore her response to socialism and feminism. Thirdly, in seeking Greenwood's spirituality, distinguishing from religion, I examine her life in Broome in the 1920s and the development of her radical consciousness in relation to social justice for Indigenous Australians.

Driver's firm stand on temperance was influenced by the Protestant tradition that abhorred the suffering caused for women and children resulting from intoxicated men. As president of the WCTU, Driver and her colleagues promoted prohibition through legislation in the public sphere. Her campaigns were dominated by the Victorian morality of domesticity with home and family as the cornerstones of society and the 'drunkard husband' a problem to combat. Influenced by Anglo-Protestant values, Driver and her colleagues accepted society's view of the domestic ideology to rationalise that women's domestic life necessitated their involvement in society.

Greenwood's early religious conditioning was shaped by the Victorian morality that characterised colonial WA. As noted, both her parents were involved in church activities and Mary Driver, in her feminist work, maintained close links with the Protestant churches. Willis (1926 quoted by Auchmuty, 1971, p. 181) summarises the ecclesiastical hierarchy and women's place in family structure:

God created the female to be mother, and to take a main part in the reproductive process and in the making of a home; and the

male to be a father, and to take a main part in the heavier work of breadwinner and protector of his mate and little ones.

The Protestant churches supported the women's movement on issues like contraception, abortion and world peace, but conflicted with the early feminists because of its strict codes for maintaining the unity of the family in discrete private and public spheres, based on sex differences. Greenwood's knowledge of the Christian bible is obvious from her diary reference to Matthew, 8:26, "Whenever my faith in my purpose was shaken I would always be heartened by my mother's words, Why are ye fearful, ye of little faith?" (Greenwood, diary, 1986, n. p.). According to April Eddington, "Mother could quote any section from the Bible and she treasured her concordance, which was always on hand" (Personal Conversation, 1999). It is not surprising that she found inspiring some of the peace passages linking feminism with peace and peace education such as the peace passage in Isaiah 2:4:

They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Or Isaiah 1 where the Old Testament prophet talks about "correcting injustice" and "relieving oppression" and the gender-specific peace passage in Proverbs 3:17, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace". But questions arose for Greenwood (interview, de Berg/Greenwood, 1977), the rationalist, around the influences of her religious upbringing, and her mother's acceptance of a literal interpretation of Christian Scripture:

[My mother] was purified after the birth of each child; we were all baptised in the Church. We observed all of the precepts of the Church...I was reared in a condition of Anglo-Saxon Anglican-Protestant morality, and it was hard to break those influences.

Ironically, it was a clergyman who first taught Greenwood to question everything she read, including literal interpretation of the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible. Commenting on a service she had attended with a sermon delivered by Canon (Archdeacon) Louch on evolutionists and Darwinian theory she writes, "It was Louch who first caused me to doubt, without question, the Creationist theory" (Greenwood, diary, 1977, p. 22). Louch, a Greek scholar, based his version of Scripture on the original text of the early King James Version of the Christian bible:

He taught me to look more deeply into the written word. Louch had told his congregation to regard the Creation story as allegory and the story of the Garden of Eden equally so and I learned to be sceptical of the story of the Fall and Adam and Eve...no blind believer I - never! Louch opened the gates of reason to my young mind and made me receptive to the writing of rationalists when they came my way in later years.

It is clear from her diary inscriptions that religion and authoritarian doctrines would not satisfy young Irene's rational, reasoning, questioning, inquiring, rebellious, and investigative mind.

Women were told to accept and not to question. I was later to become the non-acceptor of authoritarian doctrines...a non-conformist. A hard road lay before me because I had chosen the harder road for a woman (Greenwood, diary, 1977, n. p.).

- **Theosophy and feminism**

The "harder road for a woman" meant rejecting discriminatory laws that oppressed women's sexual autonomy and offended their bodily integrity. The leaders in the women's movement in WA, Mary Driver, Bessie Rischbieth and

Edith Cowan developed an interest in theosophy because theosophists upheld values of sexual equality and world peace. Greenwood's understandings of justice fostered with it a spirit of non-conformity and defiance against Anglo-Protestant values that legitimated the silencing and exclusions of women leading to the physical and spiritual distortions and dehumanising of the female sex.

The bond between theosophy and feminism was very strong in Perth. The Theosophical Society had considerable impact on women's organisations between 1900 and the mid-1930s, and was largely responsible for founding the WSG, as many of its social values were regarded compatible with the feminist objectives of sexual equality and peace. Roe (1986, p.164) suggests that some theosophists kept their prior denominational affiliations, suggesting a selective approach to the dogmas of religion. Theosophy embraced aspects of mysticism, Hinduism and Buddhism, including the Buddhist belief in reincarnation. While this concept seems to have little significance for the quest for sexual equality for the feminists of the 1900s in Perth, the ideas of the Theosophical Society appealed to their sense of social justice so far as it encapsulated ideas based on sexual equality and peace. Greenwood did not follow the leaders into theosophy herself, but as a broadcaster in the 1930s, she espoused the basic theosophist principles of sexual equality and peace. Greenwood (1936, n. p.) broadcast a program to focus on the equal status of women in the higher orders of Buddhism, based on cable news of the death of the Dalai Lama:

While practically every organised religion in the world does not admit women to the higher orders, there is in Tibet, one notable exception - Dorge Phagmo. She is the head of a famous monastery at Samding, the residence of fifty monks. She is considered as holy as the Tashi and Dali Lamas, and she travels to Lhasa once every two or three years. She is the only woman

in Tibet whom the strict sumptuary laws allow to use a palanquin.

Theosophy offered the feminists of the era sexual equality, as relevant to women's status in the higher order of religions. But it was a tenet of the theosophists that the 'soul' was both male and female which implies androgyny; the sexes were different but equal, each with their own qualities and ways of seeing, and each with 'masculine' and 'feminine' qualities. The problem with the androgyny theory, in a contemporary feminist context, is that it fails to challenge the male/female relations in the wider analysis of gender power relations to recognise 'femininity' as socially constructed.

Theosophy's historical coalition with socialism is explained in another broadcast where president of the Theosophical Society, Annie Besant (1847-1933) is the radio heroine. The first objective was universal brotherhood, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour. 'Class' was substituted for 'caste' and became the feminist target of equal citizenship rights. In contemporary terms, of course, the gender specific term, 'universal brotherhood' simply excludes women.

The theosophist feminists believed in the moral superiority of women, the concept of women as "God's Police", the 'moral upholders' of society who would civilise men bringing 'feminine' values to men's morally bankrupt values; the obedient and good woman. President of the Theosophical Society, Annie Besant was a British journalist and a Fabian socialist who created tremendous controversies in her day working for anti-slavery and women's rights "by force of her personality, breaking precedents and defying conventions" (Greenwood, script, 1939, p. 1). Besant worked with Fabian socialists, the Webbs and George

Bernard Shaw to influence Trade Union history, and the trend in labour legislation in the Parliament in the England of her day. Greenwood (script, 1939, p.1) portrays 'woman' personified in Besant's example with the metaphor of nature to depict the power of a woman for social change:

Like one of those mighty floods which periodically sweeps over some land and changes its contours, so Annie Besant altered the shape of things in the England of her day. She was greatly vilified and hated by those who were shocked to the depths by her, but, on the other hand, she was greatly admired and loved, almost to the point of adoration, by those who were won by her ideas.

The radio heroine, Annie Besant, is portrayed both as a socialist political activist, and a journalist, as an exception to the bourgeois women's media of the day. "Today, women in journalism (that is real journalism, not merely writing up social events for women's pages) are rare" (Greenwood, script, 1939, p. 1). Even more unusual for the 1930s were female newspaper owners. "America may number a dozen, England half that" (Greenwood, 1939, p. 2). Besant founded a newspaper in England called *The Link* in 1888, to:

Expose the conditions of girl workers in a large match factory who worked long hours under dangerous and unhealthy conditions for eight or nine shillings a week" (Greenwood, 1939, p. 2).

In contrast to the universal brotherhood, on International Women's Day on 8 March, 1940, Greenwood broadcast a program celebrating the "universal sisterhood" on *Women in the International News*. The radio heroine was German writer, and socialist, Clara Zetkin, who called for an international day for women to be held on 8 March, every year, following a 'Conference of Socialist Women' held in Copenhagen in 1910. Greenwood based her message for peace through Zetkin's attendance at a conference in Berne in 1915 to "protest the war and

affirm international solidarity to prevent war and to work for a safe and just world without war” (Greenwood, script, 1940, n. p.). Prior to the meeting in Switzerland, Zetkin had corresponded with women all over Europe and called them together some years prior to World War I in her home in Stuttgart. She later became a Socialist Deputy in the Parliament at the Weimer Republic.

The coalition between theosophy, feminism and socialism formed the basis of Greenwood’s early philosophical ideas of egalitarian principles, to achieve sexual equality and world peace. In the mid-30s, the CPA began to rival theosophy, and in this Greenwood was inspired by Katharine Susannah Prichard through the MWC for working class and Indigenous women. By the 1930s she was clearly influenced by communist and socialist women. Evidence indicates that her intellectual fascination for her husband, Albert’s Fabian socialism faded over the years. Stone (interview, Stone/Greenwood 1983) recounts an occasion after she and her husband attended a lecture by Prichard on ‘Dialectical Materialism’. After the talk she said to Albert, “So, you think you are a socialist. What was that all about? ‘Search me’, Albert replied”.

- **The search for meaning**

Greenwood drew ideas from theosophy to expound her principles of sex equality and peace. When socialism began to rival theosophic beliefs, she adopted socialist rhetoric as the best hope for a structure upon which to achieve peace, justice and equality of women’s human rights. One of the major attractions of Soviet communism for Greenwood and other feminists of the 1930s was its stated pursuit

of sexual equality. Article 122 of the 1936 Soviet Constitution stresses a stated policy of sexual equality:

Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social and political life. The possibility of realising these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men to the right to work, rest, social insurance and education, state protection of the interests of mother and child, granting pregnancy leave without pay, and provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens (Article 122 cited in “Women in Canberra”, 1943).

Feminists active in the 1930s and 1940s were attracted to the commitment of sexual equality and the pursuit of world peace, expressed as an anti-fascist stance by communists. As Greenwood embraced a socialist framework to achieve these aims, Rischbieth was anti-communist, remaining staunchly committed to parliamentary democracy. Each took different ideas from theosophy. Davidson (1997, p. 6) notes Rischbieth’s adoption of the theosophical influence “for its lofty codes of moral and ethical principles derived from Christianity and Hinduism to see the theosophic gospel as a call to work for equality”. Greenwood translated those similar codes to involve a socialist framework based on the Soviet Marxist model.

Rischbieth was the driving force behind *The Dawn*, under the auspices of the WSG in the 1920s. It is distinguished from the feminist newspaper, the *Dawn*, founded in Sydney by Louisa Lawson in 1888, surviving until 1905 (Summers, 1994, p. 396). For the first twenty years, Rischbieth was honorary editor of *The Dawn* until World War II broke out in 1939 when Evelyn Rowland succeeded her as editor. The Theosophical Society lost both members and influence during the 1930s. *The Dawn* continued to focus on promoting international peace and gave

support for the League of Nations founded in 1920. It continued to promote the cause of equal opportunity for women. *The Dawn*, funded by advertising revenue, strongly encouraged interest in international issues reporting widely on women from around the world who had made progress in achieving equal status with men (Davidson, 1997). “During the 1930s the paper took up the issues of the economy and the need for disarmament regularly reporting on peace marches and petitions” (Davidson, 1997, p. 115).

In their pursuit of sex equality, the feminists in Perth who constituted the leadership in the women’s movement made equality for women in religion one of their goals and used the media for this through the newspaper to bring back the ‘Mother aspect of God’ in religion:

The *Dawn* newspaper was idealistic, characterised with theosophic rhetoric and imagery extolling women as a humanising force whose liberation was destined to bring in a new era to succeed the brutalising materialism and competition created by a male-dominated society. For example an article about bringing back the ‘Mother-Aspect of God’ in religion, the feminine side of divinity (Davidson, 1977, p. 6).

- **The mother aspect of God**

All the major organised religions discriminate specifically against women, with the notable exception of the Quakers who, like the theosophists, promote sexual equality as a tenet of the faith. Many of Greenwood’s colleagues in peace work were Quakers, as no hierarchical structure or gender division exists. Greenwood (diary, 1939, p. 3) recognises misogynist attitudes exemplified in the Christian tradition:

St. Paul quoted the authority for this edict. ‘Let your women

keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak' and, 'I suffer not a woman to teach nor usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence'.

In another source Greenwood (quoted in interview, de Berg/Greenwood, 1977) comments in regard to St. Paul's dictum that "Mother's adherence to her faith had about it a certain scepticism because I have often heard her say that...St. Paul did not know the heart of a woman".

While the dominant concept of 'God as Man' is still a sticking point for contemporary feminists, the heart is the door to our souls and our truth is the manna of our spirits. Western Australian feminists sought to restore the divine 'feminine' principle in the Godhead and by the 1920s they were seeking sex equality in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Rischbieth led the first delegation to an international women's conference in England in 1923 and met with former president of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, Carrie Chapman Catt. Rischbieth challenges Christian Scripture to translate the male/female relation as a slave/master relationship:

Our Congress represents the world's movement among women which demands the repeal of antiquated so-called woman laws...These codes have made many men cruel masters and women timid and shrinking dependents. 'Male and female created He them', says Genesis and gave them dominion over the earth. Alas, the males took all the dominion for themselves and we stand for getting back our half of it (Rischbieth quoted in Davidson, 1977, p.102).

Challenging the idea that woman is born of Adam's rib was taken up by nineteenth century women's rights activist, Elizabeth Cady-Stanton (1815-1902), a leader of the National American Women's Suffrage Association who knew that the vote by itself was not the key to women's liberation. Ringing the alarm over a century ago, she took the courageous step of writing a *Woman's Bible* to replace

the sexist language, symbolism and imagery in the Old and New Testaments of the Christian bible. Stanton approached the text, not as divine revelation (the word of God), but as an historical document written entirely by the wily hands of religious men (Stanton cited in Dubois, 1981, p. 235).

Technically still a non-citizen, Cady Stanton challenged canon and civil law, church and state, priests and legislature and all political parties and religious denominations that taught a doctrine based on the degradation and subordination of women. She exposed the fallacy implied in the Adam and Eve parable that woman was created by man, after man, of man, for man, inferior and subject to man, in a supposed 'divine' hierarchical sexual order and cosmic design.

Stanton's critique of discriminatory sexism contests the integrity of the Christian bible to base her arguments on the paucity of language on the basis of justice, reason, scientific fact, and plain common sense. Eisenstein (1986, pp. 145-167) documents the radicalism of Stanton's feminist strategies in the USA with partner, Susan B. Anthony, flowing on from the British feminist struggle started by Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor. Stanton and Anthony named their newspaper, *Revolution*. Eisenstein (1986, p. 155) cites Stanton's letter to Anthony to explain the revolutionary aspect of Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

There could not be a better name than *Revolution*. The establishing of woman on her rightful throne is the greatest revolution the world has ever known...you and I have not forgotten the conflict of the last 20 years...a journal called the *Rosebud* might answer for those who come with kid gloves...but for us...there is no name like *Revolution*.

The 'revolutionary' dimension of Stanton's campaigns are overshadowed by the fact that she focused on the transformation of liberal law" (Eisenstein,

1986, p. 155), but by identifying organised religions as the last bastion of male dominance, she was certainly a radical for her time.

In the pursuit of peace and justice Greenwood (“Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.) sought to elevate the status of women in the church to demand sex equality in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. “Women’s equal status in the church would be achieved only with the acceptance of female bishops”. The acceptance of women priests would give women equal status with male priests and a female bishop would have authority over male priests, challenging the very foundations of the ecclesiastical sexual order of the Christian Church.

Greenwood understood the ethical arguments put by radical separatists such as Mary Daly and Adrienne Rich who rejected organised religion as being irredeemably sexist and for alerting the need to conceptualise the masculine and feminine in new ways. Daly (1978) paved the way for the radical feminist journey towards a woman-centred consciousness for a new moral prescription of woman where women’s power is expressed in the bonding together as women reflecting their power in unity:

Spinsters spin and weave, mending and creating unity of consciousness...Spinsters spinning out the Self’s own integrity can break the spell of the father’s clocks, spanning the tears and splits in consciousness (Daly, 1978, pp. 386-387).

Greenwood’s diary (1983, n. p.) indicates that she grasped conceptually, Daly and Rich’s radical understanding of the need to find new ways of theorising ‘woman’, to counter the masculine/feminine split that trivialises women’s bodily humanity:

Humanism is not enough. Patriarchy will defend itself to the last dollar, the last man...*The Meta-ethics of Radical Feminism* introduces a new/changed concept of ethics (morals) into our

society. I returned to *Of Woman Born*, Adrienne Rich for renewal of my definitions of androgyny, which is a way of thinking by older feminists who think in terms of feminine and masculine and fails to conceptualise in new ways.

Greenwood was not, according to her left-wing colleagues in the women's movement, avowed atheists, Patricia Giles, Joan Williams and Diana Warnock, a religious woman. Giles responded, "Religious? Oh no, no. Irene was very much a woman of this earth" (interview, Murray/Giles, 1999). Williams was adamant that, "Irene was completely her own person and had none of the dregs of the force of religion" (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000). Yet, it is a contradiction of Greenwood that she told Giles she wanted a hymn sung at her wake. In a paper presented at a National Labor History Conference in Perth titled 'Irene Greenwood: A Hero of the Women's Movement', Giles expressed concern that the women's movement in WA had not held a wake. Giles (1997, p. 1 cites Addington Symonds, 1929) read the first verse of the hymn she wanted read:

These things shall be, a loftier race
Than all the world has known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their souls,
And light of knowledge in their eyes

"A strange beginning you may think, for a speech about an avowed humanist by an avowed atheist", Giles (1997) said. Daly-King (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000) describes Greenwood as an agnostic rather than an atheist. In a taped interview with Stone (1983) Greenwood responds to the question, why are you a humanist and a pacifist?

I wanted always to have equal opportunities for all individuals, all persons, whatever their ethnic origins or whatever their colour or whatever their sex. Women are half the human race, so now we might come perhaps to why am I pacifist? The reason why I am a pacifist is because I have seen so many wars in my

day and frustrations of war have led to the aspirations of persons like myself.

Pattie Watts held a copy of the service Greenwood had planned for the cremation providing evidence that she had hoped for a humanist funeral where as well as the above hymn, she wanted readings of her favourite poets. There were problems with the arrangements and Greenwood's daughter, April, arranged for a Christian service instead. But if Greenwood's wish had been fulfilled, had she been cremated as a humanist, Donne's *Death Be Not Proud* (Holy Sonnet, No. 10) was her choice:

Death, be not proud, though some have called thee Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so...one short sleep past, we wake eternally, and death shall be no more; Death thou shalt die.

Greenwood, as environmentalist, chose Lawrence Binyon's *The Burning of Leaves* for a Requiem, "Now is the time for stripping the spirit bare, Time for the burning of days ended and done".

In a radio talk for the ABC Greenwood celebrated the life of world leader of the Salvation Army, General Evangeline Booth, the daughter of the founders of the Salvation Army, Catherine and William Booth. She writes about a great movement that, "in 1939 had 97 different countries and colonies...in 87 languages"(Greenwood, script, 1939, p. 1). The young Evangeline is portrayed in the perfect image of the traditional 'feminine' woman as, "this slim figure in which an eager soul is enshrined...working for the mission of promoting peace...the little Evangeline was catching the flame" (1939, pp. 1-2). There is a hint of the mystical or metaphysical dimension of Greenwood's philosophy in her broadcast scripts. Elsewhere she refers to her belief in her mother's generation of feminists as being "proud of us for carrying on the torch, from whatever

metaphysical realms they may inhabit" (Greenwood, "Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.). This conflicts with her stated position as a humanist and a socialist, rejecting notions of an eternal soul in an afterlife. Further evidence of a mystical aspect as Greenwood advanced in years, is revealed in her letter to Sydney peace activist, Margaret Holmes (June 28, 1987) whose close friendship and leadership in the peace movement in Sydney is discussed in Chapter 11:

Dear Margaret

Now I return to services of the Anglican Church with my friend, Ros Denny, who is a deacon of the Church (occasionally), of England. Why do I mention such things? Mainly for the reason that I can't continue to live on forever, nor would I wish to, but I'd like you to know for the record...there probably is a Divine Plan who am I to think otherwise when I have been so blessed with friends?

With much love always, Irene.

Greenwood placed a high value on personal friendships. She loved people, women and men. Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999) argues, "Irene loved men. She interacted very differently with men than she did with women". Warnock (Local News, 1992) describes her as "a free thinker...a feminist who liked men and got on well with them". She was carthy, preoccupied with the 'here and now', not wasting precious time and energies pondering the imponderables. To most, the term, Christian communist, is a contradiction in terms, but Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999) reconciles Greenwood's early Christian framework with her communist and humanist framework for social justice:

In terms of ideologies, they're not far apart at all. I mean I think a communist notion of searching for a consensus of working together for a better community and these principles are inculcated in Christian doctrine, so in that sense she didn't have a long distance to travel at all.

These principles of Christianity and communism may sound worlds apart and suggest conflict, but the objectives for the common good were basically the same to Greenwood because both considered the notion of community, fellowship human dignity and world peace, although in different frameworks. In her Christmas broadcasts in 1950, she refers to Jesus Christ as the ‘Prince of Peace’ to convey a message of “peace, goodwill and reconciliation” (Greenwood, script, 1950, n. p.). But Greenwood, the pragmatic strategist translates the Christian hope for peace into political context to stress that “for peace to become a working reality this could only be achieved through the international machinery of the United Nations”. On 12 December, 1950, a program titled ‘Peace on Earth and Goodwill’, strategically puts the spotlight on the UN stressing the obligations of government signatories to UN treaties and conventions for the peaceful resolution of international disputes.

- **Aboriginal Awareness**

Greenwood’s moral imperative to dedicate herself to work for peace, justice and equality for all persons without discrimination on grounds of sex, race or colour, led her to focus within Australia as well as at an international level:

She was writing from a spiritual world... because the Aborigines not only represented an ‘other’ that had a quite clearly different way of organising the peaceful co-existence, not only between themselves but with the land and also the way in which they had a spiritual connection to the land (Stone, interview, Murray/Stone, 1999).

Greenwood became sensitised to campaigns for social justice for Aboriginal Australians through her mother’s work in the WSG as early as 1916. Daisy Bates

and Mary Montgomery Bennett were European interpreters of Aboriginal beliefs and customs to the WSG in their attempts to enfranchise the Indigenous community who were displaced by European colonisation of Perth. Aborigines were not strangers to Perth:

They had been living on its fringes for most of the previous century. Idle, quiet, in their usual garb of European cast-offs, they could be found any day of the week in some poorer quarters of the town (Bolton, 1994, pp. 9-10).

There was no active political interest in Aboriginal issues by the WSG until the 1920s when members became concerned both with enfranchising Indigenous people, and the high incidence of Aboriginal women being sexually abused by white men. WSG members worked in cooperation with the Chief Protector of Aborigines in WA (under much criticism) to develop legal and political statutes for Aboriginal rights to citizenship (Davidson, 1997, p. 8). The WSG supported a campaign in the 1950s when Director of Aboriginal Affairs, Middleton, coined the phrase, 'not slaves but citizens' to describe the Aboriginal inhabitants in WA.

The principle, 'not slaves but citizens' followed Greenwood to Broome where she developed her radical consciousness in relation to human rights for Indigenous Australians, still non-citizens in the 1920s. As noted, she moved to Broome in 1920 as a young wife and mother, with her new husband, Albert, a law articles clerk, later operating pearl luggers. Greenwood's Aboriginal awareness is conceptualised within the context of the social and economic history of Broome and the "Aboriginal question", explaining the role of Aboriginal labour in the pearling industry. It is significant to note that government documents provide little information on Aboriginal and Asian labour in the region. The hostile attitude on

the part of State and federal governments towards the use of Asian labour is evident from reports published in the local Broome newspaper in the 1920s.

During the period from 1920 to 1925, when Greenwood was in Broome, the *Nor'-West Echo* focused on the "Asiatic question" and the role of Asian labour in the pearling industry in Broome. In 1924, there were "198 luggers in Broome, and of 1,633 employees in the industry...only 109 were whites" ("Pearling bill passed", 1924). The Pearling Act Amendment Bill was aimed to ensure that the pearling industry did not "get into the hands of the Asiatic" ("Pearling bill passed", 1924), although there was a shortage of divers ("Shortage of divers", 1923 & 1924). The pearling industry came under the vehicle of the Minister of the North West and it is reported that, "No thinking pearler can deny that much of the industry's trouble could have been avoided by less government interference" ("Pearler's meeting", 1923). A spokesman for the industry debated an amendment to the pearling industry legislation limiting the number of Japanese employees, arguing, "the Japanese were the best crew" ("Pearler's meeting", 1921).

Aboriginal people were slaves of the pioneering pearlers until Japanese pearlers replaced them in 1872. Aboriginal labour was dispensed of in favour of Asian labour but militancy for wages and conditions by the entrepreneurial Japanese divers exacerbated the profit motive of the European pearlers and by the 1920s the industry survived with the aid of government assistance and Japanese labour. With the onset of World War II, Japanese pearlers were the 'enemy' on Australian shores and sent to prison camps, bringing an end to the historical role of Asian labour in the pearling industry in Broome (Anderson, 1978, pp. 57-59).

The vicissitudes of the pearling industry indicates a history of race-laden government interference when understood in terms of the role of Aboriginal and Asian labour. The Kimberley region contains one of the four richest pearling beds in the world (Anderson, 1978, p. 8), but the history of control by European pearlery on Indigenous communities is a history of gross violations of human rights dating back to 1861 when the colonial government established a pearling industry at Roebuck Bay, exporting 'mother of pearl' shells in 1862. The industry was developed by forced unpaid Indigenous labour.

European control of the pearling industry and government attitudes towards Indigenous Australians had a devastating impact on young Aboriginal men from the Roebuck Bay region who were captured and forced on the luggers to dive for pearls and pearl shells. "In 1879, Aborigines were hounded unmercifully – nearly 1,000 were caught to labour on the luggers". Anderson (1978) based her study on the Bardi and Yaoro communities in the Kimberleys to document a history of callous cruelty where tribal hunters were forcibly removed from a pattern of kinship, shared ritual and spiritual belief, providing a basis of community life. For millennium they had been the protectors of their environment and the precious 'mother of pearl'. In 1886, the township of Broome grew from the pearling camps of the Thursday Islanders, the first residents of Broome. The police station was the first permanent building in the town (Anderson, 1978).

Intimidating strategies were adopted and punishment administered by the pearlery for non-cooperation aimed at:

breaking the spirit of Aboriginal resistance to forced labour. Some were killed...others died of upper respiratory ailments diving ten hours a day without leaving the water for a rest (Anderson, 1978, p. 13).

Under the Pearling Regulation Act of 1871, a written agreement was to be signed by indentured Aborigines in front of a magistrate or a Justice of the Peace determining wages, while as a reliable source of cheap labour, the term 'indentured' meant 'imprisoned' for the Aboriginal divers, still non-citizens. Without wages, remuneration was paid in food and clothes. Legislation aimed at providing protection for Aboriginal divers followed with the Pearl Shell Regulation Act of 1873, legislating policies for better policing of duress on the divers (Anderson, 1978, p. 13-14). But as Asian labour was imported to circumvent that legislation, and following pearler's protests, it was repealed in 1881. The Pearl Shell Fisheries Regulation Act of 1880 was designed to 'protect' Aborigines in the pearling industry, but pearlery ignored regulations to extract surplus profit from cheap Aboriginal labour, and Aborigines were cheated of their economy and their culture (Anderson, 1978).

The manpower demanded of the pearling industry was an outrageous violation of the human rights of Indigenous Australians in the Kimberley region since colonisation. It represents the end of a culture of subsistence, in harmony with the environment, affecting the Bardi and Yaoro communities. The new township of Broome opened Greenwood's eyes to the brutalities, injustices and cruelties against the first Australians, and in particular, the double jeopardy for Aboriginal women who were victimised because of race and sex. "Young women were abducted or seduced away from their clans as companions for the pearlery" (Anderson, 1978, p. 16). Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) living in proximity with the Aboriginal communities, claims an empathy with the ethos of Aboriginal culture from listening to their corroborees at night:

It seeped into my uttermost soul that I knew the messages of the Aboriginal people in the back of the houses who got fed on leftover food...They would make their corroborees at night. They used to meet on the full moon to get their illumination and their light when they used to go out from their miserable little huts.

Greenwood described it as culture shock to see the Aboriginal prisoners from the gaols mowing the high grass in the streets outside her window, shackled in chains. Albert had studied some law and as a legal man working with the only solicitor in Broome in the 1920s, recognised that the legal position of Aboriginal people must be addressed. Together Greenwood and her husband sought legal advice and legal solutions for the women to charge the men who were the fathers of their children. She found that “if they had an Aboriginal parent they were deemed to be Aborigines under the law” (interview, Miller/Greenwood, 1982), seeking to make it possible for Aboriginal women who had children to Anglo-Australian men to seek assistance from the father in the upbringing of the child. Aboriginal children with white fathers were sent to the Catholic and Protestant schools. She sought legal measures to have the chains removed from the prisoners, but to no avail. Albert’s legal work opened Greenwood’s eyes to how some justice could be achieved for Aboriginal people through the legal system, albeit within the paradigm of Australian law.

WA was a conservative community in the 1920s and 1930s and class antagonists such as radical writers Katharine Susannah Prichard and Donald Stuart were not well received. “Trouble-makers and outspoken critics of the status quo are too apt to be belittled or ostracised” (Bolton, 1994, p. xix). Commenting on the conservative backlash, Bolton observes “radical intellectuals such as ...Prichard had a hard time of it and that is wholly compatible with my picture of

Western Australia between the wars". Commenting on the wool industry in the 1920s, Bolton (1994, p. 88) writes, "skilled shearers and bush workers were hard to find and the increasing use of Aboriginal Labour, despite their low and non-existent wages, was not as cheap as one might have supposed". But he said, "the story of white-Aboriginal relations in Australia was not altogether a pretty sight" (Bolton, 1994, p. 9). Bolton knew Greenwood personally as participating during this era of left-wing radicalism in WA when Katharine Susannah Prichard and Donald Stuart influenced her philosophies for peace, social justice and equality of human rights for Indigenous Australians.

Greenwood came into contact with Aboriginal people again in Darwin in 1953, staying for several months on brother John's station 'Alkedra' in the Northern Territory. Here, through the history of her brother's role in the development of Darwin, she made connections with the Aborigines working on the stations, and according to Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999), "she saw ...how absolutely well the Aborigines and non-Indigenous people could work together on a station when Aborigines were paid well and well treated". Of course this concession fell short of social justice where Anglo-Australian men held the power and control of Aboriginal land.

Stuart had also attended Perth Modern School forming the basis of Greenwood's egalitarian values. Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) describes writers such as Stuart and Prichard as, "seeking the myths and the wonder of the primitiveness of the land and trying to reflect the Aboriginal ideas and ethos of the land". She talked to Stone (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) immediately following Stuart's death in 1983 and was clearly distressed:

When we got the sad and tragic news of Donald's death, some of me died. He was an atheist. He had no conventional religious belief in an afterlife...He was a full initiate of the tribes.

Albert's mining prospects in Broome left Greenwood alone with their children, leaving her free to pursue justice for the Indigenous community in the North West of WA; an issue that remained a priority throughout her lifetime of social activism. The family returned to Perth in 1925 and for the next few years, she maintained full time roles as wife and mother, while pursuing her feminist objectives through the various Western Australian women's and peace organisations.

Albert's oil prospects at Lakes Entrance in Victoria meant leaving Greenwood alone in her domestic role giving her the space and freedom to pursue her feminist interests, leading to another radical turning point in her political consciousness by the 1930s, through her radio work and activism in Sydney, indicating clear leanings towards the political left.

Greenwood (quoted in Williams, 1993, p. 234) translates W.H. Auden's *Testament of Belief*, to the title *My Own Faith*, published in full as one of the poems she had requested for reading at her wake:

All I have is a voice, to undo the folded lie
The romantic lie in the brain
Of the sensual man-in-the-street
And the lie of Authority
Whose buildings grope the sky;
There is no such thing as the State
And no one exists alone;
Hunger allows no choice
To the citizens or the police;
We must love one another or die.

Defenceless under the night
Our world in stupor lies;
Yet dotted everywhere,

Ironic points of light
Flash out wherever the Just
Exchange their messages;
Nay I composed like them of Eros and of dust
Beleaguered by the same negation and despair
Show an affirming flame.

Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999) makes the connection between Greenwood's passion for peace, justice and equality of human rights and her empathy with Aboriginal people, and their environmentally reverent ethos, and 'sacred link' with the land:

Her search for the spiritual was the transactions that she had with people. She was writing from a spiritual world that didn't have to come from the Christian tradition... She had absolute affinity with the Aboriginal people and kept in touch with the Aboriginal community when back in Perth, particularly women.



Figure 5. Nora Shea with Irene Greenwood after interview on 'Woman to Woman' 1950. Permission to publish photograph courtesy Grant Stone, Curator, the *Irene Greenwood Collection*.

The photograph (Figure 5) is Greenwood's favourite in her collection, taken at the 6PM radio studio in 1950 after interviewing Aboriginal typist at the Native Affairs Department, Nora Shea, in recognition of the first Aboriginal person to be employed in the public service in WA. Since Broome in the 1920s, seeking justice for the first Australians was one of Irene Greenwood's private goals.

This chapter has considered the early influences of religion on the early women's movement, and Greenwood's response to argue that while drawing inspiration from Christian Scripture for the moral imperative to work for justice

and peace, I have shown that she contested laws that discriminated against and undermined women's bodily integrity. Developing analysis to the impact of socialism, replacing religion as a preferred framework for achieving social justice, if labelled, Greenwood is then a Christian/socialist, operating in a liberal framework. I have argued that Broome in the 1920s was a significant landmark in the development of her radical political consciousness in terms of the Aboriginal question. By the 1930s, back in Perth, she was further inspired on Indigenous issues by the rationalist or 'realist' writers from Prichard's 'inner circle' of radical intellectuals in Perth. By the 1950s in the Northern Territory, she saw through her own eyes, some progress for Indigenous rights in employment and wages. A commitment to justice for all Australians engaged Greenwood's energies in Broome in the 1920s and the issue remained high on the agenda when she became active with Sydney activists, and leaders in the women's movement in Sydney, Jessie Street and Linda Littlejohn, influencing her 'leftist' views.

CHAPTER 5

‘THE CATALYST YEARS’, SYDNEY (1931-1935)

In previous chapters I have argued that as a reformist, Greenwood believed that in a democratic political system, the impact of lobbying could obtain reform and bring gender justice to women. In this chapter, I trace the development of her radical political consciousness to Sydney in the 1930s, where she was active with the United Associations of Women (UAW), led by Jessie Street and Linda Littlejohn, socialist internationalist feminists. Street and Littlejohn were followers of Karl Marx, who influenced Greenwood also, as she said:

that’s the red thread of revolution...that runs for the whole of my life’s pattern (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

In 1931, Greenwood with her family moved to Sydney to live because of Albert’s business ventures “which were always precarious” (Greenwood, diary, 1983, n. p.). Her step out from private life into the public arena in Sydney changed her life forever, as she became a public speaker, social activist and feminist broadcaster.

- **Socialist internationalists**

Greenwood (interview, de Berg/Greenwood, 1977) describes Sydney as the turning point for her sympathies with the political left:

Some of their members felt that merely to ask for legislative reform was not enough, that the whole socio-political system needed reform; that there was need to look at sources of power. Therefore, like many others throughout the world in the 1930s who were working for peace and social justice, I turned to leftist

causes.

WA had been a parochial society from its beginnings, given Perth's isolation, flanked by desert and the Indian Ocean. Thus, unlike sister organisations in the other Australian States, Greenwood's activism, until the 1930s, took place from an isolated base, 4,000 kilometres from the East Coast. Greenwood ("Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.) recounts:

I did not know it then but my whole life style was to be changed. 5 years in Sydney in the depression years of questioning, searching for solutions, confrontations, conflagulations and demonstrations. Atmosphere electric sparks flying. This was the East...it might have been another country.

When Greenwood got to Sydney, Mary Driver had already established close friendships with the Sydney leaders. Greenwood first came into contact with Street and Littlejohn when she was asked by Rischbieth to act as a delegate to a triennial conference of her AFWV.

So the transitional move to Sydney in the 1930s was for Greenwood "a completely 'new wave', transported into a society of mature, educated, 'elitist' vocal advocates of women's rights" (Greenwood, "Go Proudly", n. d, n. p.). Greenwood ("Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.) describes her arrival in Sydney in 1931:

In Sydney I was rescued by arrival of Bessie M. Rischbieth, Jessie M. Street, Linda Littlejohn and leading feminists who belong to a new type of well-to-do women who gathered me up and I found myself working for Causes of diverse kinds. Hansards became daily reading. Broadcasting, debating, speaking on platforms on a non-party basis.

Jessie Street stands out in the history of Australian feminism. She initiated moves that resulted in international conventions on political equality for women, supported by Linda Littlejohn, but Littlejohn, who influenced Greenwood's broadcasting career, is almost hidden from history.

In the 1920s Street and Littlejohn travelled to Geneva where they attended an 'At Home' hosted by 'Open Door International', comprising eight countries. Alice Paul, a leader of the National Women's Party in the USA, who had long lobbied for women's right to work, was the first president. When the 'Open Door International' became 'The Equal Rights International', Street succeeded Paul as a president. The Equal Rights International targeted the International Labour Organisation (ILO) through the League of Nations (Sekules, 1978, p. 168) before the advent of the UN in 1945.

Street was appointed by ALP Prime Minister, Ben Chifley, as the sole woman in 1945 in the Australian delegation to the founding conference of the UN in San Francisco, led by Justice Herbert Evatt (Sekules 1978; Richardson 1988; Giles, 1997). In San Francisco in 1945, with other women, Street helped establish the Permanent Commission on the Status of Women at the UN and became Australia's representative on that Commission. Following on from her work with the ILO in the 1920s, Street in her work with the UN, continued to campaign for equality of opportunity, equal pay, child endowment, childcare, family planning, divorce law reform, expanded employment opportunities for women, appointment of women to public office and their election to parliaments. Street wrote an important report on Australian Indigenous people in 1957 and drafted the Constitutional Amendment that eventually led to the granting of citizenship to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in 1967 ("Woman Before Her Time", Pamphlet, n. d.). Through the UN, Street lobbied for the Declaration for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1968), which became a convention in 1979.

Married to Sir Kenneth Street, Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of NSW, Lady Street died in 1970 aged eighty-one. Recognised as a feminist and a champion of the workers of the world, Street was born into a wealthy and privileged family spending time on her grandfather's property in NSW. She was educated at a progressive school for girls in England, an unlikely background for a stated socialist. After graduating from Sydney University, she spent a year abroad where she became involved with the suffragette movement. "She worked in a factory herself to understand the conditions of the working class" (Greenwood, "Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.). Politically, Street was undoubtedly, Greenwood's most influential mentor in terms of the internationalism of feminism and the importance of UN conventions, vesting their faith in international law.

In the late 1930s Street produced a pamphlet called *Income for Wives: How It can be Managed or The Economic Independence of Married Women*, which "made the right to an income for women the very foundation of human liberty," (Lake, 1999, p. 65). Street's conversion to socialism began during the Depression, was consolidated after a trip to the Soviet Union in 1938 and, during the war, she organised the Sheepskins for Russia campaign, becoming active in organisations devoted to friendship with Russia. Street's biographer, Peter Sekules, (1978, p.146) notes, "in the years before the 1949 federal election when a coalition led by Menzies ended eight years of ALP administration, Jessie Street was commonly known as Red Jessie".

Street (1950) writes to Greenwood:

Dear Irene

Please excuse this short letter but I am leaving for England on June 30 to do a lecture tour for the British Peace Council. I also

expect to be one of the Australian representatives to the World Peace Conference to be held in Milan in October.

Street's commitment to international feminism, justice and peace constitutes a significant chapter in the history of the Australian women's movement. But, just as Greenwood's uncatalogued records are exasperating to a researcher with boxes of press clippings often lacking dates and page numbers, and her 'unpublished memoirs' scattered and scribbled notes, so Greenwood (diary, 1977, n. p.) expresses frustration about *Truth or Repose* (1978) as a resource:

J.S.'s papers right to my hands...23 boxes roughly listed under jumbled headings. Manila files filled with various brochures...no sort of order that I could judge. Just like Jessie's life, a mish-mash...her book...lacked above all an editor to advise/prune/cut and assemble. No index. No reference notes. It continues to be the most exasperating exercise in the women's movement.

- **Feminist Broadcasting, Sydney (1931-1935)**

Street and Littlejohn nurtured Greenwood the broadcaster, when they appointed her as secretary of the UAW Broadcasting Committee on the basis of her feminist history, keen debating expertise, and excellent voice for broadcasting and public speaking. Her broadcasting career began in Sydney with the ABC and commercial radio, on *Women's Session's* promoting the aims and objectives of the women's movement. Her ABC program, *Women in the World* formed the foundation upon which she built her controversial talks at the ABC in Perth, *Women in the International News* (1936-42), which I shall discuss in chapter 7.

Linda Littlejohn became prominent internationally when elected president of the Geneva based Equal Rights International and, as noted, as a journalist and broadcaster, had the greater impact on Greenwood's foray into Sydney radio. Greenwood (interview, Waite/Greenwood, 1982) talked about Jessie Street's influence on her feminism and when asked to talk about her radio work, she said:

It was Linda Littlejohn who was the greater influence. You must remember that Linda Littlejohn claimed herself a feminist at a time when it wasn't popular. When the first *Women's Weekly* came on the streets there was a front-page article with a photograph of Linda Littlejohn, 'Why am I a feminist?' So she set to work to rope me in and made me a Secretary.

Littlejohn was Director of the *Women's Session* on 2GB, a news-based commercial station in Sydney. Greenwood often deputised when Littlejohn was out of town. Littlejohn followed Street as president of the UAW in the 1930s and Greenwood became a vice-president.

A key strategy that Greenwood learned from Street and Littlejohn was the importance for any movement to have at its flagship powerful public speakers on platforms, and for getting their messages out to the broader community through the media. Lake (1999, p. 36) uses the proliferation of feminist journals (*The Dawn*, *Woman's Suffrage Journal*, *Woman's Voice*, *Woman's Sphere*) to stress "women's desire for education that will educate them and stimulate radical thinking, as well as providing opportunities for publication, debate and public speaking".

During the 1930s, public debate and broadcasting were strategies by which the UAW publicised women's issues. Greenwood (interview, Waite/Greenwood, 1982) recounts with some glee the intellectual edge of the women's debating team over the men. "I might mention that in our debating team which Linda Littlejohn

set up, three women in fifty men's debating teams, we won both the cup and the shield against all male teams in 1934". Debating was one way for the radical arm of the women's movement to get its messages across. Another and more powerful lobbying tactic was using radio and newspapers, which was much more Greenwood's style. Littlejohn presented a paper to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) on 'Radio and Woman Listeners', but:

Her radio and press work had made her a household name... Today... few Australians would know her name... Linda Littlejohn, like much of feminism, has been effectively written out of history (Lake, 1999, p. 1).

In the 1930s and 1940s the UAW was the voice for Australian feminism. Greenwood and Littlejohn were the broadcast voices for the women's movement for promoting its objectives. Financially well off, Rischbieth and Street were crucial in subsidising the women's movement in the 1930s, but these disparate women became political antagonists by the end of World War II, leading to a struggle for the leadership in the women's movement in WA, discussed below.

Socialist internationalists, Street and Littlejohn, go down in history for getting the principle of 'sex equality' on the international map. But by seeking equal admission into the international arena, international principles reinforced the idea that men's way of organising the world is natural and value free (Lake, 1999). But when reading the lives of the internationalist socialist feminists, in historical context, it must be remembered that the UN Universal Declaration for Human Rights did not come into effect until 1948. This resulted in two treaties, the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which did not come into force until 1976 (Suter, 1995, p. 26).

In the 1930s, women active in the women's movement did not use the term 'human rights'. Street and Littlejohn were 'equal rights' socialists.

The UAW broke away from the non-party principle when Street made a public stance on socialism, made most obvious when she visited Moscow in 1938. Greenwood's position on the political left was well established by 1934 when she went public for the first time speaking at the Sydney Domain in support of a Czech anti-Fascist, Egon Kisch, a member of the Congress for Peace and Against Fascism. He was a representative of the Soviet-based Movement Against War and Fascism, a left-wing movement into which Prichard had pushed Greenwood (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999). Led by Street, the UAW responded to the Movement Against War and Fascism, launching a nation wide protest campaign against the authorities in Fremantle wharf in WA for refusing Kisch permission to disembark.

Officially, the UAW disassociated from the Movement Against War and Fascism to work within the conservative non-party guidelines of Rischbieth's AFWV. But, unofficially, the Kisch incident was one of the first indications that factions of the UAW were prepared to cooperate with socialist organisations. Giles (1977, p. 4) recounts with some humour, Greenwood's experience while sharing the stage with Kisch in Sydney:

I was always put on the platform because they needed women and I was little and cute and had blazing red hair. I was standing next to a clergyman who gave me his glasses to hold while he spoke. Kisch appeared, the crowd went wild, and the clergyman dropped dead.

The clergyman was the Reverend Dr. Albert Rivett (Richardson, 1988, p. 12). Greenwood emerges as witty with a wicked sense of fun, but she took her

politics very seriously. The more vocal the UAW became in its socialist stance, the more tensions developed between conservative and radical camps of the women's movement. Greenwood showed her public alliance when she supported Street's Sheepskins for Russia campaign. The WSG and the conservative arm of the women's movement in WA pinned their main hopes on the League of Nations and similarly in Sydney, "Street, Littlejohn and Greenwood formed an invincible team to debate issues such as the survival of the League of Nations" (Giles, 1997, p. 3). The other reference for peace for the UAW was the Soviet model of Marxist socialism, much to the chagrin of Rischbieth and Cowan.

Greenwood is indebted to the Sydney socialists: "They enabled me to talk week in and week out about women in the world, their aspirations and achievements" ("Irene Greenwood" quoted in 6M, 1949, n. p.). Greenwood (1949, n. p.) describes the five-year stint in Sydney as the catalyst years. "I discovered the emergence of politics, where previously I moved in non-party political circles of independent thinking women across party lines". Elsewhere she writes, "my political activism, come radicalism was confirmed then and for many years afterwards my faith in positive action became political" (Greenwood, "Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.). Describing 'radicalism' as "a creative driving force for change versus the entrenched conservatism of a colonial mentality as embedded in an inculcated Anglican ethos", she compares Sydney with Perth:

Customs, forms of speech, even were different from the quiet countrified West with observance of polite manners, the niceties of interpersonal procedures. I from the conservative elements of the West with establishment background found the crucible, the raw material Jessie Street drew into orbit.

Street and Littlejohn were socialite socialists, but they were more than a ‘hat and gloves’ brigade. Emerging from Greenwood’s writings are two basic references upon which she drew to facilitate frameworks for a permanent and sustainable peace; firstly, the international machinery of the League of Nations (1920) and the UN (1945), supported by both camps of the women’s movement (politically aligned and non-party), and secondly, Marxist socialist solutions. The difference with the UAW from the sister organisations was that the UAW was political.

On her return to Perth in 1935, communist and writer, Katharine Susannah Prichard reaffirmed Greenwood’s communist sympathies, reaffirming her predilection for socialist solutions as the most coherent model to build peaceful societies. But her radical turning point for left-wing sympathies was in Sydney in 1930, before renewing acquaintance with Prichard. Evidence supports Greenwood’s radical left-wing credentials.

- **Greenwood under surveillance**

When interviewed, former Labor Senator, Patricia Giles, one of Greenwood’s protégés on the political left, was convinced that Greenwood was never a card-holding member of the Communist Party in WA. Giles first heard of Greenwood when she arrived in Perth from Adelaide in the 1950s with her husband and young family, renting Prichard’s famous house in Greenmount, “Megalong”. She knew Greenwood only distantly through her association with the Western Australian branch of the Fellowship of Australian Writers, founded by Prichard. She had not

heard Greenwood on the air, as she did not listen to commercial radio. Giles' husband, an establishment medical doctor was a member of the Communist Party, but Giles was married for five years before she knew (Personal Conversation, 2001). Greenwood led almost everyone, including her family members, into believing that she was never a card-holding member of the CPA. Giles (interview, Murray/Giles, 1998) offers one explanation. "It was at the request of the leadership during the Australian McCarthyism and Menzies era. Irene was considered to be more effective on the outside". Giles (1997, p. 4) asserts that Greenwood:

was very proud that Bill Latter, Bob McMullan and other leaders in the WA Labor movement were receptive to the efforts of one of the many organisations close to her heart, the Association for Equal Pay and Opportunity. She took great pleasure in having contributed to their enlightenment.

Greenwood's clear pro-ALP stance is amplified in Chapter 10, particularly during the term of the Whitlam federal ALP Government during the 1970s. ASIO records reveal that Greenwood joined the CPA in 1942 (the party was illegal between 1940 and 1942) and became a member of the Nedlands branch in 1948. Extracts of ASIO documents reveal that she was under surveillance as a broadcaster, a feminist and an advocate for peace. Mary Driver, an unlikely suspect, was also under ASIO surveillance to suggest that during this period, if peace was not a 'communist plot', Australian intelligence agents perceived it as a subversive activity.

Betty Daly-King, (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000) believes that Greenwood never joined the Communist Party:

It is what she says herself, and she always said she was an agnostic. She was sympathetic to what she referred to as the

great human experiment-meaning communism in the Soviet Union. I do not see how she could reconcile her peace values with Stalin's purges, invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and she was consistent in her drives for peace and freedom built on a just society. Now, she always said that she had never been a card-carrying communist, but it is no secret that she had many friends in what I call Left of Left and she did deceive us all about her age didn't she?

Joan Williams (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) knew that Greenwood was a card-holding communist:

She was very courageous. She joined during World War II. That was a pretty tough time for us in Perth. John Thompson and his wife Patricia, Editors of the *Workers Star* recruited her. It was not broadcast from the housetops especially during the illegal period, but she did definitely join the Party and was a member for quite a long time.

Williams said the CPA protected Greenwood from publicity about her membership because of her public media work. At the time she joined; she was at the ABC (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000). In her autobiography, Williams refers to the "Cottesloe Kremlin" (1993). When asked for evidence that Greenwood was a card-holding communist, Williams (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) claims, "There are no records. They were all destroyed... ASIO would have some but I wouldn't consider them reliable as they were labelling progressives as 'Fellow Travellers' or communists between 1940 and 1942 during the illegal period and up until the end of the war".

It is not possible to obtain information from ASIO under the Freedom for Information Act. However, selected extracts of Greenwood's file were obtained through the National Archive Act (1986) from the National Archives of Australia in Canberra. ASIO (1952, p. 1) clearly identifies a file on 'Irene Adelaide Greenwood':

5. Documents now in possession of this office suggest that she joined the C.P. of A. in 1942 and in 1948 was a member of the Nedlands branch of the C.P. of A. In recent years she has been active in the Australian Russian Society, the International Women's Day Committee and the Fellowship of Australian Writers.

If her ABC broadcasts made Greenwood's politics visible, ASIO (1952, p.

1) was interested in her commercial broadcasts too:

6. Since 1949 she has conducted a daily session entitled 'Woman to Woman' over radio station 6PM and during her absence from this State is to send fortnightly newsletters back to the station where they will be read over the air.

ASIO (1952, p. 2) documents that, "She also assisted the CPA on a number of occasions by interviewing on her radio session 'Woman to Woman' delegates returning from communist sponsored conferences overseas". ASIO (1952, p. 2) notes Greenwood's membership number:

The A.C.P. 1949 Nedlands branch Master Card seized by Police from the possession of Sam Aarons on 1/5/49 included the following particulars which are believed to refer to subject: Date Joined Party 1942; Memb. Card No. 8312; Age 45; Occupation Announcer.

Memorandums between various State Regional Directors reported to Headquarters (ASIO, 1952, p. 1):

2. Mrs. Greenwood is to travel to Adelaide on the m.v. "Duntroon" and is occupying first class berth number 131 on "C" deck. The ship is expected to arrive in Port Adelaide on 25 June.

Greenwood's mother, Mary Driver also came under surveillance (ASIO (1952, n. p.) for her international feminist activities:

A notebook found in the possession of Communist Patrick Lawrence Troy in 1940 contained a list of subscriptions apparently to A.C.P. funds, which included the name Mrs. Driver... On 8/2/51 a Mrs. M.A. Driver attended a meeting of the International Women's Day Committee in Perth.

Similarly, Driver's role as Chairperson on the Soviet inspired International Peace Committee was drawn to ASIO (1962, n. p.) attention:

13. Subject's mother, Mrs. Mary Ann DRIVER is recorded in 1940 as chairman of the WA Women's Committee of the International Peace Campaign, and in the same year as chairman of a meeting of women's organisations at which she represented International Women's Day Committee.

Greenwood's membership of the CPA in WA meant that her husband, Albert, was also under ASIO surveillance. ASIO (1952, n. p.) to ASIO headquarters reports:

Albert Ernest Greenwood, the husband of Irene Greenwood, C.P. of A. member, has applied for a passport...the purpose of his trip he informed Immigration official was for business reasons...He describes himself as a broker and secretary and stated he would be travelling to Africa, India and Canada. He was refused a passport on Oct. 21, 43 under the Defence (National Security Passport) regulations. As a result he wrote to the Prime Minister, Mr. John Curtin on Oct. 18, 44 for a passport and on 7 Dec. 44 approval was given for one to be issued. A passport was made out for him on Jan. 3, 46 but it was never collected.

The ASIO files reveal no evidence to indicate that Albert did collect a passport, or whether Greenwood collaborated with the Communist Party in Australia or had connections in Moscow. But it can be construed from ASIO records that she was a member of the CPA from 1942 until at least 1951.

- **Australian Women's Charter**

Greenwood's involvement in the politics of the Australian Women's Charter is explained in the context of the rivalries in the leadership in the women's organisations in Perth and Sydney. The Perth-based AFWV, led by Bessie

Rischbieth, distinguished itself from the other national body that sought to represent the interests of women, the NCW, led by Edith Cowan. The WSG, the Women's Non Party Association (South Australia), the Women's Non Party Political League (Tasmania), the UAW and the Feminist Club in NSW were all affiliated with the AFWV in the 1920s under Rischbieth's reign (Lake, 1999). The AFWV was the peak national coordinating body of the women's movement in the 1930s, making Rischbieth the international voice for Australian women.

To ensure that wartime gains in pay and status were to be consolidated, women in WA, as in the other States, threw themselves into work for the Australian Women's Charter, adopted in 1943 by a conference of ninety-two organisations, led by Jessie Street. When the UAW went public in its support of socialist organisations, it created tensions with the non-party aligned women's organisations and those aligned with the political left, creating deep divisions in the leadership.

Jessie Street's brainchild, the Australian Women's Charter, was the most comprehensive attempt yet seen to formally unite the various factions, rivalries, conflicts and antagonisms that underscored the feminists who were active in the 1940s. The Charter has been well documented now (Sekules, 1978; Richardson, 1988; Davidson, 1977; Lake, 1999) but the 'Jessie/Bessie' feud is an under-reported account of the leadership struggle.

As the international voice for Australian women, president of the Perth-based WSG, Rischbieth led the first delegation to a women's conference in Rome in May 1923 held by the International Women's Suffrage Alliance. Inspired by the Rome conference she returned to Perth to focus on the national sphere

considering it more pressing for women to have an international voice since the formation of the League of Nations. Only a national body could affiliate with an international body. A founding president of the AFWV, Rischbieth operated from the WSG headquarters in Perth and until the advent of the first Charter conference in 1943, she had her own Charter to implement.

Rival factions existed in WA in the 1920s when Cowan led a campaign to discredit Rischbieth after she was appointed State general secretary of the WSG of WA. This gave her a mandate to deal with matters arising out of State, interstate, federal and international correspondence, affirming her as the international voice for Australian feminism:

Edith Cowan took exception to the 'Woman's Charter', a phrase which Bessie used when referring to the work of the Rome Congress. Edith portrayed Bessie as a militant while the National Council of Women sought peaceful solution of the social and economic position of women (Davidson, 1977, p. 99).

The NCW discredited the Australian delegation led by Rischbieth by sending a cable to the international president of the National Council stating:

Australians attending IWSA Congress, Rome, not representative, majority Australian Women's Organisations or National Councils. Please inform Rome Congress if you think wise (Davidson, 1997, p. 96).

During the 1946 conference, the NSW Chapter of the NCW broke away from Street's Charter creating more tensions in the leadership in WA. Rischbieth was close to Prime Minister John Curtin, and Street was close to Herbert Evatt through the UN (Davidson, 1997, p. 102).

The formation of the AFWV in 1921 undermined the pre-eminence of the NCW and diminished Cowan's leadership as president. "They were 'sour grapes' when Bessie successfully persuaded Billy Hughes to appoint a woman as

Alternative Delegate to the League of Nations” (Davidson, 1997, p. 92).

Cowan embarked on a concerted campaign to discredit Rischbieth. A letter published in the *Melbourne Age* questioned the right of the AFWV to speak for Australian women. In a response written by Elizabeth Clapham, vice-president of the WSG, the letter states:

While Mrs. Cowan was in the Eastern States early this year, a series of articles...appeared in the eastern press. Curiously enough, these articles (discrediting the Australian Federation of Women Voters and the Australian delegation) appeared soon after Mrs. Cowan's arrival in the East and ceased simultaneously with her departure for the West (Davidson, 1997, p. 94).

By the 1940s it was Rischbieth who was protesting when Street was appointed to the first delegation of the UN under the Chifley Labor government in 1945, led by Evatt. In 1945 when Street joined the Australian delegation at the inaugural meeting of the UN, she “succeeded in having inserted into the Charter the clause that men and women should be equally eligible to participate in any capacity in its organs or agencies” (Williams, 1993, p. 231). But Street's Charter introduced new tensions in the leadership struggle. Lake (1999, p.144) reports an attack in the press in Sydney aimed at discrediting Street and the UAW:

In 1948, the *Sydney Morning Herald* accused the United Associations of being an organisation ‘in which Communists and fellow travellers form a majority or in which they appear to possess influence outweighing their proportion of membership’.

By 1942, Greenwood was publicly visible as a Street supporter and highly established as an ABC broadcaster with a loyal audience. She was the Organising secretary of the Perth branch of the Russian Medical Aid Society and a member of the Australian-Russian Society. Street was on the National Executive of both. Street's commitment to socialism was publicly vindicated when she launched her

Charter in 1943. Her objective was to draw support from organisations to develop a coherent strategy for uniting the conflicting factions of the women's movement towards common aims. Included in a core of universally acceptable objectives the Charter included equal citizenship rights, equal pay, anti-sex discrimination legislation, divorce law reform, equal access to education, a government organised child care system and a motherhood or home-maker allowance.

The core objectives of the UAW were similar to the legalistic wing of the WSG and the AFWV, making it clear that it was personal antagonisms that split the women's movement, more than differing political ideologies. The closest the objectives came to being realised was at the 1943 Charter Conference during the war "when two hundred women representing ninety-one organisations agreed on a set of resolutions" (Sekules, 1978, p. 111). The theme for the 1943 Conference was *A War to Win - A World to Gain*. "It was a significant year for the women's movement when the Women's Employment Board granted equal pay - or near equal pay to thousands of female workers in wartime industries" (Sekules, 1978, p. 111).

The 1943 Charter Conference held in Perth was the largest and the most representative women's conference yet held in Australia. "It was in many ways a high point in the history of Australian feminism" (Lake, 1999, p. 190). However, the Charter, in seeking reforms for the post World War II period, considered women as political and economic subjects, citizens, mothers and workers, and not as independent, autonomous desiring sexual beings.

The post-war conference, held in Sydney in 1946 was not as effective as the first. Street did not claim the Charter as the exclusive property of the dissident

radicals, but she was castigated for being a communist. Her vision within the political climate of liberal pluralism was to recruit a united front, to form an effective pressure group, giving women a united voice (Richardson, 1988).

Rischbieth lost her power base to Street mainly because she was marooned in the UK for the duration of the war. Davidson (1997, p. 204) notes that Street's communist stance "sharpened antagonism between Bessie and Jessie when Bessie returned from the UK in a fierce defence of Western parliamentary democracy". Street stood on a principle of cooperation and consensus but when she led a delegation of thirteen Sydney women to Canberra in 1944 to present the Charter to Prime Minister Curtin, "she did so without the consent of the other States". Davidson (1997, p. 201) explains how the rival camps in the women's movement used the media:

The National Council of Women attacked the Charter in an article in the *West Australian* in May 1944 stating that the National Council of Women had disassociated itself from the Charter saying that it was not representative of a broad range of women's organisations. Isabel Johnson, Guild President responded by writing an article to the Editor to the effect that the Charter represented the views of women's organisations that were seeking equal citizenship.

Other women's organisations distanced themselves from Jessie's "high-handed tactics" (Davidson, 1997, p. 204). When the second Charter conference was organised in Sydney in 1946, it was the first post-war meeting of national and international women. The lengthy conference theme was, *Those that have contributed substantially to victory are entitled to make a corresponding contribution to peace*. Greenwood flew to Sydney to cover the event for the ABC *Women's Session*. It was a big event attended by delegates from India, France, Ceylon and New Zealand. "Travel restrictions prevented delegates from the

USSR, the United States and China from attending” (Lake, 1999, p.194) much to Street and Greenwood’s disappointment.

The emphasis of the conference was on peace, with marchers carrying banners to Sydney’s Cenotaph in Martin Place where Conference Chair, Jessie Street, placed a wreath (Lake, 1999, p.194). But if ‘peace’ was the stated theme for the Charter conference, on her return from the UK, Bessie Rischbieth declared ‘war’ on her political opposite, Jessie Street. When the Chifley Government appointed Street to the first Australian delegation to the UN Assembly in San Francisco in 1945, the Women’s Charter Committee was given the job of national consultation with women’s organisations, “much to Bessie Rischbieth’s disapproval” (Giles, 1997, p. 4). Street, through her Women’s Charter, succeeded in replacing Rischbieth’s AFWV, by making the UAW the peak women’s organisation. As a consequence, Street became the representative voice for Australian women.

Greenwood’s broadcast in September 1946 was based on the evening before the conference was due to commence. Street and Greenwood were anxious about the arrival of the Soviet delegation. The American women had transport problems and returned home. Greenwood recounts her joy at seeing the Indian delegation appear. “Like the first swallows of spring, our two Indian delegates flew in on the flying boat” (Greenwood, script, 1946, p.1). The French and New Zealand women arrived, but what had happened to the Russians? Greenwood (1946, p. 2) reports for the ABC:

On the second day Mrs. Street read the news that six Russian women had left Moscow...an engineer, chairman of the Collective farm, professor member of the Supreme Soviet and leader of the main women’s organisation...Each morning the

question went around have the Russians arrived yet? Are they here? Each evening they seemed further away than ever. The International night was postponed and postponed so that they could speak. But as you know they too turned back.

“Evidently Moscow announced that the Australian government had deliberately blocked the Soviet delegation” (Richardson, 1988, p. 28). In a letter written from Manly to “the family”, Greenwood (1946) writes:

Our talk was on the Soviet delegation... Jessie got Clive Evatt to cable his brother and we asked everyone to deluge the Prime Minister with protest telegrams saying that if six mannequins could fly from Paris for dress shows, the Russian goodwill delegation should be given air travel. One Dept. passed the buck to another... British say they haven't been inoculated against yellow fever. We say, BOLONEY.

In her radio report, Greenwood (1946, p. 2) highlights the significantly historical role of Street in establishing the UN Commission for the Status of Women:

Two of its clauses were underlined by news that arrived while we were in session. In regard to equality, the Sub-Committee on Status of Women, in whose setting up at San Francisco, Mrs. Street took a leading part, was elevated to a full Commission of the United Nations Organisation. A great step forward.

Equality between men and women in all laws, regulations and usage was enshrined in the Australian Women's Charter, reaffirming the need for the immediate application of the principle of equality. But Lake (1999, p. 197) argues, “For Australian feminists in the 1940s, sexuality remained the site of women's degradation”. So interpersonal antagonisms and jealousies made an official accord with the various factions in the women's movement an unworkable possibility. Giles (1997, p. 4) considers Jessie's triumph over Bessie as a cause for celebration:

A Cause celebre of the 40s, still to be completely documented was the feud between the traditionally moderate Bessie Rischbieth, President of the WSG in WA and Jessie Street a leading figure in a sister organisation in NSW, a more forthright woman with strong left leanings.

Noting that “Jessie stood for parliament as a feminist, a strategy quite beyond anything of which Bessie would have approved” Giles (1997, pp. 4-5) signalled that there was more to the Jessie/Bessie feud than was ever revealed:

Irene recalled to me her distress, years later, and hinted at dark secrets, which could not be revealed until both Jessie, and Bessie were dead. Irene’s record of this feud, which is guarded assiduously, document details, which have yet to be made public.

Of course Jessie and Bessie were both dead by 1970, but if there were ‘dark secrets’ available, they evaded my search in the *Irene Greenwood Collection*. It is possible that they were recorded only in Greenwood’s mind and lost to history with her death. There is some evidence though that by the time Street was in Perth in 1949, canvassing for the ailing Charter, Rischbieth had returned to Perth from overseas. Evidence supports the fact that she was determined to undermine Street by labelling the Charter a ‘communist plot’. Rischbieth (1949 quoted in Richardson, 1988, p. 15) published the following letter in *The West Australian*:

As the program of the conference was practically identical with a well-established women’s organisation (State federal and international in scope) with which I am closely connected...Mrs. Street represented the Women’s Charter Conference at Paris in late 1945, when this world federation of women was inaugurated. I know for a fact that she was then and there elected to the International Executive Council. This federation is considered by the pre-war international organisations to be communist directed, and it is today dividing the worldwide women’s movement into two distinct camps with rival ideologies.

At the time Rischbieth's letter appeared in the local newspaper, Greenwood was broadcasting commercially her *Woman to Woman* program for 6PM. In response to the press attack, Greenwood (script, 1949) interviewed Street as *Woman of the Week*, assuming a mediating role in the Jessie/Bessie dispute:

Greenwood: Would you clarify the impression that seems to be held by many groups here, that the Charter is the rival organisation, which might be duplicating action already being taken by them? I think what you have said indicates that it is not; but it is rather a coordinating consultative.

Street: That is right...The Charter is purely an Australian organisation; it is an accredited society of the United Nations. When I came back in 1946 after having attended the Women's International Democratic Federation, I advised against affiliation with this body because it would destroy the nature of our body to being merely a consultative organ and the channel for cooperation.

Research indicates that Rischbieth was provoked more by her personal antagonism towards Street than any real hostility towards communism (Richardson, 1988, Davidson 1997, Giles 1997, Lake, 1999). In the history of Australian feminism the polity had changed direction. During Rischbieth's absence overseas, Street had usurped her position as federal coordinator and international peace representative. Rischbieth's pro-conscription stance when nominated for presidency of the WSG is explained by Lake. "Much as she detested war she felt we were in honour bound to stand by those men who had gone forward to help the Empire as we must see this great nation through as a Commonwealth" (Lake, 1999, p. 55). Greenwood ("Go Proudly" n. d., n. p.) favourably compared Street's peace platform with Rischbieth's:

She went to Los Angeles and to San Francisco to the Committee under which the United Nations was set up and she was very proud of and always flaunted the Charter of the UN where it said that all posts within the UN shall be open to all persons

irrespective of race, creed, or religion. She had the words 'and sex' inserted so that no place within the UN or its agencies could be denied to women because of their sex.

In May 1949 Mary Driver wrote to Greenwood from Darwin:

I noted the report of Bessie's counter to Jessie's visit and guessed what had happened. Bess would think that clever, but really she should know it would react on herself. Those two women are as far apart as the poles. One thing Bess cannot do is take from Jessie the fact that the government to UNA for Equal Status work appointed her.

Greenwood's role in the Jessie/Bessie feud took the line of "mediation...one day extolling the virtues of the USSR and the next those of Westminster democracy" (Richardson, 1988, p. 31). Throughout her broadcasts in the immediate pre-war and wartime period Greenwood hedged her bets between the international left and League Internationalism as to which was the most coherent model for peace, justice and equality for women. Joan Williams (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) explains the disappointment felt about the failure of the League of Nations to affect the peaceful resolution of disputes:

The UN was founded after the League of Nations which had floundered and proved itself worthless when it allowed Hitler to take over the Sudetenland and our faith in the League of Nations had been shattered over Abyssinia and a whole heap of other let downs...It wasn't a conflict because when the United Nations was founded the Soviet Union had a peace policy which we all admired and agreed with at that time.

The Cold War was a contributing factor to the Charter's eventual failure and it seriously undermined the official accord within the women's movement. When Street was in Perth in 1948, she was required to give an assurance to the Lord Mayor that the Australian-Russian Society was not connected with the Communist Party. She complied but later resigned from the ALP (Richardson, 1988, p. 229). Sekules (1977, p. 146) explains the banning of the UAW:

On 24 August 1948 an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* referred to the United Associations, as an organisation in which communists and fellow travellers either formed a majority or wielded undue influence and the Labor Party did not actually ban the association until 1950.

Jessie Street's influence on Greenwood as an internationalist feminist cannot be under-estimated. Her support for Street is clear from her correspondences with Prime Ministers John Curtin (1945) and Ben Chifley (1949). Curtin's response came from the Office of the Prime Minister:

Dear Madam,
I am desired by the Prime Minister to acknowledge your letter of 10th inst, in which you tender to him the congratulations of your organisation on the appointment of a woman delegate to the San Francisco Conference. Mr. Curtin very much appreciates your message and wishes me to say he will bear in mind the suggestions made in regard to the Appointment of suitable women to all Conferences, Commissions, etc.
E. W. Tonkin.

She received a letter from Chifley (1949) personally:

Dear Mrs. Greenwood,
I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th June, confirming your telegram supporting the claims advanced by Mrs. J. Street when she waited on me in Canberra last week. I have noted your comments concerning Mrs. Street and the organisation she represents.
Ben Chifley.

Williams (1993, p. 231) describes Street's various visits to Perth as "a political asset, helping to draw their skirts away from anything that could be even remotely construed as a front for communists". But if Street was Greenwood's political mentor on the international left, following Rischbieth's death on 13 March, 1967, Greenwood (WILPF, Minutes, 1967) pays tribute "to the courage of Bessie Rischbieth", expressing clear admiration and respect for the woman she once referred to as "Bessie Rich Bitch" (April Eddington, Personal Conversation,

1999). Greenwood's ABC broadcast (1967, p. 1) celebrates Rischbieth's contribution to the women's movement over sixty years:

She is gone, the bright spirit who gave inspiration to two, even three generations of women in this State. Quenched is the pure flame that shone so indomitably that she seemed to be indestructible. Still are the hands that held the reins of office in her women's movement for over half a century. But she has left behind her a fabric of accepted living so firmly woven that few who say her name today know how well she and her early associates planned and worked for the better world that they enjoy today.

Expounding on Rischbieth's accolades (awarded an Order of the British Empire by King George V in 1935), Greenwood noted Rischbieth's extensive international travel to women's congresses as a delegate. Greenwood (script, 1967, p. 1) amplifies Rischbieth's contribution as a reformist feminist:

Gracious Ladies though they were, they saw and were appalled at ills and evils in the society of their day, in the prisons and the lot of the poor and set about remedying them... They saw the vote and opportunity for women in public life not as an end in itself, but as a means to effect reform and enrich humanity.

- **Masking the radical**

The Perth and Sydney leaders of the women's movement were gracious, beautifully dressed, groomed, well-spoken middle and upper class ladies, presenting the image of good society women. For Greenwood the image of the 'perfect lady' was a political strategy to mask the radical that she really was. She knew she operated in a politically conservative and often hostile climate where radicals were not well received. Williams (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) understood the importance of a good public image:

I tried to emulate her because the press portrays the working class as being terrible people who didn't wash themselves and the rest of the slanders that has always portrayed workers and

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communists. We tried to present a good image to keep up the honor of the working class.

In her autobiography *Anger and Love*, Williams (1993, p. 247) remains staunch in her faith in the Marxist socialist system that under socialism women and men would become equal:

As a communist I've made my mistakes and no doubt will make many more; and so will communist parties in any part of the world. But I am sustained by the belief that the scientific theory of Marxism holds the key to a just social system. I believe that time is on our side and that in knowing the world and in having faith in the creative ability of working people, we can begin to change it and eliminate the curses of want, exploitation and war.

Williams recognises Greenwood's conservative public image as a strategy for communicating with the conservative establishment. "She laid a useful bridge across them so she could go to people on the conservative side and get them to be very helpful to her cause" (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000). Similarly, Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999) understood that "Irene wanted to be seen publicly as a good society lady, a woman with a husband and a family. But once you scratched the surface and she let down the barrier, you realised she was nothing like this". Reflecting on the formation of Greenwood's feminism, Stone (interview, Murray/Stone, 1999) makes the salient observation:

I would have said that the original formation that shifted her away from her own training, that is radical political consciousness, was more after she went to Sydney. But she was certainly the key figure on the scene as a woman who was concerned with issues. She was vehemently strident in stating her position on issues that were often contentious.

Elizabeth McIntosh (interview, Murray/McIntosh, 1998) describes Greenwood as 'a perfect lady', recognising her conservative image as a political ploy to distract from her radicalism:

I think the first thing that struck you when you met Irene was that she was a perfect lady. She never went without a hat. She never went without her gloves...She never swore (laugh) freely. Her manners were just perfect...I always thought this was important because again you are dealing with conservative people and you had to speak their language...but she was a radical, like me, radical to the backbone.

So while posing as a good society lady in the Perth and Sydney women's movement, Greenwood was secretly hoping for a socialist revolution.

In this chapter I have traced the development of Greenwood's radical political consciousness to Sydney through her activism with the UAW from 1931 to 1935, explaining the influence of socialist internationalists, Street and Littlejohn, marking the beginning of her broadcasting career along leftist lines. Analysis of the Australian Women's Charter explains the power struggle between Rischbieth and Street to show that the leadership of Australian feminism moved to the political left in the 1940s. But by seeking sex equality, the campaigns of the socialist internationalists were conducted within the existing masculinist paradigm of the international structure and the sexed nature of international politics.

CHAPTER 6

GREENWOOD, PRICHARD AND COMMUNISM

Flowing on from the last chapter that examined the influences of Sydney socialist internationalists, Jessie Street and Linda Littlejohn in the early 1930s as shaping Greenwood's radical political consciousness, in this chapter, I focus on the influence of communist and writer, Katharine Susannah Prichard, reinforcing Greenwood's sympathies with the international left on her return to Perth. Greenwood ("Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.) claims a clear socialist persona:

We sailed back to WA in 1935 with K.S. Prichard and her son and as a result a socialist persona emerged built firmly on the radicalism of Marxist theory.

Williams was an absolutely committed socialist and a Marxist, the last remaining colleague with whom Greenwood "engaged in dialogue seeking Marxist solutions to problems" (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000). Discussion of Prichard's influence on Greenwood draws on research participant, Joan Williams, a Marxist stalwart and expert on Prichard to explain what Greenwood learned from Prichard in her work for peace. For Williams, "Life was demonstrating for me the truth of Marxism, its theory as sustaining for the mind as bread for the body". In the view of Greenwood and Williams, Prichard was the hero of the women's peace movement in WA.

Prichard was the prime mover, and guiding light of the MWC, set up in the 1930s for working class and Aboriginal women. "The Modern Women's Club organised in-house childcare that enabled younger women to be free from their children to participate in discussions" (Hopkins, 1999, p. 87). It closed in the

1950s when it was felt that the Union of Australian Women was then meeting the needs for which the Club was set up to do:

The launching in 1950 of the Union of Australian Women was an attempt to build a militant non-party political organisation based on working-class women, having close ties with the trade union movement, other women's organisations and community groups" (Williams, 1993, p. 231).

The Union of Australian Women is still active, continuing its concern for improving conditions for working class, Indigenous and migrant women.

This leaves no doubt in any researcher's mind that Williams' clearly considered Greenwood as a socialist and a Marxist, sharing her passion for justice and peace. The two activists had much in common as writers, journalists and broadcasters, but differed in their opinions concerning Prichard's feminism, as discussed below in response to the question, 'Was Prichard a feminist'?

Both Greenwood and Williams were well known in the 1930s and 1940s as left-wing media commentators, particularly Williams whose autobiography (1993) documents a life of struggle and commitment to work for justice for the downtrodden and oppressed. In the 1930s she wrote for *The West Australian* on the social page before being promoted to general reporter during World War II. She was editor of the communist newspaper, the *Workers Star*, the CPA paper, which went underground during the Menzies purges. It was published under the name of the *Clarion* in 1940 when the CPA was under imminent threat of a ban. After its resurrection in 1943 it resumed as the *Workers Star* until it ceased publication at the end of 1950.

Williams was active with Greenwood on the West Australian Council for Equal Pay and Opportunity since its formation in 1958, bringing together thirteen

women's organisations from diverse groups, as discussed in chapter 9. The two led the advent of Women's Liberation in WA in the 1970s and were founders of Women's Electoral Lobby in 1972, as discussed in chapter 10. Williams was secretary of the Western Australian branch of the Australian Peace Committee from 1979-1993, a left-wing peace organisation supported by the Seamen's Union, discussed in chapter 11. Both activists learned from Prichard the importance in the peace process of mediation and negotiation as the legal and moral alternative to the use of force. Williams (1993, p. 232), recognising Greenwood as possessing mediation skills writes about her colleague's talent:

in fostering unity among the disparate delegates, who ranged from devout Catholics to atheists, university graduates and housewives from the UAW. Irene knew chapter and verse of the UN Charter and the International Labour Organisation conventions on equal rights and equal remuneration for women.

Unlike Williams and Prichard, Greenwood never travelled to Moscow, but in 1962, Williams was included in a delegation to the Peoples Republic of China and the Union of the Soviet Russian Republic (USSR), discussed in chapter 10. Williams (1993, p. 232), an ardent admirer of Prichard, also regards Greenwood as, "a wise counsellor with an unerring sense of the political imperative of the day". She said "Irene was a fluent – sometimes too fluent speaker, she never drew breath between sentences, foiling any interruptions before she had made her point" (Williams, 1993, p. 232). The implication of Williams' statement is that Greenwood's provocative loquacity was at times counter-productive. Listening is another important communications skill.

Both of these remarkable women worked as journalists during the illegal period of the communist purges from 1940 to 1942, standing firm in their belief

that under socialism women and men would become equal, and that as sex equality is an underpinning of social justice, the achievement of world peace would become possible. Both activists were under fire for their left wing reporting, which I shall discuss in chapter 7.

Williams (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) met Greenwood as a young journalist when on assignment for *The West Australian* to hear her speak at a meeting in Perth held by the Women's Movement Against War and Fascism, led by Prichard. She knew that Greenwood was a good story:

I knew from other women's organisations that she would have something more exciting politically to say. My boss may have twigged that I'd get something from Irene because she was in the news with her reputation as an outspoken speaker on peace. But the real genesis of our association would have been the Spanish Civil War and the work that was going on here by leftists in support of the elected Republican Government.

Williams (1993, p. 81) was totally committed to the scientific economic theories of Marxism. "What was the conspiracy against peace that we all talked about? Only Marxism had an explanation of the cause of war". She studied economics under 'Nugget' Coombs to receive a formal academic grounding in Marx and Marxism. Greenwood did not undertake formal studies in Marxism, but attended numerous Summer Schools at the University of WA, where Williams felt that:

She would have read all of Marx and Engels...Journalist Bill Irwin who was a Marxist had a lot to do with Irene... discussing the international situation, giving her information on the Spanish Civil War and suggesting Marxist reading (Williams, interview, Murray/Williams, 2000).

Greenwood went public on the Spanish Civil War that was fought against the legally constituted and elected Republic Government of Spain:

Australia sent an ambulance staffed by nurses and the funds were raised through public meetings...I was speaking on platforms and from church pulpits, in halls, schools, clubs and anywhere invited to get the message over that war held no solutions and a just society would solve problems without bloodshed and quest for power by military leaders (Greenwood, "Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.).

- **The brightest star**

It is not surprising that Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) did not consider Prichard to be a feminist, because socialist communists believed that under socialism, women and men would become equal:

Katharine never pretended to be a feminist...She loved men. Men loved her. Her characters were greatly loved by men and their greatest fulfilment was in marriage and the life force that flowed from sexual relationships. Katharine was one of the most warm and passionate women...I will dismiss the feminist analysis, which is just one side of me, and restore Katharine to her rightful place... within Australian writing.

Greenwood argues that, "Feminists were not pleased with Prichard's writings" (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983), but the above comments reflect a lack of sophistication in her understanding of feminism; that to be a feminist means a woman cannot love or be loved by a man. Williams (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) explains why Prichard did not call herself a feminist:

She [Prichard] got involved in the suffragist movement when she was a journalist in London and worked with them, marched with them and thought they were doing a good job. But as the anti-male attitude became so dominant there, she felt well, that was not for her...but she had read Simone de Beauvoir well before any of the so-called feminists here.

Williams, a literary expert on Prichard, had written *The First Furrow* (1976), the story of the CPA in WA, with many references to Prichard. She had reviewed Prichard's book *Subtle Flame*, a novel of the peace movement, and the

last book Prichard ever wrote. She criticised Prichard in her review of her Trilogy, *Golden Miles* for the lack of a communist hero, but was later ashamed, failing then to understand that “she couldn’t go ahead of the period she was portraying, couldn’t falsify reality” (Williams, 1993, pp. 130-131). Commenting on the philosophy of the MCW, Williams (1993, p. 131) notes:

Katharine Susannah founded it to give ordinary women, housewives and others real intellectual meat because the women’s magazines and columns were all recipes and fashions...She wanted women to really listen and ask questions and take part in discussion.

Describing her as “the brightest star, quite a heroine in my eyes”, Katharine Prichard was clearly Williams’ (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) hero in the women’s peace movement. As a feminist and a Marxist, Williams disagreed with Greenwood that Prichard was not a feminist.

Katharine Susannah Prichard is known from Perth to Moscow as an international writer. She is author of thirteen novels, a volume of autobiography, five collections of short stories and two of poetry, fourteen plays and five miscellaneous works. Both as a journalist on the Melbourne *Herald* and as a political pilgrim, Prichard went to Russia to write her book *The Real Russia*.

Williams was still in her teens when she joined *The West Australian*, as a junior clerk in 1933 and by then knew Prichard through the MWC. She was, “scared and bewildered... on that first day in Newspaper House...in the prestigious world of leader-writers”. She recounts a conversation with a news chief who is reported to have said, “Aha, we have a little bolshie in our midst” (Williams, 1993, p. 49). She received a cadetship as a young reporter and subsequently appointed as a reporter for women’s social page in the 1930s.

During World War II she was promoted to general reporting as a result of the shortage of male journalists (Williams, 1993, p. 98). Referring to the 1934 Kisch incident, Williams (1993, p. 57) was eager to cover the event but recounts that, “the men did all of the big stories”. Recalling those early newspaper days in the 1930s, Williams (1993, p. 60) recounts an occasion when her first husband, journalist and historian, Pete Thomas, was working in the press gallery at Parliament House. He stole a copy of Karl Marx’s *Capital* from the Government’s library, rationalising that he was certain “no member would ever read it”.

- **Reds homes raided**

Communist Party stalwarts, Prichard, Greenwood and Williams were vulnerable to the communist purges under Prime Minister, Menzies. Grant Stone touched a raw nerve with Greenwood when he raised the issue of the police raids of the 1940s and 1950s during the Menzies period when communism, per se, was deemed to be contrary to the whole free society ethos and spurred by the Petrov inquiry. “It is so painful that it opens up scars and makes old wounds bleed again” (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). Greenwood told Stone about her fears during the period when the ‘Better Dead than Red’ philosophy of McCarthyism reached Australia from the USA:

We were never sure if the special police would come in and raid our houses merely through the charge by association and after all we had plenty of guilt in that regard. Certainly I had for I never ceased either by my writings or by my speaking or in any other way to espouse Katharine Susannah Prichard because of the peace, which she had introduced me to, and exposure of awareness to the economic and political system, the Capitalist system.

Greenwood makes her communist sympathies clear to Stone. “I rescued my political bible...I cannot bear to think that my copy called *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation* by Beatrice and Sydney Webb could be destroyed” (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). And Giles (1997, p. 5) describes how she was able to hide some of her communist books and papers from the federal police:

Her voluminous collection of papers were buried for some time in the back yard of her Stirling Highway home before being moved to the vestry of a nearby church where the pastor, although apolitical, held a steadfast belief in universal human rights.

The pastor was a Protestant clergyman who hid the collection beneath the altar, an unusual hiding place for a suspected communist. “We know that as searches were going on our phones were tapped... we know that there is no such thing as individual rights and privacy of persons” (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). Despite her efforts to hide precious materials, Greenwood was a victim of the police raids on communists:

About 18 suburban homes of communists and suspected communists were raided by the police and documents found on the premises were seized. The raids were made by plain-clothes policemen who produced search warrants giving them authority under the Criminal Code to search in view of suspicions of seditious activities (“Reds Homes Raided”, 1949).

Whereas Greenwood kept her communist affiliations secret, Williams and Prichard were identifiable suspects, exposed as public communists through their books and journalism. Williams (1993, p. 86) writes, “Pete brought home the news that the press had accepted censorship, but journalists were worried about its misuse to suppress news and information”. Talking about the raids in 1940 during the illegal period, Williams (1993, p. 87) writes, “The CIB would certainly think the worst if they found Lenin’s *The State and Revolution* and...Marx’s *Capital*”.

She was arrested when Menzies introduced the Communist Party Dissolution Bill in 1950 (Williams, 1993, p.148). The 1951 referendum to ban communism was lost.

Williams' understandings of peace in socialist terms is described in the second stanza of her poem, "Moscow Spring" (Williams, 1980, p. 29):

In Moscow's blue midnight, the red star is glowing
and hope is renewed through worlds torn apart;
like a peony opening multitudinous petals,
sweet surge of peace in my clamorous heart.

Williams' second husband, Vic, was a waterside worker, writer and poet who inspired the title of her autobiography *Anger and Love* (1993), where she asserts her faith in the radicalism of Marxist socialism. He authored a paper optimistically titled "Defeating the New World Order" (Williams, n. d., n. p.) to speak of "titanic struggles in the face of the promoters of globalisation...and the economic, political military domination of all countries". Joan Williams (1993, p. 234) defines Vic Williams as a socialist feminist:

Feminism that made men, not capitalism, the enemy, had always been a bogey in the Communist Party. Fortunately Vic had an excellent understanding of women's oppression, familiar with Frederick Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, in which the overthrow of mother-right was seen as 'the world-historic defeat of the female sex'.

Joan Williams (1993, p. 102) and her second husband are still staunch in their belief that Engels' *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* is the key to unlocking the mysteries of women's subjugation. Williams (interview, Murray/Williams, 2000) is adamant that Prichard was a feminist:

Katharine had seen Soviet women advancing, women in the Asian republics burning their veils - for which some were killed by their male relations...I made the point very clearly when I

interviewed her for *Our Woman...* that her belief was that under socialism women and men would become equal.

Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) recounts the launching of Prichard's book, *Subtle Flame*, a novel about the peace movement. Geoffrey Bolton and communist Paddy Troy joined Greenwood as speakers at the launch. Greenwood expounds on a series of lectures Prichard was to give at the University of WA on Marxism and dialectic materialism, to follow the Miles Franklin lectures. "There was so much of an outcry that the university was forced to withdraw Katharine's series of lectures" (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) wanted "to put Katharine in her proper perspective as a most cultivated person". One of the distinctive characteristics of Prichard was that she was soft and gently spoken, portraying the idealised construction of 'femininity'. She dressed elegantly; enhancing her public appearance with a red rose pinned on her clothes as a symbol of hope for the socialist revolution. Greenwood told Stone (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) that Prichard the writer could not be separated from Prichard the communist:

The professors of English at the University of Western Australia divorced the woman and the writer, but she wasn't to be broken up into various parts. She was one complete whole. She was absolutely a committed socialist and a Marxist. She was absolutely sincere in her wish that writers should know the liberating theories that she herself espoused when she wrote *The Real Russia*.

Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) took every opportunity to avoid mentioning Prichard's communism while on radio, but when speaking to Stone, she stresses:

Katharine was amongst the realist writers...member of the Communist Party never pretending to be anything else, advocate

of the Soviet Union and the New Social System which she saw when she went to Russia as a young journalist and wrote and published *The Real Russia*.

Williams (1986, p.10) publicly esteems “Katharine Susannah Prichard”:

High upon the hillside, moving in the scent
of honeyed wattle and loquats’ ripening load
She lives old-young, her spells unspent
Katharine Susannah of Old York road.

Witching and weaving the sum of our youth
rainbows that sprang as her heart overflowed
digging and fingering the new green of truth
Katharine Susannah of Old York road.

Katharine Susannah Prichard, while a non-feminist in Greenwood’s view, clearly influenced her significantly on the peace issues:

I never ceased to espouse Katharine Susannah Prichard because of the peace she had introduced me to and an exposure of awareness on my part to the economic and political system, the capitalist system – She pushed me into the Movement Against War and Fascism. I was a willing victim (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

Greenwood took from Prichard an analysis of the history textbooks in so far as they glorified war, particularly for the education of boys. Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) explains Prichard’s vision for peace education as being ahead of the education system:

Katharine...saw the pacific society as adjusting all things by arbitration and by reason and not by wars. Our education system has not caught up with the social evolution of our times so we asked that school readers and histories do not reflect the military spirit of the past. But that war be unmasked and not be treated in the romantic and adventurous interests of children, especially male children.

Prichard understood the romanticising of war. She advocated adjusting conflicts by arbitration and by reason, and not by war which was expensive and caused poverty. Greenwood took from Prichard both an understanding of the ‘old

spirit of militarism' and an insight into the underlying causes of war as injustice and the aggrandisement of the great international manufacturers of armaments. She learned from Prichard an understanding of the crime, greed and corruption of arms deals and the arms trade within capitalist economies, and the need for peace education in schools.

- **Political pilgrims and fellow travellers**

Bolton (1994, p. xiii) argues that "Faith in the remedies of Marxism was largely eclipsed by the transformation of the communist world after Mikhail Gorbachev" in the 1980s. Certainly Greenwood was not blinkered about the military dictatorship of arch-militarist, Joseph Stalin, casting suspicion over the Soviet model as the most coherent model for peace. But Williams and Prichard were hard-line Stalinists and could see no flaws in the Soviet sell out on its stated 'peace policy' during World War II.

During the Stalinist purges in the USSR people saw their comrades disappear daily into the torture chambers and the jails. Stalin is responsible for the suffering and slaughter of some twenty million people, including his own military. In his book *Political Pilgrims*, Paul Hollander examines hundreds of travel reports written by western intellectuals to the Soviet Union between 1928 and 1978 to conclude that those intellectuals who considered the Marxist social system superior to capitalist democracies were suffering from "delusions and daydreams". He said, "Western Intellectuals use double standards and the

direction of their moral indignation and compassion is set and guided by their ideologies and partisan commitments” (Hollander, 1981, p. 4).

Hollander traced the Russian October Revolution of 1917 under Lenin to Stalin’s dictatorship in the early and mid-1930s to his death in 1953 to observe that after Stalin, and under Khrushchev, the USSR no longer enjoyed the interest and endorsement of Western intellectuals. He distinguishes between the “Political Pilgrim” and the “Fellow Traveller” to note that both were sympathetic to socialism and critical of western capitalism. “Fellow Traveller” has a more limited meaning “as it referred to Soviet and communist sympathisers of the 1930s and 1940s who made no formal political commitment and remained outside the Communist Party and the Soviet Union” (Hollander, 1981, p.27). This does not describe political pilgrims, Communist Party members, Prichard and Williams. As young journalists and writers, both had visited Russia to see through personal observation, the Soviet model, and to go that extra courageous step to publicly report on their findings. Greenwood never visited Moscow, but it is clear from the previous chapter, that as a card-holding communist, Greenwood was more than a “Fellow Traveller”, and did not, ‘remain outside the Communist Party’.

Williams and Prichard had met with Party officials in Moscow, and neither could see any flaws in the Soviet model, even under Stalin, who became their antidote for Hitler’s fascism. According to Stone (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983):

Irene always said that Katherine was blinkered, that she was blind about the Communist State...Katherine could see nothing but good in Russia...but this did not stop her from learning from what she had to learn, to take what she had to take from Katherine.

If Prichard was ‘blinkered’ about the Soviet turnabout on its ‘peace policy’, Greenwood was alert with analysis. By July 1937, she considered both communism and fascism as the twin threats to world peace. During the immediate pre-war period, she became disillusioned with the democratic alliance and the failure of the League of Nations to use its powers to avert violence during the Spanish Civil War, or the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1936. By 1937, following Stalin’s turnabout on his stated peace policy, Greenwood (script, 1937, n. p.) broadcast her disillusionment with the Soviet model to throw her support towards a democratic alliance of western capitalist countries, as the more coherent hope for a sustainable peace:

I see the clash of ideologies, as the journalists are pleased to call the battle to the death (and it may even be to all our deaths) of the rival faiths of Fascism and Communism, as a struggle, which might have been averted, had the leaders of both parties sought to serve humanity and not Mammon and Power. And so, to me, the one hope for the salvation of the world is an alliance between the democratic countries of Great Britain, France, America and the Oslo countries such as was referred to in a sub-leader in our local press last week.

Throughout her broadcasts in the 1930s and throughout World War II, Greenwood hedged her bets between Soviet socialism and League internationalism as to which was the most coherent model for social justice and peace. After the Soviet Union signed a Non Aggression Pact with Nazi Germany in 1939, it led the way for the Soviet march into Poland. After Hitler’s invasion of Poland (1939), Greenwood (1939, n. p.) applied her private analysis of war to reflect her cynicism:

[Is] Russia’s move into the south of Poland a forceful seizure of the Ukraine because the legal Government has fled or they didn’t know if it was still in existence? Was this pre-arranged as price of the Russian-German Pact? See Treaty of Bulsk-Litoosk

where Russia lost the territory and remember she has some justice in her claim to it. But the cynicism with which she did it leaves a nasty taste in the mouth. I agree with Professor Alexander (of the International Peace Campaign) that in the first place the signing of the treaty between Germany and Russia gave Hitler his *carte blanche* to march on Poland.

Disillusioned with Stalin's Russia, Greenwood swung her faith towards western democratic solutions, but only temporarily. By the beginning of 1939, she was equally disappointed with the League of Nations and swung back to a pro-Soviet position as the most coherent model. When Hitler annexed Austria in 1938 and in March 1939 the Nazis marched into Czechoslovakia, Jessie Street's own confirmation, as a socialist was made public. While hedging her bets publicly as to which was the most coherent model, Greenwood (1939-40) writes in her war diary evidence that she hoped for an East-West alliance as the best hope for a peace treaty:

I have spoken lately for the signing of a Soviet Pact between Britain and the only country whose military might, economic resources and strategic position (not to mention ideological outlook and long and faithful history of sentiment against aggression) could guarantee a real peace treaty.

The Soviet-Nazi pact in August 1939 cast shadows of doubt over Soviet integrity. Hitler's invasion of Poland in the same year was the official beginning of the outbreak of war. Williams (1993, pp. 85-86) defends Stalin explaining what she terms as "a phoney war":

The Soviet march into Poland in September was explained as a barrier against the advance of German troops eastward. Arthur Rudkin explained how the Fascist dictator Mannerheim was being systematically supplied with arms and warplanes by the British and French governments while completely inactive against Hitler on the Western front...How could those who had supported Hitler, like Menzies and Chamberlain, conduct a struggle against Fascism, the Communist Party asked, branding it a 'phoney war'.

In her war diary (1939-40), Greenwood offers a calculated analysis of the situation:

Unbelievable information, upsetting all calculations! Is it a clever move by the USSR to split the Axis powers and save the world from war...a modern war in all its frightfulness (bombing of civilian population and so on)? And then to come in when a revolutionary state arises (as it did out of the last war). It is difficult for me to imagine how Russia could so suddenly switch sides over her foreign policy from that of Indivisible Peace and anti-Fascism and turn about for Peace and Democracy.

Prichard, as founder of the Communist Party in WA, was a Stalinist hard-liner. As a Section of the Comintern, in the early 1930s, the Communist Party took its directives from Moscow and members were obliged to follow the Party's Stalinist line. As Soviet integrity was undermined, it created a breakaway division in the CPA. When Prichard's integrity was publicly undermined Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) leapt to her mentor's defence to highlight Prichard's inspiration to work for justice and peace:

Katharine never hauled down the red flag, which she flew at the masthead always of her Socialism, Marxism, Communism and espouser of the Soviet Union and was accused later by breakaway divisions of the Socialists in Australia of being a Stalinist. That's how her detractors have used that term to describe her...but those of us who knew and loved Katharine and admired her and were inspired by her to do things and to take steps and to read differently do nothing but adore her memory. I am one of them.

Nobody inspired Greenwood more on the peace issues than Katharine Susannah Prichard did:

It can truthfully be said...by some of the letters I'm passing on to you from Miles Franklin and Dymphna Cusack that we all adored Katharine. It was adoration she inspired. Some of her detractors said she sat up there on her hill at Greenmount and people came to worship at her feet. That was literally true. We considered ourselves a very privileged band if we were admitted to Katharine's inner circle (Greenwood, interview,

Stone/Greenwood, 1983):

Previous chapters have traced Greenwood's life from her birth in 1898 to her mother's generation of suffragists at the turn of the century who campaigned for representative government and social reform. Chapter 5 traced her broadcasting career to Sydney through the radical UAW led by Jessie Street to explain "the red thread of revolution" that ran throughout her life. In this chapter I have explored the influences of Marxists Joan Williams and Katharine Susannah Prichard to explain her ideological sympathies with the radicalism of Marxist theory.

But in arguing the case for Greenwood's socialist sympathies, throughout her campaigns for social justice, she continued to press for sex equality within the masculinist paradigms. A liberal feminist, with radical leftist-leanings, Greenwood's wide and often-conflicting circle of activists, meant maintaining a strong network of women's organisations and peace organisations from both sides of the political divide. From Christianity to Marxist socialism, the pursuit was consistently the same, to work towards the achievement of justice and peace to find workable models to build a fairer, more humane and safer world.

I have argued that throughout World War II, Greenwood hedged her bets as to which was the best model to achieve these goals. She was disillusioned with both the League of Nations and the Soviet social model under Stalin, and by the 1940s she was a staunch advocate of the UN and its Specialised Agencies. During the 1930s and 1940s, she also had to contend with the antagonisms in the women's movement, balancing her domestic role with her radio career where she was forced to tow the political line for her often-contentious radio commentaries.

CHAPTER 7

GREENWOOD'S BROADCASTING CAREER, PERTH (1936-1953)

This chapter introduces Irene Greenwood's broadcasting career in Perth, supporting her feminist agenda. Firstly, I explore her public (1936-1948) broadcasting career to examine her strategies for using the medium of radio to carry her political messages for the women's movement. Examination of her feminist ideas as integrated into her programs explore her strategies for manipulating the media apparatus in response to propaganda, programming policies, audiences, production practices, censorship and Russian news to evaluate the limits of her authorship. I examine her ABC broadcasts within the *Women's Session* from the immediate pre war period through her wartime broadcasts at the ABC to reveal her political voice for the objectives of peace, justice and equality of women's human rights. Through her ABC broadcasts, I consider the contribution of women to the war effort to argue Greenwood's support for sex equality in military combat, contesting her stance as a pacifist.

Secondly, I trace Greenwood's foray into commercial broadcasting in 1948, inviting inquiry into her responses to advertising policy and strategies in her *Woman to Woman* program. Within the context of her broadcasting career, in chapter 8, I analyse, through her radio heroines, Greenwood's understandings of 'femininity' and in chapter 9, I explore her understandings of 'equality' within the liberal feminist paradigm.

In the process of analysing Greenwood's radio career it should be noted early in this chapter that:

Irene's beautifully prepared scripts for radio, heard by a large and

loyal audience, constituted the bulk of her own writing. Their quality was recognised in 1975 when she was awarded a Life Membership with the Fellowship of Australian Writers (Giles, 1997, p. 10).

Katharine Susannah Prichard founded the Western Australian branch of the Fellowship of Australian Writers. The written word was a vital part of Greenwood's work, writing for radio, speeches and a worldwide correspondence. The Life Membership of the Fellowship, reflecting Greenwood's excellent writing ability, was awarded both for the quality of her radio scripts and "for editorship of a wide range of journals she edited" (Bender, 1992). One journal was *The Dawn*, the official organ of the WSG in WA, and as such, for the Council for Equal Pay and Opportunity. Another, *Peace and Freedom*, was edited locally by Greenwood before it became the official organ of the WILPF journal, which she edited until she was in her seventies.

A theme that emerges from her ABC talks, both in State controlled (A-class radio), when compared to commercial (B-class radio), is that she used the Soviet model of Marxist socialism as her utopian paradigm for social justice, whenever the opportunity presented itself. It was policy at the ABC that Greenwood's talks were, of necessity, scripted. Her news-based radio talks placed her at the 'front-line' of ABC broadcasting covering international affairs in the 1930s and 1940s. As a writer for radio, Greenwood (quoted in "Women at the top", 1980) "followed the oral rather than the written tradition, a trait which is rapidly dying out now", as one explanation for why she never wrote a book. She was writing to be heard rather than read. She "addressed numerous audiences ranging in size from 500 to 5000" (Greenwood, 1980). But whether speaking from a podium or from a radio studio behind a microphone, Greenwood's voice carried her own political agenda for the

women's movement.

- **A political voice for the women's movement**

The radio archive from 1936 to 1953 constitutes the bulk of Greenwood's writing, and is the basis for eliciting her understandings of and contributions to feminism and peace. McLuhan (1964, p. 319) describes radio as an intimate medium:

Radio affects most people intimately, person-to-person, offering a world of unspoken communication between writer-speaker and the listener. That is the immediate aspect of radio. A private experience.

Whether on ABC or commercial radio, Greenwood portrayed, through her radio heroines, media images of 'woman' as other than the gender stereotype of wife/mother. The radio heroine becomes an important focus for analysis in the radio scripts, making central the lives of the women upon whose lives her talks were based, and through whom her political messages were conveyed. Her heroine is most often an exceptional woman for others to learn from. Greenwood (interview, Miller/Greenwood, 1975) said, "because of the loss of so many men in the Great World War, three out of five of the girls who were my contemporaries went into the professions and stayed single". They remained single because marriage meant they would have to resign from their positions in the professions.

As a broadcaster, I argue that beginning in Sydney and throughout her broadcasting career in Perth, Greenwood was a passionate advocate for State, national and international levels of peace, justice and equality of women's human rights. Although she retired formally from radio in 1953, her broadcasting career

continued with occasional radio broadcasts at least until 1967 on ABC and commercial radio. She wrote to newspapers for fifty years, still publishing letters to the editor well into her eighties.

In 1936 when Greenwood returned to Perth from Sydney, she reflected on the Sydney influence. “My political activism, come radicalism, was confirmed then and for many years afterwards my faith in positive action became political” (Greenwood, “Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.). This was nowhere more evident than in her radio broadcasts. Greenwood did not pretend to be objective, or not overtly anyway. She brought to the challenge of broadcasting for a *Women’s Session* in Perth, a keen feminist history and knowledge and a wide and diverse network to support her feminist agenda.

- **ABC Women’s Sessions, Perth (1936-1948)**

In 1936 when the family returned to Perth from Sydney, Greenwood sought and gained a position with the ABC *Women’s Session* where she broadcast her weekly program *Women in the International News* first under Dorothy Graham and Kitty Gillies and then Catherine King:

My talents took a different turn; the teaching of voice production...was turned to good effect through the medium of broadcasting. Aided by a new manager...Conrad Charlton, and armed with scripts of radio talks I’d given over Sydney stations, I persuaded him to give me a good spot in the morning sessions, immediately after ‘The Watchman’ came off air at 11.00 A.M... It helped that his wife was a United Associations member (“Go Proudly”, Greenwood, n. d.).

Mann’s program was a highly controversial political commentary and

Greenwood saw this opportunity to hold his listeners; but his politics were too contentious for the ABC, and he was sacked from his position. Similarly, in 1938, Constance Duncan, an Eastern States broadcaster who broadcast for the *Women's Session* in Sydney “was fired allegedly because of her Christian Communism tendencies” (Richardson, 1988, p. 47).

Dorothy Graham ran the program for twelve years and Catherine King was Director from 1944 to 1966. A stated “non feminist”, King had editorial control over Greenwood’s scripts, and often made life difficult for her owing to differing ideas about women’s radio. Greenwood started at the ABC under Graham in the old studios in Milligan Street in Perth in an informal and intimate environment. Since its inception, Greenwood was passionately committed to the independence and integrity of the ABC.

When Wesfarmers originally owned and controlled the station, there had been some attempt to run a program of occasional talks of interest to women. The program targeted country listeners mainly getting weather information to farmers, and was a link to those isolated areas with no newspapers and radio the only source of information. A more ambitious scheme was devised under Dorothy Graham when the ABC administered the station in 1929 and had complete control by 1931. In 1929, as the only woman announcer on the staff, Graham conducted a *Women's Session* that drew a large listening audience particularly in the isolated country regions. It developed into the Australian Broadcasting Company’s Women’s Association. Kitty Gillies took over the organisation and presentation in 1937 (Lewis, 1979, p. 29).

Between 1936 and 1942, the platform for broadcasting Greenwood’s political messages on international women was the *Women's Session* of the ABC directed by

Graham. During this period the *Women's Session* focused on women's supportive role in the home as wives and mothers to contain home hints and childcare, although Gillies made the program more relevant to women of all ages. An undated copy of *The Broadcaster* (a radio program guide for listeners during the 1930s) noted, "Greenwood's contribution, *Women in the International News* is an exception to the rule...more akin to controversial political commentary".

When these regional ABC *Women's Sessions* became nationwide between 1940 and 1944, the program was broadcast from Sydney and Greenwood's scripts were recorded on gramophone records and sent to Sydney for relay through the national network. The majority of her broadcasts in Perth were read live to air because magnetic tape recording equipment made post-production editing impossible until the late 1940s. The program was taken off air in 1942 and re-established in 1944 when Greenwood produced *People in the International News* within the *Women's Session* until she left the ABC to work commercially in 1948.

In 1944 when the program was reinstated, federal general manager, Charles Moses, recommended Greenwood for the position of director. It remained a bone of contention for her for many years when the state manager for WA, Charlton (who had hired her), gave the job to King, leaving Greenwood to believe that the appointment was an act to curb her political radicalism. King was the daughter of academic, Walter Murdoch, who died on July 30, 1970, a few months before Murdoch University was named in his honour. "He was deeply involved with the League of Nations Union in WA with Professor Fred Alexander ("Red Fred") and dedicated to the aim of universal peace" (Lewis, 1979, p. 10). Greenwood knew Murdoch and Alexander personally through her peace work with the League of

Nations Union. Following the death of her husband and later her father, King became active with Amnesty International in WA, sharing her father's humanitarian concerns.

King had twice before been offered the director's job but knocked it back emphatic that her mothering role was more important. "She was not motivated by any feminist inclinations for self expression... because she was deeply concerned about children's welfare (Lewis, 1979, p. 18). In 1944 when King accepted the job, it was a huge blow to Greenwood personally and professionally. "Losing the job to King niggled her for years" (Watts, interview, Murray/Watts, 2000).

The ABC elected Murdoch a member to the Education Broadcasting Committee set up in 1933 that developed the political and educational policy of the ABC, recognising that education and entertainment could be compatible. Murdoch, with King's husband, produced talks directly from the University of WA where Murdoch was a founding professor of English. King reviewed children's books for the *Women's Session*, under Gillies, focusing her talks on parent education and children's welfare where she "contributed no less than sixty broadcasts on children's books" (Lewis, 1979, p. 17). Greenwood, considering herself more qualified than King for the Director's job, was enraged about losing the directorship to King because she had led the lobby, through the WSG and the MWC, to have the program reinstated after it had been axed during the war. The closing of the Perth-based *Women's Session* was the topic for protracted correspondence between ABC Head Office in Sydney and the Western Australian management. The new national *Morning Call* represented a take-over of the *Women's Session* program from Perth. "We have learned to look on this session as peculiarly our own" (Greenwood quoted

in Lewis, 1979, p. 34).

When the ABC's Commission on Broadcasting met in Perth in April 1944, Greenwood gave evidence to get the Perth version of the program reinstated:

Owing to the lobbying efforts of the MWC and the WSG actively led by Irene Greenwood, ABC management was persuaded that WA should have its own *Women's Session* at a local level rather than a canned product from Sydney (Lewis, 1979, p.147).

On his return to Perth from Sydney, federal general manager, Charles Moses sent a memo to State manager, Conrad Charlton ordering that the *Women's Session* be reinstated. The first of the *Women's Session* programs under Catherine King went to air on 4 September, 1944 and under her directorship Greenwood had to kowtow to King to do her own interviews. This is evident in a letter Greenwood (1946) wrote to King while on assignment in Sydney:

If I send one talk prepared would you be prepared to read it? I wonder if the idea would appeal to you for me to introduce them, to interview them, or is it so much your own province that you would prefer to do it? You must believe me when I say that it does not matter if you interview them.

King controlled what went to air on the *Women's Session*, had editorial control over Greenwood's scripts and determined the length and frequency of her talks. Greenwood was by now clearly established as a radical left-winger and King kept a close editorial eye on her political commentaries. That King was a non-feminist ought not to suggest that she conformed to the stereotype of 'femininity'. On the contrary, she is described in her early broadcasting days as "the red-headed girl dashing around with a fag in her mouth" (Lewis, 1979, p. 140). Later she replaced the cigarettes with a pipe, perhaps to emulate her father. King refuted the idea that there ought to be a special place for women in broadcasting:

The idea of a separate place for women in it [broadcasting] is surely as ridiculous as a separate place for them in the world in general – and as demoded. Broadcasting is good or bad by broadcasting standards which have nothing to do with sex and the sooner the idea that women have a specialised set of interests and are incapable of wider ones is exploded, the better it will be (King quoted in Lewis, 1979, p. 49).

When she made that statement, King was addressing a Conference of University Women in 1950, missing the specificity of women's difference in broadcasting. Under Catherine King's directorship, the *Women's Session* became an established part of Western Australian cultural life and she was a household name in WA. She was successful in her proposal to Charlton for *Kindergarten of the Air* presented by Margaret Graham, the first broadcast service for pre-school children and later copied in Sydney. "It took Perth to think of it" (Lewis, 1979, p. 26), leaving her mark on the history of women's broadcasting in WA.

King left Perth and the *Women's Sessions* in 1966 at the height of her career to move to Melbourne. When she broadcast for the last time, the *Women's Sessions* on 4 September, 1966, shortly before the Birthday Honours, she was awarded a Member of the British Empire for services in the interests of women and children (Lewis, 1979, p. 134). The Lord Mayor of Perth honoured King's departure to Melbourne with a civic reception and Greenwood presided over the monthly meeting of the WILPF. "The reception for Catherine King was in recognition of the place she holds in the esteem and affection of the women of this State" (Greenwood, WILPF Minutes, 1966). From 1966 to 1980, King was employed by *The Australian* newspaper as reviewer of children's books. In 1983, she was awarded an honorary doctorate at Murdoch University, not as the daughter of Walter Murdoch, but in her own right for her intellectual contribution to children's literature both as broadcaster

and reviewer (“Catherine King”, Citation, n. d.). She received the honorary doctorate two years after Murdoch bestowed the honour to Irene Greenwood.

Women in the International News was a weekly fifteen-minute talks program from within the ABC *Women's Session*. In 1942 during World War II, the program was cut through retrenchment of women speakers and with many city women involved in war work, it was the country listeners who were most affected by the loss of the program. Towards the end of the war, after 1945, female announcers were considered to be taking ‘men’s’ jobs. When the program was reinstated in 1944, Greenwood produced *People in the International News* but the temporary axing of the *Women's Session* during the war meant that the sexual division of labour indirectly affected her employment.

There has been a great deal of investigation and debate about the sexual division of labour. Various authors (Game & Pringle, 1983; Broom, 1984; Burton, 1985) have challenged assumptions about the existence of cultural constraints that make the allocation of gender roles universal and social organisation along gender lines inevitable. During Greenwood’s period of broadcasting, news announcing was considered strictly a male preserve. Yet, in the 1930s here was a woman producing news-based broadcasts covering issues of international significance from a feminist perspective when it was ‘holy writ’ that women were not allowed to read the news. There was no television. Radio was the only link to the outside world for many country people isolated on properties without newspapers. Greenwood was broadcasting at a time when it was considered that women announcers lacked authority and credibility as serious news announcers. News was considered men’s business and the male voice was construed to represent power, authority and control.

Carol Gilligan lays the intellectual foundation for the assertion that women speak *In a Different Voice*, one morally superior to men. She brings a feminist analysis to women's ways of viewing the world to represent women's voices as enabling them "to see better its integrity and validity to recognise the experiences their thinking refracts" (Gilligan, 1980, p. 3). What Greenwood brought to news broadcasting beginning in the 1930s was the capacity to see life through women's eyes, experience and capability, and to write on the basis of women's subjective experience and values in public and private life.

Greenwood held a steady position at the ABC in the immediate pre-war period and so it cannot be argued that the war explained how she obtained a traditionally male-dominated job. Certainly though, during the war, by the early 1940s, the wartime shortage of manpower had forced the broadcasting authorities to consider using women in the prestigious announcers positions. The policy did not win public support. "LSH" (1939) writes:

As a critical listener, I have been forced to the conclusion that women announcers are not to be commended...the tones and inflections are neither that of a cultured English woman nor of a hearty Australian.

Greenwood was exceptional in that her voice was cultured and hearty earning her credibility as a serious State and national announcer. Not until the 1970s did women media workers realise that the mass media reinforced and maintained the status quo of capitalist class relations and its associated sex-segregation in the workforce. On the initiative of women and media workers in England, statistical evidence for sexist divisions of labour within the media forced the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to hold an Inquiry into employment of women in

the organisation. The Inquiry revealed patterns within the structure where women were slotted into pigeon-holes just as dehumanising and demeaning as the women's images portrayed by the media. While the BBC was forced to form policies to stamp out discrimination on the grounds of sex, women in Canada had realised similar problems at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In 1975, the ABC followed the pattern of the English and Canadian broadcasters to conduct its inquiry into The Status of Women in the ABC. One of the positive outcomes was the establishment of the national feminist program in 1976, The *Coming Out Ready or Not* show. This context makes Greenwood's political commentary more exceptional because she was broadcasting during a period of no gender policies to guide the status of women in the media, and women had no voice reporting and interpreting world news.

There were added pressures that exacerbated the tensions of Greenwood's private and public life. During the 1930s, her husband, Albert's speculative mining ventures resulted in long spells of "self-inflicted unemployment". Writing in her war diary Greenwood (1940, n. p.) expounds on the financial struggle of working in radio and keeping her family, referring to mortgage payments as 'rent'.

Somehow life goes on. The rent is found, the bills mount but they are paid somehow... My firmest determination is to keep this home I have bought at the cost of what most women hold dear in life, pretty clothes, personal appearance, good times. Every cheque I get, every shilling I earn is just rent. I who had hoped to change the world am now content to earn enough to pay the rent!

She pressed Albert to upgrade her house bought in the fashionable suburb of Nedlands and Greenwood (war diary, 1940, n. p.) expressed relief when Albert finally took a job:

Albert, amazingly, takes a job with the Fedl. Audit Dept. attached to Hqrs. Francis St. I couldn't believe he would. I wept with relief

when he finally accepted. Right to the last I thought he would find some excuse to evade it. At last I shall know regular money again. Has Mother been right all along? Should I have forced Albert to shoulder responsibilities, which I have taken upon myself? Does it help a husband or a family to assume too much? Or is it better to make them carry their share of the burden of the day. Can I relax now?

As noted, during the wartime tight economies in 1941 and 1942 the ABC was subject to severe budget cuts and the *Women's Session* was signalled as one of the first programs to go. For Greenwood this represented a loss of a regular income and only limited occasional broadcasts with the ABC. She took up a position with commercial radio to supplement her income. Greenwood's letter to L. Wilkinson, station manager of 6KY (1941) reads:

I hold references from Mrs. Linda Littlejohn of Sydney and Mrs. Jessie Street of Sydney. Both given to me in 1935 as to my experience there arranging talks on both A and B Class Stations for the United Associations Broadcasting Committee.

- **Propaganda**

Greenwood produced propaganda talks for the Department of Information from 1942 to 1945, commissioned by the Government to write for broadcast on short-wave transmission. She also produced short wave broadcasts for Radio Australia, beamed on many wavelengths and some translated into French and other languages. One program in the series produced entitled, 'Hitler's World and Ours' was picked up in an air raid shelter in London during the blitz (Greenwood, "Irene Greenwood" 1949), n. p.). "Another series of talks were...targeted at North American audiences, presumably with the intention of winning US sympathy for the war effort"

(Richardson, 1988, p. 57). America had entered the war in December 1941. The propaganda station gave Greenwood a forum to handle politically contentious references to stated communists during the period before Russia entered World War II. In a talk entitled, “Katharine Susannah Prichard”, Greenwood (script, 1940, pp.1-2) introduced her hero, as “Australia’s greatest living author for her reputation is international”. Throughout the script Greenwood avoided using the word ‘communist’ to focus explicitly on Prichard as writer. “Her writings glow and pulse and throb with the colour, the sound and the feel of the land she loves so passionately where her roots go down deep” (Greenwood, script, 1940, p. 2). She promoted Prichard’s books, “*Moon of Desire...The Pioneers...Black Opal...Working Bullock*” to stress that they had all won awards:

Katharine Susannah Prichard, with fine eyes of dark brown – the eyes of a dreamer. Her ways are gentle, her heart compassionate and filled with understanding. Her mind is keen and penetrating. Her person dignified and gracious (Greenwood, script, 1940, p. 3).

The only suggestion to imply her communist affiliation was reference to Prichard’s book *The Real Russia* to focus Prichard as ‘internationalist’.

After a period of further travel in Europe and the USSR she wrote ‘The Real Russia’. A broadly international outlook has always characterised Katharine Prichard; and she is directed in her interests and activities by an opposition to fascism in all its aspects.

In keeping with her internationalist stance, Greenwood (script, 1937) broadcast a program to celebrate ‘International Women’s Night’ on International Women’s Day. Her commentary was broadcast all over the USA in two nation-wide hook-ups that embraced England and France. Greenwood (script, 1937, p. 1) reports on the new technology of international hook-ups enabling communications between

women internationally:

On Friday February 26th in every country of the world where there is a branch of the Federation of Business and Professional Women, International Women's Night was celebrated. On this evening women threw a girdle of thought around the world; they linked themselves together in a chain of friendship and cooperation. The theme for the celebration was this year 'Women in Governments the world around'.

Greenwood highlighted "the record women have made in government, the pitfalls that lie before them and the opportunities that are yet to be won"

(Greenwood, 1937, p. 1), emphasising solidarity between the world's women:

Even although these national and international link-ups in broadcasting are becoming quite frequent, they can never lose their romance - with the sense of distance overcome, the belief in difference is over-ruled by a realisation of fundamental likeness which is stronger than superficially different characteristics (Greenwood, 1937, p. 1).

Here, Greenwood considers solidarity more important than difference. The call for a greater representation of women in the world's governments is an issue that engaged her throughout her life, but media policy determined the structure and content of Greenwood's controversial political broadcasts.

- **Policies and audiences**

Since Greenwood began broadcasting in 1936, the ABC and commercial broadcasters had established clear programming policies, which differed between State controlled and commercial radio stations, as did censorship practices, audiences and policies on advertising. Since their inception, commercial radio stations were motivated by economic interests and were based on a policy of

‘entertainment’ with music and chat, sponsored by advertisers. The *Women’s Session* in the commercial sector was recognised as a source of powerful market audience as with the sexual division of labour, the majority of daytime listeners were women confined to the home.

By contrast, the ABC regarded ‘education’ as the major function targeted at an informed audience. In the pre-war period when broadcasting *Women in the International News*, the ABC had established programming policies aimed towards the ABC’s independence, impartiality and political balance. At the height of the Cold War, the ABC was even more sensitive about political bias. During the 1930s and 1940s, as a matter of strict ABC policy, all radio talks were scripted before broadcast. There was the obvious practical reason for scripting precisely to time, but, more significantly, scripted talks enabled ABC management or program directors to apply tight vetting procedures for politically sensitive scripts.

In her ABC broadcasts, Greenwood never intended the program to be gender specific as her audience ranged across city, regional and country areas where she attracted male and female listeners. But during the 1930s and 1940s when the dominant ideology of domesticity kept the majority of women isolated in the home, it was this category of listeners who constituted the bulk of her audience.

Greenwood always placed a high premium on the value of education. She interpreted her broadcasting talks as a mandate to educate. Boyer (1946, p. 99), ABC chairman in 1946, reported on a Radio in Education Conference, giving a wide berth for Greenwood’s interpretation for ABC broadcasters to educate:

On the perennial subject of whether a national broadcasting instrumentality should give the people what they want or what they need, the Conference quickly disposed of this dilemma as false

antitheses...If, however broadcasting was to have any real significance in our development as a nation and as a successful democracy...it should be a little in advance of popular taste.

Greenwood regarded her talks as “in advance of popular taste” by promoting her views of development and democracy through her radio talks. The ABC editorial policy for scripted talks and interviews meant that prepared statements, questions and answers resulted in a style that tended towards one of consensus prior to broadcast. This approach contrasts with confrontational broadcasting. Bolton (1967, pp. 108-115) wrote about *Dick Boyer: An Australian Humanist* to explain that throughout the 1930s and 1940s the Commission was under considerable pressure from both political and public institutions to avoid controversial material. In its inception in 1930, the ABC had been modelled on the BBC, which had historically been ‘high brow’, informative and cultural and targeted at an educated and presumed informed middle class. It had been the policy of the BBC that “it is not the function of the BBC to ask the public what it likes but to provide what is liked by men and women of education chosen for their intelligence” (Turner, 1939, cited in Tildesley, 1939, p. 52). The ABC adopted the same elitist approach as the BBC. The difference between the ABC and the BBC was that the BBC was a monopoly. There was no commercial radio in England until 1939. What distinguished the public broadcaster from commercial stations was that it was regarded as A-class radio, while commercial stations were rated B-class.

McNair (1936 cited in Inglis, 1983, p. 75) found that the listening audience of the ABC was split 80%-20% in favour of the commercials and furthermore, the ABC share of the predominantly female daytime audience dipped to 15%. According to Inglis, “there was a correlation between listener distribution and income, with only

11% of households earning less than 200 pounds a year listening to the ABC” (McNair, 1942, p. 65). Inglis (1983) based his findings on the 1936 McNair survey to show that the richer you were the likelier you were to listen to the ABC. Richardson (1988, p. 40) suggested that, “the ABC was effectively preaching to itself”. More importantly, “its ability to penetrate the bulk market audience and in particular working class audiences was certainly compromised by its programming policy”.

While the ABC *Women’s Session* was construed as gender non-specific, by contrast, *Woman to Woman* was explicitly targeted at woman listeners. Greenwood would certainly have recognised the intellectual differentiation between her ABC and commercial audience but either way, she developed strategies to ‘educate’ her audience in an informative and entertaining style. In a letter to “Dear Margaret”, Greenwood (1948) wrote, “The more general the matter the better, for listeners on a B Class station”.

The move from ABC to commercial radio could be seen as a step down from A class to B class radio, but the move gave Greenwood access to “thinking working-class women”, vastly expanded her radio reach, and increased her income. Most of Greenwood’s listeners at the ABC would have been middle class men and women including those middle class women who were her colleagues in the women’s movement and later, her regular guests on *Woman to Woman*. Her commercial program was broadcast in the metropolitan area and relayed to the regional stations 6KG (Kalgoorlie) and 6AM (Northam). 6KY was broadcast in the metropolitan area and in the country.

While at the ABC in the late 1930s, Greenwood’s radical-left credentials come under question for her clear support in her broadcasts and writing in favour of

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, who was at the time a prominent figure in the Kuomintang and its Nationalist Government in China. “And this regime, led by her husband, was fighting a civil war against the Chinese Communist Party, a branch of a then compact international communist movement” (Higgins, 2002). Madame Chiang is praised four times by Greenwood:

Women’s suffrage has come to China. The National Government has issued an edict that henceforth all Chinese citizens; men and women shall enjoy equal franchise in the election of representatives to the National Assembly. A special Committee met in November to adopt a Constitution. . . Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is doubtless behind the move (Greenwood, script, 1937, p. 3).

Greenwood (1937, p. 3) portrays Madame Chiang both as a role model for women’s political rights and as an emissary for peace:

Madame was again in the cables on December 23rd for her courage when a three-day armistice halted China’s civil war at the urgent request of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and her brother Dr. Soong. The two flew to Sianfu to rescue the general [her husband] from Marshal Chiang. . . Though some would doubt the wisdom of the act of these two special and unofficial emissaries of peace in flying to and making a landing at the rival General’s rebel stronghold. No one could question its courage.

Madame Chiang, an opponent of Chinese communism is portrayed as an “inspired leader”:

It was the women of China who first experienced the frightfulness of modern war. . . and what happened there was a blueprint. . . yet they have risen to a marvellous unity of purpose. . . under the inspired leadership of Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek (Greenwood, script, 1937, p. 3).

Again, writing for *The Broadcaster* on ‘Women, World Events and Radio’, Greenwood (1939, n. p.) portrays Madame Chiang as the voice of China:

The world is only as wide as your imagination. . . our much talked about isolation becomes a thing of the past. The voice of China, whether calming her refugees, instructing her social workers, or

calling her men and women folk to serve her in her time of need has been oft-times the voice of Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek... In China a great woman has arisen to lead and guide her nation to unity.

Greenwood consistently worked towards deepening understanding and cooperation in Australia/China relations, while the Soviet social model of communism engaged her sympathies; she was now supporting Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek in her struggle against Chinese communism.

- **Censorship and Russian news**

During the 1930s, ABC chairman, William Cleary, came under considerable pressure to safeguard the Commission's autonomous programming decisions from outside political interference (Bolton, 1967, p. 110). Under the chairmanship of Cleary during the 1930s, the ABC enforced a policy of political balance or impartiality for scripts to be vetted and censored for what might be considered politically sensitive views. But whatever constituted bias was only loosely construed. McMahon Ball (1938, p. 138) observes that "censorship is not always the expression of a clear principle; in practice it is considerably influenced by the official immediately concerned".

For Greenwood that official was the State manager of the ABC, Conrad Charlton, and in other instances, the ABC director of Talks, Ivo Greville. As previously noted, Charlton's wife was a member of the UAW, which might have had some influence on his decision to hire Greenwood, the merit of her broadcasting experience in Sydney notwithstanding. The appointment by Charlton did not give her

carte blanche to broadcast controversial commentary.

Greenwood's radio talks developed through her radio broadcasts beginning in 1936 and during the immediate pre-war period, as a different and radical voice in current affairs radio. Before the 1941 German attack on the USSR, between 1940 and 1941, the ABC placed an embargo on Russian news. In a letter to her colleague on the political left, Greenwood sent a censored script for comment to broadcaster, Frank Beasley, who responded with his concerns about democracy and freedom in the Australian press:

Dear Mrs. Greenwood,

The ways of censorship are exceedingly strange and exceedingly irksome. But I am not surprised at the eloquence and effectiveness of the blue pencil... we are only to have Russian news that depicts the inhabitants of the USSR as half starved wretches... The censor treated me a little more leniently... in which I had presumed to criticise... members of the British Government. My reply was to announce that I would not broadcast again. For once you admit it, by compliance with the censor's eliminations... what shall not be said, you have gone a long way towards conceding to him the right to say what shall be said. And that is the sacred name of democracy and freedom (Beasley, 1940, p. 1).

After the German attack on the USSR in June 1941, Australian censorship disallowed negative comment about the Soviet Union, and harassed that country's critics. From then to the end of the war, it was not radical to praise the Soviet Union because Australian censorship backed up war propaganda. Following the German attack on the USSR, "there was room for rapprochement between the left and right strands of the women's movement" (Richardson, 1988, p. 27). A graphic illustration of Greenwood's capacity to win support for the USSR from conservative women's organisations is evident from a letter written to Greenwood by Faith Symonds (1941, p. 1) representing the Country Women's Association to express solidarity with

women from the USSR:

Dear Mrs. Greenwood,
Herewith I enclose your paper on Women of the USSR for which we thank you. I kept it longer than I intended but some of the women enjoyed it so much they asked for it again...what pleased me most was the interest and discussion after and our afternoon for Russia was most successful both financially and in knowledge gleaned from your script.

The ABC lifted the de facto embargo on Russian news after Russia entered the war in 1941. But when Greenwood's talks were broadcast on the national version of the *Women's Session* from Sydney, she had to negotiate their structure with the Federal Controller of Talks in Sydney, B.H. Molesworth (1941, p. 1) who wrote:

Dear Mrs. Greenwood,
I do not think that a description of women's activities in America would necessarily prove of great interest to Australia. Is there any particular way of treating this subject, which you would suggest as likely to hold the interest of an Australian audience?

This example of managerial editorial interference is puzzling, particularly since Greenwood's program brief, was, as its title suggests, all about *Women in the International News*. As noted, earlier, Katharine Prichard and Joan Williams were public left-wing journalists and writers who wore their 'Red' political colour overtly. Greenwood, though more secretive about her communist affiliations, also came under fire for her pro-Soviet stories.

While Greenwood was covering international affairs on the *Women's Session*, Williams was reporting for the program on local political issues. "We were both under fire to some degree through censorship, me more than Irene because we were both trying to get over the ideas of progressive opinion and especially to counter the way that the newspapers were oriented" (Williams, interview, Murray/Williams, 2000). Williams had been employed by King as a general reporter on the *Women's*

Session at the time when anti-communism was at a peak in the early 1940s. The WSG lobbied in the early 1940s to get Senator Dorothy Tangney elected on behalf of the ALP in WA in 1943 (“Senator’s merited honour”, 1962) and Williams (1993, p. 118) intimates that she was responsible for influencing King’s decision to sack her from her reporter’s job as being too ‘Red’ for the ABC:

When anti-communism reared its head she [Catherine King] defended me stoutly...She ignored a complaint from Dorothy Tangney, the State’s first woman Senator. But when I made a slip - one that had nothing to do with politics - the axe fell.

The implication of William’s dismissal from the ABC is that the decision to sack her was a political act. Similarly, at *The West Australian*, “some of my pro-Soviet stories hit the sub’s wastepaper basket”, Williams (1993, pp. 56-57) said. An illustration of censorship by the newspaper was an incident in London after Williams had interviewed socialist writer, George Bernard Shaw. She was working in England with her first husband, journalist, Pete Thomas. She wired her copy to the editor at *The West Australian*, who rejected it outright. Williams (1993, p. 74) expressed her indignation at the editorial decision, “Hadn’t they heard of him or was he too much a Red with his *Intelligent Woman’s Guide to Socialism*?”

In the 1930s when ABC chairman, William Cleary, was under pressure from the government to safeguard the Commission’s autonomous programming policies, Greenwood’s talks were often controversial. One example of a script that was censored by ABC Management in 1939, was a talk submitted for broadcast on *Women in the International News* featuring an Austrian activist where Greenwood was warned not to use politically sensitive words like ‘fascism’. Greenwood (1939, n. p.) announced a move by the women’s movement in the USA (led by Alice Paul,

an advocate of women's rights) who through the National Women's Party were mobilising against fascism during World War II:

They are promoting a World Women's Party...against the high tide of fascism which is sweeping away such women's organisations as theirs, in every country where this form of government obtains power...Ms. Paul has worked with these European leaders for years...so that they may in future present a solid resistance to threats of a regime that would sweep away all the gains they had won in social work and peace work over a period of fifty years or more.

Charlton's letter to Greenwood (1939, p. 1) stated the ABC objection to the use of the word 'fascism':

Dear Madam,
In connection with your talk on Friday 10th February at 11.00 A.M entitled 'Pioneer Austrian Woman Social Worker, Peace Worker and Leader of the Women's Movement', there is a sentence at the top of page two, which we would like you to alter, 'Maybe this thing called fascism wont come over the whole earth'. This also applies to the conclusion at the end of the talk.

The woman at the centre of the talk was Helene Granitsch, one of Austria's best-known women for her work with children. She was a former leader of the Women's Party in Austria, the foremost women's organisation in Central Europe in the early 1940s. Greenwood (script, 1939, p. 2) was incredulous that Granitsch, who held a prestigious position in her work in Vienna under the Hapsburg Monarchy and a leader in the women's movement, had been reduced to the status of a refugee:

Helene Granitsch, a refugee, I can hardly believe it. She was associated with princesses and professors in the foundation of medical and clinic services for babies. She stood as a candidate in the first elections after the revolution and although unsuccessful, she continued her work in many humanitarian fields...She represented her country at Geneva and there moved for the placing of the question of the status of women in all countries of the world onto the agenda of the League of Nations and for its consideration by the International Labour Office.

The watered-down script was broadcast 10 February, 1939. Immediately following Jessie Street's confirmation as a socialist in 1938, a series of pro-Soviet scripts emerged in Greenwood's ABC broadcasts. A script titled 'Nadeyshda Krupskaya (Widow of Lenin)', broadcast on 17 March, 1939, was the first of a series of pro-Soviet broadcasts. Greenwood's broadcasts aimed "to promote understanding and friendly relations and to endeavor to obtain diplomatic and trade representation between Australia and Soviet Russia" (Greenwood, script, 1942, p. 2). During World War II, she pushed for support for the Anglo-Soviet Pact and the Twenty-six Power Pacts in what she termed a "global war" (1942, p. 2), calling for "the whole international front of all the Allies against fascism".

From the end of World War II until 1946, the ABC imposed a tight self-censorship as they were cautioning against broadcasters indulging in overtly political judgements. Although formal controls eased, Bolton (1967, p. 180) said "during the mid to late 1940s opposition to pro-communist broadcasts mounted both in Federal Parliament and within the Commission". The policy with respect to "Russian News" changed, and by 1948, according to Director of News, ABC, news editors pressed the Commission to be allowed to "spike all Communist material" (Dixon, 1975, p. 181).

So by 1946, during the time the Commission sought to stress its integrity and independence, Greenwood's talks came under scrutiny for her favourable portrayal of Soviet science. An example is a broadcast personifying Soviet scientist, Peter Kapitsa, based on a Reuter's wire, reporting on a meeting in Moscow of the three Foreign Ministers of Britain, America and Russia. The first submission of the script was scheduled for broadcast in January 1946 on *People in the International News*. ABC Director of Talks, Ivo Greville (1946, p. 1) rejected the script outright:

Dear Mrs. Greenwood,

We are enclosing herewith two copies of your script - Peter Kapitsa. We regret that it could not be used for broadcasting and have no doubt that you will find use for it in other directions.

The rejected script referred to the first atom bomb that was dropped, bringing scientists to the forefront of the world news. "Who are they, these Russians around whom there seems to be such a fog of obscurity; about whom the outside world knows so little beyond a few vague press rumours?" Greenwood (script, 1945, p. 1) answered her own question:

The Soviet Union is nearing the discovery of the secret of atomic energy said Reuter's man in Moscow the other day. What grounds did he have for such a statement? On the answers to these questions depends an understanding of the part the Soviet scientists have contributed to the greatest discovery of the age, and the uses they intend to put it...For there is little the Soviet does not know of atomic research as you shall hear.

Greenwood's emphasis on Russia's atomic research was written in a climate where the devastation of atomic energy had been exemplified in Japan, and the issue of nuclear arsenal was a contentious scientific issue internationally. In the rejected script, Greenwood (1945, p. 3) promoted Russian science in the best possible light:

It is no fault of the U.S.S.R. that Soviet scientists are not better known in other countries. Inside Russia scientists are public heroes and Soviet newspapers and journals feature the achievements of scientists and the gatherings of the various institutes of the Academy of Sciences, in the same way that Australian newspapers report test cricket or American papers play up the baseball match.

The invincible Greenwood would not be silenced. She re-submitted the script in February 1946, strategically, under a different title, in another bid to get the program to air. The revised script was broadcast on 24 February, 1946, where Greenwood (1946, p. 1) puts science above national boundaries and above gender to highlight the role of women in research based on the atom:

Knowledge never can be the closed preserve of any one nation. Scientific discovery leaps national boundaries to add to the pool of human ideas. From Copernicus to Einstein this has been so. The impact of the bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima awakened us to a new awareness of this fact. From Maria Sklodovaka-Curie to Lisa Meitner the research workers on the atom who made possible that world shaking act came from many and diverse nations.

Kapitsa is a Professor at Cambridge “whose academic brilliance in nuclear science put him at the head of a scientific laboratory purchased from Cambridge by the Soviets and shipped to Russia” (Greenwood, script, 1946, p. 2). Greenwood (1946, p. 1) describes Soviet science as science for the people:

According to a report over the BBC, he is now in Armenia conducting research on cosmic rays. This means that the Soviet Union is on the track of a source of energy infinitely greater than that liberated by the splitting of the Atom... Soviet Science always remains Science for the People.

Greenwood, (1946, p. 2) translates ‘Science for the People’ to mean a Marxist term:

In the mind of Russia’s millions – who follow the achievements of the scientists as keenly as we follow test cricket, or Americans follow ball games, Kapitsa is identified by two buildings. His great laboratory is one. The other is a big factory building near Moscow...the dual role of Kapitsa, Scientist and Engineer...Or to use a Marxist term, ‘worker by hand and brain’.

Greenwood was politically strategic in her scripting because she knew she had to make her scripts acceptable to both the broadcasting authorities and to her listeners. During the periods of censorship, she trod a fine line between keeping within the law, but not necessarily, the spirit of the law. She backed off pro-Soviet material after Russia invaded Hungary and Poland during World War II and Soviet imagery disappeared from her scripts from 1946 onwards when the blue pencil forced her to tow the official political line.

The radicalism of Greenwood's broadcasts at the ABC are exemplified in her pro-Soviet scripts, and can be identified as radical in terms of the radio heroine she portrayed. Nowhere in Greenwood's radio talks will you hear anything reflecting the domestic ideology based on home hints, good housekeeping, how to raise children, and how to catch, keep and please a man. What is exemplary about her radio heroine is that she counters the media tendency to trivialise and dehumanise women. 'Domestic' was simply not in Greenwood's vocabulary. The radical edge of her broadcasts when analysed in historical context, takes into account the gender and power relations in which the women's movement in WA took shape and operated in the 1930s and 1940s, including the World War II period.

During her ABC wartime broadcasts, there were other issues besides censorship and financial tensions troubling her. Greenwood (1940, n. p.) notes in her war diary, "Meantime the Nazi war machine has rolled across Europe. The New Order extends from the Baltic to the Black Sea. What next?"

- **Women in the war effort**

World War II gave Greenwood the opportunity to augment her earnings and gain public support from her listening audience, during which time she built a solid reputation as a credible international affairs commentator. Her wartime broadcasts confirm the huge involvement of women in support of military objectives showing that historically, women have supported men in war. Reekie (1982; 1985) and Wright (1995, cited in Murray, 1995, p. 69) stress how in World War II, women's inclusion in men's jobs arguably led to their eventual intense dissatisfaction with reimposed

domesticity after the war, and a refusal to be denied access to money and jobs. This contributed to second wave feminism although; this of course was strongly influenced by the peace movement and the anti-war movement. Murray (1995, p. 70) argues that there is a very compelling argument that women's suffrage and the eventual development of second wave feminism in the 1970s, were both directly as a result of involvement in, and supportive of military objectives.

Greenwood (script, 1939, p. 1) expresses concerns about the cultural destruction of the arts and music in warfare:

Bombs smash beautiful paintings...but of all the arts music is sure to survive...someone, somewhere will bring forth new sounds to life again and they will come forth triumphant.

A script entitled 'Enlistment of Women' (Greenwood, 1939, p. 1) was based on cable news of women's enlistment for war work during World War II that gives the figures of women's contribution as volunteers:

During September over 96,000 women enrolled in England and Wales bringing the number of women volunteers since June 1938 up to the half million mark...Every women's paper or magazine carried pages on women's war service, assisting the Army, the Navy or the Air Force as Auxiliaries or working at the wheel, on the farm, in the factory doing anything that will release men for the front-line or for training.

Greenwood (script, 1939, p. 1) showed that "practically every British woman pilot is helping in some way or another in the Air Service because of the shortage both of instructors and pilots". On 10 November Greenwood (1939) broadcast a talk based on leaders of the Women's Voluntary Service in Great Britain to refer to thousands of women volunteers in England active in the Women's Volunteer Reserve, the National Women's Air Services, Auxiliary Territorial Services and the Women's Transport Services. "They were in complete control of large lorries,

ambulances, trucks and have to drive even fire engines under conditions of complete black-out" (Greenwood, 1939, pp. 1-2). In the same program Greenwood recounted the incident of "Dr. Elsie Inglis who approached the War Office in the first months of the war in 1914. She was told to go home and be quiet" (Greenwood, 1939, p. 1). Greenwood noted that the situation was very different in September 1939 when women of Great Britain again found their country at war. "This time there was a well organised reserve of women trained in every aspect of civil and military defence" (Greenwood, 1939, p. 2).

Greenwood (script, 1939, pp. 3-4) explains how sex equality in the military channels led to women's paid labour in Russia:

The Russian newspaper, *Investia*... recently reported that 250,000 wives of railway workers were learning their husband's jobs. Soviet women claim and receive, equal status with their men and they are to be found in all posts, and even in the Army, Navy and Air Force. No estimate of Russia's military strength would be complete without consideration of the contribution of its women, given directly through both military and industrial channels.

An undated script titled 'Women in Russia' was produced against the background of the nation's war effort to discuss the book *Journey Among Warriors* (n. d.) by Eve Curie. Curie paid tribute to prima ballerina, Olga Lepenshinskeya, a woman worker in a Moscow Dynamo factory who was actively engaged in military activity. "Lepenshinskeya, the best ballerina in Russia was decorated by Stalin...She also works very hard at an office at the Soviet Information Bureau where she is secretary of the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee" (Greenwood, script, n. d., p. 1). Valentina Grizodubova was a "leader of a Soviet Bomber squadron" (Greenwood, n. d., p.1). Describing Russian women as "self-reliant and strong and efficient, both comrade and companion to her man" (Greenwood, n. d., p. 2), Greenwood stresses

the relatively high representation of women doctors, scientists, judges, engineers and women in universities and industry in Russia. Greenwood (n. d., p. 3) celebrates Grizodubova as a military hero:

On her breast she wears the highest decoration. Red Star of the Soviet, Hero of the Soviet, Order of the Red Banner and Order of Lenin and also a little enamel flag which shows her to be a member of the Supreme Soviet, with the rank of Major. She commands a squadron of four engine heavy bombers... She had trained thousands of men as fighter pilots in the Red Air force.

There is little evidence that Greenwood (script, n. d., p. 3) was a pacifist from her description of Maria Oktabrakeya who had written to Stalin:

I have fifty thousand roubles to buy a tank that I want to drive myself...I want the tank named 'Fighting Comrade'. I am a chauffeur and can handle a machine gun. I have the Voroshilov badge for marksmanship. My husband and two sons have been killed in action. My parents are in the enemy hands. My home was in Sevastopol. I wish to avenge them.

Here, avenging the enemy becomes the focus where a military response is perceived as an act of justice.

In January 1945, Greenwood made public her support for Tito's Government in Yugoslavia to announce that Tito and his Peoples Army of Liberation had won the right to be regarded as partners in the allied war effort. She quoted Tito directly:

It has been necessary to shed floods of precious national blood. It has been necessary that tens of thousands of the nations finest sons lay down their lives in the course of two years unequal struggle with the enemy, that in the end the truth about the actual situation in Yugoslavia might hew its way through to the world (Greenwood, script, 1945, p. 1).

Tito's speech referred explicitly to the "nation's sons" but Greenwood stressed that, "Yugoslavia's daughters have also shed their blood, and their heart's blood, side by side in the struggle with their menfolk" (1945, p. 1) perhaps to point

out Tito's gender blind-spot. Greenwood (1945, p. 2) portrays a gallant girl guerrilla "who had exhausted the ammunition in her machine gun and used the last bullet in her revolver on her attacker before her death to the last drop of blood". On Greenwood's estimate, "twenty-five per cent of the Partisan Army are women – many of them officers – and that title is only won in battle" (1945, p. 2). Greenwood did not discriminate against fighters of Nazis. She told her listeners "the Partisan Army is open to all that are willing to fight Nazis, regardless of race, religion, political colour or sex. It is truly democratic" (1945, p. 2).

It is clear from her wartime broadcasts that Greenwood (script, 1945, p. 1) felt that women should be rewarded politically for their military contribution:

Sixteen capital cities of Europe have been liberated (according to a recent press announcement). In the leading nations there are promises of stable Government, and leaders of the Resistance Movement have prominent places in them. As early as possible elections are to be held on the basis of universal suffrage – which means that women who have played so full a part in the underground struggle for liberation, will...elect and be elected to positions in the Governments.

Distinguishing what she considered to be 'just' war, that is defence against an aggressor or resistance against fascism, Greenwood's wartime broadcasts highlighted women's war effort to argue women's equal capacity with men in military activities. She had no objection to women taking up arms in the resistance against fascism. Similarly, she was a staunch supporter of the Irish Republican Army. An illustration of her Republican stance after the end of World War II is evident in a script broadcast on 21 February, 1945, the eighth of her talks on the theme 'Europe Liberated'. Greenwood expressed "hope and optimism for a lasting peace in Europe where previously there had been chaos and despair" (Greenwood, 1945, p. 1). The

talk was based on Irish patriot and Republican, Countess Constance de Marciewicz, a supporter of the Irish Republican Army, who rebelled against authority by issuing an ultimatum to the British Foreign Secretary to withdraw all British troops from Ireland. The historical event was during Easter, 1916, when members of the Sinn Fein movement staged a rebellion in Dublin and declared an Irish Republic. Greenwood (1939, p. 2) traces military actions of Marciewicz and her sister, "Eva", to 1916 when:

In the rebellion week of that Easter in 1916 they took their place in the Irish Citizens Army beside the men...and shared in the marching, and digging trenches and even fought at the barricades.

The Countess supported Sinn Fein's objective for, "the removal of England's hand from Ireland's pocket and England's hand from Ireland's throat" (Greenwood, script, 1939, p. 2). Greenwood (1939, p. 3) describes the Countess, as "one of Ireland's most fearless daughters and her sister are famous Dublin beauties and well known in society life there and in London and Paris". The society "beauties" are portrayed as Gaelic warriors:

Gentleness and modesty were by no means their usual characteristics, but rather a fierce overflowing life. Women warriors are frequently met with, for the Gaelic bards did not set women in a place apart from men. Women were judged and treated like men, neither as drudges nor goddesses, as we know that well into historic times they went with men into battle.

Marciewicz was militarily engaged at a time that followed an Act of Parliament in England (1917-1918) that gave a limited franchise to women, and with it, the right to sit in Parliament. Greenwood (1939, p. 4) reports:

The Countess Marciewicz was returned, as the Sinn Fein Member of the House of Commons... She never took her seat in London because she was in a prison in Holloway paying the penalty for rebellion. She was court-martialed and sentenced to death, though

she was given a reprieve from execution.

Greenwood (script, 1939, p. 3) quotes from Marciewicz's *Prison Letters* to her sister, Eva, describing encounters with British snipers:

The work was very exciting when the fighting began. I continued round and round Stephen's Green reporting back if anything was wanted, or tackling any sniper who was particularly objectionable...Madeleine French Mullen was in charge of the Red Cross and the Commissariat in the Green. A group of girls who were attending to the wounded were caught by English machine gun fire...Mullen brought them along with the wounded and prisoners out to a safer place...they came out unscathed from a shower of shrapnel.

Greenwood supported sexual equality in military combat, although she referred to herself as a pacifist. She believed in 'just' war, and women's role in the war effort, while consistently counselling for non-violence, an apparent contradiction that I shall discuss in chapter 11. However, Greenwood's advocacy for women's equality in the military channels ought not to suggest that she was gender insensitive to the impact of war on innocent civilians, particularly women and children. On the contrary, Greenwood was painfully aware of the high cost of war to women and children.

There were clear differences between State controlled and commercial broadcasters, influencing the scope of Greenwood's authorship and broadcasting strategies. Policies differed in production practices, programming policies, audiences, censorship, and, perhaps most significantly for a feminist broadcaster, policies on advertising.

- **Advertising policies**

A fundamental difference between the ABC version and the commercial version of a *Women's Session*, was, of course, advertising policy. What was anathema to the ABC was economically essential in commercial radio. Greenwood submitted an ABC talk for broadcast for 15 January, 1937, arguing that more money was spent by women in varying devices to keep them young, than is spent on the combined Army, Navy and Air Force. State manager, Charlton (1937, p. 1) instructed deletions of trade names:

For example, Yardley and Levers of England, Coty of Paris who has the largest share of foreign custom in England, and Max Factor of Hollywood and New York. These are trade names and refer to goods, which are definitely on the market in Australia. As such, any reference to them is considered to be advertising, which is entirely outside our field of activity.

The script was broadcast with the deletions of trade names, comparing estimates for defence with estimates for cosmetics, showing conclusively that “women in England do spend as much on cosmetics as the nation allows for the army”. Women’s physicality was a characteristic of the Greenwood heroine, but most notably the heroine is chosen for some field of endeavour, generally reserved for men. She is usually exceptional for breaking new ground for women, but Eisenstein (1984, p. 39) explains the problem with ‘exceptional’ woman like Simone de Beauvoir who thought of themselves as having escaped the female condition:

The exceptional woman saw herself as being apart from other women, and as superior to them...The moment of truth, in consciousness raising, came at the point where the ‘exceptional woman’ understood that to be told, ‘You think like a man’, was to be told, ‘You are not a real woman’.

By contrast, Susan Mitchell’s ‘exceptional’ women featured in her classic *Tall Poppies* (1984, p. ix) in Australia argues that, “For some people, the whole

notion of ‘Women of Achievement’ implies elitism”. The successful Australian women interviewed in her book explain their achievements by hard work, struggle and dedication. The exceptional women portrayed in Greenwood’s radio talks are presented as examples for women to learn from and build upon for establishing positive female roles and social change.

Germaine Greer (1971, p. 330) provides a useful framework for understanding Greenwood’s exceptional heroine as different from male achievers:

The surest guide to the correctness of the path that women take is *joy in the struggle*. . . Joy does not mean riotous glee, but it does mean the purposive employment of energy, in a self-chosen enterprise. It does mean pride and confidence. It does mean communication and cooperation with others.

- **Commercial broadcasts, Perth, (1948-53)**

In contrast with Greenwood’s ‘provocative’ ABC broadcasts over twelve years, “communication and cooperation” aptly describes her broadcasting style for her daily/weekly program on commercial radio, beginning in 1948, strategically titled, *Woman to Woman*. Greenwood conceived and devised the first commercial version of a *Women’s Session* in WA. The new program was construed to be gender specific, based on communications between and for women. Her commercial broadcasts (1948-1953) were also news-based, and focused on lightweight cultural topics of local and international significance. As program director/presenter, her commercial broadcasts, while less political than her ABC talks were lively, informative, interesting and entertaining. Her ‘light cultural’ talks maintained a high focus on news, locally and internationally, and when examined, although unusual for

commercial radio in the period, contained political content:

Her radio program, originally broadcast by the ABC and later sponsored by a Perth milliner and designed for thinking women at home, embraced all aspects of cultural activities and always included comment, reviews and interviews which enlarged upon local and international affairs (Giles, 1997, p. 1).

Greenwood sketched out her ideas and sought and found a sponsoring commercial radio station 6PM, owned by Frank Whitford's network. The network extended airtime by half an hour to enable the new program to be broadcast to country listeners. Greenwood believed this to be the best time, "when women have completed their morning chores, given lunch to their children and sent them back to school and put the babies down for a rest" (Greenwood quoted in *The Broadcaster*, 1948). Baldock (1981, p. 1) comments on the success of the *Woman to Woman* program:

How popular this daily programme with its variety of important guests, its book reviews, its news about women's organisations and accomplishments was, showed in her 'Mailbag to Microphone' session to which Western Australian Women were invited to contribute.

After vacating an established niche at the ABC to produce her own version of a *Women's Session* it was announced, "From ABC talks to a B Class *Women's Session* might be considered by some a come down in the world, but Irene Greenwood feels she is giving women listeners on commercial stations A-Class material" ("Irene Greenwood", 1949, n. p.). "Why relinquish an established niche in A-Class broadcasting?":

It all came about because of one of those listener polls. A friend of mine, a university graduate did a survey of women's listening in the morning hours, and was appalled at the high percentage of women who do chain listening to serials. My friend saw this as a fine field for Australian writers. I saw it as one for a good

Women's Session presented in the guise of entertainment rather than education (Greenwood quoted in "Irene Greenwood", 1949, n. p.).

Greenwood (quoted in *The Broadcaster*, 1948, n. p.) describes her new program as, "a friendly intimate kind of get-together of our free and friendly forum of the air". The 'political narrator' is now the 'friendly visitor', easing the domestic isolation of young country and city women by sharing information of local, national and international interest.

If advertising was the 'cardinal sin' at the ABC, at 6PM it was mandatory. If Greenwood's sponsors, Corot's, paid the piper, it was Greenwood who called the tune. What was against the rule at the ABC was now the 'golden rule'. Speaking on 6PM two years into the job, Greenwood announced her program sponsored by Corot's chain of fashion stores, owned by Jess and Harold Stafford. Advertising Corot's products meant writing advertisements for women's wear, lingerie and bridal gowns, epitomising 'femininity' in the best liberal tradition. Despite the ideological shift from state to commercial broadcasting, the modest Greenwood does not consider the move a professional compromise. "I regard myself as a purely professional talks producer and broadcaster" (quoted in *The Broadcaster*, 1948, n. p.).

From the ABC to her own daily/weekly program to the city and country regions was a quantum leap for Greenwood, now in control. The new program contained interviews, talks, book reviews, theatre critiques and competitions through the innovative new program 'over to listeners' which Greenwood called *Mailbag to Microphone*. The program was highly successful and proved very lucrative for the Stafford's until the station policy introduced talkback radio, replacing her *Woman to*

Woman program in 1953 when Greenwood formally retired from broadcasting. Baldock (1993, p. 3) recounts “her voice on radio talkback shows, or from the front row of any public lecture – she was always the first to ask a probing question”.

One of the explanations given for why Jess and Harold Stafford sponsored Greenwood was that they were members of the Jewish community in Perth, and Greenwood was well known for her support for Street’s ‘Sheepskins for Russia’ campaign and anti-fascist stance. One of Greenwood’s best-kept secrets was her association with the Jewish community, which was why Corot’s underscored and was the principal sponsors of *Woman to Woman*:

She sponsored a number of men to come and live in Australia, Jewish men fleeing the holocaust that was happening in central Europe. She was very proud of that but it was very private. It was something she never wanted to be known widely but it was a part of her life that was an amplification of her work for peace but because the relationship was across gender, she felt a little bit vulnerable talking about it (Stone, interview, Murray/Stone, 1999).

Perhaps what Stone is hinting at is her intimate friendship with Jewish communist, Maurice Silver, with whom she found an intellectual equal until his death, and through her association with him, became a member of the Jewish Women’s Association in Perth (Eddington, personal conversation, 2002).

On Christmas Day 1950 Greenwood, (script, 1950, n. d., n. p.) introduces *Woman to Woman*:

Good afternoon everyone. This is Irene Greenwood, your friendly voice that I hope by now you come to associate with Corot’s *Woman to Woman* Session; the voice that enters your homes every afternoon at 2 o’clock bringing you regular daily features... It is by you, the listeners who by your letters, your interest, your enthusiasm help me to make this Session the friendly interchange of ideas I wish it always to be.

There was a political tone to the ‘friendly interchange of ideas’, as we shall see, but the imagery of Greenwood broadcasting in the 1950s conjures memories of the advertiser’s messages that no woman was complete without “the little black dress”. Emphasis on fashion and beauty are the benchmarks of womanhood, where Greenwood (diary, 1977, p. 23) reflects:

Mother’s belief in superiority of women morally and spiritually, higher nature of women’s development of sensitivity, search for beauty. Truth is beauty, beauty is truth. This is all ye need to know of life and all ye will ever need to know.

Serious journalists might consider truth more profound than beauty, but as Marshal McLuhan (1964, p. 130) reminds us, “Clothing, as an extension of the skin, can be seen both as a heat-control mechanism and as a means of defining the self socially”. In his work *Understanding Media*, McLuhan raises fundamental questions about what are communications, and how they affect the modern world, to analyse clothing as a purveyor of political messages. In Greenwood’s commercial broadcasts, the radio heroine is identified by how she looks, what she’s wearing and where she shops. Greenwood (6PM, n. d.) asks, “What’s new in today’s fashions?”:

The answer is nylon underwear, the fabric of the future...the lingerie showing is simply breathtaking in its beauty. A magnolia satin and lace nightie is cut from all over guipure lace, satin bond, and a wide band edges from the hem, coming up in a deep v finished with small true lovers knot. Travellers, housewives, businesswomen and girls who are getting a trousseau together, all make Corot’s lingerie department your Mecca before all this beautiful array of newest lingerie is snapped up by women who know lovely undies.

While “women who know lovely undies” might sound incongruous with Greenwood’s stated feminism, when understood in historical context, it would have appeared quite ideologically sound to promote women’s lingerie and bridal gowns. In

the 1950s, marriage and motherhood were deemed the primary and natural role for women, leaving the liberal construction of 'femininity' theoretically intact.

Commercial radio was in some ways more relaxing for Greenwood for the six years she broadcast *Woman to Woman*, because as director, she was free of the strict vetting procedures of the ABC, with its internal politics and dependence upon government funding. Running the show at 6PM, she had considerable editorial control and autonomy over program format and content, enabling her to effectively self-censor, within the commercial station's media policies.

- ***Woman to Woman* strategies**

Structuring *Woman to Woman* to meet her feminist agenda, Greenwood maintained the ABC style of scripting talks programs for some of her segments; for example, theatre critiques and book reviews. But as she was constrained at the ABC from doing her own interviews, 6PM opened the door for her to diversify the program format to include feature segments, enabling her to do interviews. But even her interviews were highly structured ensuring that only 'appropriate' voices were heard; that is, her middle-class colleagues in the women's movement, supporting her feminist agenda.

She devised a variation of formats for each day of the week. On Mondays she broadcast *Guest of the Week* where she did interviews. Tuesdays she wrote and produced talks on women from books and journals she had read called *Woman of the Week*. Wednesdays were reserved for book reviews in a segment called *Book of the Week*, which she scripted as a talk program. Her love of literary women is evident

from her personal library held in the *Irene Greenwood Collection* consisting of six hundred books, many of which are inscribed by authors. During her radio career, Greenwood reviewed over one thousand books that were broadcast or published in newspapers. She read the manuscripts for many new writers, and while not claiming to have acted as mentor to the writers listed below, Greenwood (“Go Proudly”, n. d.) was delighted that the esteemed authors had inscribed her personal copies of their books:

Among those who have so inscribed my books are Mary Durack Miller, Henrietta Drake-Brockman, Alexandra Hasluck, Katharine Susannah Prichard and Miles Franklin.

On Thursdays she broadcast the innovative *Mailbag to Microphone*, which was a radio first for listener participation in the late 1940s. On Fridays she broadcast *Radio Roundabout*, critiques of theatres, ballet, and art shows she had attended the previous week to provide a lively and informative women’s program.

- ***Mailbag to Microphone***

The new *Mailbag to Microphone* attracted press attention from *The Broadcaster* (1948, n. p.) describing it as “instructive and entertaining”, announcing that Greenwood “hoped to make the program Australian in spirit, cultural and humanitarian in outlook and to build it on news interest”. In the over-to-listeners spot, Greenwood nominated the topic for listeners to write about, the best of which would become a prizewinner. Adjudicators were nominated by Greenwood to select the winning listener’s letter. This was, of course, not ‘talk-back’ radio, which began at 6PM in 1953, but it was an innovative concept for the period as a strategy for

bringing listener opinions to the program; a concept that the ABC completely rejected in the period.

Not surprisingly, Greenwood drew her pool of talent from her wide and varied network of women's and peace organisations. Richardson (1988, p. 65) was cynical of Greenwood's claim that the program reflected a diversity of opinions:

The 'Mailbag to Microphone' competition was structured in a manner, which allowed it to be understood as impartial... that the opinions, finally broadcast, would thus be the listeners own rather than Greenwood's...the opinions finally broadcast were the opinions of Irene Greenwood.

Well why not? And does this suggest that the opinions of her listeners and adjudicators were completely excluded? The implication of Richardson's observation is that the opinions broadcast were the expressed opinions of Irene Greenwood. But surely she drew from a wide and diverse pool of expertise from women actively sympathetic to her feminist agenda. The first question for any journalist, is what is the *angle* on the story? Greenwood's letter to Conochie (1959) suggests the angle she wanted from her guest on the topic, 'Are comics harmful to children?'

Dear Mrs. Conochie,
I have a Thursday Session called 'Mailbag to microphone' when I seek listeners' letters on topics of the moment. That set for this month is 'Are comics harmful?' Could you manage to come along on Thursday at 2 for about ten minutes and open it up? I heard what you said at the Town Hall and if you could put in some of the side where they do not cause a great deal of harm to give some pros and cons to start with, then rock in their superiority of the harmful side and then stress the pitfall for unthinking mothers, it would stimulate a lot of thought.

Journalists do not come to their stories value free. My interpretation of Greenwood's letter to Conochie is that she was familiar with Conochie's side of the debate and wanted her expert opinion on the subject broadcast, and Conochie's

opinion was conveyed. Similarly, Dorothy Saunders, a retired magistrate of the Children's Court Bench was invited to adjudicate on the topic, 'Is a Good institution better than a bad home?' Saunders (1950) letter to Greenwood shows she was employed as an adjudicator on the basis of her expert opinion in family law:

Dear Mrs. Greenwood,
I feel very honoured that you have asked me to adjudicate in this very interesting subject, 'Is a good institution better than a bad home'...PS. I noticed that I have placed the three letters in the same order that you had folded them together; did you likewise make this placing? Interesting if so!

Another letter supports the evidence that the 'winner' was set up in advance. Cammilleri (1951) wrote to Greenwood, "I quite agree with the order in which you placed the entries". Richardson (1988, p. 66) observes that the adjudicators were:

Predominantly middle class professional women who were receptive to the ideology of the women's movement. The system did not disbar similar women from becoming entrants themselves.

An example supporting Richardson's observation that the 'winners' were Greenwood's friends is Isobel Johnson of the WSG, set up as a winner on *Mailbag to Microphone*. Johnson was a friend of Ida Swift, who wrote on the topic in April 1951, "what in your opinion are the qualities needed by your candidate for Parliament?" Swift was invited to adjudicate. Johnson and Swift were not Members of Parliament, but staunch supporters of the parliamentary system. A strategy of the 'over to listeners' program was to use pseudonyms to conceal the identities of the listener's whose letters won prizes. Johnson accepted to participate and was announced as winner under the pseudonym of 'North Cott'. Swift (1951, p. 1) sees *Woman to Woman* as an opportunity to promote the aims and objectives of the women's movement:

The remainder was all quite good and of course the prize is not so important as that our own ideas winged over the air find not only a resting place, but set other folks thinking and so it snow balls.

The use of pseudonyms only flimsily concealed the identity of Katharine Susannah Prichard who wrote in response to the suggested topic, 'How peace? How we can assist to maintain peace in this war threatened world?' Prichard's letter (1950, p. 1) states: "Irene, my dear, Use this item with or without my name, as you think fit". Enclosed with the note was an entry for the competition where Prichard suggested the topic is changed to 'Why peace?' Prichard (1950, p. 1) was broadcast on 14 December, 1950 under the pseudonym 'KSP Greenmount', which reads:

Why should women bear children, rear and educate them, try to make fine citizens, if they are to be slaughtered in wars for the benefit of those who profit in war? The sacred function of women does not end with giving birth to a child. It needs peace for mothering of the life that has been created...the building and strengthening of all that is noblest in the human family.

Prichard's letter reinforces women in their mothering role, but Greenwood balanced the program a few weeks later to promote anthropologist, Margaret Mead's theory of gender roles *Male and Female* (1957). Mead's book was the subject for *Book of the Week*, informing on her anthropological research in the field of sex roles in different cultures. Mead was in a program broadcast on 7 September, 1950 for *Mailbag to Microphone* entitled "Are There Other Worlds than This?" in which Greenwood argued, "the revived Meadian utopia was likely to become the bible of the new post-jubilee period of the women's movement" (Greenwood, script, 1950, n. p.). In fact this was not the case, when Friedan (1971, p. 149) cast suspicion on Mead's theories to argue that:

Even though it would seem that Margaret Mead is now trying to get woman out of the home, she still ascribed a sexual special-ness

to everything a woman does. Trying to seduce them into the modern world of science as ‘the teacher-mothers of ‘infant scientists’, she is still translating the new possibilities open to women and the new problems facing them as members of the human race into sexual terms.

There is no evidence in Greenwood’s radio archive to suggest that she really questioned, theoretically, woman in her ‘sacred mothering role’ or that up until her commercial radio career ended in 1953, did she bring sophisticated feminist theoretical analysis into her broadcast scripts. She was a practical strategist, a political media commentator, not an academic theorist.

Greenwood’s early years at 6PM coincided with a time when widespread antagonism against communism was exacerbated by the strictures of the Cold War and pro-Soviet imagery was not overtly obvious in her commercial radio broadcasts. By the time she started broadcasting *Woman to Woman*, Greenwood was a passionate fan of the UN, and well established with various Western Australian peace organisations. *Woman to Woman* provided an opportunity to promote the UN, to support the international machinery for the peaceful resolution of international disputes through her friends in the peace movement. In a program broadcast on UN Day, 24 October, 1950, vice-president of the UNAA (WA), L. Wilkinson, responded to the question, “Why should I be an active supporter of the UN?” The program began with Greenwood (script, 1950, p. 1) citing an extract from the preamble of the principles of the Charter of the UN:

We the peoples of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind.

In the same week, *Guest of the Week*, president of the UNAA (WA), Harold Boas, explained why 24 October is universally observed as UN Day and why such

observances were vital in 1950, referring particularly to disarmament and non-violent conflict resolution (Greenwood, script, 1950, p.1). Internationalism was on the agenda in Greenwood's local, 'lightweight' radio program.

- **Interviews**

An identifiable strategy in Greenwood's broadcasting style while working for commercial radio is an approach of consensus dialogue, and with this she brought an interventionist role into her broadcast interviews. Greenwood's letter to Mrs. Basil Henriques (1948, p. 1) from the Appeal for the International Children's Emergency Fund shows Greenwood's strategy of structuring her interviews prior to broadcast:

May I call on you for not more than half an hour one day this week to have a chat with you along the lines the interview should take? There are so many matters you would probably like to introduce, and I shall not know quite what questions to ask to lead up to your answers unless we could discuss them before hand. I shall telephone you to fix a time suitable for you.

Usually, it follows that a well-researched story is a good story. It is not uncommon for journalists to engage in dialogue with an interviewee before conducting an interview. My interpretation of Greenwood's letter to Henriques is that she adopted an approach that builds empathy between interviewer and interviewee to devolve power, share information and build rapport. Richardson's concern was that "in some cases consensus extended to the point where the interviewee herself played a major role in structuring the interview" (Richardson, 1988, p. 63). This conflicts with his earlier claim that only Greenwood's opinions were the opinions broadcast. Greenwood's letter to a lawyer (1948) simply provides a list of questions:

Dear Margaret,

The questions I'd ask would be. How did you come to take up the legal profession? Our first woman lawyer? When was it made legally possible? (With appropriate praise for dear old Mrs. Cowan)...(followed by a list of other questions).

Discussions with an interviewee prior to recording are a way to appropriately prepare for an interview for a more coherent flow of information and clarity for the listening audience and to ensure participant input. Similarly, Greenwood's letter to broadcaster, Miss Pendrid (1948, p. 1) provides an example of how the interviewer seeks to make the interviewee comfortable in advance of an interview:

Dear Miss Pendrid,

Here is the outline promised you of questions I will ask, with your replies sketched in much as you said them to me, and giving you leads to follow up in any way you want. You see what I mean when I say it shouldn't give you cause to think about anything more, nor prepare anything. I could see how the thought of those scripts for the ABC was worrying you, and was more than ever grateful to you for agreeing so readily to do this for me and I want to save you one moment's worry about this little effort.

My interpretation of Greenwood's consensus strategy in her broadcasting techniques, reflect a conciliatory and cooperative approach in a climate where conflict was then, and is now, the media's currency, both in broadcasting and in structure. Greenwood interviewed Ada Bromham, president of the WCTU, who stood as the Social Welfare candidate (endorsed by the WSG for the seat of Claremont in 1921) in the Western Australian State election. She was one of the *Women of the Week* at the time when the Korean War truce was being negotiated. Greenwood (script, 1953, n. p.) promotes goodwill between Australia and China:

If the women's organisation such as your own...are cooperating with the new regime in China, it augers well for a broadly based women's movement there...You, with your long reputation based on social service built on Christian principles, are in a unique position to judge. Few people have seen China, as it was in 1935

and again seen it today. Therefore we respect your judgment, and hope, for all our sakes that it will lead to greater goodwill between ourselves and our near northern neighbours in the Pacific.

In her commercial broadcasts, as at the ABC, there is still a tincture of the 'educator' when Greenwood (quoted in *The Broadcaster*, 1948, n. p.) announces:

If I can make women have a good conceit of themselves and their abilities and help those who are home-bound to see the wider horizons of this wonderful land of ours and assist them generally through my experiences and my reading, then I shall feel that all my years of apprenticeship for conducting *Women's Sessions* will have been very well spent.

Irene Greenwood formally retired from broadcasting in 1953, leaving behind a trail beginning in Sydney in 1931. But 1953 was in no way the end of her media career or feminist activism. By the time she left 6PM at age fifty-six, she was a grandmother and clearly delighting in the joy she received from her grandchildren. She continued to broadcast on an occasional basis for the ABC and commercial radio stations throughout the sixties, while remaining highly active with the various women's and peace organisations, which involved voluntary, unpaid work. As well, as a sole-supporter for her family and battling to reduce her mortgage, which she never paid out, balancing her public activism with her domestic role.

In drawing conclusions from Greenwood's broadcasting career (1936-1953), whether on the ABC or on commercial radio, women's issues were integral to the broad, and often sensitive, political issues of the day. At the ABC, she featured women's contribution throughout two world wars to support women's equal status, including the military channels, while promoting peace and cooperation whenever the opportunity presented itself. Analysis of her commercial radio scripts reveals a strategy of an interventionist, consensus approach to support her feminist agenda. In

contextual context, she compromised her feminism as an advertiser, promoting the idealised construction of 'femininity'. Yet, as a broadcaster from the 1930s to the 1950s, Greenwood was able to penetrate the private sphere to promote the aims and objectives of the women's movement, leading to questions about her understandings of 'femininity' and 'equality', which I shall discuss in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER 8

GREENWOOD'S UNDERSTANDINGS OF FEMININITY

In this chapter I explore Greenwood's understandings of 'femininity', read through her radio texts, to argue that for her and the women active during the period of her broadcasting career (1936-1953), 'femininity' was a distinctive characteristic of Greenwood's radio heroine, and as such, was not on her program for social reform. This is not surprising because feminists in the first wave, through to at least the 1960s, did not contend 'femininity' as a culturally acquired social and psychological construction, which did not emerge until the second wave of the women's movement.

In the process of exploring Greenwood's understandings of 'femininity', firstly, I provide contemporary definitions of 'femininity'. Secondly, I evaluate the influence of "feminine feminists" in Perth and Sydney, who helped shape Greenwood's feminist consciousness from the 1920s to the 1960s, to explain the apparent contradiction. In reading Greenwood's understandings of 'femininity' during her broadcast period, I argue that, feminists of the period were not yet aware that the dominant construction of the ideology of womanhood was a patriarchal construct, leaving 'woman' untheorised.

The glorification of 'femininity' is an issue of growing political concern for contemporary feminist scholars because 'woman' is a position within a dominant, 'binary' symbolic order where the 'feminine' served as the negative counterpart, the 'other' for the construction of positive 'masculine' identity. The central idea of 'femininity' is the ideal of womanhood, of being female, derived from nineteenth-

century Europe and the USA whereby women are defined as different from and inferior to men conceptualising:

the ideal woman as the Madonna...selfless, frail, and dependent... Just as domesticity and dependency have been central to femininity, so also, is the idea of motherhood as a woman's destiny. Implicitly, sexual attention to men is also a part of femininity – the need to be protected and supported by a man meant that one had to be attractive to men- but the Madonna image limits the extent to which women are permitted to be alluring or provocative (Abbott cited in Kramarae & Spender, 2000).

Lake (1999, p.181) explains the complexity of women's exclusion and women's sexual difference from men where the constituent condition of feminism involved both, the need to accept and to refuse sexual difference. While its goal was to eliminate sexual difference, it had to make a claim on behalf of women. Women were, as Lake suggests, discursively produced through sexual difference.

Simone de Beauvoir (1997, p. 9) succinctly emphasises:

One is not born, but rather, becomes a woman...it is civilisation as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate, between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine.

De Beauvoir's description of 'woman' as a creature "between male and eunuch" may have inspired the title of Germaine Greer's work *The Female Eunuch* (1971) which means literally the sexual castration of women. Greer (1971, p. 58) offers the following description of the stereotype as the 'Eternal Feminine':

She is the Sexual Object sought by all men, and by all women. She is of neither sex, for she has herself no sex at all. Her value is solely attested by the demand she excites in others. All she must contribute is her existence...she need never give positive evidence of her moral character because virtue is assumed by her loveliness and her passivity.

Friedan (1971) contributed to feminist scholarship to raise awareness around the construction of 'femininity' construed negatively as a patriarchal construction,

making women passive recipients of a dominant ideology. Daly (1978, p. 71) exposed 'femininity' as a false concept, a Christian theological myth, "to help find the solution to male identity problems blinding us to the fact that 'femininity' is quintessentially a male attribute". Eisenstein (1984, p. 59) offers the following definition of 'femininity':

To conform to the stereotype of 'womanly' or 'feminine' meant to display those characteristics that distinguished women from men. It meant, therefore, behaviour that was passive or weak, compliant and indecisive...easily led or persuaded...non-aggressive and non-competitive, and dependent...incapable of a strong, independent and autonomous existence.

- **"Feminists are feminine"**

One of Greenwood's role models in the first wave feminist movement was prominent Sydney feminist, Ruby Rich, a socialite feminist active with Bessie Rischbieth and Mary Driver as executive members of the International Peace Campaign in the 1930s. In the 1960s, Rich promoted the stereotype of 'femininity'. She was photographed in 1964 with Rischbieth in *The West Australian* while en route to Sydney on return from a congress in Trieste, Italy. She had attended the sixtieth anniversary of the International Alliance of Women, formed in 1904. Cited in the press article under the headline, "Feminists are feminine says feminist", Rich, espoused the Alliance's motto, 'Equal rights - equal responsibilities', stating, "after sixty years of the International Alliance of Women... we are still working for justice for women and families and the removal of discrimination against women" (Rich quoted in "Feminists are Feminine", 1965). 'Femininity' was not on Rich's social reform agenda. "Miss Rich has a predilection for hats, flowers, jewellery, and

painted finger-nails” (“Feminists are Feminine”, 1965).

Greenwood’s letter to her daughter, April, while in Sydney on assignment for the ABC *Women’s Session* in 1946 recounts:

Went on the ferry to go...to the garden party at Jessie Street’s home in Darling Point...Ruby Rich was a picture. She had a green velvet hat, shirred velvet ribbon with a nest of pink roses on top and pink veiling. April, I wore the blue and black cocktail frock... and the snappiest black hat...the Helena Rubinstein make up helped (Greenwood, letter to “the family”, 1946).

The seemingly uneasy coalition of the alliance between ‘femininity’ and ‘feminism’ is not as contradictory as it might first appear, when understood in historical context. From the 1930s to the 1960s, ‘feminine’ meant ‘ladylike’ depicting women’s moral difference from men. Prominent feminists, Jessie Street, Linda Littlejohn and Ruby Rich, constituted a feminist socialite elite for whom clothing was an expression of power, respectability and leadership. These were middle upper class and middle-aged women active in a period where maturity was regarded as a quality for leadership. As I have argued, Greenwood’s mother and the other leaders in the women’s organisations in Perth and Sydney were strong, feisty, independent women, certainly not clinging to what Greer called an “impotent femininity”. When read through her radio heroines, Greenwood’s media portrayals of exceptional women are often depicted in language suggesting images of the idealised construction of ‘femininity’.

- **The radio heroine**

The heroines in Greenwood’s ABC broadcasts are based primarily on international

women. The heroine was a leader, who, by example, set the model of leadership for others to follow. The women featured in *Women in the International News* are based mainly on the lives of European or American women, but frequently they were British and Russian women. From wherever she is drawn, the heroine is exceptional, but described in terms of the idealised imagery of 'femininity'. For example, Greenwood (script, 1945, n. d., n. p.) describes "a pretty nineteen year old wireless operator... [as] very lovely, very feminine and... very capable". Similarly Mrs. Mardi Gethig (Greenwood, script, 1948, n. p.) is described as a very small and vivacious woman who Greenwood could not imagine at the controls of giant bombers:

She was small, slender, and fair with soft skin and a low cultivated voice. She wore her fur coat with an air, which could compare favourably with any woman in Europe for feminine charm and grooming.

Describing women in the British Auxiliary Air Force under the control of Jane Trefusia Forbes, Greenwood (script, 1939, p. 4) writes, "Her girls wear a snappy uniform comprising white overalls and pert little air force forage caps".

Even when describing the distinguished literary figure, Miles Franklin, recognised as one of the earliest Australian writers, her frailty is emphasised. Franklin was featured in *Book of the Week* in August 1950, and later in the month as one of the *Women of the Week*. Discussing her book, *My Career Goes Bung*, Greenwood (script, 1950, n. p) describes the eminent award-winning writer as, "Such a gentle, frail-looking little lady, so very well bred and well read, so very respectable".

Reviewing Franklin's award winning book *All That Swagger*, for which she won the Prior Memorial Prize, Greenwood revered her hero, "Such writers become

great, their works revered as classics. They share with the philosophers the capacity to see life clearly and see it whole” (1950, n. p.).

Often a focus on women’s physical appearance enhanced Greenwood’s scripts, because one of the skills for a good feature radio broadcaster is to paint a picture with words. An example is the description of Chieftain of the Cook Islands, Makea Nui Toremoano Ariki, the sole woman representative at a South Pacific Conference held at Suva, Fiji, described by Greenwood (1950, p. 1) as:

An extremely handsome woman of 40, with large black eyes, cocoa coloured skin, and dark hair, which she winds around her hair in a huge braid...She dressed at the Conference smartly in printed cottons, linens and silks, used make-up discreetly and wore fine jewellery. The only vestige of her Island heritage in her appearance... was the red hibiscus flower she wore tucked behind her right ear.

A common characteristic of the Greenwood heroine is that all of her heroines are drawn from the middle and upper classes. Ranging from princesses to professors, scientists to Soviet military heroes and freedom fighters to political leaders, the heroine is anything but ordinary. “Te Peua Herangi – a Maori Princess” (Greenwood, script, 1940), “Princess Alice of Athlone” (Greenwood, script, 1940) and “A daughter to Princess Juliana” (1940) were celebrated in *Women in the International News*. But, although most of Greenwood’s heroines were drawn from middle and upper class women, she was speaking as one who believed she knew what the working class needed and sought support from women who supported her in this agenda, most of whom were her middle class colleagues in the women’s movement.

Despite Greenwood’s wartime broadcasts, and her stated sympathies with Soviet women, Richardson argues that, “Greenwood was not an advocate of military-communist feminism” (Richardson, 1988, p. 21). Belousova (1946 cited by

Richardson, 1988, p. 21) denounces references to a Soviet woman who “succumbed to the superficial attraction of sex equality by wearing men’s clothes and using mannish gestures...to represent the exaggerated imitation of the male”. Greenwood distanced from a sex equality that involved emulating men, but, in her depictions of military-communist feminism, when describing Soviet military heroes, she is not gender neutral in her media portrayals.

What is interesting to note is that, even when portraying Soviet women scientists, Greenwood’s portrayals tend to conform to the idealised imagery of ‘femininity’. For example, she broadcast a program about the role of Soviet women scientists in the Arctic section of the USSR, developing from a cable telling of the rescue of an Arctic ship, the ‘Stalin’. “Since 1932 Soviet men and women have been conquering the Arctic with the aid of science” (Greenwood, script, 1940, p. 4). Although she speaks of women and men, the heroine of the talk is a woman. She is American journalist, Ruth Gruber, who worked with the New York based *Herald-Tribune* to report to the outside world the work being done at the Arctic stations by women. Gruber, the youngest Doctor of Philosophy in the world, had been removed from a lecturer’s position at the University of Cologne in Germany with the advent of Hitler. Awarded a travel grant to explore women’s status in other parts of the world, she interviewed a Soviet official from the Kremlin to ask him about the old sex prejudices against women in Moscow. He replied, “In the USSR...they had destroyed sex prejudice in industry and in politics. Here are polar stations where women are wireless operators, meteorologists. Here in Igarka...the leader is a woman” (Greenwood, script, 1940, p. 4). Describing one of the scientists, Marie Khrenilova as having, “a soft, round figure; a wide open face, hair beginning to grey, enthusiasm

radiating from her person” Greenwood (1940, p. 5) emphasises her physicality. But, when referring to Valentina Orlikova, a Russian officer, Greenwood’s imagery is masculinised:

She wore the navy blue jacket and naval cap of the officers. A white shirt blouse and tie with a long navy skirt and so drew no attention to the fact that she was a woman. Her hair was cut short like a man’s. She was thin and angular, in her early forties, with a strong face with high cheekbones and piercing eyes (Greenwood, 1940, p. 5).

To confound the researcher, describing the same Russian woman in her officer’s uniform. “She presented a picture of tailored perfection combined with womanly beauty. Positively the most lovely creature (from photographs) that I’ve ever seen” (Greenwood, n. d., n. p.). In the same script, a Russian sniper, Liudmila Pavlichenko “wore the Orders of Hero of the Soviet Union and of Lenin...a most feminine young person, with pure face, well shaped features and a quiet demeanour” (Greenwood, n. d., n. p.).

Another example of a women scientist is a program based on Nobel Laureate, Madame Curie (the woman who with her husband Pierre Curie discovered radium and radioactivity). Her Polish name was Marya Sklodovska. Marya “grew up a passionate patriot and learned her country’s history from its poets and writers and later on joining revolutionary groups working for Polish freedom from Russia” (Greenwood, script, 1939, p. 1). Here Russia is the enemy of freedom. Sklodovsa, although working in France, was born in Warsaw, Poland where she met Pierre Curie, while both were studying Science in France:

Her husband Pierre Curie is reported to have said women of genius are rare, but he recognised the genius in the young Polish student...love came from mutual understanding and equal devotion to the ‘Cause of Science’ (Greenwood, 1939. p. 2).

Greenwood's excellent radio scripts turned back the pages of history to delve into the past lives of women whose influences had extended from their age to ours, and whose labours have laid foundations for women to build upon. The one consistent theme throughout her broadcasts is her focus on women's positive contribution to societies in fields usually reserved for men. It is too easy for contemporary feminists to criticise her media portrayals on the basis of the imagery, used, but her understandings of 'femininity' must be kept in historical perspective.

For the women's organisations in Perth, 'femininity' was an expression of women's difference exemplified as moral superiority to men based on a belief that 'feminine' values would humanise the public sphere. Greenwood reflects the domestic ideology through the WCTU to emphasise Australian/China sisterhood. Celebrating the fourth annual convention of the organisation's founder, Frances Willard, she writes:

There will be a cake with one hundred candles, entwined with the white ribbon that links them with Sister Unions around the world; white doves to symbolise peace, and a rainbow of promises of success in the organisations for social progress... and their tasks in connection with the Home Protection Program to make the whole world homelike (Greenwood, script, 1939, p. 1).

Greenwood upheld the notion of women's moral superiority in medicine in a script simply entitled "More Achievements of Women". The program was based on women doctors who were being addressed at a School of Medicine for Women in London by Lord Horder, Honorary Physician to the King:

He told them that he was going to give them much the same advice, as he would give to men students. There was no difference between a man doctor and woman doctor, although he did think that the good man doctor had a little more of the feminine in him... He told them that medicine wanted the woman in the doctor

just as much as the doctor in the woman (Greenwood, script, 1940, p. 1).

Sometimes, status in itself was enough to denote leadership. For example, Asquith was Britain's wartime Prime Minister during World War I and his widow, Margot Asquith, known as "Lady Oxford" during Greenwood's World War II broadcasts, is featured as the heroine. Greenwood (script, 1939, p. 2) uses Asquith's observation to argue that history is constantly repeating itself:

The chief lesson of history is that we never learn. Margot Asquith had drawn parallels between the First World War and Second World War describing it as The Great War, Part 1 and Part 2 to stress the legal implications of the peace and treaty making of Versailles.

Describing Asquith's "intimate view of the war", Greenwood said, "Her fingers were on the pulse of political life of our country in a manner few women have equalled". Margaret Tennant, before marriage, was educated by French and German governesses where she possessed a flair for literature, and was a brilliant writer, described as "a portrait of a young lady of fashion (1864-1894) who had excelled on the stage as a dancer". Tennant "was a fearless rider, and one of the best mounted women who ever rode to hounds" (Greenwood, 1939, p. 2).

Greenwood loved to feature woman firsts such as Lucy Stone, dubbed "Morning Star of the Women's Rights Movement in the US". Stone was converted to women's rights and women's suffrage by Susan B. Anthony and was the first woman in the State of Massachusetts to take a university degree. She was first to keep her maiden name in marriage and was founder and editor of *The Women's Journal* in the late nineteenth century feminism in the USA. Stone campaigned against slavery and civil rights and succeeded in securing many changes in the laws as they pertained to

women (Greenwood, script, 1939, p. 2). When she died in 1893, New Zealand was the only country in the world that had enfranchised women. Greenwood (1939, p. 6) writes:

Lucy looked upon the loss of a woman's name in marriage as a symbol of her loss of individuality. So being assured by an eminent lawyer (afterwards Chief Justice of the US) that there was no law requiring a wife to take her husband's name, and with Henry Blackwell's full approval, she remained Lucy Stone until her death.

While needing her husband's "full approval" to keep her maiden name in marriage, Greenwood (script, 1939, p. 7) describes Stone, political leader, this way:

She has been described as a small quiet woman - the tiniest creature with a pretty pink colour. She had the gentlest manner and the lowest, sweetest voice ever possessed by a public speaker. In the early days of her lecturing she endured untold insults, was refused halls and spoke outside, had books hurled at her and water thrown over her.

"Mary Adams of the Talks Department at the BBC, replacing a male colleague to do interviewing of talks artists and the arrangement of talks features" (Greenwood, script, 1937, p. 2) is a woman first in the British media, portrayed in terms of her intelligence:

In appearance she is poised, intelligent looking and, I should say from her photos capable and charming. One paper says, 'Her face pale, intellectual and serious - will become familiar to all viewers'.

Adams, the journalist, was also a lecturer in biology at Cambridge University who gave her first radio talk on the subject of family life and economics (Greenwood, script, 1937, p. 3). Introduced as "The wife of a British MP", Adams stands in her own right as the first woman to work on British television.

In contemporary terms, although the term 'femininity' does not refer to a single category or theoretical position, it does need to challenge how consumerism

has exploited both woman's desire and her body; how feminine sexuality has been shaped and defined, and how patriarchy has enforced women's dependency on men.

In the light of contemporary feminist constructions of 'femininity', I conclude this chapter by locating Greenwood's understandings of the context of the historical past and contextual present to argue how ideas change over time. Greenwood's understandings of 'femininity', examined through her radio scripts, are ambiguous because, on the one hand her radio heroines are most-often, exceptional women in some endeavor previously denied to women. Yet, on the other hand, almost without exception, 'femininity' is a distinctive feature of the radio heroine. 'Femininity' was not on the social reform agenda of any of the women active in the 1950s.

Matthews (1984, pp. 49-72) produced a remarkable investigation of what it means to be a 'woman' in her historical construction of 'femininity' in twentieth century Australia to argue that "woman is a social being, created within and by a specific society" (Matthews, 1984, p. 5). As societies differ, so too do women. Mathews outlined how in Australia the modern housewife was born in the 1920s, how mothering became central to womanhood, and how feminine sexuality was shaped and defined through the processes of the economy, ideology and social management. For Greenwood, the division of labour in the capitalist economy and the downgrading of women's work are the most significant processes shaping the meaning of Australian femininity.

The construction of femininity in the interests of capital social production has been well documented now (Burton, 1985; Broom, 1984; Matthews, 1984; Banks, 1981; Amsden, 1980; Eisenstein, 1979) and Burton (1985, p. 131) explains, "It is the social allocation to women of responsibilities for children... the vicious circle of sex-

segregated work and the division of labour within the family”, which explains women’s ‘femininity’. This leads to the next chapter in which I analyse Greenwood’s understandings of equality.

CHAPTER 9

GREENWOOD'S UNDERSTANDINGS OF EQUALITY

Marilyn Lake's reminder that, "unequal wages constituted the most glaring example of inequality of status in present day Australia" (Lake, 1999, p. 211) opens the way for exploration of Greenwood's understandings of equality in this chapter. Firstly, I locate the principle of wage justice for women in the context of international conventions. Secondly, I apply the principle of equal pay for work of equal value to Greenwood's contribution to the equal pay campaigns in WA. Thirdly, I extend her understandings of equality to women's representation in State and federal parliaments.

- **Equal pay for equal value**

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) was established in 1920, preceding the League of Nations formed that year when the conventions on equal pay and maternity leave were placed on the international agenda. Working with Street and Littlejohn, Greenwood understood in detail the ILO Convention 100 stating:

Each member shall, by means appropriate to the methods in operation for determining rates of remuneration, promote and, in so far as is consistent with such methods, ensure the application to all workers on the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value ("Equal Pay for Women", 1964).

Street's inclusion in the founding delegation of the UN meant that, "Australian feminists played a decisive part in achieving the inclusion of a

commitment to equality of the sexes in the founding documents” (Lake, 1999, p. 191). Over sixty women’s organisations signed a cable to the Secretary-General of the UN conference stating that the democratic principle of equality of status, opportunity and reward for women be incorporated into the UN International Conference without discrimination based on sex.

Street realised that getting equal rights for women incorporated into the UN system was not an end in itself, but just the first step. The real challenge was to put the resolutions into practical effect. The second and vital step was to translate the international rhetoric into government policy. This involved setting up the machinery at the State and national levels to implement the resolutions, involving equal pay legislation, anti-sex discrimination legislation and full social and political equality for women.

In WA, as early as 1941, Irene Greenwood was actively engaged in establishing the essential groundwork for equal pay campaigns as the equal pay representative of the WSG to the Western Australian Council of Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity. She was appointed to the Combined Council of Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity during its formation in 1958 when thirteen other women’s organisations and trade unions affiliated (Williams, 1993, p. 232). Greenwood (script, 1962, p. 2) was adamant in an ABC broadcast that; “the only way women could get equal pay was by Act of Parliament”.

Federally, equal pay was formally recognised by Commonwealth Arbitration Court decisions in 1969 and 1972 (Lake, 1999, p. 150), but at the State level, WA lagged behind the other States. Phyllis Wild (cited in WILPF report 1968) was Greenwood’s colleague through the MWC in the 1930s and the WILPF

representative on the Equal Pay Council noting, “Mrs I. Greenwood to whom the Council is indebted for her tireless enthusiasm, drive and energy... Her inspiration is on every page”.

Greenwood spoke at a public lunch hour meeting during the National Equal Pay Week in March 1962 when a joint meeting was held between the executive officers of the Western Australian Combined Equal Pay Committee and the Trade Unions Industrial Council Equal Pay Committee (“Equal pay move”, 1962). From that meeting, Greenwood (1962, p. 1) produced a radio talk for the ABC *Women's Session* based on the question, “Do We Want Equal Pay?” She responded with a resounding “WE DO” to stress her role in organising in WA, a National Equal Pay Week annually:

The most recent had conducted an educational campaign on two fronts. (1) To inform the public on the social and economic justice of equal pay. (2) To get laws passed in both State and Federal Parliaments to give effect to the Principle of Equal Pay as set out in the International Charters and Covenants of the UN and ILO.

She placed the emphasis on equal pay for professional women:

Equal pay must be given if parents are to be persuaded to give higher education for professions to daughters as well as to sons... women do have dependents, widows, deserted wives, single women who have made a career of their job. If they do the same work as men they deserve the same pay.

It is construed that when speaking of women with dependents, Greenwood meant to include married women, who combine the dual domestic responsibilities of home and paid employment. Significantly, calls for maternity leave did not become a mainstream feminist issue until the ILO triggered lobbies in the 1970s, rejected by both major parties, and currently back on the agenda for debate in 2002, supported by the Labor Party and opposed by the Coalition Government.

Criticising 'equality' as a feminist goal, Greer (1971, p. 330) argues for more than equal pay for equal work, "for it ought to revolutionise the conditions of work completely...it does not understand the concept of equality of opportunity". Equal pay for equal work campaigns posed the threat of women taking "men's jobs". The Melbourne *Herald* ran a story reflecting the patriarchal backlash in the 1960s when women were seen to be 'invading' traditionally reserved male jobs:

Platinum blonde Judy Hanrahan, 21, probably doesn't know it, but she is starting something big in the equal-pay field. She has just been appointed as a teller by the Bank of New South Wales at its head office in Collins Street, Melbourne...a bank official said today he believed this was the first time a woman had invaded the traditionally male job...since the Second World War" ("The new teller", 1964).

That article is a graphic illustration of the dominant mind-set in the 1960s, not only of women 'invading' the male preserve of banking, but also the sexism implicit in the focus on Hanrahan as a 'platinum blonde'. This suggests a double jeopardy where media coverage of equal pay reflects the 'dumb blonde' imagery as exemplified in the Hollywood sex queen at the time, Marilyn Monroe. The real story is that in 1964, Hanrahan was the only female bank employee in Australia receiving the same pay as a male.

Chairperson of the Western Australian Council for Equal Pay and Opportunity, Miss M. Harken, provides an interesting analysis of the objections for hostility against the equal pay campaigns. She "was surprised at Labour and National Service Minister McMahon's statement that equal pay for women would mean recasting the male wage structure, with either a reduction or slowing down in increases in men's wages" (Harken quoted in "Women Attack", 1962). This assumption that males took the greater social responsibility is another piece of male

self-interest to maintain their economic power and privilege. The report estimated that:

The present exploitation of women workers in Australia amounted to 200, 000,000 pounds a year to the detriment of the woman and the benefit of the employer...it would cost less than 3 per cent of the national salary to implement equal pay ("Women Attack", 1962).

Harken (1962) did not deny that many men did have greater responsibility than some women, but argued that although, "there were women with equally great responsibilities...there was no difference in the wages between men who had responsibilities and those with none". In WA, the greatest numbers of women workers were in clerical jobs and in 1961, lagged behind the other States for equal pay. N.E. Sampson (quoted in "Equality in pay urged", 1961) submitted a motion to a conference held in Hobart to the effect:

That this conference informs each State government which has not already adopted the equal pay principle that in this respect it is lagging behind a substantial majority of the countries of the world; denying salary justice to all women teachers in its service and withholding full recognition of the professional status of teaching.

On the plus side, in WA by 1976, a small number of professional women in private practice, pharmacists, police women, journalists, musicians, barmaids and bank tellers were not penalised because of sex, and received an equal rate of pay. But this left at least one third of WA's working women without equal pay. And while, "More women are in work than ever before (43.8 per cent), the proportion of female directors in Australia is a paltry 2.9 per cent" ("Women Fight", 2001).

Irene Greenwood campaigned for women's economic justice through equal pay for fifty years. She did not live to see its objectives achieved. Lake (1999, p. 4) concludes:

It should not be surprising... those women in waged work still earn on average only 65 per cent of what men earn. (70 per cent if total full-time earnings are compared), that over 70 per cent of part-time workers are women, that some 93 per cent of the recipients of the supporting parent benefit are mothers, that only 9 per cent of university professors are women and that we remain dramatically under-represented in the national and State parliaments.

Lake considered that, "Equality is a necessary, but limited goal" (1999, p. 4) because it is sought within existing patriarchal political structures where men hold the dominant power over policy and legislative processes and according to the masculinist norm. This explains why perhaps Greenwood's most passionate objective was to a greater representation of women in State and federal parliaments, emphasising women's role in politics.

- **Women in politics**

Inspired by her suffragist mother, the gender imbalance in the world's parliaments was an issue that engaged Greenwood throughout her life. The old spirit that inspired the stamina of the first wave activists in the campaigns for the vote was channelled into the campaigns to enable women themselves to take a role in the legislative processes. But Greenwood understood what she called "a male power game" reflecting the perspective of the UAW, as outlined by Lake (1999, p. 143):

Woman's point of view is not the same as men. Her sense of values is different; she places a greater value on human life, human welfare, health and morals.

Activists of the 1930s and 1940s believed that "different priorities through a new political discourse... would transcend party and sectional interest" (Lake, 1999, p.143). This is at the core of the philosophical stance of non-party political

allegiance, that women would represent their own interests and bring new values into politics.

Greenwood (script, 1937, p. 3) highlighted the gender imbalance in global governance to show “Nine women in Parliament in England from 1931 to 1935; one hundred and thirty five in the State Legislatures of the United States and five in Congress, two women Cabinet Ministers in France”.

When it was announced in the local press that there were more women who wanted to stand for election to the Liberal Party, Greenwood welcomed the announcement, pressing the need for women to keep on contesting the pre-selection processes, regardless of party. “Woman must refuse to be deterred by the fact that men have a stranglehold on the final choice” (Greenwood quoted in “Women’s Role”, 1962). When the representation of women by 1962 showed only a token number of women in parliaments, Greenwood (quoted in “Women’s Role”, 1962) was not impressed:

A quick look at the present numbers of Australian women parliamentarians show that there is not a single woman Cabinet Minister, either Federal or State. In Canberra, there are five women senators (four Liberal, one ALP), but no women member of the House of Representatives to show that while women often voted against women, men and women adopted the diehard male view that a woman’s place is in the home and not the legislative assembly.

Recent figures (Warnock cited in Watson, 1994) are not impressive. “In Federal Government, although only eight per cent of the House of Representatives are women, 21 per cent of senators are women...of the 841 representatives in all Australian Parliaments, only 122, or 14.5%, are women”. These are very poor figures given that Australia was one of the first countries in the world to give women the

vote, which did not lead to women's political inclusion. Federal ALP Prime Minister, Paul Keating committed his Government to a 35 per cent representation of women in Australian parliaments by the year 2002, meaning that the 65/35 division short-changes women by 15 per cent. "Whenever we see those nationwide swings we will see women going in and out with the tide, unless they are cemented into safe seats, and they are not all sitting in marginals" (Lawrence, 1996, p. 2).

Greenwood (1950) sought women's political inclusion on a global level, as reflected in a talk broadcast on *Woman to Woman*, the day before Melbourne Cup Day in Australia when the national media deemed the event front-page news. As Cup Day coincided with the USA Congressional elections, she focused on the under-representation of women in the American Parliament:

Nor is it easy to understand that their two major parties, Democratic and Republican, are not the other sides of the political medal, but rather are very similar in Constitution with many differing political groups in each. But it is not of politics I wish to speak - but of women in the present - the Eighty-First Congress of the United States. There are ten - one in the Senate and nine in the House of Representatives.

Greenwood closed the program with an advertisement for Corot's to promote the latest range of bridal gowns. When asked in a radio interview why she never stood for Parliament herself, Greenwood (interview, Waite/Greenwood, 1982) reaffirms her belief in the strategy of non-party allegiance to distance herself from party politics:

I am non-party extraordinarily enough. I had been doing my own daily/weekly radio broadcasts and I believed I could do more by broadcasting about and for women. No. I was not prepared to go in and play the game by men's rules.

Although Greenwood never entered politics herself, she was according to

Giles “a very skilled politician” (Giles, 1998, p. 3), knowing how to lobby outside the system as a political protester and to support candidates.

In conclusion, I have argued that Greenwood’s understandings of equality are situated, theoretically, within the paradigm of liberal feminism where she contributed significantly to campaigns for equal pay and a greater representation of women in State and federal politics. But as her campaigns for reform were conducted within the framework of western parliamentary democratic processes to achieve changes for women through legislation, her pursuit of sex equality was an ill-conceived aim, as it sought equality within the dominant masculinist paradigm. Although her search for theory in the 1930s and 1940s led to a Marxist model to achieve these aims, it was not until the 1970s, with the advent of Women’s Liberation in WA, that Greenwood was coming to accept some of the inadequacies of that model to recognise the need for the overthrow of capitalism and patriarchy.

CHAPTER 10

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: A NEW DYNAMIC

In this chapter, I explore Greenwood's leadership in the new Women's Liberation Movement, illuminating the letterhead of her correspondences in the 1970s that stated "From the desk of a liberated woman". Through analysis of Greenwood's shared leadership with comrade, Joan Williams, firstly, I explore her role in Women's Liberation and Women's Electoral Lobby. Secondly, I detail her role in the 1970s on the ALP government's National Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs and her commitment to promoting UN conventions to eliminate sex discrimination. Thirdly, I evaluate her quest for inner peace, response to the aging process and document details of a ship named in her honour.

With the new wave came a burst of feminist writings, generating a new energy for Irene Greenwood, now in her seventies. Although Women's Liberation was imbued in new-left politics, Greenwood realised that socialist solutions were not the whole solution to liberating women. To overthrow capitalism and patriarchy, a feminist revolution was needed.

Inspired by radical feminist writers in the USA (Daly, 1978; Rich, 1976; Mitchell, 1971; Millett, 1970) and (Greer, 1971) in Australia, a vast literature emerged analysing and reframing descriptions of sexist ideology, defining 'patriarchy' as the basis of sexual inequality, reconstructing 'woman' in more realistic terms. The radical writers of the new wave wrote from a 'woman-centred' consciousness, forming the intellectual foundation for challenging patriarchal definitions of 'woman' as 'mother' and 'other', carving out a new moral prescription for 'woman'. The new 'woman' was conceptualised as

independent, autonomous, self-defining, self-determining and a desiring sexual being.

In Australia, Germaine Greer was the first to take up and expand these ideas with her book, *The Female Eunuch* (1971) described as “an explanation of patriarchy and the psychological sell that cripples women” (Williams, 1999, p. 25). Contemporary feminisms sought a reconstruction of ‘woman’ to theoretically determine new paradigms for emancipation on their own terms (Lake, 1999; Burton, 1985; Eisenstein, 1984; Game & Pringle, 1983; Daly, 1978; Kingston, 1975; Mitchell, 1974; Greer, 1971; Millett, 1971).

Women’s Liberation reached Sydney and Melbourne from the USA in 1970, and soon after Joan Williams, with Irene Greenwood, led the new movement in WA. When this wave of feminist activism arrived, a group of academics at universities were already discussing where to start with Women’s Liberation. Williams (1999, p. 25) recalls “discussing the revolutionary impact of Greer’s book with Greenwood at her home where she sipped her vermouth bianco saying, mother wouldn’t approve”.

A major task for the second wave movement was “to formulate demands for equal pay, free 24-hour childcare, work opportunities, and the right to abortion” (Burton, 1984, p. 165). Greenwood, in her radicalism during the 1940s, was actively engaged in seeking these gains, and later took a lead in the Women’s Liberation Movement in WA. The Marxist tradition shaped the agenda for socialist/feminist theories within the realms of production and social reproduction, making Women’s Liberation in the 1970s both a political ideology and a political force. Curthoys (1984, p. 162) makes the connection between the Women’s Liberation Movement and the New Left. “The early Women’s Liberation

Movement, while in part a revolt against New Left men, was nevertheless imbued in New Left politics”.

Curthoys argued that the new movement was dominated ideologically at first by socialist traditions but “took more from anarchists”, regarding all institutions as oppressive to women. Mitchell (1971) showed most clearly that the new movement presented theoretical and political challenges to Marxism. In criticism of Mitchell (1971), Curthoys (1984, p. 162) argues that, because her analysis was abstract and ahistorical, it proved to be a false start for new theoretical development. Curthoys explains the intersection of socialist (Marx-based) understandings with radical feminist insights to show that, “they did not constitute a theory explaining *middle* (as well as working-class) women’s oppression which the feminist movement needed” (Curthoys, 1984, pp. 163).

Gender was a more compelling issue than class for the middle-class and skilled working-class women who constituted the social base for feminism. The major differences between middle-class and working-class women’s experiences, where working-class women struggled on with low wages and without child care shows that, “the institutions and attitudes that oppress women, the family, femininity, male chauvinism – cut across class lines and qualify class allegiances” (Curthoys, 1984, p. 165). But a Marxist framework fails to present a feminist analysis of gender and power because it does not recognise women’s dual role taking into account her productive and reproductive role in the economy, leaving women un-theorised. Johnson (1991, p. 358) explains:

The fundamental break with Marxist tradition then becomes the assumption of a woman-centred position. It is from this position that all Marxism is to be critically reconsidered. If socialist or socialist feminist concepts or analysis are unable to centralise women’s sexual difference, then they become highly suspect

and are to be rejected.

With the new wave came an understanding that the personal is political, that marriage, sex, reproductive choices and the personal sexual aspects of women's lives, underpinned scholarly debate about social justice for women. The subjective personal aspect of women's lives over-powered socialist structuralist debates. In the 1970s, with the advent of Women's Liberation, socialist feminist interventions recognised that the personal is political.

- **The personal is political**

Describing Greenwood's contribution to the first meeting of Women's Liberation in Perth, Williams (1993, p. 232) emphasises the "perpetually youthful" and "young in spirit" Greenwood, placing emphasis on her mediation skills: "She was a bridge between the old and the new waves of feminism and overflowed with enthusiasm and advice". Williams (1999, p. 25) explains her own role:

I find that in Perth there are already two groups, who don't know each other, discussing the new wave of radical feminism. After talking it over with the Communist Party...I bring them together, academics, students, housewives and radical and closet feminists. We organise furiously...our public meeting draws an enthusiastic audience. Women's Liberation is under way in WA in 1971.

Williams and Greenwood were inspired initially by American writer, Kate Millett, whose classic work *Sexual Politics* (1970) named the problem for women's liberation as 'patriarchy' and amplified the early slogan of the women's movement that 'The Personal is Political'. Millett (1971, p. 25) argues:

Our society like all other historical civilisations is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military,

industry, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance – in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands.

Millett (1971) went to the heart of women's inequalities by striking at the core of patriarchy, exposing the psychology underpinning patriarchal power politics:

Like Betty Friedan, Millett accused Freud of helping to organise a counter-revolution against the emancipation of women with the theory of 'penis envy' to stigmatise women who sought to escape the confines of socially correct 'feminine' behaviour (Eisenstein, 1984, p. 6).

'The Personal is Political' was an important slogan of the second wave feminism because it emphasises the system of sexuality in intimate, interpersonal relationships. Williams (1993, p. 234) clarifies the point. "To me, Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* cuts closest to the bone and revealed the source of hatred of women that I found so disquieting" (Williams, 1993, p. 234). The word 'misogyny', denoting male hatred of women, does not have a gender specific equivalent in the English dictionary to mean female hatred of men; although the misinformed often assume it is explained in the word, 'feminism'. Misogyny has its basis in religious distortions of the construction of 'woman', 'mother' and 'other', and manifests in the interpersonal male/female relation. Burton (1984, p. 12) explains Millett's analysis of the personal/political nexus:

The chief of these meanings was the sense in which sexual relationships between men and women, at the most intimate and personal level, embodied a political dimension.

The connection between the personal/political connection and consciousness-raising lies in the:

process of transforming the hidden, individual fears of women into a shared awareness of the meaning of them as social

problems. The release of anger, anxiety, the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming it into the political – this process is consciousness-raising...The heart of CR was the discovery that one was not alone, that other women had comparable feelings and experiences (Eisenstein, 1984, pp. 36-37).

Women's Liberation emphasised that real change must begin with women themselves, rather than the outside world. There was anger at the way in which women were judged 'like cattle' in beauty contests or depicted as 'sex objects' in advertisements. By the early 1970s, the new awareness of patriarchy generated major campaigns against sexism focused on equal pay, abortion and eliminating sexist advertising. The earlier strategies were 'pay back' tactics based on 'role reversal', aimed at men, to help them understand how dehumanising it is to be sex objectified. "Hire him he's got great legs" was tame compared to examples from the satirical Women's Liberation issue, *Pelican* featuring a "well hung male... clad only in a fur hat and short fur coat with a shopping trolley" (Williams, 1993, p. 235). Williams writes about an obscenity charge against the editor of *Pelican* for photographing a nude man:

Editor...reminded the court that the *Weekend News* had recently published a photograph of a nude man...Perhaps it was acceptable because he was a black man? Students brought to the staid-police court; four-letter words...real basis of the obscenity charge lay in a medical article explaining self-examination of the vagina. A hostile magistrate especially singled out the heading 'Kunt Power', whereas my article, 'Don't Fuck up the Four Letter Words', only raised his eyebrows.

It was the contentious 'F-word' in an early broadcast of the *Coming Out Show* in 1977 that led ABC management to suspend the young program producer. But the mark of a liberated woman in Greenwood's framework was not about women swearing as well as men. She understood perfectly well that the personal is political, using her *womanliness* to woo male politicians to achieve her political

aims.

Williams writes frankly and with refreshing self-disclosure about her own, and Greenwood's sexuality, revealing something of the intimacy of their personal sexual experiences. Williams (1993, p. 211) was a young journalist in Russia during the period of reconstruction following World War II when she had a sexual encounter with "Gregori", a Russian official:

On the day we were to leave Moscow for Peking, Gregori hosted a late Russian lunch...he proposed a walk in the forest...having drunk far too much Vodka...guiding me down different paths where Red Army guards were stationed... opening the door to a large room, he kissed me with passion, a kiss that I drunkenly returned with startling results...I was pushed on the bed with Gregori on top.

Twice married, Joan Williams bore two children to first husband, journalist, Pete Thomas. Her second husband, poet, Victor Williams, was father of her other two children. While Vic was her 'perfect match', Greenwood's marriage to Albert was not 'a marriage made in heaven'. Williams (1993, p. 233) discloses intimate details about Greenwood's sexuality:

There were no inhibitions in the way Irene faced issues of sexuality, including her own. While we sipped our favourite Vermouth Bianco, she would let her hair down. When her husband was alive she bemoaned his increasingly reactionary views...why don't you leave Albert then? I asked. 'He is good in bed' frankly, she said.

Greenwood's journey for self-discovery traced her early sexual awakenings to her husband in conflict with her religious teachings where, "Purity meant relegation of ideas of sex is not nice" (Greenwood, diary, 1977, p. 22). She forges the link between the personal/political by tracing her first recollections of sexual urges to Albert, while emphasising intellectual equality as intimacy through the meeting of minds:

That questioning quality was what attracted him for though I always have imagined it was the biological urges that brought us together and marriage its only possible fulfilment, I see that his mental attitudes appealed to my growing mental awareness.

As Greenwood developed a strong public image as broadcaster, activist and peace worker, expanding her diverse network, the intellectual fascination for Albert waned:

But even after the vegetarian, Albert died, Irene's deep love for a communist who shared her ideals, (and her loquacity) could not be revealed because of his loyalty to his marriage. Desolate when he too died, after some years, Irene drowned her grief in work for the cause of women, helping her friends (Williams, 1993, p. 235).

Williams is referring there to Maurice Silver who Greenwood had become involved with in the 1950s.

Betty Daly-King (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000) shared personal intimate secrets with Greenwood revealing that, "she would have been sexually active well into her eighties". Engaging in an extra-marital affair with Silver, Greenwood supported the patriarchal institution of marriage, which radical Greer (1971, p. 321), rejected altogether. "If independence is a necessary concomitant of freedom, women must not marry". Greenwood (interview, de Berg/Greenwood, 1977), a reformist, calls for the reconstruction of the institution of marriage:

The reconstruction would need to occur within the perspectives of a changing social order...to have a different attitude to discrimination against women and the domination of women because they have been regarded as property.

Greenwood sought equality in marriage, but this ought not to suggest that she did not grasp intellectually, what Greer (1971, p. 329) meant by a feminist revolution:

Women's revolution is necessarily situationist: we cannot argue

that all will be well when the socialists have succeeded in abolishing private property and restoring public ownership of the means of production. We cannot wait that long. Women's Liberation, if it abolishes the patriarchal family, will abolish a necessary substructure of the authoritarian state, and once that withers away, Marx will have come true willy-nilly.

It is construed that what Williams and Greenwood actually took from Greer, in terms of the 'revolutionary impact' of her work, is the connection between masculinity, violence and warfare to observe that neither warfare nor industry is now a matter of superior physical strength. Rather, as Greer (1971, p. 315) argues, they are associated with wealth, the maintenance of armies and the amounting of huge defences, which by their existence precipitate the chaos of war. "That women should seek a revolution in their circumstances by training themselves as a fighting force is the most obvious case of confusing reaction or rebellion with revolution". Greer believed that reforms were regressive because rather than renew the old processes, they must be broken. Greenwood's diaries and correspondences do not elicit evidence of correspondence with Greer, but both appear on the same page of *The World Who's Who of Women* (1984, p. 279). Greer is recognised for her definitive feminist academic work in Melbourne and Cambridge, the first of the 'larrikins' in the Academy. Certainly Greer's classic, *The Female Eunuch* (1971) graces the shelves of Greenwood's personal book collection held in the Special Collection at Murdoch University, rated as, "one of the finest library of first edition books in Australia" ("Honour for feminist", 1981).

Greenwood was the 'larrikin' of the women's movement, lobbying for support for her left-wing colleagues, Joan Williams for the CPA and Patricia Giles, for the ALP who stood as candidates for local government "at a time when

few women had a place there, campaigning for adult franchises, family planning clinics, and after-school centres". The contraceptive pill and abortion on demand were major issues in the early 1970s. Williams recounts one occasion of women assembling outside Parliament House with placards 'Pass the Bill – Advertise the Pill' at a time when advertising and public sale of contraceptives were illegal (Williams, 1993, p. 35; 1999, p. 26). Greenwood was a foundation member of the Family Planning Association, the Abortion Law Repeal Association in WA and the Women's Electoral Lobby (Baldock, 1993, p. 2). Greenwood (quoted in Williams, 1993, p. 234) describes her understanding on abortion for a woman's right to determine what happens within and outside her own body:

The real issue on abortion...is that women aren't trusted – not considered capable of making good decisions. We're not accepted as full human beings. So they try to control our behaviour with repressive laws that bear on our sexuality. We aren't accepted as full human beings if we can't control our own bodies.

When the second wave feminism, or what Greenwood called the 'third wave' of her activism, was at a peak in the 1970s, a new energy was breathed into the women's movement. As Williams (1993, p. 235) puts it:

It was heady wine for me, after all these years kicking shit uphill in the women's movement. The Committee for Equal Pay and Opportunity had opened new doors, but not wide enough. Women's Liberation went straight to the heart of our oppression.

By that, Williams meant contesting and exposing patriarchy's stranglehold on women's sexual rights, misogyny, and repressive laws bearing on their sexuality. Putting theory into action, they saw the need for women to form action groups against discrimination, for low cost childcare, abortion on demand, equal pay and the right to work. Initially men were allowed to take part in local action

groups, “until finding that they took over...they were banned from the meetings” (Williams, 1993, p. 235). Some of the same women who founded Women’s Liberation in WA were founding members of a new political force, the Women’s Electoral Lobby.

- **Women’s Electoral Lobby**

While Women’s Liberation Movements were academically inspired and loosely structured, the Women’s Electoral Lobby (WEL) was a tightly structured organisation. In WA, Greenwood, Williams and Giles, three of the women leading Women’s Liberation in WA, were the catalysts for WEL, a non-party political body committed to the feminist goals of achieving social, economic, educational and ~~sexual~~ equality for women. Recognising that women worldwide are a disadvantaged group in almost every area of society, WEL sought to change social attitudes and practices, which discriminate against women. Action groups have arisen, lobbying successfully in many areas of concern, including the introduction of a national minimum wage for women (*Which?* pamphlet, n. d.): Williams (1993, p. 236) emphasises the importance of structuring women’s objectives:

Women’s Liberation tactics were too advanced for some of its own members, who helped to form the Women’s Electoral Lobby. Better organised, it flourished. I joined at the big inaugural meeting but continued working in Women’s Liberation, which pursued its groundbreaking role for about three more years. Its meeting became more and more informal until they finally disintegrated. An excellent feminist paper, ‘The Tyranny of Structurelessness’, gave a clue to the reasons.

Greenwood's strategy was to structure the feminist politic. As a foundation member of WEL in WA, she spoke at its inaugural meeting in 1972 ("Following in mother's footsteps", 1982), promoted by the WSG who had lobbied for decades for a greater representation of women in the State and federal parliaments, regardless of party philosophy.

Patricia Giles presided over the first official meeting of WEL in Perth in 1972. Speaking at the Second Reading of the Sex Discrimination Bill (1983) under the Hawke Government, Giles (1999, p. 33) draws from her subjective experience to describe the strong anti-feminist backlash in a political climate of conservative hostility in the early 1970s:

I was among those women who were thoroughly reviled by the right-wing Democratic Labour Party, at that time running candidates in every seat in every election and demonising everything and everyone associated with feminism.

Giles maintained regular communications with Greenwood during her term in the Senate, reporting on Senate sitting. She visited her regularly at the nursing home in Claremont until Greenwood's death. She knew Greenwood only for the last twenty-five years of Greenwood's life, and certainly describes herself as a Greenwood protégé. When asked what influence Greenwood had on her election to the Senate, Giles (1998, p. 1) states unequivocally:

An unquantifiable influence actually. Her passion for the UN was absolutely reinforced by the involvement of the Australian Government in the first of the UN World Conferences for Women in 1975 and she was on the PM's Advisory Council. She was included in the delegation to go to Mexico. She refused on the basis of her advanced age. She was seventy-five at the time [seventy-six] and more vibrant than most of the 50 year olds we knew...she decided to stand aside to nominate me to go in her place. I was working as a trade union official at the time. This was a very important part of my life.

Giles chaired the Western Australian committee concerned with discrimination in employment and education during the 1970s to 1976. While in the Senate, she led the Australian delegation to the UN End of the Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi in 1985, and was Australian parliamentary representative at the UN General Assembly in 1992 (Giles cited in Eveline & Hayden, 1999). As president of the International Alliance of Women beginning in 1996, she has wide international experience with women's issues through the UN. Giles briefed Greenwood on Senate sittings in Parliament on issues pertaining to women. She was an inaugural member of World Women Parliamentarians for Peace (Giles cited in Eveline & Hayden, 1999) in 1985 and is on the Committee of Management of the Patricia Giles Women's Refuge Centre in Joondalup in Perth.

Greenwood, recognising WEL as a new force in women's politics writes in a letter published in *The West Australian* of a:

lobby group that fought for women's rights to choose things like whether to marry, to have children, what to do with their own bodies and their rights to property. Women are getting into the power structures. These women can translate a woman's viewpoint into law and into the concepts, which rule society ("Following in mother's", 1982).

As discrimination is based on ignorance, and also fear of women's sexual difference, WEL promotes educating politicians, unions, employers and academics and those who have powerful societal roles. It is a national organisation with branches in every State and has become nationally identified as a lobby group that has done much to expose and correct numerous social injustices. Giles (interview, Murray/Giles, 1998) perceives Greenwood as a proselytiser.

Irene, who never stopped proselytising, was not only an invaluable resource, but thrived in this new climate of a direct, some would say, confrontational approach to feminist activism.

In contrast to Greenwood as confrontationist, elsewhere Giles (1997, p. 9) stresses the influence of Mary Driver's "cooperative approach" on Greenwood's style to emphasise a message of inclusiveness:

The message of inclusiveness would have to be one of Irene's greatest gifts typified by her wide range of activities and contacts. She was conscious of the privilege which accumulated with her experience, and which she burned to share with others.

Though conciliatory, there was nothing passive about Greenwood. When asked, if she was a fighter, Giles laughed, "Yes, indeed" (interview, Murray/Giles, 1999). Unanimous amongst participants in this research was the observation that Greenwood was conciliatory, cheerful, warm, friendly, humorous, affectionate and energetic. All participants describe her capacity to build bridges between conflicting groups (Williams, 2000; King, 1999; Kidd, 1999; Watts, 1999; Giles, 1998; McIntosh, 1998; Wild, 1998). This conciliatory approach ought not to suggest that Greenwood was reserved about speaking very directly and harshly with those who subjugate others or who misinterpret her objectives for social justice. What emerges is an image of an astute tactician with a wide and diverse network.

Stone confirms that, "Irene had energy to burn on issues she was passionate about. She was a fabulous networker...She made contacts...she maintained her network" (Stone, interview, Murray/Stone, 1999). Describing Greenwood's press clippings as "a couple of books in themselves", Stone emphasises her political awareness through her press cuttings. "If they share one

thing in common they share an astute political consciousness to the moment and an ongoing concern for peace that continued to the end of her life”.

Williams (1999, p. 27) emphasised WEL’s capacity to attract “often ambitious younger women particularly following the 1972 federal election when, political parties began to court the women’s vote”. Giles (1997, p. 3) recognises Greenwood’s ability to attract young women into the feminist movement through membership of organisations:

Irene had been very influential in developing the Harvest Guild, which was of younger women who came to the Women’s Service Guilds and who were involved with the setting up of Women’s Electoral Lobby in WA.

Greenwood knew that the objectives of the women’s movement would not be achieved during her lifetime and was eager to see younger women coming into the organisations to keep the issues alive. She was delighted that her granddaughter, Meredith Eddington, subordinated aspirations for marriage and motherhood to career. I asked her how she thought her grandmother balanced her personal and public life. Eddington (interview, Murray/Eddington, 2000) clarifies the obvious that Greenwood’s public life was her priority:

Gran liked being the centre of attention...I think her public career was the definite focus of her life...because she was so bright and wanted to be constantly intellectually challenged. And if I am my grandmother’s granddaughter then my work life is the most important focus of my life too...we used to hang out together...She was always fun.

Meredith Eddington is featured with her mother, April Eddington, photographed following a presentation of a research paper, ‘Tribute to Irene Greenwood’ at a WEL conference in March 1998, “Women: Staking our Claim” (Figure 6) by Murray.



Figure 6. Meredith Eddington, Kaye Murray and April Eddington at a luncheon during *Women's Electoral Lobby* conference in April 1998. Photograph Kaye Murray private Collection.

- **The National Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs**

“In 1973, in a blaze of publicity, Whitlam appointed Elizabeth Reid as his adviser on women's affairs” (Lake (1999, p. 254). An academic philosopher and tutor, Reid became the prototypical femocrat, as part of the project to translate feminist ideals into government policy, institutionalising feminism. “Femocrat” was the name given to a distinctively Australian phenomenon to describe women who worked in the State and federal bureaucracies. This contrasted to the politics of

in 1974, replacing Reid at the end of 1975. Introducing Greenwood to Baldock, Dowse praised Baldock's significant contribution to Women's Studies at the Australian National University to tell Greenwood that, "you have more energy than most of us mortals" (Dowse, 1976).

Williams (1999, p. 27) recounts the media backlash to a national conference of women held in Canberra during International Women's Year in 1975. "The media pounces on an opportunity to savage Whitlam. Horrendous headlines exaggerate divisions between conservative and radical women". Similarly, Greenwood (diary, 1977, p. 6) interprets the undertones of the media hostility to the appointment of an Adviser on Women's Affairs as being met with unprecedented press misrepresentation. "Some of the opponents of feminism considered the appointments of special Women's Advisers as a sexist move".

Feminism, as ideology and practice underpinning social justice, is not reflected in the dominant media who often perpetuate sexist ideology. In an unpublished letter to the editor of *The Bulletin*, Greenwood ("Whatever Happened to Feminism?" 1965, n. d.) makes it clear that feminism is not a declaration of war against all men:

Far from advocating a sex war, feminism advocates a true partnership between women and men, with neither inferior but each playing an honourable part in the affairs of the home, family and public life. Let the term die, and replace it with 'humanism' if you will, but until its objectives are achieved there is still a place for 'feminism' in Australia.

At the time she wrote to the editor of *The Bulletin*, Greenwood was all fired up from having attended international conferences in The Hague and Geneva in 1965; her only overseas travel (discussed in chapter 11). She stresses the need for greater gender sensitivity in the media:

I wish some of the journalists of Australian newspapers could sit in and listen and wake up to the fact that they are way behind the outmoded concept of 'woman's place' and 'woman's work' and their acceptance of ideas of segregation of the sexes here (Greenwood, "Whatever happened", 1965, n. d.).

Greenwood was sought after by the media on radio, television and the press, particularly while on the National Advisory Committee. She was interviewed for the *AM* current affairs radio program in 1975 to talk about her role in the Women in Politics Conference taking up the problems of working within the political system of the Western Australian conservative Upper House. She criticised women who have succeeded in politics such as Golda Meir, Indira Ghandi and Margaret Thatcher "for doing nothing for women" (Evans, 1975).

In an *In Person* program, interviewer Waite (interview, Waite/Greenwood, 1975) introduces Greenwood as "the eldest woman on the Advisory Committee", asking whether Greenwood had a special role. In reply, Greenwood describes herself as a 'pacifist':

I think I do. The PM said when he appointed us that we were there for our special experience and expertise. I have had so much experience with so many and varying groups that I have learned to be a mediator and a conciliator and I have been very radical. Now I espouse complete and utter pacifism where I find support from my Quaker friends and the WILPF, which is basically a pacifist organisation (Greenwood quoted in Waite, 1975).

Waite (1975) adopted a tough line of questioning, tackling Greenwood as a reformist feminist, suggesting that this approach was "perhaps maternalistic and patronising" and that "revolutionary feminists might get very angry and find it offensive". Greenwood turned the question to her advantage to inform her national audience that she had been a revolutionary feminist. She said she had spoken at the Women in Politics Conference in Canberra about her revolutionary

phase, and she was sure that the young radicals at the conference did not view her disparagingly. “When movements split, they split on the basis of tactics... whether violent or non-violent methods, total change through social reform or revolution. There’s room for both” (Greenwood quoted in Waite, 1975).

Greenwood (diary, 1977, p. 6) stresses that Australian feminism needs to be understood:

Within the international structure, Australia won universal praise by sending to the world conference of nations a delegation led by a woman, Elizabeth Reid, supported by qualified women and a few men.

The women’s bureaucracy in Canberra was very important to Greenwood’s feminist agenda, making the connection with national governments and their international obligations under UN conventions and covenants pertaining to women’s rights. She placed a great deal of importance on the status of the Women’s Adviser, where ‘representative’ women’s voices would be heard at the top political level and acted upon, calling for women of “sensitivity, experience and expertise” (Greenwood quoted in “Women demand”, 1977).

Greenwood demands to know why, under the Fraser Coalition federal Government in July 1977, the Office of Women’s Affairs was demoted from its power base within the Office of Prime Minister and Cabinet and put in charge of a junior minister twenty-sixth in rank:

Their task was to recommend ways that women might be ensured of full and equal participation in political life..The report and its recommendations are in printed form, as presented to the Prime Minister Mr. Malcolm Fraser, in July of this year. The recommendations have an implicit pre-condition that this Office of Women’s Affairs remains in the Prime Minister’s Department with an adequately staffed Secretariat (Greenwood quoted in “Women demand”, 1977).

Basing her faith in the role of the femocrat, Greenwood pressed for a

comprehensive policy based on a two-way consultative basis for any Advisory Council to operate in a meaningful manner.

Amongst her records is a post card she received from Gough and Margaret Whitlam during the time when Gough Whitlam was the Ambassador for the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, featuring a photograph of them from their hotel room in Paris with the Eiffel Tower in the background, dated 1984. The Whitlams visited her when in Perth, and maintained correspondences. Gough Whitlam was Greenwood's political hero, and she promoted him and his government at every opportunity.

In the lead up to the federal election on 13 December, 1975, Greenwood consistently praised the social policy changes under the ALP, and criticised the Liberal Opposition. Following the dismissal of the Whitlam Government by the Governor-General on 11 November, 1975, and the subsequent election of the Fraser Coalition Government that year, Greenwood (1976, p. 1) expresses anguish in her letter to Williams:

Last night when you rang me I was feeling depressed... the last 3 months of 1975 culminating in 13 December... has made me physically ill... Those groups must deal with Fraser's government and ... other stooges... The least I can do before I abdicate to do MY TASKS is to prime them to the realities of the situation, required action on their part.

Action was a keyword for Irene Greenwood. She applauds the policy changes after the federal election of the ALP in 1972, recognising the disadvantages of those discriminated against; descendants of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, migrants, the poor, the handicapped and the non-conformists, including women. Greenwood promotes the social philosophy of the Whitlam government:

Before the advent of the Whitlam Government, these people were in despair of ever rising above the self-perpetuating deprivation, which they were enduring and saw no end to. They were helpless and felt quite hopeless of raising themselves above their condition (Greenwood quoted in “New Force”, 1975).

Greenwood (quoted in “New Force”, 1975) issues a warning to “beware the raised political consciousness of women, and never underestimate the power, especially when the women are angry as they are now”. Pressing the fact that the women’s movement is a political force, Greenwood’s letter triggered an angry response from Mrs. B. E. Coppen, a reader who wrote a letter to *The West Australian* venting her wrath at Greenwood’s socialist ideas:

In common with many other women, my anger is directed at her airy-fairy socialist utopia with its hate-oriented bitterness dividing the people and derision for all those fighting a losing battle trying to inculcate some self-discipline and pride in an honest days work in our children. I too escaped the soul-destroying, grey and depressing socialist society of post-war England, when one was better off on the dole than working (Coppen, quoted in “Awareness of Women”, 1975).

A year later, another reader, A. McConnell, wrote to *The West Australian*, savaging Greenwood for a letter published in that newspaper, accusing her for her ‘divisive’ feminist views. Greenwood (press, 1976), defends herself against the criticism:

It is regrettable that A. McConnell has misconstrued my intention. The title ‘Women v Men’ is a polarisation I deplore, for it plays into the hands of those who wield power through the classic device of divide and rule. Older feminists and I am one, had a saying: The woman’s cause is the man’s; they rise or fall together, bond or free.

Greenwood understands hierarchical sexual structure. “I deplore confrontation of any kind...confrontation gives rise to sexism, racism, bigotry and intolerance of divergent viewpoints” (Greenwood quoted in “Women’s Role in

Politics”, 1976). International Women’s Year was a significant landmark:

I believe that the political consciousness of women was considerably raised by the efforts of International Women’s Year...[women] are asking for their share of the decision making which affects their lives and families. This includes the menfolk as well (Greenwood quoted in “Women’s Role”, 1976).

Here, Greenwood is inclusive of ‘menfolk’, so what does that say about her understandings of women’s difference, and the wide diversity between women themselves? During the ‘Women in Politics’ Conference in Canberra in 1975, Greenwood was interviewed on the ABC current affairs program, *AM*, to discuss the radical lesbians who were reported on television as urinating outside Parliament House as a protest against discriminatory homosexual laws. She distanced herself from what she called “exaggerated lesbianism...women who were aggressive and dressing like men” (interview, Waite/Greenwood, 1975) indicating a sensitivity to the media’s tendency to sensationalise and stereotype lesbians. Her familiarity with the radical writings of lesbian separatists, Mary Daly and Adrienne Rich, sensitised her to compulsory heterosexuality as an expression of patriarchy to understand what Rich (1981, p. 31) meant when she said:

Lesbian existence comprises both the breaking of a taboo and the rejection of a compulsory way of life. It is also a direct or indirect attack on male right of access to women. But it is more than these, although we may begin to perceive it as a form of nay saying to patriarchy, it is an act of resistance.

Greenwood’s ‘nay-saying’ to patriarchy involved a lifetime of resistance through protest against patriarchal domination and exploitation of women, to put a different connotation on what she understood to mean ‘radical’ feminism. She was interviewed on the *Coming Out Show* in 1976 and 1977 to talk about her life as broadcaster, feminist historian/activist and peace activist. Hugh Evans (1976)

interviewed her for the *AM* program to talk about the federal Liberal Government's reduction of funds for the International Women's Year budget, reporting on the continuous media hostility towards "the waste of government money". In that program she expressed concern that "Aboriginal voices were not heard" and warned of "the dangers of the women's movement becoming elitist and middle class" (Greenwood quoted in Evans, 1976).

Greenwood's political-left allegiance was reaffirmed in 1986 when she placed a placard in her front yard in support of Carmen Lawrence, whose parliamentary career began in State politics that year, winning for the ALP, the Western Australian Legislative Assembly seat of Subiaco. Lawrence was promoted to the State Government Ministry in 1988 as Minister for Education. She was re-elected in 1989, representing the seat of Glendalough where her portfolio included Aboriginal Affairs. In a leadership change in 1990, Lawrence made history by becoming Premier of WA, as Australia's first female Premier. She entered federal politics by winning the federal seat of Fremantle in 1994 and was appointed Minister for Human Services and Health, and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women (Lawrence, 2001).

Carmen Lawrence was in government in the 1980s at the time the State Government agreed to name a university after Edith Cowan. "There was some resistance when I put forward that proposal...I am delighted that it still remains the pre-eminent university with a woman's name – the only one, as I understand it" (Lawrence, 1996).

Like ALP stalwart, Patricia Giles, Diana Warnock did not meet Greenwood until the early 1970s with the advent of Women's Liberation in WA. She was elected as the Member for Perth for the ALP in 1993 as a women's rights

activist a year following Greenwood's death. From a conservative family background, Diana Warnock, salutes her mother, but she was a staunch believer in the ALP philosophy. In her inaugural parliamentary speech (22 June 1993: ADDRESS IN REPLY) Warnock reflects Greenwood's sentiments. "As a woman member, one has to juggle the task of representing one's electorate, one's party, and (to some extent) one's gender. There is no doubt that we are equal to the task – but there is no doubt either that we need more of us" (Warnock quoted in Watson, 1994).

Greenwood considered it a great advance for women when the ALP, under Whitlam, honoured promises to women's international non-government groups, to ratify UN conventions. She applauded the ALP policy to fulfil its obligations under international conventions such as the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. In 1979 women's groups lobbied for maternity leave under ILO conventions dating to 1920. But under the ALP, according to Giles (Personal Conversation, 2001), the Government failed to implement treaty obligations on maternity leave and women in combat when Kim Beazley was Federal Minister for Defence in the Hawke Labor Government in the 1980s. To stress a gender point, regardless of party, it is significant to note that it was former Labor Party Premier in the Victorian State Government, Joan Kirner, who raised the issues of equal pay and maternity leave in an ABC television appearance:

Women earn \$166 a week less than those of men...only 1.30 per cent of senior executives are women and Australia lags on other countries on government funded paid maternity leave (Norman, ABC-TV, 2001).

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Despite Greenwood's understandings of patriarchy and sex segregation,

she never really challenged 'femininity' or 'masculinity' to seek new definitions of what it means to be 'woman' or 'man' in Australia. Contemporary theorists (Lake, 1999; Pettman, 1996; Seifert, 1993; Connell, 1995) argue the need for new definitions of masculinity to forge the link between men, masculinities, violence and war. Lake traces various masculinities in Australia in the nineteenth century to explain that the women's movement protested against "men's selfish indulgence" or what Rose Scott had termed "the animal in man" (Lake, 1999, p. 36), arguing that economic independence was crucial to the escape from bondage of men who characterised "The Drunkard's Wife". Or, in contemporary terms, Pettman (1996, p. 95) argues:

State practices of legitimisation of domination are reinforced through mobilisation of nationalism and patriotism. Here it appears that men's membership in certain kinds of political collectivities, especially as citizens, soldiers and patriots, holds a key to understanding the normalisation of political violence.

Contemporary feminists ask questions about men, war and violence, domination and the private world of the household. Pettman (1996, p. 187) argues that, "the 1995 UNICEF State of the World's Children Report declared violence against women by male partners as the most common crime in the world". Although Greenwood did not attempt to reconstruct the stereotypical 'feminine' or 'masculine' in academic theoretical terms, she understood the problem with segregation of the sexes into discrete spheres. She understood women's social and economic exclusions from big business and public life. And she understood violence against women as a form of gendered terrorism.

Greenwood deplored charitable and philanthropic solutions to human inequalities, poverty and suffering. In a press interview (1977), while promoting her contribution to the resurgence of feminism in the 1930s and 1940s, she

distanced herself from charity. “We left that to others. We wanted change and fought for it by bringing pressure to bear on the politicians of the day” (Greenwood quoted in Hewett, 1977). Greenwood sought social and economic justice for women, not handouts.

But Women’s Liberation is not only about women’s economic parity with men. The worst form of discrimination against women is gendered violence in its varying forms, that is, in wars, in military rape and in homes where most of the violence against women occurs.

- **The Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women**

According to Giles (1997, p. 3), it was Greenwood’s international experience in 1965, attending, as a delegate, conferences in The Hague and Geneva, that generated her enthusiasm for consistently lobbying for the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, established in 1960 and becoming a Convention in 1979. Greenwood (diary, 1982, n. p.) notes the occasion of receiving from Giles a copy of the speech she made on the 1979 convention on the Adjournment of the First Session of the new ALP Government.

The 1979 Convention did not go far enough because it did not include *violence*, which is the most covert form of gender discrimination. At the Mexico Conference in 1975, the themes were, ‘Equality, Development and Peace and “by 1985 under the ‘Peace Section’, violence against women and women under apartheid were included in the Forward Looking Strategies to 2000” (Giles, 1998, p.11).

At the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993, the Declaration for the Elimination of all Forms of *Violence* Against Women was taken up by women's organisations worldwide. The stronger Convention covering *Violence* did not come into effect until the UN General Assembly adopted it in 1993, a year following Greenwood's death. But she had lobbied rigorously for the 1979 Convention to the end of her active life after the federal Government signed on July 1980 and ratified the convention on 28 July, 1983. In 1992 the Government signed the Optional Protocol to the convention relating to Civil and Political Rights but, "the Optional Protocol to CEDAW, finalised in the year 2000, has effectively disenfranchised Australian women to rights to appeal" (Giles, Personal Conversation, 2001). The UN Human Rights Committee has urged the Australian government to withdraw legislation that violates civil and political rights. Peace and human rights groups are concerned about the obligation to make rights real in law and practice providing rights to appeal for ethnic and Aboriginal women.

But what is a human right? "In Mexico City, one rape occurs every ten minutes, in the US nationally, one rape occurs every six minutes" (Morgan, 1984, p. 21). Morgan addressing the issues of prostitution, sex tourism and traffic in women argues:

In the Philippines, where the major issue of the women's movement is combating the huge sex tourism and prostitution industry, revenues from such activities have been calculated to form a major part of the national economy (Morgan, 1984, p. 22).

Greenwood and her colleagues put Morgan's theoretical concerns into practical effect, lobbying State and federal governments to translate rhetorical obligations under international conventions into government policy.

It took fifty years of concerted efforts by some 900 women's groups to get the issue of women's rights as human rights onto the international human rights agenda when the World Conference on Human Rights met in Vienna in 1993. Women's groups took the conference by storm and were effective in the global campaign, to make military sexual slavery and military rape war crimes. By then, Greenwood's life had ended, but she was active in campaigns for bringing to international attention the fact that military rape is not "a side show of war" (Seifert, 1993), but a war crime. Seifert argues in *War and Rape* (1993, p. 1) "military rape is a method of communication between men".

In the family home, rape of women by men was an issue of grave concern to Greenwood. Interviewed by *The West Australian* immediately after her appointment to the National Advisory Committee, Greenwood (quoted in "New Force", 1975) told a journalist:

I'm not so concerned with rights at the moment as I am with needs...It's the first time a government has been prepared to help on subjects like divorce, deserted wives, and rape, things that have been dealt with by charity in the past.

When former Premier of the West Australian Government, Ray O'Connor, announced his Government's intention to appoint a Women's Adviser and Advisory Council in that State, it lagged by over a decade behind the federal Government and the other States. Greenwood (quoted in "Women's Status", 1984) welcomed the announcement, but was critical of the long delay for a Women's Adviser in WA:

As far as the intentions of WA's first legislator, Edith Cowan, was concerned, the move by the Government was 60 years too late. It would be impotent without the backing of anti-discrimination legislation ensuring full status in law, and in fact for women in this State.

Through her published letters to the press, Greenwood directly confronted politicians. For example, when Liberal Party Premier (WA), Sir Charles Court, published the question in a previous edition of *The West Australian*, “What sorts of situations are political?” Greenwood (quoted in “Tresillian”, 1976) replies, “Politics is a power game and its gambit is role-playing to the gallery, the electorate etc. What are the rules of the game?” she asked. She answered her own question:

The answer...only the elect (or the elected) are permitted to play and domination is both the means and the end. Whose is the field? Men's. Male domination has prevailed from the beginning of legislative history (Greenwood quoted in “Tresillian”, 1976).

Greenwood was under no illusions about the male stranglehold on political power:

Men decide laws. Legislation is drafted by men, carried out almost entirely (until recently) by men, the courts, the police the public service. Women have had little power. They have been shuttled into the social roles, the home, philanthropy, and charity. They have been told the Government knows what is best for them and their children. Sir Charles called them those people; the we/they syndrome again.

Greenwood (diary, 1976, p. 42) was surviving on a pension in the 1970s, criticising Malcolm Fraser's often-quoted truism:

‘Life was not meant to be easy’. PM Fraser. Let him try life on the dole and discover what it is like to be searching for a job, keeping up appearances of respectability and of competence and financial obligation and commitment on home purchase and maintenance. Yet the PM at one and same time calls on individuals to SPEND.

And in the quest for peace, justice and equality, a question becomes, did Irene Greenwood achieve inner peace in her own personal life?

- **Inner peace?**

Irene Greenwood presented a public persona of a cheery, bright, gregarious and inspirational catalyst spurring others to support her feminist agenda and zest for justice. Her diaries reveal fears and vulnerabilities. “She could get very downcast” (Giles, interview, Murray/Giles, 1999):

Thoughts on death bring me closer to the brink. If the story of the feminist movement... is to be told for future generations then I must do it... before those of mine all die too... time is running out... the passing of close friends... increasingly remind me that life is finite... and even the weariest river flows sometime into the sea (Greenwood, diary, 1976, p. 48).

She had family stresses and worries. According to her colleagues and her daughter (Eddington, Personal Conversation; interviews, Murray/Daly-King, 2000; Murray/Williams 2000), her son, Philip was a source of emotional pain. “I’d often find her in tears over his continuous putting her down while he lived with her and made life terrible for her”. A fitter and turner, Philip was a registered alcoholic at Sir Charles Gairdener hospital. He never commanded what Greenwood considered the ‘Queen’s English’. April Eddington said, “mother totally rejected Philip because he fell short of her expectations that he would be intelligent like her brothers” (Personal Conversation, 2002).

April Greenwood married bank manager, Gilbert Eddington, and bore three children, Roderick, Meredith and Tracey. She followed her mother into Perth Modern School and held a senior position in the Department of University Extension at the University of WA. She chose marriage and motherhood for personal fulfilment and did not follow her mother into feminist activism because she believed that, “although mother’s public life had been fulfilling for her, she did not find fulfilment in her private life. Mother and father were not at all suited”

(Personal Conversation, 1999). “Mother had two distinct personalities,” she told me. “She had her public and her private lives and always kept the two very separate. She was a very private person” (Personal Conversation, 1999).

“Irene was pretty scared of her mother on the alcohol front. She knew that her mother didn’t approve” (Williams, interview, Murray/Williams, 2000). Patricia Giles (1997, p. 9) recounts an occasion when she visited Greenwood in the Silver Chain nursing home in the 1980s:

The nursing home spirits cupboard was up to the challenge, and holding a drink to her lips I asked anxiously is that too strong? Irene then spoke for the first time in weeks and in her most gravelly voice declaimed ‘you know the old girl. It’s never too strong’

Greenwood enjoyed a drink. The evidence is that she was a fun-loving woman who did not conform to the status quo. At age seventy-seven Greenwood (diary, 1976, p. 55) was actively seeking paid employment. “Black week. In depths of despair. No hope of any work at all” (Greenwood, diary, 1976, p. 41). By the time she reached her eighties, Greenwood showed signs of weariness, and mood swings ranging from optimism and hope to anguish and despair:

A year of frustration- disappointments – tragedies – the realisation of the limitations when one is dependent on others. My consolation has been the friendship of younger women (including my daughter April and my grand daughter, Meredith) and the inspiration of the new writings rolling off the printing processes of young women and the memories recounted by the older movement women (Greenwood, diary, 1982).

A month later, Greenwood (diary, 1982, n. p.) is back in control. “Don’t rely on others”, she writes. “Only you are dependable. You’re the only person who is in control of your affairs, who knows what is important to you”. By April 1982, Greenwood “woke feeling tired, depressed, low back pain” and in May:

A Black Friday for the Labor Government. Listened ABC Radio

commentaries on Public Affairs and watched TV. Re-read Richard Hall's 'The Secret State'. Reminiscences of the 1930s, the Evatt Period-Petrov Case.

As Labor was not in office at federal or the WA state level in 1982, it is understood that Greenwood meant the "Labor Party" rather than "Labor Government". By January the following year she echoes "PM Fraser's" sentiments and is anguished again:

Nothing has ever been simple or easy. All I am or have been is accomplished by determination plus and sheer hard work – both physical and mental and spiritual anguish. For I have anguished, not too strong a word for my many commitments over things and persons and situations and circumstances often beyond my control (Greenwood, diary, 1983, n. p.).

If those words have a tinge of self-pity, if not melodramatic, it is not surprising that Greenwood anguished in her latter decades because, after a lifetime of advocating for peace, justice and equality at the State, national and international levels, she witnessed such little evidence of any signs of a just world without war. She did not see equal pay accomplished. Nor did she see the elimination of sexism and violence with anti-discrimination legislation, knowing that attitudes lag behind laws. She did not see a rush of women entering parliaments, or becoming judges, or reaching the higher echelons of big business. Instead she lived to see an escalation of reported gendered violence, and no evidence of peace and justice in a war-torn world. It is a sad comment for one for whom independence and control meant everything, and for whom that independence represented the essence of human dignity, that Greenwood spent her last years in a nursing home. As Baldock (1993, p. 3) poignantly states:

Irene's life of action closed in 1987, and it is one of the saddest aspects of her life that she – a strong public supporter of the Euthanasia Society – was forced to spend the last five years of her life – against her wishes – in a meaningless existence in a

nursing home. To feminists, it is the Irene of old who has a lasting impact on our lives.

Greenwood was chairperson of the first meeting of the West Australian Voluntary Euthanasia Society in 1980 when it was co-founded by the late Jocelyn Tunbridge and Lillian (Rubena) Bull. It is another one of the paradoxes of Greenwood's life that while she spent her remaining five years trapped in a meaningless existence, she had dedicated herself to a better quality of life and a dignified death for all.

- **Age no barrier**

Although her commercial program, *Women to Women* is what Irene Greenwood is best remembered for, she remained throughout her life an ardent supporter of the independence and integrity of the ABC. She was an informed critic of government interference in programming. A letter from General Manager, Talbot Duckmanton (1976) supports her concern for preserving the integrity of the ABC. "As you may know, from your long experience as a broadcaster, much is written about the ABC in the press, but not all that is written is based on fact".

Patricia Giles (1997, p. 4) argues that Greenwood's stated 'internationalism' was somewhat ambiguous given her protectiveness of things Western Australian:

She could be enraged by publications of and from the Eastern States, which failed to properly acknowledge WA protagonists. An example is a history of the ABC, which completely ignored Western Australia. A double insult for Irene for not only was the ABC very precious to her, but she had known intimately those who built up the ABC in Perth and agonised with them through all the vicissitudes over the years.

Greenwood (quoted in “Future of the ABC”, 1981) defends the ABC in response to the *Dix Report*, based on an Inquiry into the ABC, at a time when the national broadcaster was again under attack for left-wing-bias, targeting the current affairs television program *Nationwide*. The Federal Coalition Government was talking about advertising and corporate sponsorships, when federal Minister for Communications, Ian Sinclair, said, “Of course we don’t intend to sell the ABC” (“Future of ABC”, 1981). Greenwood asserts her “competence to enter the controversy as a broadcaster since the 1930s when State and national networks were set up”. She gave oral evidence and had written submissions for every inquiry conducted at the ABC, stressing that, “the principles and policies of the ABC are under attack from the quarter where the most sensitivity and understanding should come from, the Government” (Greenwood, 1981). She said, “the principles on which the Commission was established have not been challenged; independence, integrity, objectivity and the pursuit of excellence”. She conducted her own research reading all volumes of the weighty *Dix Report* on the allegations of bias and presented her findings in a submission to the Inquiry:

News and Current Affairs programs appeared in the mind of those giving the evidence to be without party political slant. And by a factor of three to one, an ANOP survey quoted saw 61 per cent of Australians as convinced of the ABC’s independence with little difference between Liberal, National Country Party and Labour voters on the issue (Greenwood quoted in “Future of ABC”, 1981).

Greenwood was published in the press during the ABC funding cuts under the Fraser Government in 1976 and again under the Labor Governments of Bob Hawke and Paul Keating beginning in 1985, then in her late eighties.

It is the mark of a liberated woman, that Greenwood attracted wide media attention from the 1960s, through the 1970s and well into the 1980s. *The West Australian* (1969) recognises, “Irene Greenwood: A woman of many talents” and in the same year, a champion of the women’s movement in, “Groups Honour a Champion” (1969). In 1980, the *Weekend News* published an article “Woman at the Top: Irene Greenwood”, and the same year she appeared on the ABC television program *Nationwide*, following the announcement of her recognition as ‘Woman of the Year’. Speaking on ABC radio as broadcaster, writer, and public speaker on international feminism, Greenwood stresses, “I want to explain to young women of today that they didn’t invent feminism and that they must not look at the past with the eyes of the present” (Greenwood quoted in Miller, 1982).

In 1984 she was a guest on *The Coming Out Show* in a program based on Katherine Susannah Prichard and her role in the women’s peace movement (Lomax, 1984). And again on that program she participated in the award-winning “Arms Are For Linking” (Cassidy & Lennon, 1985), a feature on women and peace in history, speaking on peace and nuclear weapons. The program won the UNAA Media Peace Prize Gold Citation.

The *Western Mail* (1985) ran a feature, “Aging feminist remembers”, subtitled, “Irene’s spirit glows” where she is described as “master of the quotable quote”. Greenwood (quoted in “Aging feminist”, 1985) said at the age of eighty-six years, “I’m a pacifist...because I’ve learned that preparations for war only leads to further wars”. Greenwood’s politics of feminism were not anti-male, but:

I’m not one of those feminists who put women against men... some of my best friends are men. But I accept the right of some of the young feminists to be against men because they’ve suffered so terribly from male chauvinism (Greenwood quoted in “Aging feminist”, 1985)

A year later, she was again featured in *The Western Mail*. “It is for her lifetime’s work as a feminist and peace campaigner that she is best known and loved – and loathed” (“A liberated woman”, 1986):

Women are now taking leading roles in parliament and are in positions of power there they are challenging men...and poor men...they feel quite helpless against the challenge...We have developed now...We are into an era where women are coming into their own (Greenwood quoted in “A liberated woman, 1986).

It was a momentous occasion when Western Australian Premier, Brian Burke recommended that its newest and biggest Stateship be named the *M.V. Irene Greenwood*, attracting wide media attention.

- **Peaceful waters - The *M.V. Irene Greenwood***

The initiative for the *M.V. Irene Greenwood* came from the Seamen’s Union, now the Maritime Union of Australia, supported by the Australian Peace Committee to honour the vessel specifically as a ‘peace ship’. *The West Australian* reported on the move to name the ship after Irene Greenwood (“Ship a mark”, 1983) and again following the launch. Greenwood (quoted in “Irene launches”, 1984) states, “I have lived through the steamship days to the day of modern automated vessels and I’m terribly excited that this beautiful big ship is named in my honour”.

The West Australian ran a story (“The day her ship”, 1984), paying tribute to Greenwood’s feminist contribution. When the ship moved through the waters at Fremantle on her maiden voyage on 18 March, 1984, it was treated to an impressive welcome by a bevy of dignitaries. As the vessel made her way through

the heads and to number two berth she was accompanied by Fremantle Port Authority fire boats spraying jets of water high into the air (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Stateships Fleet. flagship. The *M.V. Irene Greenwood*. Permission to publish photograph courtesy Sally May, Head of Department, Maritime History, Western Australian Maritime Museum.

Guest of honour for the occasion was Irene Greenwood with festivities hosted by the Minister for Transport, Julian Grill, who together with Stateships General Manager, Doug Wilson, joined the vessel for the last leg of her delivery voyage. During the voyage from Bunbury, the Minister took part in a Perth radio talk back program (the ship was computerised with direct telex and telephone links with shore). A large party of press and media representatives boarded the *M.V. Irene Greenwood* from a launch in the Fremantle outer harbour area. The Minister was first ashore to greet Greenwood. A plaque (Figure 8) commemorating the naming of the ship was placed aboard the vessel during the official ceremonies (Stateships Journal, 1984).



After the unveiling of the plaque, in a gracious response, Greenwood

(quoted in Stateships Journal, 1984) paid tribute to the women of WA:

That my name should have been given to this magnificent ship is a gesture and a tribute and one to be highly regarded, not merely by myself, but for its recognition towards the magnificent contribution of women, since foundation, to the progress of this State. I now make acceptance on behalf of all those women...the wives and daughters of the pioneers, the named and nameless who sleep in unmarked graves, who braved the seas, made homes in the desert country, battled in the waterless wastes...by this gesture our State Government honours them all.

Greenwood linked the event with the role of women in social reform throughout this century to refer in particular to Daisy Bates and her life's work with the welfare of Aboriginal women. She noted Bates contribution was commemorated in the naming of the former State vessel *Kabbarli*, an Aboriginal word for 'grandmother'. Although Bates was not an Aboriginal woman, the various Aboriginal people with whom she lived and worked bestowed the name on her for her contribution to their cause. Greenwood made the poignant reminder that The *M.V. Kabbarli* met an unhappy end in the Vietnam War and hoped that "*M.V. Irene Greenwood* would sail in peaceful waters" (Stateships Journal, 1984).

Extending his introduction to the formal ceremony, Premier Brian Burke said:

May good fortune smile on the ship, which bears the name of a distinguished Australian who has earned a worldwide reputation for championing of women's rights and the peace movement (Burke quoted in Stateships Journal, 1984).

Burke gave her the assurance that the ship would never carry nuclear weapons. Research participant, Phyllis Wild, was one of the privileged guests invited to accompany Greenwood at the official welcome. "It was the biggest ship carrying general cargo in Australia's coastal trade" (interview, Murray/Wild, 1998). Burke noted in his introduction that the flagship would "increase the viability of the East-West run and help maintain the level of Stateships services to

the North West” (Stateships Journal, 1984). Robert Rowell, OBE, Chairman of the Western Australian Coastal Shipping Commission expressed confidence in the future for Stateships with his announcement, “I extend best wishes for a productive and rewarding employment of the *Irene Greenwood*” (quoted in Stateships Journal, 1984). Phyllis Wild (interview, Murray/Wild, 1998) captures the magic of the occasion.

It was such a beautiful day; sunny with a soft breeze rippling the harbour as the ship came within sight accompanied by tugboats spraying high arches of water each side of the honourable vessel. She graced the occasion in true Irene style. She was really amazing!

Wild said that when the ship’s captain raised his cap in honour of Irene Greenwood, she removed her hat and exchanged it with the captain’s cap. David Heppingstone was the next ship’s captain. He had great affection for Greenwood and visited her frequently in the Claremont nursing home.

In an attempt to reduce the budget deficit in the 1980s, the flagship was sold to Argentina and its name was changed. Evidence does not support any ALP protest about the sale of the ship but the move to name the vessel the *M.V. Irene Greenwood* was criticised by Opposition spokesman on the North West, Ian Laurence, who argued that, “no criticism of Mrs. Greenwood or her achievement was intended, but Kimberley people felt that the new ship should have remained the Kimberley” (“Irene Greenwood has its critics”, 1983). The new ship would ply to Eastern States ports. Acknowledging Greenwood as “founder of the women’s movement in WA”, who “had earned international recognition for her work for women’s rights, humanism and the peace movement”, Laurence said her name would not be known in the Eastern States. Greenwood distanced from the controversy over the naming of the ship as “she believed that would be

discourteous to the Premier, Mr. Burke and his Government” (“Irene Greenwood”, 1983). The Minister for Transport, Julian Grill, said, “The naming of the new ship is a fitting tribute to a woman who is well known throughout Australia for her work” (“Irene Greenwood”, 1983).

Eventually after serving her economic purpose, the *M.V. Irene Greenwood* was reduced to scrap metal. But the name of the woman who graced its title lives on to leave an indelible impression on the history of Australian feminism.

Wild (Celebration, 1999) described Greenwood as “a Western Australian institution, and national treasure”. Speaking at a celebration of Greenwood’s life at a gathering at Murdoch University on 9 December, 1999, to honour a lifetime of service for Greenwood’s belated centenary year, Wild described her comrade of over fifty years as “a small vital intelligent woman - a parcel of controlled energy” (Wild, 1999). She said, “Irene was above all a splendid communicator absorbing and interpreting events from her historically and politically informed background”.

Former ALP Member of Parliament for the Western Australian Government and prominent humanist, Diana Warnock, agrees. “When I first met Irene Greenwood I was absolutely dazzled and inspired that somebody some forty years plus older than me could have the same energy and the same desire for change” (Warnock quoted in Celebration, 1999). Describing Greenwood as “an elder of the tribe of women liberationists...a relentless campaigner against the forces of darkness”, Warnock highlights Greenwood’s confidence and assertiveness, “All of us can learn from that and if pacifism, or feminism or socialism becomes unfashionable, say, ‘I am one’...Sock it to them, was her

message to all of us” (Warnock, 1999). The local press, following Greenwood’s death to “Farewell a champion among all champions” interviewed Warnock:

What inspired me as one activist to another was her knowledge and her energy...there was this vigorous energetic woman who just would not let up...she was a spur (Warnock quoted in “Farewell a champion”, 1992).

Drawing conclusions on the influences of Women’s Liberation as a new dynamic in Greenwood’s feminist evolution, I have argued that she seized the new movement with fervour of energy to lead the movement in WA, leading to an active role with the WEL. As a leader of the new wave, she understood, both the importance of sexist ideology as the basis of women’s oppression and the gendered nature of sexual relations in the political sphere. She understood that Women’s Liberation made implicit, the overthrow of capitalism, and patriarchy, arguing for a feminist revolution. Her contribution to campaigns for abortion, equal pay, against male violence, including rape, pornography and domestic violence engaged her throughout the 1970s and well into her eighties, promoting the feminist bureaucracy and UN conventions to eliminate sex discrimination. I have argued that while Greenwood’s life was successful, publicly, there was a price to pay at the personal level. Yet, while Women’s Liberation argued for revolutionary change, there is no evidence in Greenwood’s records to show that she really understood the complex, scientific theory of Marxist socialism or its gender consequences. But, however she is labelled, theoretically, Greenwood, sought a better deal for women. She collected ideas from a diverse array of ideologies, taking the best from all. Driven by boundless and apparently tireless energy, Irene Greenwood was a political voice for the women’s movement, and, as I discuss in the next chapter, a voice for peace.

CHAPTER 11

GREENWOOD AND THE POLITICS OF PEACE

In this chapter, I explore Irene Greenwood's distinguished contribution to various Western Australian peace organisations, as a means of examining her understandings of peace, the role of the UN and the significance of international law in the peace process. Tracing her feminist peace activism through her mother's organisations, I argue that historically, women have been the major agents for peace. Within the context of Greenwood's internationalism, I explore how she made the connection between internationalism, feminism and peace. I analyse her contribution to nuclear disarmament and peace in the Indian Ocean Zone, her peace activism during the Vietnam War and concerns for East Timor. I examine her understandings of 'pacifism' and the feminist ethic of 'non-violence' through her opposition to Australian militarism and draw from her understandings of the meaning of peace, justice and equality of women's human rights, her contribution to peace education.

During the immediate pre-war period, throughout World War II and into the height of the Cold War era, Greenwood vested her faith in the Marxist socialist model as the most coherent system for achieving peace, justice and equality of human rights for women. She vehemently opposed the capitalist system. Yet, she was a staunch believer in democratic international institutions, such as the League of Nations (1920), and the UN (1945). It was not a matter of either/or. Greenwood saw benefit in socialist models that challenged capitalism and militarism, and also supported the western legal and political processes for the international machinery to facilitate the peaceful resolution of international

disputes through international law.

In this chapter, I discuss Greenwood's peace activism over half a century in the context of some of the major issues concerning international peace groups today. To provide a focus and a framework for discussion of her understandings of and contributions to peace, I examine the inter-relatedness of peace and disarmament, environment and development and women's international human rights to argue how Greenwood made the connection between internationalism, feminism and peace.

Three dimensions of Irene Greenwood's peace activism are analysed. Firstly, the history of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is traced to explain the organisation's historical link with the Charter of the League of Nations founded on 10 January, 1920 and the UN founded after World War II in 1945, to establish women's positive role as agents for an enduring peace. Secondly, the terms 'pacifism' and 'non-violence' are used to explore Greenwood's understandings of meanings of peace within the context of feminist concerns for the politics of peace and war, the gender of violence and militarised definitions of security. Finally, I examine her opposition to the processes of militarisation and her contribution to peace education by the achievement of a Peace Chair established in WA in the 1970s.

Irene Greenwood was highly esteemed in WA for her peace work by the organisations whose causes she espoused. She was awarded honorary Life Memberships with the UNAA (WA) and the WILPF (WA), where she held office. A State president (1966-1969) and editor of the journal *Peace and Freedom* for twelve years, Greenwood was made a life vice-president of the unique women's peace organisation (Greenwood, diary, 1984, p.1). She was awarded a UN Silver

Peace Medal in New York for her contribution to peace and international human rights. “Only two awards were given to each Nation State of the UN each year” (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). She was very proud of the Peace Medal, which she described as “my most precious possession”. I seek understanding of Irene Greenwood’s approaches and contributions to the necessary conditions for building the peace cultures for future generations.

Post World War II, the International Alliance of Women shifted their focus from women’s equality to place an emphasis on women’s human rights. Prior to World War II, the first wave feminists did not use the term ‘human rights’. “The peace organisations were often founded by branches of the women’s movement” (Brown, 1981, p. 98).

- **Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom**

The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in Australia is traced to Melbourne when a Sisterhood of International Peace (SIP) was formed arising from women’s opposition to conscription and compulsory military training (Bussey & Tims, 1965). The Australian Section of the WILPF was active for most of a half-century, during World War II and through to campaigns to stop the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s to present conflicts. After World War II the Australian Section took up the issues of “the victimisation of Aborigines, conscription and conscientious objectors to work against conscription and to call for the withdrawal of Australian forces from Korea” (Vroland, journal, 1965). During the 1960s they took up the issue of the production of “military toys” and

made approaches asking for these not to be manufactured or sold (Vroland, journal, 1965).

Priority issues on the agenda for the Australian Section of the WILPF during the 1940s to the 1960s were status of women workers and equal pay, bacterial and chemical war preparations and petitions against nuclear weapons (Vroland, journal, 1965). The headquarters for the Australian Section was in Melbourne before branches developed in the other States. A branch was formed in Western Australian in 1933, folded in the late 1930s, and was reformed in the 1950s by Nancy Wilkinson, the wife of an ALP Senator.

Margaret Holmes set up the first NSW branch in Sydney in 1959 after returning from the 14th Triennial Congress of the WILPF in Stockholm. She became secretary of the Australian Section at its formation in 1965 when the pressing issues were the war in Vietnam, nuclear and general disarmament. This coincided with Greenwood's State presidency. Now ninety-two years of age, as noted previously, Holmes was a very close friend of Greenwood, and colleagues as executive members of the Australian Section Executive Committee. In the 2001 Queen's Birthday Honours list, Holmes was awarded the Australia Medal (AM) for service to the community through organisations promoting peace, human rights and conflict resolution. Under her leadership, Australian WILPF became a leader among non government organisations (NGOs) working for human rights for Aboriginal peoples (Picone, 2001). During the time that she was section secretary, Holmes became Convenor of the WILPF Committee Against Chemical and Biological Weapons (Picone, journal, 2001). Margaret Holmes and her medical husband frequently stayed with Greenwood when they visited Perth and were correspondents until Greenwood's health declined in 1987.

As an internationalist committed to the objective of world peace, Greenwood's priority concerns were with securing peace in Australia:

We must, above all, seek to safeguard our rights and liberties and see that there is no erosion of human freedoms in Australia due to encroaching military regulations (Greenwood, journal, 1966).

As noted, ironically for Greenwood, the internationalist, her only overseas trip was not until 1965 when she attended international conferences at The Hague in the Netherlands and Geneva, Switzerland. It was the highlight of Greenwood's life at sixty-six years of age to attend the WILPF Jubilee Congress at The Hague as an Australian representative and the ILO, both organisations very dear to her heart. Then president of the Western Australian branch of the WILPF, Nancy Wilkinson, who also attended the Congress, paid her fare.

"It was not until the death of my mother in 1963 and then my husband's death in 1964 that I was free to even consider overseas travel" (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). Greenwood (letter, 1984) wrote to Vivian Abraham, "in 1964, my husband died and left me practically penniless (he had in fact a bankrupt estate), Nancy Wilkinson said, 'Now you are free to attend the Golden Jubilee Congress at The Hague'". Greenwood was in the remote north of WA when a ticket from Wesfarmers Travel came for return by ship to London. Wilkinson subscribed to a national open fund for additional money for living costs for Greenwood while working as a delegate. The trip in 1965 gave her a greater practical awareness of the role of the WILPF in world affairs, and its leadership on the peace issues. It is curious for a woman who had broadcast on radio for years on women's international issues, that it was with child-like awe, and wide-eyed wonder, that she recounts her one-off experience as an international delegate

overseas, meeting with some of the women with whom she had corresponded over the years, “such as Alva Myrdal and other WILPF women” (Daly-King, 2000), although her archival correspondences do not support evidence:

I attended meetings, spoke at them, went to conferences, and even to Geneva itself and sat in the great hall as an international delegate for a non government organisation, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom established in 1915 by the women who attempted to stop World War I, in vain (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

Following the Congress as a delegate she sat in as an observer at an ILO conference in Geneva, Switzerland, and the UN Session of the Economic and Social Council for discussions at the Palais Des Nations at Geneva. In her unpublished memoirs Greenwood (“Go Proudly”, n. d.) writes:

At The Hague, the peace centre of Court of International Justice, the W.I.L.P.F. assembles meeting where 50 years previous they joined hands with the wartime women to call HALT.

If Greenwood sounds naive for the expectation that some one thousand women were unable to stop World War I, it was a very politically astute Irene Greenwood who reported on her experience of the international conferences. Her sponsorship was based upon her capacity to absorb, interpret, translate and report on international issues and their relevance at the local and national levels. On return she spoke at conferences and gave numerous public speaking reports to peace and human rights groups in WA. One example was a presentation with the lengthy title, ‘The Role of the NGOs with the UN as I saw it in operation at the Economic and Social Council in Geneva in July 1965’. Describing her first experience at an international conference in a foreign country as “very exciting”, Greenwood (“Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.) expounds on her impressions as an international delegate:

There were over 300 delegates and many more observers from 25 countries crowding into the halls and lecture rooms... As the main business of Congress rolled on, gaining momentum and taking shape, a picture emerged of the significance of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in international affairs, and the importance of its stand with governments and at the United Nations, in all matters affecting peace.

At the branch Annual General Meeting in 1966, retiring president, Nancy Wilkinson, introduced the newly elected president of the WILPF (WA), Irene Greenwood. In her first Presidential Address, Greenwood (WILPF minutes, 1966) praised Wilkinson's contribution and urged continued support for the UN:

It was through her that the work of the League was revived after it had lapsed during the war years... some wars begin in the minds of men; it is in the minds of men that peace can be constructed... We have built up the UN - now let us use it.

It is understood that Greenwood construed the term 'men' in its gender specific context to stress that wars are mostly started and 'won' by men. It is mainly men who make decisions on foreign policy and defence, and mainly men who become military generals. It is mainly men (governments) who engage in arms trade deals and mainly women and children who are the real 'spoils of war' (Pettman, 1996; Murray, 1995).

Irene Greenwood was a capable and astute president:

One of the things, which happened in Irene's Presidency, was to bring deeper study to topics of interest... Irene was more focused... and instead of having speakers on wide ranging topics, Irene organised the studies more along the lines of how you would have conducted an Adult Education program... on poverty for example. These more strategic ways of operating definitely came in with Irene's Presidency... She was an excellent organiser and strategist (Daly-King, interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000).

Reinforcing Daly-King's observations, Pattie Watts, in the Secretary's Report presented at the Annual General Meeting in 1969 (WILPF Minutes, 1969) pays tribute to Greenwood as outgoing president:

Irene Greenwood is a dynamo of enthusiasm, devotion and energy with a wide knowledge of the aims, principles, policies and working methods of the organisation and with wide contact with national and international organisations. She has supported the National Section in its work and attempted to attend to any matter that comes within our scope, through interviews, letters to Members of Parliament and letters to the press.

Lobbying governments and writing letters to the press have always been an important WILPF strategy. Freelance journalist and writer, Catherine Foster (1989, pp. 74-77) traces the activities of the WILPF through to its recent campaigns on behalf of world peace, the environment and human rights to 1989. Foster was Associate Legislative Director from the USA Section from 1984 to 1985. She portrays the organisation through the response to the Vietnam War that was a major focus for the Australian and American Sections by 1969. Stressing the leadership in campaigns for freedom of speech in developing countries, nuclear disarmament and the arms race, Foster (1989) explains that the WILPF has always sent missions to countries in conflict to persuade measures for mediation, negotiation and peaceful settlement. It was one of the peak bodies to get the issue of peace onto the women's international agenda at the first UN World Conference for Women in Mexico City in 1975. In Nairobi in 1985, the WILPF set up a 'peace tent' and were successful in their concerted lobbying efforts when the theme for the Decade for Women (1975-1985) became 'Equality, Development and Peace'. This achievement, to get the word 'peace' included in the international statutes clearly made 'peace' a global feminist issue, stressing that issues of war and peace are women's business.

Foster's interviews with eighteen women included former State president of the WILPF (WA), Elizabeth McIntosh, former State president and vice-president of the international executive committee, who at the time of Foster's study did not explicitly consider herself to be a feminist. "I've just never had the time to devote to that" (McIntosh quoted in Foster, 1985, p.176). A decade later, she told me that, "I always had an opinion...Irene had an opinion but not all women have opinions" (McIntosh, interview, Murray/McIntosh, 1998). In describing the major impact that Greenwood had on her peace work, McIntosh (interview, Murray/McIntosh, 1998) said, "Irene always described her self as a liberated woman and a feminist and now I believe a feminist lens is most important to peace".

McIntosh is more comfortable describing the WILPF as an 'international', rather than specifically 'feminist' peace organisation. However can the two be separated?

Universal and durable peace cannot be attained without the full and equal participation of women in international relations, particularly in decision-making concerning peace, including the processes envisaged for the peaceful settlement of disputes under the Charter of the UN (Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, 1986, paragraph 235, n. p.).

The role of women for promoting peace was most obvious to me when I attended the twenty-fifth International Triennial Congress of the WILPF in Santa Cruz, Bolivia in 1992. This followed my attendance, as a media-accredited delegate, at the UN World Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil a few weeks earlier. My media reports argued that militarism was the hidden agenda of the entire UN conference. Representatives of the WILPF brought together delegates from the USA, Britain, Sweden, the

Philippines, Sri Lanka and other countries that lobbied vigorously by organising press conferences to try to get militarism addressed by governments. The focus on the Congress was to try to fill some of the gaps left in Rio. I shared a room with Elizabeth McIntosh where I observed the long and tedious hours spent by members of the International Executive Committee working well into the morning to set their agenda for the following three years.

Elizabeth McIntosh worked closely with Irene Greenwood in the peace movement in WA and her husband, Gordon, first came together during the protests against nuclear stockpiling before working together as public peace protesters against conscription during the Vietnam War. Nuclear disarmament was a priority issue for Greenwood in the 1960s and one of the issues where the WILPF has demonstrated global leadership.

- **Greenwood's peace activism**

Although the tensions between the left and right arms of the women's movement in WA created divisions between conservative and radical women, "The same personalities were to be found at the meetings of both left and right peace rallies" (Richardson, 1988, p. 18). Peace was above the political divide. Greenwood's peace activism was strongly influenced by her mother's peace interests:

My mother, Mary Driver was an early League of Nations member who had acted with Ruby Rich as a Chairman of combined meetings of groups in this State for the International Peace Campaign in the 30s (Greenwood, 1984, p. 1).

Greenwood ("Go Proudly", n. d., n. p.) sums up her commitment to the cause of peace to:

Support for a mechanism such as the League of Nations, and later on, after wars ceased temporarily, for establishment of the United Nations and the machinery to negotiate in the interests of a just society so there would be no more wars.

Returning to Perth from Broome in 1925, Greenwood carried on the ideals of peace through her mother's organisations under the aegis of the WSG as secretary of the Nedlands branch. Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) said, "I have always been involved with WILPF since its inception in 1915". When Stone pressed for a precise date for formally joining the peace movement, Greenwood insisted that she had been "born into it". In fact, she did not become a member until she was persuaded to join the Western Australian branch of the WILPF by Evelyn Rowland in the 1930s, although she was active with the UAW in Sydney with the League of Nations before then and through the WSG. Rowland was president of the Fremantle branch of the WSG and edited *Peace and Freedom* until her death in 1961. Greenwood was elected as editor in 1963 coinciding with the decision to make the journal the national official organ of the WILPF when it formed an Australian Section in 1965. Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

Until her death, Greenwood called herself a 'pacifist' inspired by her mother's pacifism through the WSG explaining how Quakers:

Withdrew from actual participation of warlike movements and support for the forces except to the degree that they donated blankets and crocheted rugs for the homes for the returning men. Being realists, they recognised that war had come...and so they had to merely contain their pacifism until peace came. Eternally and vigilantly they worked towards a society in which wars would be banished forever and I suppose that really started my pacifism (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

By advocating for peace and freedom, Greenwood counselled consistently for non-violence and the peaceful resolution of international disputes through the

League of Nations and the UN. But she was not opposed to the taking up of arms in the struggle against an unjust aggressor. She actively applauded military action against fascism and Nazism. She had no objection to women freedom fighters in the European resistance movements against Hitler or the militarism of her Soviet heroines under Stalin. She celebrated them. Greenwood was not a 'turn the other cheek' pacifist. She was a peace educator, who understood that in the quest for freedom, it is sometimes necessary to fight for peace and justice. But she believed that prevention of warfare is better than cure.

Greenwood's understandings of the meanings of peace are translated as support for the League of Nations and later the UN, and the establishment of social and economic justice that prevent and ultimately lead to the illegality of war. On public platforms and through the media, she espoused the objectives of the peace organisations whose causes she supported, for disarmament, non-violent intervention through mediation and negotiation and social justice as the legal and moral alternative to the use of military force. As a peace campaigner, Greenwood expressed her opposition to Australian militarism, and strongly advocated that the military personnel and the use of money for the military industry be channelled into meeting human needs.

Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) writes about her experiences in Sydney with the UAW as developing her commitment to the cause of peace:

When the first outbreaks came, China into Mongolia... Italy into Abyssinia, the Civil War in Spain that I started my correspondences with so many of the leading pacifists of the world. That was due to Mrs. Linda Littlejohn and Mrs. Jessie Street who furnished me with books and the material to go out and speak on public platforms.

Although Greenwood's correspondences date to 1937, evidence does not support identifiable pacifists. She became associated with Quaker members of the WSG in the 1920s when some of its Quaker members formed the Sisterhood of Peace (SIP); within the sub-committees of the WSG own procedures. The SIP, founded in Melbourne, took a pacifist stance during World War I and by 1919, changed its name to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Bussey & Tims, 1965, p. 27). When the State branch was formed in Perth, Greenwood was living in Sydney. When back in Perth she renewed her association with her Quaker friends in the WSG which led her into the Western Australian branch of the WILPF where as editor of *Peace and Freedom* (WILPF Minutes, 1963), Greenwood wrote and edited a broad range of local, national and international peace issues, illuminating her understandings of, and contributions to peace and how she made the connections among internationalism, feminism and peace.

- **Internationalism, feminism and peace**

Greenwood (script, 1965, p. 1) produced a radio program for the ABC entitled, "Fifty Years Dedication to Peace" as a history of the WILPF, tracing its feminist origins back to 1915, "when the guns of the First World War had been thundering across the Western Front". She reported that the ship, the *Noordam* carried forty-two American women and some European women to a peace conference at The Hague to help bring a peaceful end to the war:

They founded a continuing world organisation with ideals of permanent peace, belief in the power of continuous mediation to prevent or stop wars and the faith that eventually all human beings might live in social justice and achieve human dignity (Greenwood, script, 1965, p. 1).

In her radio broadcast, Greenwood (1965, p. 1) describes the deliberations and resolutions of the women as “statesmanlike in their grasp of the problems”, “prophetic in their vision of the need for a just peace” and “emphatic in their desire for immediate and continuous mediation and negotiation”. About one thousand women met at that first meeting at The Hague in the Netherlands to set up the world’s first mediation conference. Meeting with fifteen foreign ministers or prime ministers, the pope and the president of the USA, the women returned to their home countries, after forming the International Committee for Permanent Peace (Bussey & Times, 1965, p. 1). “The women’s programs foreshadowed the programs of the League of Nations and laid down the basis for its fourteen points” (Greenwood, script, 1965, p. 1).

The ‘fourteen points for peace’ that developed out of the first Women’s Peace Plan recommended constructive measures to bring a peaceful end to World War I then raging in Europe. The administrative responsibility for carrying on the work of the new international women’s peace movement lay with the Executive Committee of the International Committee for Permanent Peace, which later changed its name to the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. Jane Addams, the first international president was involved in the campaign for the vote for women in the USA before the outbreak of World War I. The Jane Addams Peace Association in New York was founded in her honour.

The first Women’s Peace Plan developed when Addams met in Chicago with European pacifists, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence from Britain and Hungarian journalist, Rosika Schwimmer in 1914. On 17 August, 1938, Greenwood reviewed Pethick-Lawrence’s book *My Part in a Changing World* published in

The Dawn (the WSG newspaper) edited by Bessie Rischbieth. Greenwood (1938, p. 5) wrote about work from the franchise to world peace:

I think that Australian women will appreciate most the thrilling record of the militant movement in England...with Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence looking after the financial side of the Women's Social Political Union. A leader to be loved...She seems, above all other qualities, to have the gift of making friends. She states the great challenge of the Nineteenth Century to be the Twentieth Century paradox of poverty amidst plenty, and the almost inevitable resulting challenge of war.

In the tribute, Pethick-Lawrence (quoted in Greenwood, 1938, p. 5) argues, "Poverty and unemployment are not evils that affect merely a section of the population...they have become two outstanding causes of international war". Pethick-Lawrence and Schwimmer were members of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance who travelled to the USA to mobilise American women in the international suffrage movement. In 1915 the National Women's Peace Party in Washington was born. The 'fourteen points for peace', devised by the European women, were taken up by American president Woodrow Wilson, and enshrined into the Charter of the League of Nations (1920). Despite Wilson's anti-war sympathies in 1915, America never joined the League and entered the war in 1917:

On November 11 1918, with Germany's capitulation on the basis of Wilson's 'fourteen points for peace', the opportunity seemed to have come. But as Wilson fought a losing battle for his principles against the secret intrigues and nationalist ambitions of the Allied powers, conceding point after point of his peace terms if only League of Nations might be saved – it became clear that the hopes of the peace forces everywhere were already in ruins and the terms of the proposed treaties would lay no foundation for a stable peace in Europe (Bussey & Tims, 1965, pp. 28-29).

By November 1915, twelve national committees had been formed from the International Committee for Permanent Peace in Austria, Belgium, Denmark,

France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and USA (Bussey & Tims, 1965). Greenwood recounts her cynicism about the allied force. “They knew that the policy was not to be peace and pacification but it was to be retribution against the Germans who had caused the war” (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983). By the time the International Committee for Permanent Peace summoned the second Congress in Zurich, May, 1919, the predominant mood was one of disillusionment and despair. But Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) considers the Peace Plan was not just a foolish pipedream:

Jane Addams said to the leader of one country, “you must think we are foolish women” and he said, “Madam, these are the most sensible proposals that have ever been placed before me. I only wish that I could meet them. And it did happen that Woodrow Wilson formulated the ideals in the points of the treaty, which was entered into but by the time the women met the second time at the great Congress, which they held in Zurich, they knew that they had been betrayed.

For the first time in the world’s history, women had come together to work for peace, had reached out and clasped hands with women from countries considered enemies by ruling governments. Greenwood’s broadcast outlined how they had met as women to give expression to their opposition to war and consideration of ways of preventing it in the future and working towards a world without war. Greenwood stressed the uniqueness of these pioneers of peace to bring together women from differing philosophical and political persuasions and most poignantly, across enemy lines to try to stop the war. These women were united in their belief that warfare was the consequence of the lack of democracy and social justice and that mediation and negotiation were the moral alternatives to senseless bloodshed.

Women active in the post-suffrage and wartime women's movement vested their faith in the power of international institutions to create peaceful resolutions of dispute. The WILPF promoted the work of the League of Nations in the 1920s and 1930s developing the theory and practice of non-violent conflict resolution, mediation, negotiation and disarmament as legal alternatives to military solutions.

Bussey and Tims (1965) stress the uniqueness of the only international women's peace organisation that has sought continuously, throughout two world wars, to work towards establishing the conditions necessary for a just and durable peace for all humanity. Gertrude Bussey, a professor of philosophy at Goucher College in the USA, was a vice-president of the WILPF in the 1950s and Margaret Tims was a member of the British Section. These authors highlight the organisation's work in international crises through international seminars to produce constructive proposals on the issues of the peaceful resolution, disarmament, children and refugees. After fifty years of working for world peace, the authors express despair concerning the willingness of governments to listen to the voices of the people:

The voice of the people is a clique, whom governments cannot afford to ignore, the voice of an informed, concerned and articulate public opinion united in the conviction that a common basis for self-interest exists for all humanity, has yet to make itself heard (Bussey & Tims, 1965, p. 247).

The aims and objectives of the WILPF as set out in its Constitution are to:

Facilitate by non-violent means, the social transformation under which would be realised, economic and political equality for all without discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, religion or any other grounds. The League sees as its ultimate goal the establishment of an international economic order founded on meeting the needs of all peoples and not on profit or privilege (WILPF pamphlet, n. d.).

In her memoirs, Greenwood (“Go Proudly, n. d., n. p.) writes about the establishment of the Charter for the UN and the lead in the decision-making of Jessie Street and Herbert Evatt. “Australia enters the community of nations, human rights and women’s status commissions are set up, the rule of justice on the horizon”. As the Cold War developed into the 1950s there was a rise in conservatism. “Protests begin, humanists, pacifists, freedom fighters...atomic warfare looms...the marches begin...the backlash breaks” (Greenwood, “Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.).

Given Perth’s isolation from the rest of the world, Greenwood obtained many of her radio interviews by keeping informed on international visitors passing through Fremantle wharf. When parliamentarian and pacifist, Doris Blackburn, arrived as a passenger on the liner, the *Strathmaver*, Greenwood (script, 1953, p. 4) seized the moment to interview her for *Woman to Woman*:

Doris Blackburn is the widow of the late Mr. Maurice Blackburn MHR; she contested his seat and held it for four years in the House of Representatives in Canberra on his death. She is president of the Australian section of the Women’s International League for Peace Freedom, a group founded in 1915 by Jane Addams, which has had two Nobel Peace Prize winners...one of the most interesting guests we have had on our session.

Jane Addams, first International Secretary of the WILPF, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. First International Secretary, Emily Green Balchs received it in 1946 and Alva Myrdal was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1982 for her work on the UN and Disarmament (Murray, 1995, p. 10).

Although each of the Sections has some autonomy, the WILPF has an International Executive Committee based in Geneva with membership in forty-four countries over five major regions of the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Africa and the Asia Pacific region. The Australian Section is active primarily on

issues in the Asia and Pacific region.

The WILPF worked closely with the League of Nations in the inter-war period until its demise. In 1948, shortly after the establishment of the UN in 1945 following World War II, the WILPF was accorded consultative status with the UN. This gave it permanent status with the ILO, the Economic and Social Council and of course, the Commission for the Status of Women (Greenwood, script, 1965, p. 3). In this capacity, the WILPF has constituted a significant lobbying force to the UN on peace, disarmament, environment, development and women's human rights issues.

- **Greenwood on disarmament**

Since the horrors of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the international executive of the WILPF has kept the issue of nuclear disarmament high on their agenda. When Greenwood came into contact with Elizabeth and Gordon McIntosh in the 1960s to protest against nuclear stockpiles as a consequence of the Cold War, there was little public awareness of the nuclear issue.

Elizabeth and Gordon McIntosh became members of the World Cooperation and Disarmament Movement and sponsored the visit to Perth of American double Nobel Prize-winner, Professor Linus Pauling. When Pauling received the 1962 Nobel Peace Prize, Greenwood (journal, 1963) stressed his influence on raising public awareness around the nuclear issue:

The award of the 1962 Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Linus Pauling, announced last week, has been widely seen as recognition of the effectiveness of his campaign against nuclear testing. Dr. Pauling would be the last to claim the credit for the test ban

treaty, but *The Times* said on October 11, 'there can be no denying that, as one of the world's most passionate and effective campaigners against testing, he helped create the climate of awareness and concern that impelled the world towards it'.

Elizabeth McIntosh handled press and media interviews for Pauling's visit and was contacted by Greenwood to arrange an interview with him for an article in *Peace and Freedom*. "I had of course heard of Irene through her excellent radio broadcasts but we did not meet until Linus Pauling's visit" (McIntosh, interview, Murray/McIntosh, 1998). She said the public meeting held at the University of WA attracted an overwhelming number of people from every section of the community generating an outstanding response. Through Pauling's visit and the protests against nuclear stockpiles foreshadowing the Vietnam War, Irene Greenwood, Elizabeth and Gordon McIntosh formed a long friendship working together as public peace protestors in Perth (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Gordon McIntosh leading an anti-nuclear demonstration in the streets of Perth, 1982. Permission to publish photograph courtesy Elizabeth McIntosh private collection.

Joan Williams, Elizabeth and Gordon McIntosh, among others, were the founders of People for Nuclear Disarmament in WA in the 1970s. "The threats of the Cold War turning into a hot war led a small group of us to form a branch of the Australian Peace Committee" (Williams, 1999, p. 28). The Australian Peace Committee had been active protesting against nuclear warships entering Western Australian waters, and recognised the need for a broader organisation when they formed People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND). "The PND was a one-issue body in which women like Jo Vallentine and Dee Margetts played an important role" (Williams, 1999, p. 29). Greenwood was a member.

The WILPF campaigned for over two years for a world disarmament petition which was presented at the first World Disarmament Conference held at the Salle de la Reformation in Geneva on 2 February, 1932 (Bussey & Tims, 1965, p.101). Of that eight million signatures presented at the opening ceremony, the WILPF collected six million (Foster, 1989). In an editorial, Greenwood (journal, 1965) reported on Australia's contribution to the 1931 Disarmament Petition:

Australia's contribution was estimated at 117,000 signatures, but some of them came from high officials in civic and military life. They included names of leaders of all political parties at the time, and of almost all members of the Federal Ministry, also that of the then Commander-in Chief of the Australian Imperial Forces, the late Sir John Monash.

The WILPF was one of almost eighty non-governmental organisations that set up an International Conference on Disarmament in Geneva in September 1962. In 1976 they sent a delegation to the World Congress on Women in Berlin with a petition calling on the UN General Assembly for a World Disarmament Conference. When the international body convened for its twentieth triennial

congress in Tokyo in August 1977 they had high hopes for a World Disarmament Conference convened by the UN. Instead, “they were resigned to the fact that it had now shrunk to a Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly” (Foster, 1989, p. 77). Representatives of the WILPF spoke at the first Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 and again at the Second Special Session on Disarmament in 1982. Following the 1931 World Disarmament Conference it took nearly forty years before the so-called Second World Disarmament Conference. It was a disappointment to peace groups when it was reduced to a UN Special Session on Disarmament.

Greenwood kept the issue of nuclear disarmament high on the local branch agenda. At the Annual General Meeting held on 28 March, 1963, secretary, Watts, reported on the expressed desire to see a demonstration such as a march through the city of Perth on Hiroshima Day to protest against the production and testing of nuclear weapons. The move was opposed by the Police Department who later, under lobbying pressure, gave their consent.

In an editorial for *Peace and Freedom*, Greenwood stressed that the peace and stability of the South-East Asia Indian Ocean region “depended largely on the economic and social wellbeing of its inhabitants...the money would be better spent on human wellbeing than on providing armaments” (Greenwood, journal, 1973). In her editorial, Greenwood stepped up the call for an authentic World Disarmament Conference.

We submitted that none of the international treaties, such as the Partial Test-Ban Treaty, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Sea-Bed Arms Control Treaty or the SALT Agreements had led to any actual disarmament, and in particular should support the calling of a World Disarmament Conference by UN.

There was growing concern for Western Australian peace groups over other chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction that were being used in the 1970s between Iran and Iraq:

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has been working against the development of Chemical and Biological Warfare since 1926. The Australian Section has set up a Committee against CBW... We would also like to support Britain's proposal for a total ban on all aspects of Chemical and Biological Warfare (Greenwood, 1973).

Murray (1995, p. 8) notes that the WILPF were amongst the leaders in the campaign by peace groups for nuclear and other forms of disarmament for convening a Women's Disarmament Conference at the UN in New York in 1975.

The primary objective of the WILPF has always been for nuclear and general disarmament as contemporary wars are fought with conventional weapons. Greenwood offered her explanations for why disarmament, per se, does not go far enough to establish the conditions for a lasting world peace. Commenting on a conference held by the International Section of the WILPF Greenwood (journal, 1963) explains:

The conference set out to examine the causes of war and to consider how conflicts could be resolved by peaceful methods by mediation, conciliation, arbitration and international law... War was examined as a behavioural problem and not only as a political and moral problem. Conflict, violence and aggression play an important part in human behaviour.

Stressing the need to address violence and aggression as human behavioural patterns, Greenwood expressed cynicism about the political will of governments to disarm. She pointed up what was perceived as the inadequacy of the Disarmament proposal when UN Special Sessions decisions are left solely in the hands of governments; the five nuclear powers. Alva Myrdal (quoted by Greenwood, journal, 1963) announced that, "Neither of the superpowers had

seriously tried to achieve disarmament, and such partial bans as had been agreed were virtually worthless in halting the arms race”.

Kay Camp (quoted in Greenwood, 1965) was elected Special Disarmament Adviser to the USA governmental delegation at the first UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1978. She states “it was acknowledged by consensus that humanity is confronted with a choice; either to proceed to disarmament or face annihilation...we must face the impossibility of achieving development or equality without a climate of peace”. When Camp and others called for disarmament in the ‘World Plan of Action’, “several influential government delegations, headed by the US, insisted that such matters would ‘politicise’ the decade” (Foster, 1989, p. 75).

Keith Suter (1985, p.182) records the history of the UN and Disarmament to analyse both the 1978 and 1982 UN General Assembly Special Sessions on Disarmament. “The main practical achievement of the 1978 Session...was the upgrading of the UN disarmament machinery...It had put disarmament again high up on the international agenda” (Suter, 1985, pp. 39, 42), but describes the 1982 Special Session as a lost opportunity for achieving a disarmament breakthrough. The Final Document of the 1978 Special Session established the framework for the second Session, but “overall it was a great disappointment” (Suter, 1985, p. 56). Like Gordon McIntosh, Suter is one of the few male members of the WILPF. He has held executive positions with the UNAA at the State and federal level and is on the executive of the World Federation of UN Associations. Suter (1992, pp. 159-160) explains why disarmament is only one aspect for establishing the conditions for world peace:

No major nation can be expected to disarm generally if it means

moving into a security vacuum. Consequently, there has to be simultaneous attention to effective mechanisms of conflict resolution and peaceful change...it may well be the case that no substantial disarmament measures will be implemented until there is in operation an initial, but effective, system of Conflict Resolution for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The weapons industry is the biggest industry in the world next to oil. The clear link between disarmament and security means that arms control cannot be divorced from international confidence and mutual trust. Peace groups Australia wide were active in collecting the more than 300-thousand signatures from Australia. Irene Greenwood is seen with Keith Suter collecting signatures at the annual peace demonstration on the Esplanade in Perth (Figure 10).

In response to the concerns of organised peace groups and other non-governmental organisations and human rights groups, the UN General Assembly convened its Second Special Session on Disarmament in June 1982. One million people marched from the UN building to Central Park in New York City to call for a nuclear freeze, cuts in military budgets and nuclear disarmament (Foster, 1989, p. 87). The WILPF presented a petition on control of chemical weapons to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva (Foster, 1989). In 1982, Suter presented the disarmament petition of 300,000 signatures from Australia collected over two years (Suter, 1983, p. 57) at the UN in New York, supported by the late Elizabeth Mattick, president of the NSW branch of the WILPF and a vice-president of the Australian Section of the WILPF and active with the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the UNAA. On the official government delegation, in 1982, Gordon McIntosh, with Elizabeth McIntosh, travelled to New York to support the anti-nuclear campaigns. While highly vocal through the media,

Greenwood did not attend either of the UN Special Sessions on Disarmament, but she passionately supported the cause in attempts to mobilise public opinion.



Figure 10. Irene Greenwood with Dr. Keith Suter at the Annual Peace Demonstration on the Esplanade in Perth on Palm Sunday 1982. Permission to publish photograph courtesy Grant Stone, Curator, the Irene Greenwood Collection.

In chorus with the peace organisations with whom she was active, Greenwood campaigned against the presence of American military bases in Australia to voice

her opposition to the Australian Government's policy to host American bases on Australian soil, which she perceived as a threat to Australia's security.

- **Indian Ocean Zone of Peace**

Irene Greenwood reported for *Peace and Freedom* (Greenwood, journal, 1973) on national secretary, Margaret Holmes' trip to Canberra to give evidence to a Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence concerning their opposition to an Omega Navigational Installation in Australia associated with American nuclear weapons systems. The invitation to give this evidence followed a campaign by the NSW branch that included submissions to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence and the delegates to the ALP Federal Conference:

The second of these submissions dealt with the effect of foreign military installations on Australia's strategic situation in the South-East Asia/Indian Ocean region where we have welcomed the ASEAN Declaration of South-East Asia as a Zone of Peace and neutrality and the Sri Lanka proposal that the Indian Ocean be a Zone of Peace (Greenwood, journal, 1973).

Gamini Keerawella (1992, p. 107), University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, analysed patterns of conflict in the Indian Ocean Region two decades after the General Assembly of the UN endorsed the Indian Ocean Peace Zone (IOPZ) Resolution:

The IOPZ Resolution presented by Sri Lanka has been a regular item on the UN agenda and the General Assembly has been approving the Resolution annually with a sweeping Third World majority. However, no concrete steps have been taken so far to implement this resolution...the UN ad hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean has failed...as requested by the UN Resolution 31/88 of 1976.

Stressing the escalating militarisation of the Indian Ocean region, Keerawella argued that the failure to implement the resolution was due to its conceptual weakness, conceived in terms of the removal of military installations of superpower rivalry. He argued, “the collective effort of the Indian Ocean littoral states...has failed at least to check, if not stop, the increasing militarisation of the Indian Ocean” (Keerawella, 1992, p. 107).

Professor Elise Boulding evaluated and reviewed the practical implementation of the UN IOPZ Resolution and the problematic of the superpowers military activities in the Indian Ocean region. She gave the example of her home town in Boulder, Colorado, USA, of a citizen’s initiative that Boulder, should be declared a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone where the five nuclear powers were asked to sign supporting protocols:

It is precisely the diversity of actors and meanings that give the Zone of Peace Movement its strength, and that each set of actors has a special contribution to make to the longer term process of eliminating nuclear deterrence as a Centrepiece of Great Power security policy, and replacing it with a broader-based common security policy addressing the needs of all states (Boulding, 1992, p. 75).

As Australia hosts USA military installations, Greenwood (journal, 1973) states the obvious that, “In any major confrontation between the USA and any other nuclear power, the presence of American bases in Australia would draw Australia into the arena”.

The WILPF was the first peace organisation to protest publicly against nuclear tests at Monte Bello and against the Woomera Rocket Range where long-range missiles were tested in the Australian outback (Murray, 1995, p.15). A pictorial showcase in the foyer of *The West Australian* in Perth outlines the story of an expedition undertaken by that newspaper and the *Daily News* to cover

Britain's first atomic explosion in October 1952. Britain was instrumental in the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

On April 16 1952, two royal navy supply and tank landing ships steamed into Fremantle Harbour. A few days later, the ships slipped away out of Fremantle and headed north. Then – and only then did West Australians themselves learn that for two years, Britain had been preparing to hold her atomic test at the sprawling, desolate, uninhabited Monte Bello Islands (Photographic display, *The West Australian*, n. d.).

Protesting against the possibility of the establishment of a Polaris Missile Base on the Western Australian North West Coast and the resumption of nuclear tests kept the Western Australian branch of the WILPF highly active in Perth in the 1960s (WILPF Minutes, 1962). The Sri Lankan Section of the WILPF, supported by the Western Australian branch, pressed the USA to shut down bases in the Indian Ocean region (Foster, 1989, p. 86), to make the Indian Ocean a 'Zone of Peace'.

Owing to Perth's geographical isolation and its location in the Indian Ocean region, security concerns differ strategically between the east and west coasts of Australia. The Australian Section is focused on the Asia and Pacific region and the Western Australian branch focused its energies primarily on the Indian Ocean zone. The Australian Section supported the New Zealand Section of the WILPF campaigns to protest against nuclear tests in the Pacific region. In 1976, the New Zealand Section took the initiative of sending two thousand letters to individual French citizens, cautioning them against their government's continued nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean (Foster, 1989, p. 76). As anti-nuclear protests developed and the number of demonstrations increased, the issue overshadowing the concerns of the Australian Section of the WILPF was the

Vietnam War. The anti-Vietnam War protests brought Irene Greenwood, then in her sixties, out onto the streets as a public peace protester.

- **Project Vietnam**

As an international delegate at the meeting of the UN Economic and Social Council in Geneva in 1965, Greenwood (“Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.) identified the Vietnam War as the most pressing issue for peace groups in America and Australia:

Europe, America and the powers are caught in International Justice; the W.I.L.P.F assembles a meeting where 50 years previous they joined hands with women of the warring nations to cry HALT. Europe, America and the powers are caught up in a new arena, Vietnam. The military-industrial complex has seized control and against power and might, struggle seems hopeless.

In an article for *Peace and Freedom* Greenwood (journal, 1965) reported on the Australian Government policy on the Vietnam War to criticise the media:

The Australian Government endorses unquestioningly the policy of the United States’ Administration, and supplies South Vietnam with military advisers, combat troops, aircraft, and barbed wire. The main newspapers, TV channels and radio stations follow the same line and are believed by most people. The Australian Section has therefore devoted itself to telling the truth about Vietnam, and urging those who hear and believe to express their views to the policy-makers.

The Australian Section was already protesting about American activities in Vietnam before they started their campaigns against conscription and the enlistment of Australian troops for what they termed ‘America’s war’. They were prepared when Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced the Australian Government’s intention to commit troops in the belief that, Australian service

men were going to stop the downward thrust of China. Betty Daly-King (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000) was actively engaged in protests with Greenwood during the Vietnam War:

WA had reversed the political scene by the 1969 elections, as against the rest of the country, which did not do so until the elections of 1972. The ALP also, under the leadership of Arthur Caldwell, opposed the troop commitment right from the start. We protested against the unjust way the Conscription Act worked with numbers coming up in a lottery barrel. It was all part of the protest of the injustice and folly of it all.

In 1964, with Australian troops set to join the Vietnam War, the Australian Section placed two advertisements in the *Australian* urging opposition to Australian involvement believing that this was an 'illegal war'. When the USA first intervened in Vietnam, Greenwood was well established as national editor of *Peace and Freedom* and publishing widely through newspapers on the Vietnam issue. She joined chorus with her colleagues in the women's peace movement in WA to stop the war and 'save our sons'.

- **Save our sons**

Elizabeth McIntosh "could have screamed at the feeling of injustice of the ballot system" (McIntosh, interview, Murray/McIntosh, 1998). She had two young sons growing up and felt it even stronger, "not because I felt angry with my sons joining up, but about everybody's sons and I was being turned away by people in society who couldn't face it". Joan Williams (1999, p. 28) said, "Save Our Sons organisation...was among the first to hold anti-war demonstrations". Williams worked closely with Greenwood in the Vietnam protests. During the Vietnam protests women would be arrested if they carried banners, so they wore anti-

slogan aprons, but were still charged. “When the charge was overturned by the high court, it opened the way for the gutsy T-shirt slogans of later days” (Williams, 1999, p. 28).

“The leaders of the Vietnam Moratorium Movement in WA were the United Nations Associations of Australia’s Cyril Gare, a Quaker pacifist and Annette Aarons of the Communist Party” (Williams, 1993, p. 237). Jim Cairns federal ALP Member of Parliament took a leading role to protest the decision of the Menzies Government who reintroduced conscription in 1965 by a birth-date lottery of twenty year olds:

Realise what is being done in your name and for what you are responsible. Since Australian troops were sent to Vietnam, nearly one million Vietnamese, mainly civilians, have been killed... Vietnam bombed and burnt half-way back to the Stone Age... Many people in Australia... are concerned that the war must stop. They have a right to demonstrate. (Cairns quoted in Williams, 1993, p. 238)

Greenwood’s son, Philip, was in his forties at the time of the ballot for conscription and was not vulnerable for draft. When the ballot for conscription was first introduced, Joan Williams was not initially concerned about her sons being called up. One son, a journalist with *The West Australian* “hadn’t distinguished himself in the Modern School cadets” (Williams, 1993, p. 224) and the other son was then too young for the ballot. “How could the war possibly last long enough for him to be conscripted?” (1993, p. 224). But by 1971 he was amongst the twenty year olds whose name was drawn from the ballot making him liable for automatic conscription. “He ignored the notice, and... continued in demonstrations” (Williams, 1993, p. 242). Joan Williams’ husband, Vic, was at the forefront of the anti-conscription campaign when the ALP distributed leaflets to ‘Burn the Draft Card’ urging young men to resist by conscientious objection to

compulsory conscription by the ballot system. Williams portrays the tragedy of Vietnam in her report that, “a communist leaflet reprinted a media photo of a US serviceman with a Vietnamese prisoner, a child of seven or eight years old, bound and blindfolded” (Williams, 1993, p. 224).

While Australian peace groups demonstrated in large numbers against Australia’s participation in the killing in Vietnam, the USA Section made ‘Project Vietnam’ a priority. They joined other peace leaders in mobilising an estimated ten million Americans in various anti-war activities on Vietnam Moratorium Day on 15 October, 1969 (Foster, 1989). The USA Section sent a letter to president, Richard Nixon, voicing their opposition to American intervention in Vietnam (Foster, 1989, p. 51). Similarly, the Vietnam Moratorium campaign launched in Sydney in 1969, “transformed the war into a mass movement where millions of Australians voiced their protest that they would not Go All the Way with LBJ” (Williams, 1993, p. 224) as espoused by Liberal Prime Minister, Harold Holt. “John Gorton did nothing to stop the war” (Williams, 1993, p. 224). Members of the NSW branch of the WILPF presented a letter to the American vice-president, Hubert Humphrey when he and his wife visited Australia in February 1966. Members of the American Section of the WILPF wrote to the American president directly:

What can we do to stop the war? We can say that we do not win peoples’ affection nor make them appreciate our way of life by bombing crops, dams, villages, schools, hospitals, and facilities they have laboured so hard to produce; that we want our sons taught to serve their fellow men, not to kill them; that we want our tax money used for productive development, not destruction; that hungry children need bread, not bombs; and with thousands of American clergy, we can say, ‘Mr. President, for God’s sake, stop the war!’ (Foster, 1989, p. 35).

Greenwood (journal, 1966) expresses her disappointment with Australian

Liberal Government policy on Vietnam:

Although the result of the Federal elections is a bitter disappointment to many of us, returning as it does a Government pledged to conscription and to the maintenance and even escalation of the Vietnam War, that does not absolve us from further action along our well tried lines of dissent, demonstration, and representation of our point of view to our Government. 'Speak Truth to Power' is still good advice.

'Speak Truth to Power' is the term Greenwood used in a telegram to Patricia Giles at the time of her election to the Senate. But speaking 'Truth to Power' was often received with hostile opposition as McIntosh (interview, Murray/McIntosh, 1998) explains:

Our opposition to conscription of young men to the armed forces further compounded Australia's position in the eyes of society, protestors were considered unpatriotic – letting down the side. The early marches in protest were extremely difficult to participate in, as it was not unusual to be spat upon and abused verbally for our actions.

Greenwood was highly vocal at the many public meetings held by the ALP to protest against the Menzies' Government policy on Vietnam (WILPF, Minutes, 1966) and the Liberal policies endorsed by Harold Holt and John Gorton. Margaret Holmes is reported as "a mother of six, wearing a black veil to protest against Robert Menzies' decision to involve Australia in Vietnam" ("Proud to be a peacenik", 1990).

The 'Project Vietnam' campaign developed in cooperation with the UNAA, the ALP, the churches and the Humanist Society, supported by many leading unionists to campaign against introduction of the move to ballot young men for conscription. The Western Australian branch of the WILPF was a signatory in a combined strategy for the various groups supporting the anti

Vietnam campaign. A major strategy was to voice concerns through the media. An expensive full-page article was published in the *Sunday Times* (n. d.). At its monthly meeting held on 13 June, 1966, the branch reported on the press campaign based on a book *War and Peace* to focus on a chapter entitled 'Possibilities for a Settlement':

The United Nations itself would in normal circumstances be the natural springboard for the launching of negotiations; the overseeing of a cease-fire; the policing of elections and the carrying on necessary peacekeeping activities. Unfortunately in this case the United Nations is not acceptable as a mediating body to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to the National Liberation Front, or to the Peoples Republic of China (WILPF Minutes, 1966).

Objectors to the Vietnam War stressed the need for China to become a member of the UN as neither Hanoi nor Peking were members during the time of the Vietnam War. Greenwood (journal, 1965) stressed "the people of Vietnam won their independence from the French in 1954 and should be allowed to manage their own affairs". Arguing that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 established the basis for independence, Greenwood reported on her concerns that the line of military demarcation between North and South Vietnam be provisional. She called for free general elections by secret ballot. "We deplore the war in Vietnam, especially the use of torture, napalm and phosphorous bombs and toxic acids" (Greenwood, journal, 1965). Greenwood decried the Australian Government's support for American intervention in South Vietnam, urging members of the WILPF to register protests to the Minister for External Affairs, Parliament House, in Canberra.

The Australian and New Zealand Sections called for an immediate end to the war with more radical calls for “Out Now” and “Set the Date” (Foster, 1989, p. 36). But not until the federal election of the ALP under Gough Whitlam in 1972, were Australian troops finally withdrawn from Vietnam. Resistance against military power and might “seemed hopeless” in 1965, but by the early 1970s Greenwood (“Go Proudly”, n. d., n. p.) claims victory for social protest to stress the significance of non-violent strategies:

The protests went on until victory came with withdrawal. Minorities, women among them, had learned the strategies and the techniques on non-violent struggle against tyranny, and the value of political action, which bore some fruit in the 1970s.

As editor of *Peace and Freedom*, Greenwood kept the national membership informed of the issues, while always seeking the wider audience to impact upon the broader public mind. She understood the power of the media to transmit political messages and she sought to educate the masses and to help shape and influence public opinion on the peace issues. “Irene’s contribution was for her great capacity to write letters to the newspapers and take up questions that needed to be taken up on the injustices of the Vietnam War” (Williams, interview, Murray/Williams, 2000). According to Williams, Greenwood read the papers thoroughly every day, and then wrote to the editors. Without a car, she got a bus and delivered her articles personally to *The West Australian* office in Perth.

To journalists, typically, conflict means a story. As a broadcaster, Greenwood operated in a climate where violence was, and is still, the media’s currency, both in broadcasting and in structure. In her pursuit for truth and justice, Greenwood’s broadcasts and press reports often focused on solutions for the problems on which she was reporting. As an educator, who consciously adopted a

mediation intervention, it is interpreted that Greenwood sought to present an alternative to the mainstream media. “The mass media does little to help and much to hinder the causes of peace” (Greenwood, journal 1972).

Australians are frequently given biased and slanted reports, articles and press news in their daily newspapers that appear to reflect the official policy of governments or the large financial interests which control newspapers (Greenwood, journal, 1973).

Greenwood understood the tensions and politics of media ownership in Australia. She understood its power of communications, through modern technology and particularly television, to shape images and opinions through the visual media. She recognised that control of information has always enabled the rich and powerful to develop and increase their power. As an internationalist, and a broadcaster, Greenwood understood the existing media structure of transnational corporations where ideas and information are packaged and sold like commercial products and where links exist between media organisations and the military industry.

Greenwood also understood the power of media for bringing positive change. “The mass media of communications comes in for so much criticism and is even blamed for many of the evils of society, but it is well sometimes to praise” (Greenwood, journal, 1966). Greenwood cites a newspaper report to highlight some of the major principles underpinning a conflict-resolving media, that is, where the media itself assumes a mediating role to contribute to solving, rather than exacerbating the problem. A conflict-resolving approach does not lay blame on any one side. It seeks solutions that are honourable to either side, yet is reasonable in terms of practical politics:

It advances cool, rational, and thoughtful considerations about actions that could be taken to enable an armistice to be

concluded as a prelude to a political solution guaranteed and underwritten by the United Nations (Greenwood, journal, 1966).

In 1966, Greenwood praised the ABC for its coverage of the Vietnam issue to note; “There are facts which are being publicised now to prove that the WILPF has been pursuing a policy of truth and not propaganda in its stand on these issues” (WILPF Minutes, 1966). Elsewhere, Greenwood (journal, 1966) applauds the network chiefs of the ABC and the commercial media:

It is a refreshing change to be able to commend the managements of the various Television Channels, whether commercial or Commission. They deserve congratulations for the splendid coverage of current world events. Such topics as conscription, the war in Vietnam and political implications of recent public demonstrations, have received objective treatment in the best traditions of a country that believes in freedom of discussion, of association and of the media of mass communications.

Greenwood (1966) reported to the WILPF meeting about a television program produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation titled *The Mills of the Gods* that “was a montage of horrific scenes from Vietnam. The feature contained what can only be described as terrifying eye-witness evidence of the brutality of the bombings by waves of American heavy bombers using artillery and napalm simultaneously”. Praise for reporting the ‘truth’ on Vietnam was a feature program titled *Vietnam in Perspective* produced by Columbia Broadcasting Corporation. “America’s military intervention in Vietnam is not warranted and weight of evidence is proving this” (Greenwood, journal, 1966). The program featured clips from the Congressional hearings on China supporting the contentions of those opponents of American presence in Vietnam that, “the claim that China had southward territorial aggressive intentions was invalid” (Greenwood, 1966).

So Irene Greenwood protested against the Vietnam War, 'America's war', an 'illegal war', a 'dirty war', a war that neither the USA nor Australia had any business to be involved in. The Indonesian take-over of East Timor in the 1970s engaged the concerns of the Australian Section of the WILPF leading to concerted campaigns for the self-determination for the people of East Timor.

- **Greenwood on East Timor**

Following the massacre in Dili of East Timorese students by the Indonesian military in 1975, the Australian Section of the WILPF lobbied for an end to the violence and a call for UN intervention:

The people of East Timor have been sacrificed on the altar of callous indifference, expediency, and power politics. The only concrete gesture has come from Australian trade union boycotts of Indonesia, but these have only been a gesture. We should all hide our heads in shame (Greenwood, journal, 1976).

Greenwood (journal, 1976) outlined the problem that stalled UN intervention in the 1970s:

The East Timorese had been turned into a nation of refugees, that a UN special investigator was unable to visit Indonesian-held areas and that every imaginable difficulty was placed in the way of providing transport for him to visit Fretelin...Both Australia and Indonesia appear to have conspired to prevent the UN investigator from finding a way of visiting Fretelin-held territory.

Greenwood (journal, 1976) reported that the Australian Government commandeered the only link with the Fretelin, the East Timorese Resistance Movement. Then Secretary-General of the International Executive of the WILPF, Edith Ballantyne (quoted in Greenwood, 1976) responded to the Section Report

from Australia with a letter to Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the UN:

The WILPF is gravely concerned over the situation in East Timor. Reports from our Australian Section and recent reports in the press indicate that interference by the Indonesian Government, backed by military action, have effectively made it impossible for the population of East Timor to determine its own future. We appeal to you to use your high office to help bring about conditions in which the people concerned will be enabled to determine their future freely.

Australian national president, Evelyn Rothfield, met Kurt Waldheim during his short stay in Sydney. “She was able to present a letter expressing the Section’s wish for a UN-sponsored act of self-determination for the people of East Timor” (Greenwood, 1976). The NSW branch wrote to the Indonesian Ambassador. Margaret Holmes telegraphed the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrew Peacock urging Australian action. A reply from Peacock’s private secretary (1976) (quoted in Greenwood, 1976) states:

Mr. Peacock has asked me to confirm that the Australian government has urged the withdrawal of Indonesian forces and a genuine act of self-determination. Government policy also supports a cessation of hostilities, and end to the bloodshed and the resumption of humanitarian aid through the International Red Cross. The Government will continue its efforts towards these ends.

Elizabeth and Gordon McIntosh, are currently involved in the process of the reconstruction of East Timor. Recent figures attested to by Gordon McIntosh (Personal Conversation, 2001) indicate that, “a third of the East Timorese people were wiped out”. A former ALP Senator in the Whitlam Government, Gordon McIntosh, a member of the WILPF, was one of five federal Members of Parliament who visited East Timor under the Whitlam Labor Government in 1975 to observe for themselves the preparations for an Act of Self-Determination for East Timor. In 1982 he addressed the UN Decolonisation Committee at the UN

supporting the case for East Timor as a member of the federal delegation visiting Indonesia. He submitted a minority vote of one, on the East Timor Section of the visit, disagreeing with the nature of the East Timor Section of the report, as he believed it led to misleading conclusions (Murray, 1995, p. 18). In the same year as Chairperson of the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, McIntosh tabled the *Report on Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*. In 1992, he sailed on the *Lusitania Expresso*, the 'peace ship' from Darwin to East Timor when they were turned back by the Indonesian military.

According to Elizabeth McIntosh (interview, Murray/McIntosh, 1998), Greenwood was a regular visitor to Gordon McIntosh's parliamentary offices and was often seated at his desk when he returned from Senate meetings in Canberra.

- **Pacifism and non-violent protest**

In seeking insights into Greenwood's perspectives of peace, it is necessary to distinguish between 'pacifism' and the feminist ethic of 'non-violence'. Greenwood, an internationalist and political strategist in her work for peace was passionately committed to UN intervention. Until her death she proclaimed herself to be a 'pacifist', but it is more accurate, theoretically, to portray her as an advocate for non-violence. For some women peace activists, the concept of 'pacifism' is quite dangerous.

Tracing the history of the WILPF in Australia it is clear that there is a connection between feminism, pacifism and peace. Vida Goldstein and Eleanor

May Moore, held executive positions with the founding of the WILPF in Australia, and both were strictly pacifist activists. They attended a Congress in Zurich in 1919, and effectively formed the WILPF in Australia. Goldstein was the first international president and Moore was the first national secretary. Moore's peace activism was overshadowed by Goldstein's public political profile. Goldstein achieved a prominent place in Australian history for being the first woman to stand as a candidate for a parliamentary seat in 1903 as a suffragist. She stood as an independent candidate five times between 1903 and 1917, but was never elected. She formed her own Women's Federal Political Association to establish a suffrage society in that State, and was author of the *Woman Voter* in the 1890s (Summers, 1994, pp. 396, 411).

Goldstein led the militantly anti-war Women's Peace Army (WPA) in Victoria, and was strictly a pacifist, opposing the use of force under any conditions. Summers (1994, p. 428) exemplifies 'God's Police' in political context to explain the penalty for pacifist activism:

Vida Goldstein...and the other members of the Women's Peace Army were brave and determined fighters who all endured abuse and insult, and some of whom, once the anti-conscription campaign unfurled in all its vitriolic civil war like fury, were imprisoned for their fight against war.

Moore's pacifism was established with the SIP under the leadership of the Reverend Dr. Charles Strong of the Australian Church, a breakaway from the Presbyterian Church. Strong was an absolute pacifist. He had been at the forefront of women's suffrage in Victoria, and believed "it was not merely the right, but the responsibility of women to have a say on matters of war and peace" (Saunders, 1993, p. 80). Strong, a veteran in the cause of peace, believed that women should have their own society where their influence would be important, based on his

motto, “Justice, Friendship and Arbitration” (Vroland, journal, 1965). Strong believed that women’s political emancipation was a prerequisite for world peace. As a pacifist, Moore could not justify the use of force under any conditions, even against the fascism of Adolf Hitler. Saunders (1993, p. 216) documents Moore’s distancing from the communist-led International Peace Campaign in the 1930s, believing they were more interested in Russia than in peace, describing the radicals in the peace movement as “political opportunists”. Moore rejected the idea of joint military action, collective security and economic boycotts, believing that sanctions were provocative and likely to lead to war, while joint military action was war itself. She criticised the Treaty of Versailles, believing that it sowed the seeds for future wars (Saunders, 1983 cited in Murray, 1995, p. 14).

Peace activists on the political left thought that absolute pacifism was quite dangerous. Patricia Giles (1999, p. 4) was aware of the fact that Greenwood always described herself as a pacifist, “a word that had a lot of different interpretations over the years, so my impression of her was not of a ‘turn the other cheek’ type of pacifist at all”. In an article co-authored with Sarah Dowse, *Women in Warrior Society* (1984), Giles makes the important distinction between pacifism and non-violent protest to stress that the word ‘pacifist’ is “too easily misconstrued with passivity, or inaction”. Dowse was involved in preparations for the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975, which Giles also attended. Both followed up with work on a Women’s Advisory Working Party whose task was to recommend ways that women might be ensured of full and equal participation in political life. They voice their opposition to the values that have produced past wars:

Women’s pacifism is not a new thing. Women have always

played an important part in movements for peace. But there has been a risk for women in this, for it has been far too easy to mistake pacifism for passivity. There seems little doubt that the women's campaign (against rape) has changed the nature of Anzac Day, activating a growing number of people opposed to the glorification of war and the ideology expressed in the traditional celebrations (Dowse & Giles, 1984, pp. 67-68).

'Passivity' is not a word that can be applied to Greenwood's provocative direct political action protests. But nor is the word 'pacifist'. As I have argued, throughout her peace activism, Greenwood sought pacific solutions to war but she did not oppose military action as a form of legitimate defence in a 'just' war. She supported sex equality in the military channels when in the interests of justice, and against aggression, it is necessary to fight for peace.

Since its inception there has been division within the WILPF between pacifist, reformist and socialist peace activists. During the 1930s, in the period leading up to World War II, the WILPF managed to avoid a split by allowing individual Sections a large degree of autonomy. Marx and Tolstoy who influenced intellectuals worldwide towards more progressive social thought and action inspired many members of the socialist arm of the WILPF:

From its inception the League had never called itself a pacifist organisation, though many WILPF women were and are strict pacifists. Some of its members had always felt that use of force in the cause of social justice should not be condemned... WILPF had consistently counselled against violence from any side (Foster, 1989, p. 21).

Greenwood's feminist ideas were associated with those of many Quaker women who, like her mother, Mary Driver, an Anglican/Protestant were absolute pacifists. These women could not condone the use of violence under any terms, even against Hitler's fascism. The WILPF has persistently challenged its relationship to feminism and the ethic of non-violence and historically counselled

against violence to seek peaceful solutions. In the 1930s, the WILPF actively supported Mohandas (known as the Mahatma, 'a great soul') Gandhi's non-violent struggle for independence from British rule of India. Since the 1920s Gandhi involved huge numbers of Indian women in the struggle for independence, granted in 1947. After independence, the new Indian Constitution formally recognised women's rights by stating that all people were equal before the law and that there should be no discrimination on the grounds of sex (Stearman, 1999, p. 29). Since then WILPF have organised workshops and educational materials that promote the Gandhian model of non-violent resistance using direct action tactics as the alternative to violent methods (Murray, 1995; Foster, 1989; Bussey & Tims, 1965). Greenwood's broadcast in 1940, 'Women of India' testifies to the Gandhian model. Introducing the program, Greenwood (script, 1940, p. 1) brings her listeners a glimpse of India's women, seen through Indian women's eyes. The broadcast sets the tone for the promotion of the Gandhian model of non-violent protest, emphasising Gandhi's gender sensitivity:

However little may be known of India, one name stands out pre-eminently, to be recognised by even the least informed person...the name of Mahatma Gandhi, great teacher, great leader, great soul. Last year he sent his message to his country's womanhood. Women alone can emancipate themselves – not men. If women will it, they can help in the fulfilment of India's destiny. They can bring about Hindu - Muslim unity. They can abolish purdah. They can drive away the ghosts of untouchability.

Greenwood (interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983) talked about the film *The Making of Gandhi* to voice her opposition to colonial oppression:

Now if ever there was a poem, a volume, a whole statement against colonial oppression and exploitation, it was Gandhi and the camera swings wide to give most magnificent pictures which impress themselves, not only on the retina of the eye, but on the mind. So that at times I found myself trembling because I could

see the exploitation of India for wealth. It was translated into jewels and gold and emeralds of the colonial power... the people living in abject poverty.

With the spotlight on India, Greenwood expounds on the exploitation of the people in India contrasted with the palaces of the government occupying power to depict the opulence of the Raj and the huge gap between rich and poor. She was immensely proud that several women from the WILPF received credits for providing supporting research materials to the making of the film, notably, Shoshila Nihal, then Indian Minister for Health who hosted Greenwood's brief visit to India in 1965 when the India and Pakistani war broke out:

As a Minister for Health, she had no money to take tourists like me around. The trains were all taken off with the transportation of refugees... The money was allocated for the wounded and medicines were in short supply and Shoshila Nihal was one of those who gave advice and received a credit in this very fabulous film (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood, 1983).

In this interview, Greenwood stressed that war and peace are the paramount issues:

Because everything points so far as I am concerned ultimately to the whole question of war and peace. War is a matter of settling disputes or peaceful negotiation and in that regard of course we studied the methods of Ghandi in the WILPF. We had many lectures and many papers were produced at international conferences (Greenwood, interview, Stone/Greenwood).

Greenwood quoted international president, Emily Greene Balch's submission to the Executive on 'Governmental non-cooperation' to present a plan for non-violent resistance along Ghandian lines. She continued to urge for non-violent alternatives in her report on a workshop conducted by the Queensland branch where violent situations and non-violent options were discussed in terms of Hiroshima, East Timor and Northern Ireland:

Oppression, hunger and racial discrimination were described as

‘violence’. To eliminate this violence, the basic structure and economic fabric of society need to be changed... South Africa was cited. Nowhere had an oppressed majority established such a long record of patient non-violent action to bring about changed conditions as had the black and coloured population of South Africa; and nowhere had there been such vicious resistance to change as that of the white minority (Balch quoted in Greenwood, journal, 1977).

On return from Greenwood’s only overseas trip in 1965, while in India, she established contacts with Indian women such as Vijaya Pandit, sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the Republic of India (Watts, interview, Murray/Watts, 2000). Pandit was foundation member of the WILPF in India. While State president of the WILPF, Greenwood hosted her Perth tour.

- **The meanings of peace**

Exploring Greenwood’s perspectives of peace, it is understood that through the UNAA and the WILPF, she addressed violence in its varying forms of oppression, exploitation, rape, torture, cruelty, and sex discrimination. She understood perfectly well, through her activism with Prichard and others the implications of continued weapon’s production, weapons testing and weapons sales. She understood the military industrial complex. Women’s work for peace is ignored in history books, because the emphasis has usually been on battle and wars fought by men. Greenwood (journal, 1976) explains that:

The women and children who survived wars had to keep the domestic affairs of the country going, and patch up the men and the country again. Women are really the protectors of men and of peace yet we are often led to believe that it is the men who are the protectors, and that they have won or lost a war. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Greenwood understood the profit motive of arms manufacturers and the crime, greed and corruption of the arms trade, as she was informed by Prichard's booklet in 1937, *Who Wants War?* Basing her figures on military expenditure on 1976 figures, Greenwood (journal, 1975) showed an increase in defence spending of seventeen percent more than the previous year at an estimated \$2, 178 million. "On a world scale nations of the world spent \$200, 000 billion annually on arms and \$25 billion dollars a year is spent worldwide for military research and development". On the other hand, it was reported "about \$4 million per year is spent on medical research when 230 million children were either starving or suffering from malnutrition". As well, throughout the world, the amount spent on training the average soldier is seventy-six times the amount spent on educating the average child:

Last year, the US Government sold (US) 9,500 million dollars worth of military equipment in 71 countries. The total value of American arms exports was nearly double that of her nearest competitor, the Soviet Union and nearly half the arms deals around the world (Greenwood, journal, 1975).

Recounting the influence of Prichard on her peace activism, Joan Williams concedes, "If I had studied her booklet *Who Wants War?* I would have saved myself agonising years of searching for the causes of war" (Williams, 1993, p. 65). Greenwood stressed throughout her editorship of *Peace and Freedom* the need for governments to commit to the conversion of military expenditures to meeting civilian needs. "The economic disadvantages of warfare reflect on women where of the world's 800 million illiterates, 500 million are women" (Greenwood, journal, 1975).

'Peace' defined by its understandings of the WILPF requires recognition of war as a cultural system. Daly-King (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000)

explains that peace is a meaningless term unless it addresses the problem of structural violence, that is, situations where there may be threats, oppression and repression, inequalities and injustices, but without open physical violence or war. Global violence and violence at a national and regional level, whether institutionalised and sanctioned by governments (structural violence), or endemic and culturally acceptable, always impact on women worldwide. In modern warfare you have a better chance of being killed in a war if you are women or a child than if you are a soldier. The sexed nature of warfare and war talk has been well documented now (Pettman, 1996; Seifert, 1993; Murray, 1995; Foster, 1989) but it begs new definitions of security to take seriously women's experience of violence and rape to focus upon their everyday bodily and psychological pain.

Real peace (personal security) means much more than the absence of war. Peace is not just something determined by governments. The inter-related issues of social justice, peace and disarmament, environment and development and equality of women's human rights issues are so diverse that the WILPF has set up Special Committees to deal with the complex range of issues. Phyllis Wild was branch representative on the Equal Pay Committee in the 1950s. Betty Daly-King and Pattie Watts were two of the branch representatives of the UNAA. Bernice (Bern) Ranford "was engaged in street protests, writing letters to the paper and networking locally, nationally and internationally, writing to WILPF members around the world" (Hopkins, 1999, p. 83). Despite the hurtful rebukes she suffered "even to being called a communist", Hopkins captures something of the spirit that spurred the West Australian peace activists in the 1940s in their understandings of peace as she quotes Ranford, ridiculed by family and friends for her dedication to peace:

I don't care what they call me – I am what I am – no one can hurt me – you can kill me but you can't destroy my character, my thoughts, or my dedication – it doesn't matter what you do, you can't really hurt me, because I am *in here* and no one can alter that (Ranford quoted in Hopkins, 1999, p. 84).

Peace, for Bern Ranford included peace for Indigenous Australians.

Addressing the Annual General Meeting of the WILPF (WA) she reported that:

1962 was one of the most successful [years] to date as it saw the awakening of both Federal and State Governments to the need to allow Aborigines to take their place beside the white community at the polling booths (Ranford quoted in WILPF, Minutes, 1963).

In her new role as editor of *Peace and Freedom* on 10 April, 1963, Greenwood was presented with an orchid corsage as a token of love and affection from the branch members at the Annual General Meeting. In response, she proposed a toast to the WILPF, confident that, “our organisation will survive because it is based on truth and justice... ultimately we are enriched. Most of us all gain satisfaction knowing that we are on the side of right and of human progress” (Greenwood, WILPF Report, 1963).

In 1969, Greenwood's three-year term as State president of the WILPF (WA) ended, lightening the burden of her dual role as president, and national editor of *Peace and Freedom*. In her final Presidential Address, Greenwood (WILPF Report, 1969) pleads, “Will you please release me, so that I may give my time to our journal *Peace and Freedom*, which I've been bringing out monthly for ten years”. She was editor of the local version of the newsletter before it became the official national organ of the Australian Section in 1965.

Betty Daly-King was elected as incoming president on 27 March, 1969. Under her presidency, Greenwood worked for the branch in the campaign for a

Peace Chair and a new course in Peace and Conflict Studies at the newly formed Murdoch University in Perth, WA, established in 1973.

- **Irenology**

‘Irenology’ is a relatively new academic discipline meaning the study of peace, focusing on ‘peace-making’ as a subject of serious academic study. As billions of dollars are spent worldwide on defence and teaching war and defence studies, ‘learning peace’ is “where people and their interests can contend, conflict and seek reconciliation in a non-violent way” (Daly-King, 1972).

A pamphlet entitled *Irenology: the study of peace* (Fahey, n. d.) provides a practical manual for college faculty students and administrators to argue the growing need for Peace Studies from a transdisciplinary approach. Fahey (n. d.) stresses the need for a diversity of academic disciplines to provide insights to help explain why a nation goes to war or remains at peace. “To state that any single factor is the cause of war or peace is not only simplistic, it is scientifically inaccurate” (Fahey, n. d.).

Irenology requires an academic framework for the independence of Peace Studies that differs from other forms of education. A distinguishing feature of Peace Studies is that it is problem-centred or existentially oriented and involving many academic disciplines (politics, philosophy, social sciences, psychology, literature, history and sociology) for example. “It is based on the premise that a fair-minded analysis of the issues of war and peace can only be achieved through a synthesis of insights and data from various fields of knowledge” (Fahey, n. d.).

In 1969 the program for a Peace Chair established at the university level grew out of a community movement, initiated by the Western Australian branch of the WILPF, supported by government, church and community groups who recognised the importance of Peace Studies at universities. Mastermind behind the campaign was WILPF member, Dorothy Threlfall, who first introduced the idea of the campaign to the local branch. Threlfall was inspired by looking at peace programs in other countries researching abstracts on peace and non-violent action topics. She based her ideas on information from the Canadian Peace Research Institute, and other leaders in the field of peace research and peace studies (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000). The Peace Studies program at Murdoch University followed principles in operation in the Scandinavian, Dutch, American and Canadian Peace Institutes that Threlfall had studied drawing on international knowledge.

Efforts for a peace research program were first directed at the University of WA, which met with a flat refusal. The politics of peace is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the ill-fated Peace Program at Murdoch University. Daly-King's definitive work in peace education is acknowledged (Murray, 1995, p. 17) for her successful contribution in establishing "the first Professorial Chair in Peace Studies in the Southern Hemisphere". This was the first such full department in any Australian University. Greenwood (diary, 1976, p. 24) recognises Daly-King's lobbying efforts:

The bases of such courses are sociological, political and cross and inter-disciplinary as in other parts of the world. All the result of lobbying by Betty King.

Elsewhere, Greenwood (1973) gives Daly-King the credit for the campaign for the Peace Chair:

All WILPF members should read with admiration and hope of the hard-working campaign of the WILPF (WA) Committee on Peace Studies. Their convenor, Betty King, offers advice to other branches on ways to promote peace courses in their own States. Obviously success such as her own Committee has had requires an enormous contribution of sustained effort.

Daly-King introduced Greenwood to Boulding's work, saying she carried her books around with her. Greenwood (journal, 1963) described the sociological, political and cross-interdisciplinary course curriculum, as outlined in Elise Boulding's *Journal of Peace Studies*. Greenwood, while acknowledging support from the ALP, the UNAA, and other groups including Rotary, certainly highlights, "the result of lobbying by Betty King".

But Daly-King (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000), while rightly accepting credit for her role in the campaign, emphasises Greenwood's strategic advice. "Irene was a mentor...when it came to lobbying for the Peace Chair, I would not have taken a step without discussing it with her on the phone or in person for strategies. She was a brilliant strategist". In her role as convenor of the Murdoch University Peace Committee, Daly-King (quoted in Sylvester, 1972) emphasised her belief that, "There will be no advance on peace and harmony in the world without research and study". Over two decades later, she notes, "Peace has been a dirty word in Australia, and equivalent to communism and Reds under the bed, though I have personally never seen anything so constructive come out of these sources" (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000). Asked whether feminism played a role in Greenwood's peace strategies, Daly-King (interview, Murray/Daly-King, 2000) questions the meaning of the word:

It depends on what you mean by feminism. If you mean the nurture principal, whom both men and women can have, I'd say yes. If you mean women succeeding to be elected into politics and that sort of thing, I'd say no. We have seen women Prime

Ministers in UK, India, Sri Lanka, Israel, and they have all taken their countries into war. I do not find the nurturing component very strong on the political scenes, period! I live in hope and will keep on trying for peace building structures.

Recognising that female prime ministers in the UK, India, Sri Lanka and Israel took their countries to war, Greenwood saw the need for a wider representation of women in politics, particularly in decision-making in defence and foreign affairs. The peace program brought together the Trades and Labour Council, the Roman Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the UNAA, the Western Australian Council of Churches, the Australian Quaker Peace Committee, the Executive of the Returned Servicemen's League and various church organisations including Jewish groups. Daly-King (1980, pp.136-139) said that the Peace Studies campaign:

Included a direct submission to the Murdoch University Planning Board, political lobbying, opinion polling of election candidates (State and Federal), circularising of organisations and prominent individuals, extensive public speaking (particularly Rotary conferences and clubs), news media coverage, and wide distribution of a brochure.

Professor Geoffrey Bolton, a member on the Planning Board, travelled overseas to research what was being done in other universities after the Planning Board wanted to be advised on funding sources. Praising the work of one of the two full-time academics appointed to the new program, Greenwood (journal, 1973) writes:

The suggestion should receive sympathetic hearing from the University's first Professor of Social Inquiry, Dr. John Raser. This 38-year old American is a recognised expert in the study of international conflict resolution. And peace is something he understands.

Similarly, Daly-King (1980, p.137) applauded Raser's appointment, "His commitment to the value of peace was never in question...It is clear that the

original ethos of Murdoch, what made it different, radical and relevant, owed much to Professor Raser". The ALP Parliamentary Party in WA supported the campaign in Premier Tonkin's public statement that support for Peace Studies was to be written into both State and federal policies of the ALP (Daly-King, 1980, p. 136). By mid-1973, Murdoch University announced its intention to offer a course in Peace and Conflict Studies when it opened for students in 1975. The submission to the Australian Universities Commission in 1974 to fields of study not always to be found in traditional curriculum, to maintain a sensitivity to the community and its interests, and to peace and conflict studies, specifically were affirmed. Daly-King (quoted in "Research needed", 1973) said:

The growth of peace had been magnificent in some parts of the world...the latest advice was that 200 courses were available...the number of full university departments and chairs were much less.

John Raser, Professor of Social Inquiry at Murdoch University reported in

The West Australian that:

The academic study of peace would not succeed till basic humanity changed...There would be violence as long as there were social and economic injustices and inequality, as long as man continued his love affair with weapons and as long as he continued his Neanderthal mentality of force...Man must change to gain peace (Raser quoted in "Man must change", 1973).

Peace Studies brings under scrutiny the warrior mentality that makes warfare appear like the norm. Raser expounds on the need to teach peace to build a world in which "peace was the normal condition rather than an interlude between quarrels" (Raser quoted in "Man must change", 1973). He emphasised that the study of conflict resolution was a major component of peace education and included the study of theories, experience and strategies of warfare to warn:

Because the Australian militia wielded a lot of influence and demanded great resources there was the danger that peace study programs would be transferred into war research...the graduates could be co-opted as military advisers (Raser quoted in "Man must change", 1973).

It is of course possible that students in defence studies could be trained in UN peacekeeping and prepared in international diplomacy, for example, where the Australian forces have led peacekeeping attempts in East Timor. But Peace Studies is not about military and defence studies. It is about peace. It is the preventive and the cure. It is a sad loss that, "It cannot be argued that the program failed; no academic judgement was ever made and no student evaluation ever permitted. The program simply did not have a chance to succeed" (Daly-King, 1980, p. 138):

The only degree course in peace studies in Australia has been downgraded because of lack of finance and forward planning, according to Mrs. Betty King, initiator and foundation student of the course ("Price of Peace", 1976).

Daly-King (quoted in Waters, 1981) exemplifies the catchcry, 'make peace, not war' to stress:

The study of peace is like medicine. The conflict aspect is the problem side. The cure is through research, study and practice, and peace is the preventive. Murdoch University concentrated its subjects on world issues and major social issues... cause of lack of finances is now one of three courses in the programme of Social Inquiry (Daly-King quoted in "Price of Peace", 1976).

While lack of finances is one explanation, according to Daly-King (1980, p.136), it was Raser's radical views that contributed to the demise of the Murdoch Peace Program:

The forces that brought the program to an end were many and complex. In retrospect, it seems that the State Premier came to view the program as undesirably 'radical'. Certainly Professor Raser... was at that time espousing views on the ABC's *Notes on*

the News critical of Australian policy and State Government thinking on global issues.

The complexities for the demise of the peace chair at Murdoch University are beyond the scope for this study and full documentation runs the risk of defamatory material, but Duffield (1990) applauded Daly-King's work with the WILPF, "in the days when the...beloved Irene Greenwood was its motivating force". Greenwood with Daly-King through the WILPF and UNAA (WA) were active in the campaign for the Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies run by a joint Curtin University/University of WA committee (1990-1995) to make WA a centre for international peace and non-violent conflict resolution. The peace program was funded by the federal ALP for \$750,000 in 1990, but Daly-King (2001) explains in a letter to Prime Minister, John Howard that "economic stringency had hit all educational institutions...by mid 1990, 'peace' was removed from the title and the direction being taken was defence and strategic studies".

Speaking on ABC radio in 1982, Greenwood was asked the triple-barrel question, "How do you reconcile your anger with your desire for peace and reconciliation? How do you resolve the dilemma? Was the move into peace a long battle?" Greenwood (interview, Waite/Greenwood, 1982) emphasises the need for gender sensitive Peace Studies at the tertiary educational level:

I believe one needs to study the present peace courses, which, like courses on women's issues are springing up in various universities and other places of learning throughout the world. There are Chairs...and women are professors of those Chairs who were in many cases the leaders of the WILPF who have been past presidents and peace laureates, for example Professor Elise Boulding and Alva Myrdal.

Professor Elise Boulding, a former president of the USA Section of the WILPF is internationally renowned for her definitive gender research in Peace

Studies and Conflict Resolution. Chairperson of the WILPF Committee on Peace Research and Secretary of the Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan, Boulding, speaking at a Congress of the WILPF in 1962 argues:

The WILPF, recognising the urgency of mobilising the intellectual as well as the moral and spiritual forces of mankind on the making of peace, advocates international cooperation in Peace Research, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations (Boulding, 1962 quoted by Vroland, journal, 1963).

Boulding (1982) stresses strong associations between women and peace, feminism as an antithesis of militarism, and makes connections between non-violence and notions of sex socialisation, suggesting that boys are educated for war. In workshops conducted during her Australian visit in 1980, Boulding found that men were unable to visualise a world without war (Murray, 1995, p. 5). Pettman (1996, p. 113) draws from Boulding's research to warn about broad gender-based assumptions:

We need to be wary...of a slide from women to peace, or to feminism. Elise Boulding's review of women peace researchers revealed a wide spread of views and research topics, but few called themselves feminist and some half of her sample did not answer the question about whether women academics approach disarmament issues differently from men academics.

In the 1980s, feminist peace research took a strategic turn to focus on arms control, conflict resolution and 'win/win', which Pettman described as an approach that "individualised and psychologised conflict" (Pettman, 1996, p. 114). Aboriginal educationist, Pat Etock (quoted in interview, Murray/Etock, 1989) reflects this concern speaking on ABC radio:

For an Aboriginal society, which traditionally, is very non-competitive... Aboriginal people don't feel there's much validity in winning in the first place. It's a double jeopardy... In Aboriginal society, everybody had an equal and known place.

But in response to the criticism that the ‘win/win’ approach was individualistic and that it failed to address power imbalances, Stella Cornelius holds firm in the belief that:

Conflict resolution is a way of levelling the playing field. It’s a way to walk towards exposing where power is used without integrity and it is a way towards empowering, giving voice to, voices very frequently unheard” (Cornelius quoted in interview, Murray/Cornelius, 1992).

By the 1990s, academics began to reconceptualise security by researching the effects of democratisation of women, “to transform the reductionist militarist paradigm of security and incorporate concerns for equity, sustainability and justice” (Pettman, 1996, p. 144). As an explicitly feminist peace ~~campaigner~~, Greenwood lobbied for those objectives for over half a century.

Owing to the multi-disciplinary nature of peace studies, there can be no one single definition for peace education, but Tidman (1991, p. 95) alerts scholars to four of the basic values:

The World Orders Model Project which is organised and run by a culturally diverse group of international scholars in the fields of politics and international relations, have recognised four values which they believe can be accepted worldwide, namely, peaceful and non-violent interpersonal relationships, economic well-being, social justice and ecological stability.

Peace requires the recognition that we are all part of a single world community with equal rights and obligations, therefore Tidman (1991, p. 102) argues, “peace education encompasses a very broad spectrum of knowledge, values and social skills, which have the potential to foster social change towards a peaceful future”.

Sitarih Ala’i (1992, p. 230) emphasises the importance of a gender balance in global governance to develop the peace cultures:

The world in the past has been ruled by force, and man has dominated over woman by reason of his more forceful and aggressive qualities both of body and mind. But the balance is already shifting – force is losing its weight and mental alertness, intuition and the spiritual qualities of love and service, in which women are strong, is gaining ascendancy.

In her vision for a New World Order, Sitarh Ala'i (1992, p. 236) envisions a world where, “the new age will be an age less masculine and more permeated with feminine ideals, an age in which the masculine and feminine will be more balanced”. Highlighting the importance of women's inclusion in international relations she writes:

There are no grounds, moral, practical or biological upon which such a denial can be justified. Only as women are welcomed into full partnership in all fields of human endeavour will the moral and psychological climate be created in which international peace can emerge (Ala'i, 1992, p. 233).

Of course, not all men are violent. The Gandhian model shows that some men are peacemakers. But it is simply not possible to separate gender relations from international relations, and issues of feminism, war and peace. International relations was founded as a discipline in 1919 in the wake of World War I to investigate the causes of war and conditions for peace, but it did not attend to the gendered politics of peace and war, the sexualising of violence, and the gendered processes of war making. “War was – and for some still is – the heartland of the discipline for IR” (Pettman, 1996, p. 87). War rape is part of war culture. ‘Lest We Forget’ is no idle phrase in the minds and hearts of men and women. During Peace Month on 27 October, 1939 Greenwood (script, 1939, n. p.) captures the poignancy of the real price we pay for war:

War has left so many wives widowed, so many children orphaned, so many people destitute and so many women everywhere had to shoulder burdens for which they had not been prepared... We believe in the ultimate discovery of some way of

settling international disputes than by war...painstaking endeavour to study the cause of war and to set up machinery to carry out the necessary reforms of social and economic systems which would remove peacefully the primary roots of militarism.

Countering the primary roots of militarism was another of Greenwood's private goals. She consistently placed her faith in the international machinery for the peaceful resolution of international disputes and counselled against Australian militarism for sixty years.

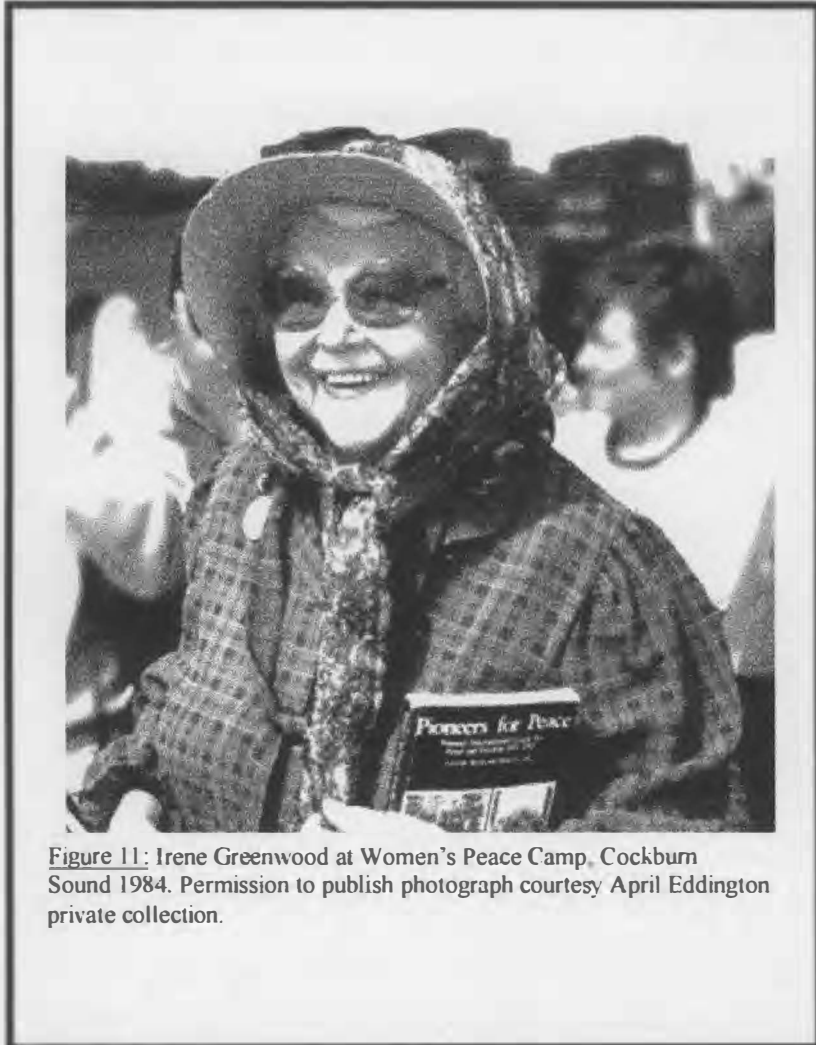
Williams (1999, p. 29) describes Garden Island as "a de facto war base", by which time peace was definitely a feminist issue.

Baldock (1993, p. 3) remembers Garden Island and Irene Greenwood as a feminist and a voice for peace:

Irene Greenwood was an immensely energetic and gregarious woman who enjoyed every aspect of her life to the full. Western Australian women remember her holding court during the feminist frolics... We remember her visit to the Cockburn Sound Peace Camp...and we remember the many stories she used to tell...that only a person with Irene's sense of history and her keen insight into people would be able to recall.

In 1984, when the Women's Peace Camp was held at Cockburn Sound in WA, Irene Greenwood, was well recognised and acknowledged as one of Australia's most distinguished feminist peace activists. The Sound Women's Peace Camp, organised by Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (many of its members were members of WEL), brought diverse participants from all over Australia (Williams, 1999, p. 29) to put Greenwood centre stage for a birthday celebration. *Pioneers of Peace* is the name of a reprint of a book by Bussey and Tims (1965). Greenwood was included in the rewrite as one of "the fifty outstanding women of the world" that was asked to make her declaration on the tripartite theme of International Women's Year, 'Equality Development and

Peace'. Greenwood (diary, 1976, n. p.) writes, "I was very honoured to be one of those women and my photograph and my statement from Australia appears there. I think this was the greatest vindication of all". (Figure 11).



Pettman (1996, pp. 185-201) argues, "The gendered nature of international relations is based on certain constructions of masculinity and femininity". Pettman's study of how conflicts, wars, liberation and peace movements operate in the international economy provides an argument that attests to the sexed nature of international relations. Addressing the gendered politics of war and peace, she

found that identities, practices and structures of world politics are fundamentally gendered. She takes up analyses of men, masculinities and war (1996, pp. 87-106) and women's role in organising for peace (1996, pp. 107-125) to develop a theme for an anti-militarist international feminism. Basing her research on the international political economy of sex, Pettman, a political scientist, explains the international sex trade arguing how women's bodies are exploited in the international economy to put the case for the international sexual division of labour. Pettman places women peace activists in the following categories:

Pacifist or maternalist feminists who see women as peaceable in a gender difference that makes a women's peace politics possible. The second are liberal feminists who argue for women's equality with men, rejecting 'woman's nature' as part of the ideology that oppresses women... they argue for women's equal rights into military, into combat. The third are anti-militarist feminists who reject sex stereotypes of peaceful women but who also oppose processes of militarisation and militarised definitions of security and the citizen – processes and definitions they see as profoundly gendered (Pettman, 1996, p. 107).

Peace, like feminism, is a complex issue. Concluding this chapter, I have pursued Greenwood's peace activism within each of Pettman's three categories. Firstly, I traced her peace activism to the various women's organisations in Perth and Sydney in the 1930s from the League of Nations, the International Peace Campaign, the UNAA and particularly the WILPF to argue that she subscribed to a specifically women's peace politics. Secondly, I distinguished between 'pacifism' and 'non-violence' to argue that Greenwood endorsed sex equality in the military, including combat, while consistently counselling against the use of force unless defending against a military aggressor in a 'just' war. Finally, I examined her opposition to processes of militarisation through her involvement in

campaigns for nuclear disarmament, opposition to Australian militarism and the campaign for Peace Studies at the tertiary level. Greenwood rejected sex stereotypes of women as the peaceful sex by recognising the militarism of female leaders such as Thatcher, Nehru and Meir, while supporting the non-violent struggle of Mahatma Gandhi.

In her peace activism, as in her feminist activism, Greenwood cannot be placed into a single category. Her honouring of women warriors in revolutionary struggle challenges the belief of liberal and radical feminists that women are 'naturally' more peaceful (and in fact superior) to men to endorse sex equality in the military channels. It is not possible to separate ideas about gender relations from explanations of war, peace and justice, violence and security. As an explicitly feminist peace protester, Greenwood understood the military processes as profoundly gendered. So it is necessary to attempt a more inclusive and gendered definition of security based on social justice, an ethic of non-violence, and a focus on the complex inter-relation between gender and power, sexual difference and dominant militarist definitions of security. In the process of challenging the public/private dichotomy that has positioned women and violence, a gender sensitive peace education provides a starting point to build a safer, fairer, more humane, and secure world for all.

discrimination on grounds of class, race and sexual difference.

Greenwood's radio scripts provide the foundation for a political history of women's positive contributions throughout two world wars to place a premium on women's equal competence, including the military channels. An apparent contradiction of Greenwood's stated pacifism was that while she advocated non-violence, she was a pragmatist who supported women's equal status in combat, understanding that sometimes it is necessary to fight for peace. Her approaches to peace and feminism were diverse, drawn from many differing ideologies. Her peace activism was imbued in the liberal pursuit of sex equality, but by contesting capitalist patriarchy in a socialist framework, and through her feminist internationalism, Greenwood recognised the sexed nature of international politics and the gendered aspect of violence against women.

It is another contradiction for a stated 'radical' feminist that during her broadcasting career in the 1930s to the 1950s, Greenwood never really relinquished the dominant ideology of the traditional 'feminine', even when portraying Soviet military women. She held firm to Prichard's notion of mothering as 'women's sacred function', subscribing to the notion of women's moral superiority as 'mothers' and therefore 'natural nurturers' to constitute women as agents for peace. Consequently, a reconstruction of 'femininity' was not on Greenwood's agenda for social reform. Yet, as a broadcaster, she was able to penetrate the private sphere through her political broadcasts to demonstrate women's equitable skills in their demands for a place in public life, including politics and the military channels. For the middle and upper class women active in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s, the quest for equality focused on a greater representation of women in political and professional life, while leaving

uncontested the male stranglehold on the political processes. Yet, her stance on non-party allegiance demonstrates Greenwood's belief that women held different values from men that would humanise the political sphere and civilise the party politic. That women would constitute themselves as a significant element in Australian political life was pivotal to Greenwood's politics of feminism in her belief that women would bring a new, more conciliatory ethics to political life.

While the traditional construction of 'femininity' remained intact throughout Greenwood's broadcasting career, her leadership in campaigns for the legal right to abortion makes it obvious that her feminism was acted out in the best radical tradition. Her significant contribution to the equal pay campaigns and wage justice for women workers substantiates Greenwood's understandings of 'femininity' and 'equality'. And as a foundation member of Women's Liberation in WA, she understood the need to focus on 'sexual difference' in terms of political theory to understand the need for an explicitly 'woman-centred' feminist politic.

If the ABC was problematic in terms of tight censorship, then advertising the ultra 'feminine' in 'lovely undies' and 'bridal gowns' compromised the radicalism of her commercial broadcasts. Yet, as the women featured in her broadcasts sought distinction in previously held male preserves, her heroines were exceptional women who did not cling to Greer's 'impotent femininity'. Even Greer (1971, p. 329) conceded, ironically, "man made one grave mistake, in answer to vaguely reformist and humanitarian agitation, when he admitted women to politics and the professions".

Greenwood's political action through social protest ranged from the call for a greater representation of women in State and federal parliaments to equal

pay, anti-sex discrimination legislation, childcare, law reform, Aboriginal rights, abortion law reform, contraception, prostitution, and last, but not least, world peace. She witnessed Edith Cowan's maiden speech in Parliament in 1921 and was subsequently present when every other landmark for women in WA was heralded. She placed her faith both in the democratic parliamentary processes through legislation and "the radicalism of Marxist theory", to argue that both systems were necessary for the achievement of peace, justice and equality of human rights for women.

And if the non-party strategy seems a little at odds with Greenwood's clear left-wing political stance, she sums up the rationale in her own words. "I think it is very important to have a non-party stance because you can negotiate with all of them" (Greenwood quoted in Walsh, 1982). Greenwood, a consummate mediator, kept her options open.

Greenwood was a political voice for the women's movement. She was a voice for peace and justice through human and social development, negotiation, mediation, non-violent intervention, disarmament, opposition to compulsory military training, and private arms manufacture. She espoused the conversion of military expenditures to meet human needs. She supported the need for the international machinery for the peaceful resolution of conflict and was an advocate for international law, lobbying governments to fulfil their obligations. Above all, she sought a gender balance in global governance, the democratisation of the UN, and a gender and culturally sensitive, peace education.

In her pursuit of models that would lead to the minimisation of oppression, exploitation and warfare, Greenwood's records give no indication that she contested, theoretically, the inadequacies of orthodox Marxist categories as

feminist solutions. But as a foundation member of Women's Liberation in WA, she was committed to a feminist revolution for the overthrow of capitalism and patriarchy.

And in the current climate of globalisation where we are witnessing a back sliding of social justice, where the gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' is widening, the glass ceilings are far from being smashed. Despite Greenwood's lifelong quest for equality of opportunity, few women are electing to enter the gladiatorial arena of political life, and even fewer professional women make it to the top. And in view of the sexed nature of international relations, in terms of achieving a greater representation of women in global governance, there is still a great deal of work to be done.

So in pursuit of peace, justice and equality of women's human rights, sex equality does not go far enough. But Greenwood's contribution to our feminist history and knowledge is a significant reminder of the continuing debates around militarism, prostitution, abortion, rape and gendered violence as the most insidious form of sex discrimination. In a political climate where violence and warfare are a continuing factor in a world at arms, in the wake of 11 September, 2001, the 'war against terror' has made the prospects for global peace and security a problematic and tenuous prospect. But, Irene Greenwood's tireless contribution, dedicated energy, enthusiasm, and vision, seeking world law instead of world war, and the remarkable women who participated in illuminating her life, are an inspiration to all to continue to work together for peace, justice and human rights. Their collective voices help to keep her energy alive in the quest for a feminist ethic of non-violence to build the peace cultures for future generations, to learn war no more, to live in a world at peace.

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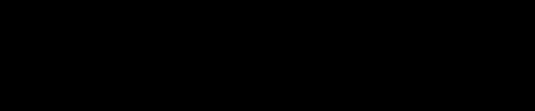


April 17 2002

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Yours sincerely,



Elizabeth McIntosh.

Subject: Re: copyright clearance

Date: Wed, 24 Apr 2002 11:45:32 +0800

From: Sally May <sally.may@museum.wa.gov.au>

To: kjmurray@echidna.stu.cowan.edu.au

>Hello Kaye,

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With kind regards,
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>Dear Sally

>As per my phone call, could you please authorise copyright clearance in the following wording:

>

>I hereby grant permission for doctoral student, Kaye Murray, to reproduce in non-commercial Thesis the use of photographs held by the Maritime Museum of 1). The MV Irene Greenwood and 2) Dr. Irene Greenwood unveiling plaque of the MV Irene Greenwood.

>My email number is kjmurray@student.ecu.edu.au

>

>Thesis due for submission next week, so would appreciate your earliest response.

>Many thanks

>Kaye Murray.

--

Sally May
Head of Department
Maritime History
Western Australian Maritime Museum
Cliff Street
Fremantle WA 6160

Ph: 9335 4798
Fax: 9335 9502

To Kaye J. Murray,



B.K. Daly-King

Australia

I hereby authorise permission for Kaye Murray to use photographs in the thesis "A Voice for Peace", Doctoral Thesis, Study of social activist, Dr. Irene Greenwood, AO. As a research participant and active with Irene in the peace movement and other social/political activities the use of photographs from my personal collection are cleared for publication in the doctoral thesis or other publications by Kaye J. Murray.

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WA

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I have cited verbal conversations between myself and Ms. Kaye Murray quoted in the doctoral thesis based on my mother entitled: *Irene Greenwood: A Voice for Peace* and photograph used in the manuscript.

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April Eddington.

[REDACTED]

Edith Cowan University
Faculty of Community Services, Education, Social Sciences
Consent Form

Project Title: War and Peace: A Woman's View - A Qualitative Study of a Feminist Peace Activist

Researcher: Kaye Murray - Student ID [REDACTED]

Research Supervisors: Dr. Suellen Murray [REDACTED]
Dr. Nancy Hudson-Rudd [REDACTED]

The purpose of this research is to explore and analyse the contribution to feminism and peace of the late broadcaster, Dr. Irene Greenwood, A.O., [1899-1992]. I am interested in the thoughts, feelings, perceptions of her peers and family members to document her public and personal life. It is hoped that this study will meet her unfulfilled wish before her death in 1992 that her biography be written as a posthumous book by utilising the voluminous archival materials which she bequeathed to the 'Special Collection' at Murdoch University library known as the *Irene Greenwood Collection* containing written, audio and visual materials.

Following analysis of the Collection, an informal tape recorded interview will be conducted in your home, or location of your choice. Participants will receive a copy of the proposed questions and interview format before setting a recording date. It is expected that the interview time would be not less than 1 hour. Participants are invited to make suggestions or to delete any questions or to suggest additional questions. Each participant will then be provided with a transcription of the interview for editing suggestions, clarification or added information and interpretation. I will consult with each participant on my interpretation of research findings before writing the final thesis. An assurance will be given that participants interpretation will be respected and accurately reported. Participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time up to completion of final thesis and give reasonable notice of such intention.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT I... LAURIS KIDDhereby agree to voluntarily participate in this project under the conditions set out above. The biographer/researcher has given me the opportunity to consider the implications and to ask questions about the proposed research and it meets with my approval to participate on the above terms. I agree to give permission to identify me by name for publication in the final thesis or where necessary for conference papers related to material recorded on tape or for broadcast purposes.

Participant:..... [Signature] **Dated:** 21-2-2000
Researcher:..... [REDACTED] **Dated:**.....

In addition, I also agree that the material will be deposited in the Oral Histories Section of the Battye Library at the completion of thesis.

Participant:..... [REDACTED] **Dated:** 21-2-2000
Researcher:..... [REDACTED] **Dated:**.....

N IN THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS." Friday, May, 10th. 1940

by Irene A. Greenwood.

Spotlight on India.

From time to time the international spotlight swings round and pauses awhile on India. Although India is a member of the British Empire and is the nearest nation in our world of British nations to Australia, how much do we know of her and her people? Tourists to Ceylon return to tell of its beauties, but what can they learn of its inner life in the brief period they are here? Travellers who pass through en route to or from England only peep into the surface of the deep pool of India's mysteries. Now, with the closing of the Suez Canal, and the diverting of our shipping to Australia via the Cape route, we are going to see and learn even less of India in the future. So, I want to attempt to give you a little glimpse for these few moments that I am with you this afternoon of India's women, and I want you to see them through my eyes rather than through mine.

How ever little may be known of India, one name stands out pre-eminently, to be recognised by even the least informed person, even the smallest school child; the name of India's Mahatma, the great teacher, great leader, great soul. Last year he sent a message to his country's womanhood ;-

" Women alone can emancipate themselves - not men. Men will do it they help in the fulfilment of India's destiny. They are working about Hindu - Muslim unity. They can abolish purdah. They can drive away the ghost of untouchability. "

The occasion was the All-India Women's Conference,

ANNOUNCER'S OPENING.

IRENE GREENWOOD. "Good Afternoon Everyone. TODA...TUESDAY...Day for Makea Ariki, Chieftan of the Cook Islands, our talk on a "Woman in the News". With the new importance to Australia of the neighbours in our near North and in the Islands of the South Pacific, brings us consideration about the women of those places. Yesterday you heard from Mrs. Currie of Malaya something about the endeavours of women there to gain access to education. Not so long ago I told you in this Tuesday feature about a noted woman Anthropologist Margaret Mead, who has studied the customs of women of several differing Island cultures. Excerpts from her book "Male and Female" were published in the American Women's Home Journal. While her studies and scientific investigations took in half a dozen different primitive groups, it is not therefore to be imagined that all the women living on the Pacific Islands are still in a primitive State. The old customs and cultures are still at base, the foundation of the different Islanders, but many of them have adopted Western ideas. To the South Pacific Conference held last year at Suva, Fiji, went one completely westernised woman; a woman who holds great power in her hands and wields a far wider influence than perhaps any woman in Australia. She is Makea Nui Toremoano Ariki....of the Cook Islands. An extremely handsome woman, of 40, with large black eyes, cocoa coloured skin, and dark hair which she winds around her hair in a huge braid, she commanded notice wherever she went. More especially because she was the only woman del. at that whole Conference. She dressed at the Conference smartly in printed cottons, linens, and silks, used make-up discreetly, and wore fine jewellery. The only vestige of her Island heritage in her appearance, which would pass muster on the streets of any Australian capital, was the red hibiscus flower she wore tucked behind her right ear. During every session she made herself heard and was accorded great respect for her advocacy of better health and living conditions for the Pacific Islanders. She is a chieftan of her own ~~Island~~ of Raratonga - in the Cook Islands Island home /paramount ruler of some 7,000 subjects, and a member of the Legislature which controls the destinies of the 16,000 inhabitants of the Cook Is. group. The greatest enemy of the Islanders is Tuberculosis, and Makea said at Conference that she was determined not to go home till the South Pac. Commission agreed to take up seriously the problem of the extermination of the disease. She pleaded for a new deal in housing, as the islanders were living in totally unsuitable European houses set up for them everywhere in the Cook Is. Like primitive peoples everywhere, their resistance to wind and weather is destroyed by them.

Cables continue to carry news of women's enlistment for war work. During September over 96,000 women enrolled in England and Wales, bringing the number of women volunteers since June 1938 up to the half million mark. For every man in Britain's fighting forces today, there are said to be not less than eight civilians mobilised for civil defence, and, (as I was telling you last week) a large proportion of these are women. Every women's paper or magazine carries pages on women's war service, assisting the Army, the Navy or the Air Force as Auxiliaries, or working at the wheel, on the farm, in the factory; doing anything that will release men for the frontline or for training, and tells of posts their own women are filling. For instance, a flying journal says that practically every British woman pilot is helping in some way or another in the Air Service because of the shortage both of ^{due} instructors and pilots/^{to} the Royal Air Force expansion.

So, we learn that Mrs. Gabrielle Patterson (who has charge of the National Women's Air Reserves) and Mrs. Crossley and Miss Mona Friedlander have been flying aeroplanes at night in order to give practice to anti-aircraft. That Mrs. Maxine Miles and Miss Pauline Gower, the two women Commissioners of the Civil Air Guard, have added 400 women holders of the 'A' Licence trained since last September, to the previous list of 200 - thus in a year doubling the number of women pilots. And that an air wing has been formed to the Women's Legion in charge of 30 experts with Miss Pauline Gower as Commandant and Miss Dorothy Spicer in charge of the ground work. There was a time, only a few years ago, when Pauline Gower and Dorothy Spicer were the only two