

# SPECIAL NUMBER

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol 6 No. 69

26<sup>th</sup> October 1926

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

## Theses and Resolutions of the IV. International Conference of Work among Women.

(Held from 29th May to 10th June 1926 in Moscow.)

### CONTENTS

Theses on the Report of the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. and Immediate Tasks Connected with Work among Women.

Theses on Comrade Artyukhina's Speech. — "Report on Work of the C. P. S. U. amongst the Toiling Masses of Women."

Resolution on the Work of the C. P. S. U. among the Women Masses.

Thesis on Work among the Working Women of the East.  
Direction for the Construction of the Apparatus of the Communist Parties for Work among Women.  
The Factory Nucleus Apparatus for Work Among Women.  
Resolution on the Party Apparatus for Work among Women.  
Directions re Women Delegate Meetings.  
The Work in Non-Party Mass Organisations.  
Instructions on Educational Work and the Press.

## Theses on the Report of the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. and Immediate Tasks connected with Work among Women.

### INTRODUCTION:

The present situation presents a picture of serious crises and convulsion of capitalism. Developments during the last few months show very clearly the instability and inner-weakness of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. The mighty struggle of the British miners against the coal magnates which developed with elemental force into a general strike against the bourgeoisie and the government of the British Empire, introduces a new epoch in the liberation struggle of the international working class. It demonstrates that capitalism even in one of its strongholds, the mighty and victorious state of Great Britain is already so sick that it can no longer keep its economic system going except at the expense of the impoverishment of its wage slaves. It demonstrates that in the struggle between labour and capital even the presumably most democratic government of the world becomes inevitably the representative of the profit and domination interests of the capitalists and the inexorable

open enemy of the working class. Through this experience the British working class begins to form part of the united front of the international proletariat against capitalism and imperialism. The Locarno collapse, Pilsudski's coup d'état in Poland, a country whose economic system is shattered and whose population is discontented and in a state of ferment, the ever-growing acuteness of the financial government crisis in France, the popular movement for the expropriation of the ex-Ruling Houses in Germany, caused by the impudent aggressiveness of monarchism, the growth of fascism in Czechoslovakia, the new wave of fascism in Italy, the raging White Terror in the Balkans, Poland, Estonia, etc. — all these phenomena taken separately and in conjunction herald the advent of a new wave of most acute class struggles. The colonial wars in Morocco and Syria, the smouldering discontent in the Eastern countries which again and again breaks into a flame, but above all the great national-revolutionary liberation struggle in China are a serious menace to capitalism in one of its last and strongest positions — the

East, through the great conflict with the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples which is imminent.

In all these struggles working women are called upon to play an important role.

They, who represent one half of all the oppressed and exploited, suffer doubly and trebly under the capitalist offensive and the tyranny of the bourgeoisie. It would seem that there is every reason for them to march at the head of the liberation struggle of the proletariat. And indeed all the struggles, including the very recent ones, are a testimony of the class consciousness and the revolutionary activity of large sections of working women. Women have not only been active in the struggle for immediate economic and social political demands, in the defence of their children's daily bread, in the struggle for employment, higher wages, and mother and child care, against high prices and the burden of taxation, — they have also done their share bravely in the political campaigns, in the struggle against war and fascism, in the big popular movements for the expropriation of the ex-Ruling Houses in Germany, for the extension of peoples' rights through the Constituent Assembly in China.

However, none of these movements have embraced the female masses to a sufficient extent. It is true that Communists temporarily succeeded in bringing working women — on the occasion of almost all bigger actions — into the struggle for definite class demands. But it is also true that the influence which they had gained over the working women soon waned after the movement had died down. Time after time the female masses threw themselves spontaneously into the movement in a truly revolutionary fashion in places where the Party was too weak to lead and dominate the action. But in many cases Communist influence was not even strong enough to get away any appreciable number of working women from the influence and leadership of the bourgeoisie. The results of parliamentary elections in Great Britain, Germany and Czechoslovakia where the Conservatives, nationals, and clericals owe their great successes to the female vote, the number of women members in the Communist Parties compared with the number of working women and also with the number of women members of the Social Democratic Party and even of bourgeois parties, all this combined is convincing proof that the influence of our opponents on working women is still much stronger than Communist influence.

The bourgeoisie is fully aware of the importance of an alliance with the working women to the preservation of its class domination. Every means is good enough for the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the Social Democrats, to deceive working women as to their true interests, and to alienate them from their own class. Just lately there has been in this respect a certain change in bourgeois tactics. Whilst formerly the enemies of the working class endeavoured to keep women away from politics and public life, they realise today more and more the impossibility to keep women out of politics in view of the growing politisation of the working class in general and the growing acuteness of the class struggles in particular. Having come to the conclusion that the revolutionisation of the masses cannot stop short at the working women, the bourgeoisie prefers to take upon itself the initiative for women's politisation. By such means they reckon to divert this process into channels where instead of being a menace to them it might temporarily strengthen the bourgeois position to the detriment of the working class. The less enlightened the mass of working women, the more suitable they are in the eyes of the bourgeoisie to do its counter-revolutionary jobs.

In this period the struggle for the capture of the women is one of the characteristic features of the concentration of forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie. It is not enough for the bourgeoisie that bourgeois women join the parties and organisations of their class and take an active part in their policy, — it makes systematic efforts to capture and misuse the women of the working class in the interests of its own policy.

This is the explanation for the coqueting of the bourgeoisie and particularly of the clericals with women's franchise, for instance in France and Belgium, also for the introduction of a limited women's franchise in Italy by Mussolini, on the one hand for propertied women and on the other hand for "nationally-minded" women. By such means fascism works among women in favour of recognised strike-breaking organisations.

Similar symptoms are Flora Drummond's "Women's Empire Guild" in Great Britain which weeks before the outbreak of the British strike mobilised against strikes bourgeois women together with miners' wives for a big demonstration "for economic peace", and also the "Women's United Front" in Norway for which bourgeois elements together with the Social Democrats have drawn up a programme of action for women.

Adopting other forms, but pursuing the same aims as the bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats endeavour to impede the revolutionisation process among women or to divert it into other channels. After the II. International had dropped the once revolutionary demands and methods for the politisation of working women which were on its programme for decades, it has recently begun to intensify its political activity among women. The International Women's Conference in Hamburg in 1923 was the first step and that of Marseilles the second and still more deliberate step in this direction. The formation of a Women's Committee in the Executive of the II. International, the re-introduction of the International Women's Day after the ten-years pause, parallel with it the foundation and activation of an International Women's Committee in the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, the establishment of the International Women's Co-operative Guild through the reformist London Co-operative Alliance, are all of them manoeuvres to prevent by sham actions and sham successes the female masses who are beginning to show signs of activity from going over into the camp of consistent class struggle, of revolution and Communism.

The Communist International must fully realise the political importance of these phenomena and must arrange its tactics accordingly. If the Comintern means to capture the bourgeois positions among the female masses, if it wants to prevent the enemies of the working class gaining new ground, it will have to adopt for its activity among working women more active, clear-cut systematic and clever methods than hitherto, in order to bring the female masses into the revolutionary united front under Communist leadership, and in order to make them an active force of the revolution instead of an impediment to it.

#### Activity of the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. and of the Sections and its Results.

1. The Third International Communist Women's Conference issued two main directions: firstly, the Sections and the E. C. C. I. were to endeavour to make Communist work among women not only the business of the women comrades, but also the business of the Parties as a whole. In connection with this, war was to be made on the traditions of isolating the work among women, and this work was to be closely linked up with the general Party work and the tasks of the working class.

Secondly, in connection with the reorganisation of the Parties on a factory nucleus basis, the sections were to transfer their work among the female masses concentrating on the capture of the most important sections among them — the working women in the factories and trade unions.

The resolution of the Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I., May, 1925, supplemented former decisions by minute instructions for the adequate organisational construction of the Party apparatus for work among women and for organisational forms and methods for the capture of the masses.

#### Inner Party Results.

2. Since the V. World Congress considerable progress was made in almost all the sections with the construction, development and reorganisation of the Party apparatus for work among women. Retrogression was noticeable only in the Balkans and in the Border States as a result of White Terror. Leadership and control, of the work through the Party executives was more effective and the result of this was satisfactory, as shown particularly in this year's Women's Day Campaign for which millions of working women in town and country were mobilised in 16 Western and some Eastern countries.

3. The greatest impediment to successful work on a large scale was after all the relics of backward petty-bourgeois ideology with which large Party circles — from the bottom and right to the top — are still afflicted, an ideology according to

which women ought not to have anything to do with politics. The result of such backward ideas is lack of understanding for the necessity of political work among women. Ideological confusion, however in another form, was a wrong interpretation of the instruction re the definite linking up for the work among women with the general Party work. Thus, for instance, in Germany, during the period following the Frankfurt Party Congress, the idea prevailed in many districts that special work among women and special organs for this work are superfluous and harmful. In some places this led even to the complete disbandment of the existing women's agitation commissions. Similar moods and tendencies made their appearance also in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia in the national Women's Committee and in the Reichenberg district in connection with the Party crisis. Almost everywhere the absence of a clear attitude based on principle resulted in indifference and passivity. In many sections this was one of the causes of the inadequacy of efforts and successes with respect to the capture of the working women in the factories.

#### The Political Mobilisation of the Female Masses within the Framework of the Tasks of the Party as a Whole.

4. The E. C. C. I. and the sections paid more attention than before to the capture of the female masses. In the course of numerous important campaigns it was possible to mobilise large sections of women for the slogans of the Party, as for instance in Great Britain during the present mass strike, in Germany in connection with the ex-ruling houses expropriation campaign, in France in connection with the Douarnenez strike, the Municipal elections and the struggle against the Morocco war, in Czechoslovakia in connection with the campaign against protective tariffs and heavy taxes, in Italy in connection with the struggle against Fascism, in Sweden and Norway in connection with the gigantic lockouts, in China in connection with the struggle against imperialist intervention and for independence, in Japan in connection with the campaign for a change in the constitution in favour of women's franchise. On all these occasions the demands of the women were connected with the general interests of the working class, and a united front was practically established by cleverly linking up these demands with other pressing needs.

5. In various countries successful organisational forms of the united front were adopted, be it in the direction of bringing working women into closer contact with their male fellow workers, as for instance in France where working women and working men's wives as well as peasant women, were drawn into the workers and peasants congresses against the Morocco War, or as in Germany where women took an active part in the unity committees for the expropriation of the ex-ruling houses, or in the direction of rallying working women of various tendencies in non-Party women's organisations or organs for the struggle carried on under class slogans. Such examples are the women's departments in the British Minority Movement, the Widows and Mothers Committees against War in France, the Red Womens and Girls League in Germany, the Housewives Leagues in Norway, etc., but above all the initiation of women's delegate meetings in Germany, Great Britain and Finland.

6. In a few cases attempts were made towards a united front with female masses under opponent leadership for the purpose of carrying out definite campaigns — for instance in France for the struggle against the Morocco war and in connection with the Women's Conference of the II. International in Marseilles, in China in the liberation struggle against the imperialist front, in Switzerland in the campaign for women's franchise, in Czechoslovakia and Great Britain for joint celebration of the International Women's Day. But only in Great Britain it was possible, thanks to preliminary work among the masses, to induce Women's Co-operative Guilds and Local Women's Sections of the Labour Party to joint action with the Communists.

7. On the other hand there were many cases when the sections showed their incapacity to utilise big international and national campaigns for the mobilisation of the female masses. Thus, for instance, not a single section has been able to make the fullest possible use of the slogan of international trade union unity for the initiation of a broad movement among the mass of working women. Careful observation of the policy and the

methods of our opponents and systematic reaction to them were rare. Attempts to link up everyday slogans with the ultimate aims of the Communists were not always successful and it frequently happened that the Parties had not enough political and organisational forces to make use of favourable situations for the extension and consolidation of their influence over the female masses. Above all the sections hardly ever succeeded in keeping in touch with the female masses they had mobilised for some definite action and in securing permanent leadership over them. Thus, for instance the C. P. Cz. which utilised the indignation of the women folk in the movement against high prices, did not use this advantage systematically and did not develop it into an organised action. Although in France much sympathy accrued to the Communist Party among large sections of women in connection with the big strikes and important political campaigns, the Party did not have sufficient forces to attach to itself organisationally the women whom it had aroused. The C. P. of Germany suffered a serious set back at the Hindenburg election when the mass of petty bourgeois (but also part of the proletarian women) went into the nationalist camp because the Party, as a result of its utterly erroneous tactics, also failed to understand the importance of the capture of the female masses, and did not take the necessary political and organisational measures for this.

#### Capturing Working Women in the Factories and Trade Unions.

8. The question of capturing working women in the factories as the most important section of working women, which since the V. World Congress should have been the main feature of Party work, is still its weakest point. Today there is hardly a section prepared to question the enormous importance of the task with respect to connecting the Party with the female masses in the process of production where they form a natural united front with the men of their class. Nevertheless this theoretical recognition has not yet expressed itself to a sufficient extent in practice in the form of purposeful, systematic activity and successes worth mentioning in the factories. Because of inadequate collaboration between the Women's Department and the Org and Trade Union Departments the general Party forces and particularly the factory nucleus executives were not sufficiently utilised also for the mobilisation of working women. On the other hand the Womens Departments themselves lacked frequently the necessary initiative and activity as organs of the Party to make definite practical tasks, included in the general organisational plan of the Party, penetrate into big enterprises employing women's labour.

Consequently the reorganisation of the Parties on a factory nucleus basis has had as yet little effect on the reorganisation of work among women. This work has not yet fully divested itself of its "housewife character", particularly in the weaker Parties. It is true that in various countries such as Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Poland, also Austria, in some districts, industries and enterprises an energetic factory nucleus activity was developed among the working women, which resulted in the numerical growth of the factory newspapers and in the development of the working women correspondents' movement. This work however is as yet quite unsystematic and its organisational successes are but small.

Most Sections failed to appoint — as planned out — women's organisers in the factory nuclei. Neither did they issue to the nuclei practical instructions for work among the masses. Only in Italy and Poland there are in the factories circles of sympathising working women, attached to the nuclei for the purpose of spreading Party influence among the masses.

9. Trade Union work, the paramount importance of which for the capture of the majority of the working class was for a long time not fully recognised by many Parties and which even now is not estimated everywhere at its full value in spite of the important role played by the slogan of international trade union unity within the framework of the entire work of the Comintern, has been practically neglected with respect to working women. There was hardly anywhere systematic work for the organisation and proper instruction of Communist fraction work in the trade unions. Not even in the Red Trade Unions (France, Czechoslovakia), was this work taken in hand systematically and according to a definite programme. In Germany there have

been just a few cases of Communists penetrating into the widespread trade union working women's commissions and gaining influence there.

In Great Britain alone, where the movement for trade union unity originated and was given expression in the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, the Party succeeded to ensure considerable active support on the part of the working women for the slogan of International Trade Union Unity. Within the framework of the trade union Minority Movement efforts were made to form Women's departments and to establish collaboration with the Women's Co-operative Guilds. A big recruiting campaign for women's inclusion into trade unions was initiated and working women were mobilised for union with Soviet Russia, fraternisation with the Colonial peoples and for international trade union unity.

10. The general weakness of the work in factories and trade unions finds a reflex in the poor response to the women's campaigns conducted by the Party in factories and trade unions, in inadequate participation of working women in the delegations to Soviet Russia and also in the small number and influx of working women members in the C. P.

#### Organisational co-ordination and Leadership of Big Masses.

11. In this period the first big and successful attempt was made to consolidate organisationally the political influence of the Party over large sections of women.

The most important and characteristic achievement in this sphere is the initiation of women delegate meetings outside the Soviet Union, viz. in Germany, Great Britain and Finland. Although these beginnings had still many defects, although they did not as yet rest on the factories and did not develop periodical activity, they nevertheless were a testimony of the Party's capacity to expend its organisational and political leadership to ever-growing circles of women, rallying them around the Communist fighting slogans.

12. In a number of countries, new forms of organisation were adopted for the capture of larger sections of women. These new forms include the formation of loose circles of sympathisers around factory, street or village nuclei in Italy and Poland, the Widows and Mothers Committees against war in France, the Women Friends of Women's periodicals in several countries, all of which were a fruitful ground for Communist educational work and for the recruitment of new members.

13. The existing non-Party mass organisations, such as Co-operatives, Red Aid, Workers Relief, etc. were in some countries, especially Great Britain, utilised in a more systematic manner than before for the activation of women, although not to the extent justified by their importance. Apart from England the importance of work in the co-operatives was not taken sufficiently into account.

14. A new sphere of work was the utilisation of existing non-Party women's organisations, which was very successful particularly in Great Britain and Canada, as was also the formation of sympathising women's organisations, above all, the Red Women's and Girl's League in Germany, and the Housewives' Leagues in Norway which offer many opportunities for successful work, but are also fraught with many sources of danger if ideological clarity and purposeful leadership are lacking.

15. The Women's press too acted as collective organiser. The number of printed and written women's periodicals had grown, their circulation has increased, they have at their disposal a staff of house to house distributors, women friends and correspondents.

#### Immediate Tasks.

16. The experiences of the period just elapsed have shown that the practical tasks based on the international decisions on work among women were put forward correctly. The course of the work adopted by the E. C. C. I. and its Women's Department was generally speaking correctly pursued by the Sections. In as far as the successes achieved were not yet satisfactory greater efforts must be made to enforce this course. In this connection the main task confronting the Comintern is the inclusion of large sections of women into the united front of the

working class for the struggle against capitalism. In order to be able to solve this task successfully the Comintern must during this period take up a definite attitude and must concentrate its forces systematically on three particularly important tasks which permeate the entire Party work and must determine its course. **Firstly**, there must be ideological and practical recognition that work among women must be considered by the Parties as an important partial task in connection with the capture of the majority of the working class. **Secondly**, activity among the masses must be concentrated on the capture of the working women in the factories and trade unions. **Thirdly**, an energetic beginning must be made with the preparation and organisation of women delegate meetings.

17. In order to create not only in the Party, but also in the entire working class an **ideologically clear recognition** of the necessity of political work among women, a systematic continuous campaign must be carried on in the course of which it must be conclusively shown on the strength of classical experience and concrete examples taken from the every-day class struggle how important is the role of working women in strengthening or weakening the position of the working class. In connection with this the Russian experiences should be fully utilised.

In order to include not only in theory but in practice the mobilisation of women into the general work of the C. P. and the tasks of the working class, the Party must be able to show clearly the close relation of all Party slogans to the interests of working women, making this the strongest point of its argument. Moreover the struggle for demands which more directly concern Women must be linked up with all the campaigns of the working class.

In the present situation the following slogans and campaigns, the international importance of which should be emphasised, occupy the forefront.

National and international trade union unity, in connection with the capitalist offensive; wages and working hours, protection for working women and unemployment.

Struggle against war, fascism and white terror — in some countries, also the national question in connection with which national pacifist and other anti-working class influences on women are to be systematically and concretely paralysed.

Solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the East.

As to specific questions suitable for the mobilisation of even politically undeveloped sections of women, they are today in most of the countries as follows: high prices, protective tariffs, and heavy taxes, reorganisation and reduction of legislation for the protection of working women, unemployment, precarious position of men and women civil servants, wages struggles, housing crisis, worsened provisions for social insurance, particularly for the care of mother and child, class justice against abortions, increased exploitation of home industry workers, exploitation of children and child misery, worse schooling facilities and school reaction.

All the campaigns on all these questions must lead up to extensive propaganda for Soviet Russia, as the live example of proletarian dictatorship, in the course of which campaigns the every-day needs of working women should be used to show up the incapacity of capitalism to solve these problems, pointing out and proving by examples that the only right solution is the proletarian solution through the Soviet System. Sympathy for Soviet Russia and solidarity are to be strengthened by the fullest utilisation of the reports of the Workers Delegations, by extensive participation of working women in any further delegations and by a systematic and extensive press campaign in all Party and labour organs. In connection with this, news, other press material, and letters dealing with the life of working and peasant women and children in the Soviet Union must be utilised, not only to describe the achievements of the Soviet Government with respect to women, but also from the viewpoint of creative activity on the part of the female masses themselves, in the conquest of power and the construction of socialism. In connection with the press campaigns working women must be encouraged to express themselves about the character of the workers' and peasants' State in comparison with their own position in the capitalist State, in the form of press correspondence and letters to the Russian working and peasant women.

The organisational results of all campaigns must be inclusion of new sections of working women into all the organisations and organs of the working class and the small peasantry for the defence of their class interests. In this respect too recruiting for the trade unions occupies first place.

18. The activity of the capture of working women in the factories and trade unions must be carried on more systematically and intensively than before. For this purpose the Parties must draw up concrete plans of work, including a programme of the most important every-day slogans, and also organisational measures for the carrying out of this programme. Care should be taken that women Party members be carefully registered according to the place of their employment and the trade union to which they belong. Women organisers are to be appointed to all nuclei, particularly in big enterprises employing many women. The cadres of active Party members in factories and trade unions are to be systematically instructed with respect to activity among working women. In connection with this, maximum encouragement is to be given to initiative and self-activity in the nuclei and fractions with respect to the utilisation of all possibilities and application of all possible methods for the mobilisation of working women.

For the thorough study of the experiences of this as yet new work a temporary concentration of forces in definite districts, localities, factories or branches of industry where conditions are favourable will prove expedient.

The entire propagandist activity must be accompanied by a communist systematic recruitment of working women for the trade unions and the Party. The influx of working women into the Party and any fluctuations in the social composition of the female Party membership must be carefully registered and studied.

19. Women delegate meetings represent a specific method for the organisational coordination of large sections of women, for their systematic education and activation in the spirit of class struggle and Communism. They are a special form of work among women employed in factories, as far as they rest first and foremost on delegates from the factories. But inasmuch as they also bring together for common action working class housewives, women home industry and office workers, domestic servants, etc. in the towns and peasant women and women agricultural labourers in the rural districts they must be considered a broader form of united front and must be utilised accordingly. As most sections have at least made a beginning with the construction of factory nuclei, they must now pursue on this basis the development of this work with the object of organising women delegate meetings, which must be their immediate practical task. The organisation and carrying out of women delegate meetings is to give impetus to the development and concentration of the Party apparatus for this task. Parallel with a broad inner Party propaganda and instruction with respect to women delegate meetings, efforts must be made to provide the necessary support for these women delegate meetings above all in factories, but also in street nuclei, in the rural districts and in proletarian mass organisations. Delegate meetings must also form the basis for educational work on a large scale among the masses. They must receive the slogans of the Party, must propagate them and work for them, acting thereby as a lever for drawing ever-growing masses into action. They must endeavour to enlist new members for trade unions and co-operatives, etc. and must draw the most advanced working women into the Party.

20. One of the most important premises for a successful solution of the main tasks and also for carrying out the work in all other spheres is a well-constructed and well-functioning Party apparatus for work among women. Therefore, one of the most pressing tasks confronting all sections is to build up the women's departments — from the C.C. of the Party down to the Section executives — throughout the country according to the directions of the Comintern, seeing to it that they be organised in a manner which will enable them to link up large sections of women with all the campaigns of the Party and the working class under the leadership of the Party Executive and in close collaboration with other departments of the

Party, particularly, the Org, Agitprop and trade union departments.

21. But attention to the main tasks of the immediate future must not make the Parties lose sight of and neglect other possibilities for successful work.

Side by side with the factories and trade unions, and apart from the women delegate meetings, other existing mass organisations also serve for the organisational consolidation of our influence among the masses, — first and foremost the co-operatives and also Red Aid, householders, war victims, International Workers' Relief, sport, peasant, organisations, etc.

22. The Parties must use in the same manner the existing non-Party women's organisations, i. e. they must penetrate into them, must form fractions and carry on a systematic activity in order to get influence over the women organised there.

23. As yet, work among peasant women and women agricultural labourers, has not produced any successes or experiences. But it must be taken in hand immediately. Work in this sphere must be initiated by studying the position of these sections of women, their needs and demands, in order to create a basis for experimental practical work in the most suitable places where favourable opportunities exist. Peasant countries and regions (France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Slovakia, the Balkans and the East) will have to lead the way in this respect.

24. In order to counteract the activity of our opponents among the working women and to alienate from them the masses who are still following them, the sections must study more systematically and carefully than before the policy and methods of Parties and of organisations with a big following of women and particularly proletarian women, such as the Social Democrats, clericals and nationals. The sections must take up a definite attitude to the programmes, slogans and actions of these Parties and organisations, and must react energetically to all their measures. They must expose before the eyes of the masses the political meaning of our opponents, their manoeuvres, all the lies, half-heartedness and treachery of the false leaders, in order to point out to the masses their true interests and show them the way to an effective representation of these interests under the leadership of the Communist Parties.

25. To cope successfully with the big political and organisational tasks connected with activity among women, special attention must be paid to the formation of a cadre of well-trained women functionaries, and functionaries for work among women. This can be done by systematic Party school work in the development of which, the women's departments must take an active part. This will help to clarify the attitude of the Party towards the work among women. The lower Party organs and rank and file members will show more understanding for the instructions of the Party Executive, they will carry them out with more precision and will develop more initiative, activity and political leadership with respect to all questions which the everyday class struggle makes imperative.

26. In order to further international exchange of experiences and to give a lead to activity in all spheres, the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. must help and encourage the sections by placing at their disposal the experiences of our various sections and above all, those of the C. P. S. U. This necessitates the perpetuation and consolidation of the regular connections of the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. with the various sections. Up and above this, exchange of experiences among the Sections must be better organised than before. But above all, the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. must make accessible to the Sections systematically, comprehensively, and with the least possible delay, the practical experiences of the various countries, any new questions which might arise and actual events in the sphere of women's work in our own and also in the opponent camp, in order that all this material may be used by the Sections for general Party purposes or for the press. Systematic supply of such material to the international press and the establishment of an international bulletin for work among women through the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. under the active collaboration of the sections, is an important means for the guidance, consolidation and international linking up of this work.

# Theses on Comrade Artyukhina's Speech — „Report on Work of the C. P. S. U. Amongst the Toiling Masses of Women”.

## Introductory.

1. The Departments for work amongst working and peasant women attached to the Party committees, conduct mass work amongst the non-Party women workers. They carry out the instructions of the Party amongst the wide masses of women workers and peasants. Their task is to give the working and peasant women an understanding of the most complicated problems brought up by our Party.

2. The working and peasant women's departments also have the task of bringing before the Party the tasks and problems dictated by the special labour and living conditions of masses of women.

3. During the period under report, the Working and Peasant Women's Department of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. (b) has brought before the Party a whole number of problems of a general, political and economic nature; the question of the position of female labour in production; the extension of Party influence over the scattered strata of toiling women (worker's wives, teachers, etc.) the opening up of creches and clinics in the villages; the freeing of working women from worry about their children both during the working hours in the factory, and also during the time of their social work.

4. The question of female labour in production was put forward in connection with the fact that a tendency for decreasing the percentage of women in industry had been noticed. A number of measures taken by the Party and the Soviet authorities caused a definite move forward and as a result of two year's work considerable attainments are to be recorded in this field.

5. The increase of activity of all strata of the toilers has caused a growth in the activity of the workers' wives, housewives, etc. The Working Women's Department urged upon the Party the necessity of ideologically organising this activity and directing it in the interests of the Party and the Soviet country. The corresponding instructions given by the Party help to extend the Party influence over a considerable strata of scattered toiling women and attract them into useful social work.

6. The increased participation of working women in social-political life brought about the necessity of freeing them from worry about the children, not only during their hours of work in the factory, but also during the time of their social work. The Working Women's Department has brought this question before the Party and the social organisations, and of late a considerable construction of special institutions adapted for this purpose has taken place. (evening shifts in creches and pre-school institutions, the organisation of children's rooms and corners attached to clubs, etc.)

7. The immediate tasks of Party work among the toiling masses of women were defined by the decision of the XIV Party Congress and the April Plenum of the C. C. The tasks consist in the organisation of the increased activity of the masses of women and directing it into the channel of practical participation in the construction of Socialism by wider attraction of the toiling women into the work of economic, co-operative, trade union and other organisations, and more active work in the Soviets.

In connection with the decisions of the XIV Party Congress and the tasks of industrialisation of the country, the problem of female labour in industry acquires special significance, not only in respect to its preservation and quantitative growth, but also in respect to its qualifications and qualitative improvement.

## I.

### Conditions of Work: in the Towns.

1. The determining factor in Party work among the women masses of the town is the position of women in production and in social life. In the sphere of the position of female labour in production, the main factor during the postwar period has been a considerable and quite normal decrease in the percentage of women engaged in industry during war time. At the end of this normal process there became manifest a definite tendency of the increase of female labour falling off in respect

of the increase of the total number of workers. The economic successes and development of industry have been accompanied by a natural improvement in the qualitative and quantitative composition of the working class of the U. S. S. R. The number of workers during the last two years has increased from 5,500,000 (on April 1, 1924) to 7 millions (on October 1, 1926). Besides the growth of the working class in general, there has taken place an absolute increase in the number of women engaged in industry, especially connected with the development of the textile industry. But this growth of the absolute number of women is relatively less than the general increase of the number of workers. And this has caused a certain vacillation in the percentage of women in industry.

On October 1, 1922 in all trade unions there were 28,8% women  
On October 1, 1923 in all trade unions there were 26,4% women  
On April 1, 1924 in all trade unions there were 26,1% women  
On July 1, 1924 in all trade unions there were 25,9% women  
On October 1, 1924 in all trade unions there were 25,6% women

2. This position has become the object of a thorough and serious study on the part of the Party and the competent Soviet and trade union organs. Special commissions were formed for studying and improving female labour in production, both in the People's Commissariat for Labour and in the localities. Various measures were taken for strengthening female labour in industry, for a further increase in the percentage of women workers in production.

3. The study of the causes connected with the slacking down in the tempo of growth of female labour power in production divulged the following main factors:

a) The existence of certain prejudices on the part of factory authorities who are apt to regard female labour as less advantageous in view of the legal system of labour protection and protection of motherhood and infancy (the codex of laws on labour and legislation in the field of the protection of motherhood and infancy).

b) The second decisive factor is the inadequate degree of skilled female labour.

4. According to the data of the People's Commissariat for Labour the percentage of women on skilled work has increased by 2½%, on semi-skilled work by 1,7%. Of 396,545 women workers, 42,6% proved to be unskilled, 36,9% semi-skilled and only 16% skilled.

5. Such low qualification of female labour raises the urgent task of devoting increased attention to this question, for the construction of Socialism, the task of transforming the country from an agricultural into an industrial country, still more increase the demand for skilled labour power in general and for skilled female labour power in particular.

6. An analysis of this situation called great attention to questions of the skill of female labour. In this field a number of considerable attainments have been made of late.

On January 1st, 1925, in the factory apprenticeship schools, there were 51,625 girls or 17,7% of the total number of apprentices. In the trade technical colleges, there were 110,572 women, or 25,3% of the total number. In October 1925, in 50% of all factory apprenticeship schools, 35,9% girls were accepted, i. e. almost twice the number of the preceding year.

7. The surplus of free labour power in the country creates a constant and uninterrupted stream of new unskilled cadres of workers into the towns. Despite the growth and extension of industry, it is not in a position to absorb fully this surplus influx of labour power from the countryside and therefore, there is a considerable number of unemployed in the towns. Unemployment amongst women occupies a special place amongst the unemployed. In January 1925, unemployed women comprised 38,7% of all unemployed. In July 1925, they already comprised 40,6%. The big growth and certain permanency of female unemployment is again a result of the poorer skill and training of the women masses. In connection with the extension of industry and the retraining of the unemployed, which is being carried out by the organs of the Peoples Commissariat for Labour and the Supreme Economic Council, particular attention

is being paid to bringing women workers into this training system. Much is done to bring unemployed women into those forms of public works which correspond with the physical possibilities of women.

8. The social conditions of the toiling women have tremendous significance in the entire work of the Party amongst women. In this field, considerable attainments have been made during the last two years. At the present time, there are 737 factory creches in the U. S. S. R., 521 children's clinics, 276 clinics for expectant mothers and 103 homes for mothers and children. Notwithstanding the considerable absolute quantity of these institutions, the service of such institutions for working women is still quite inadequate to meet the demand, especially in connection with the influx of new strata of women into the industry and the growth of the demands of the working class. Taking this fact into consideration, the Sixth Congress of Trade Unions decided to include creches in the collective agreements. The XIV Party Congress passed the following decision on this question: "It is necessary not only to preserve, but wherever possible, to extend the system of creches, children's homes and institutions, liberating the working woman from household work". The construction of pre-school institutions-kindergartens and playgrounds has enormous significance in improving the social life of working women. Altogether there are about 800 pre-school institutions for the use of the children of workers and working women (not counting those in the autonomous regions).

9. There are also considerable achievements in the sphere of organising public feeding. During the last two years, the number of restaurants for workers and their families has grown considerably. These restaurants are becoming more and more accessible for working women with families. In Ivanovo-Vosnessensk there is a "kitchen factory" which can serve 12,000 dinners per day.

10. In the sphere of housing construction, certain achievements are also to be noted. In a number of places: Moscow, Baku, Tula, the Donbass, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Leningrad, and in the workers districts and regions, a number of new workers' settlements have been constructed. In the construction of these workers' houses attention is paid to the necessity of protecting the interests of the women, i. e. space is allotted in these houses for children's institutions, for public restaurants, and other needs. The possibility of further emancipation of women is thereby secured.

11. Work in the field of house construction, public feeding, and in general a considerable part of the work in improving the social life of working women is undertaken with the aid of the co-operatives. This year the number of working women in co-operatives reached 1,085,342 and peasant women, 1,558,690 which makes 25% working women and 16% peasant women. There are considerable attainments in the sphere of attracting working and peasant women into the leading organs of the co-operatives (from 3 to 5%).

12. A big and complicated problem in the spheres of constructing the new life is the problem of properly organising children's education. As a heritage from the difficult years of war and civil war, there still remain waifs and strays who require care and attention. Not only the Soviet public organisations are mobilised for the struggle against this destitution, but also considerable public self-activity. Beside the child destitution which remained as a heritage of the years of ruin, there are also certain elements of new destitution which are a result of not sufficiently well organised work for organising children's leisure and reaching the wide masses of children through social education. The attention of the wide masses of working women has been drawn to this work and it has now made considerable advances.

## II.

### Work of the Trade Unions amongst Women.

1. The widely developed trade union work amongst the women masses has tremendous significance. This work has made attainments both in the field of forming cadres of active trade union workers from amongst the women themselves and also in the field of reaching the entire mass of women and bringing them into trade union and social-political life. Working women are members of factory committees to the extent of 13.4%, members of the T. U. committees in institutions — 18.7%, in labour pro-

tection commissions there are 20% women, in wage tariff commissions 8.8%, in the productive conference 16.9%, in auditing commissions 8.5%, women working as shop delegates 21% and in cultural commissions 19%. According to the figures of the A. U. C. T. U., 13.7% of the leading posts in trade union work are held by women, in the C. C. of the Unions — 15.1%, in the provincial departments 5.5%, and in the uyezd T. U. departments — 6.6%. The trade unions are confronted with the task of extending this work still more, and especially extending their influence over new strata of working women and bringing them into cultural-public life, in particular those women brought into production with the development of industry.

## III.

### Mass Work of the Party amongst Women.

1. Considerable achievements have been made in the work of the Party among the toiling masses of women. There is no longer any need to talk of the entire mass of women being backward and of the necessity of bringing them to the level of the vanguard of the working class. One can quite definitely observe the following three main categories amongst working women: 1. the active women workers comprising those elected to Soviets, trade union and public organisations, and to economic work, 2. working women taking part in the work of delegate meetings, elementary political education circles, i. e. those who are at the present time under the specific and direct influence of the Party, and 3. the remaining masses of women not yet drawn into public life through the social forms of mass work.

2. The active women workers are fairly significant. There are 25.3% women members of town soviets in the R. S. F. S. R., 33,291 women elected to co-operative organs, 13.4% of the membership of factory committees, while 17.8% of the jury in the provincial courts and 18.6% in the people's courts are women. This active group of working women also includes considerable masses of those who have passed through the school of delegate meetings. In respect to this group, the Party is confronted with the task of promoting them to various elected organisations, and the task of training them into business-like workers for responsible work in trade unions, co-operatives, soviets, etc. The method of work in respect to this stratum is in the first place to raise the qualification in the sphere of work in which they are now engaged. This cadre of promoted women public workers should be the basis for supplying further reinforcements for the Party.

### Delegate Meetings of Working Women.

3. The second category of working women includes the women delegates of the present delegate meetings and the students of elementary political educational circles. In 1925, there were 67,298 such women delegates and in 1926 95,995. Thus, the number of women delegates increased by 28,697 in one year. The elections of delegate meetings during this year were on the lines of a wide mass campaign. Public organisations, the trade unions and other organisations participated extensively in the elections and helped the departments of working women and peasants attached to the Party committees, to conduct this work. Fifty per cent of the working women were reached through the re-elections of the delegate meetings. The organisation of delegate meetings not only on a district and sub-district scale, but directly in the enterprises themselves, should be considered a great achievement. The delegate meeting remains the centre of attention of the entire Party work amongst the women masses. The experience of the whole period of the revolution has proved that delegate meetings are a school of Communism which has been fully verified and quite justified themselves in experience. All the present active women have passed through the delegate meetings, i. e., all working women promoted to public work, to soviets, co-operation, the trade unions, etc. Delegate meetings are the connecting link between the Party and the wide masses of women. With the aid of the delegate meetings, the Party takes the lead of the widest masses of toiling women. This is why the attention of Party organisations from top to bottom is concentrated on the guidance of the work of delegate meetings.

4. Delegate meetings are summoned to give the working women elementary information on political education and to imbue them with a number of practical habits in the sphere of public and political work. For this purpose the delegate meetings have brought up the practical questions of drawing women dele-

gates into practical work in the Soviet sections in the commissions of factory committees, and also the organisation of special sections attached to delegate meetings.

5. This year, besides the usual sections — co-operative, trade union and for protection of motherhood and infancy, the experience of organising industrial and juridical sections in a number of places has also justified itself. The industrial sections set themselves the task of training administrators and managers from among the working women. The experience of Moscow has given very valuable results. The juridical sections mainly unite the working women members of the juries. These sections help them in their direct practical work and also in training a considerable cadre of working women for work in the courts.

6. Besides delegate meetings, the method of organising elementary political education circles for working women in the factories has also justified itself. There are over a thousand of such circles in the U. S. S. R. with 35,726 students. These elementary circles render considerable aid in training working women for further Party education and at the same time are a step forward on the way to promoting the working women into public life.

#### IV.

##### Work amongst the Backward Masses of Working Women.

1. There are working women in the factories who are not yet drawn into any public or political work. This category includes, in the first place, new strata of working women who have come from the villages with the extension of industry. In order to arouse the activity of these new strata and draw them into public work, it is necessary to practice a whole number of forms and methods of work which have excellently justified themselves during the experience of the first years of work of the C. P. S. U. (b) among toiling women, in particular the organisation of special women's meetings. These special meetings of working women are a method of drawing the more backward strata into public life in general and above all into the life of their own factory. The chief feature of these meetings should be that they are able to bring up all the main problems interesting and occupying the masses of working men and women from the view-point of the position of working women in labour and life, her demands, and her social-political level. In very big enterprises where it was not possible to call such general meetings, the method of organising conferences of working women has justified itself during the last few years. It should definitely be stated that in the field of work with these new strata, positive results are not yet sufficiently big, the trade unions and nuclei are only beginning to grasp the forms and methods of approach to this work.

2. In respect to these categories just as in respect to the working women who are passive and little drawn into public life in general, it is necessary to increase attention in the field of drawing them, in the first place into the life of the entire enterprise, attracting them to the general meetings and productive conferences, getting them to take part in the examination of collective agreements, and in re-elections to factory committees, etc., in fact, on the basis of solving the vital direct needs of the working women, they should be drawn in and interested in the more general problems of Socialist construction.

3. The clubs should play a great role in the work amongst working women. According to data of the A. U. C. T. U. (All-Union Council of Trade Unions) 29.8% of all members of clubs were women on January 1st, 1925. In a number of unions where women play a considerable role, such as for instance in the Textile Workers Union, women comprise 37.5% of the club membership and in the Chemical Workers Union, 27.4%.

It must be definitely stated that this percentage of women drawn into the clubs is still inadequate. The reason is that our clubs have not yet been able sufficiently to adapt the content of their work to the interests and demands of the women masses, in particularly the interest and demands of the adult and family women workers. Experience goes to show that in order to draw family working women into clubs, not only rest and recreation, should be considered but also utility. The organisation of knitting and sewing courses in the clubs, has justified itself in respect to drawing family women workers and workers' wives into the clubs. Correct and well-organised work in liquidating illiteracy and semi-illiteracy also serves as a factor of attraction.

4. A great obstacle both for the attraction of family women workers into clubs and in fact into any other social-political work, is their impossibility of leaving their children uncared for.

While our children's institutions work only during the daytime, i. e. during the hours when the working women are engaged in the factory, things stood very unfavourably in respect to drawing adult working women into the clubs. The experience of organising children's rooms and circles attached to the clubs has given very considerable results as it enables the working women and workers' wives to take part in club work without any worry at all as they are sure that their children are in reliable hands.

5. One of the forms of mass work is the press. We have colossal achievements during the last year in the field of the special press devoted to the toiling women masses. All the special journals have considerably increased their circulation, commencing with the leading organ "Kommunistka" (Woman Communist) which is for the use of the active workers working amongst women and ending with the mass journals for working and peasant women. For instance, the circulation of the journal "Kommunistka" has increased from 3,000 to 24,000. The journal "Rabotnitsa" (working Woman) has increased from 8,000 to 78,000, "Delegatka" to 45,000, "Batrachka" (Woman Farm Labourer) to 26,000, "Rabotnitsa i Krestyanka" (Working Woman and Peasant Woman) 275,000 and the "Krestyanka" to 45,000. The mass journals have now won firm sympathy amongst the women masses. They have a definite circle of their own readers and a further growth of their circulation is taking place quite voluntarily and independently. Grouped around these mass journals there is a considerable number of worker correspondents and village correspondents. Around the central journals published by the Women workers' department of the C. C. there are grouped 1,860 women worker correspondents and village correspondents, while around the local journals there are grouped, 1,493 women worker correspondents and village correspondents.

Besides journals, a considerable amount of popular literature for working and peasant women has been published this year. Two special series have been issued, one for working women delegates and the other for peasant women delegates. A number of booklets of a scientific popular nature has been published and a certain quantity of artistic literature. During the last year the work of publishing leading literature for the active workers working amongst women has also advanced. In the domain of the press there is the task of further improvement of its quality and a still greater advancement and study of the demands of the masses of women readers and support for the extension and attraction of working and peasant women in the worker and peasant correspondents' movement.

#### V.

##### Work among Workers' Wives.

1. The increased activity of all strata of the toilers has also been seen in the relative activity of the scattered strata of toiling women, workers' wives, women handicraft workers, etc. During the past year the department of working women has considerably extended and formulated work amongst these strata. A definite percentage of workers' wives have been drawn into the delegate meetings of working women, into the Soviets, and into the practical work of reorganising women's social life. During last year there were 30,559 workers' wives in the delegate meetings and now there are 38,785. In the Soviets in Moscow there are 176 workers' wives, in Tula 78, whilst in the Ukraine workers' wives comprise 10% of the women elected to the Soviets. The main task in all this work is in the first place not to separate this work from work amongst working women and to ensure women the leading place in the entire work, to direct the activity of these strata along the channel of participation in those forms of Soviet and public work in which this activity can be utilised to the greatest advantage in the interests of Socialist construction.

#### VI.

##### Work among Peasant Women.

1. In the sphere of work with peasant women, we have considerable attainments to show in introducing system and greater Party leadership in all those forms of work which are practised in the countryside. The main form of work with the peasant women is the delegate meeting. It must be definitely stated that during this year delegate meetings of women peasants have in a number of places worked quite according to plan, systematically maintaining the programme issued by the Central



Department, while increased attention and guidance in this work has been observed on the part of the Party organisations. One of the main tasks confronting the delegate meetings in the countryside is to link up the programme work with practical work still more and more in order that the work of the delegate meetings can really help the women delegates to be skirmishers in the reorganisation of economics and life on the new principles.

2. This year the network of delegate meetings has noticeably increased as also a number of peasant women is drawn into these meetings. Last year there were 246,702 peasant women delegates and now there are 311,741 women delegates.

3. A serious achievement in the work in the countryside is the organisation of work with the women peasants elected as members of the Soviet, of the Mutual Aid Committees, of the Co-operatives, etc. On an average there are now nearly 10% women peasants elected to the Soviets. If one takes into account the considerable inertia of the countryside in regard to the participation of women in the leadership of social-political life, this percentage should be reckoned as very considerable. Last year the percentage of peasant women was 8.6%. The main task in this sphere of work is to help these elected peasant women by systematic leadership, and give them the possibility of growing up into valuable active workers which is the best method of really securing the emancipation of women peasants in the countryside.

4. During these years there are serious achievements in the field of work of improving the social life of the women peasants. This year the network of children's institutions has developed considerably, especially in the summer time — creches, clinics, etc. These children's institutions are receiving greater and greater recognition and sympathy on the part of the peasant women. Around these institutions there is also developing in a number of places extensive work with mothers both on question of the better organisation of children's education and in general on questions of a social-political nature.

Mass work with peasant women is not only conducted by means of organising meetings, knitting and sewing courses, talks, etc., of which there is already a considerable number, but also develops to a large extent around the village reading rooms. In a whole number of places the experience of organising "woman peasant days", the reading of journals such as "Krestianka" in the village libraries, etc., have been well justified. Wherever the village reading rooms have sufficiently understood the importance of drawing peasant women into social-political work and have adapted the work of the village reading rooms also to the interests and demands of the female section of the villages, there has always been considerable achievement in this field.

5. This year undoubted advances are to be observed in drawing peasant women into study. The percentage of peasant women drawn into political education schools, and into all kinds of courses, workers' faculties, etc., has increased. Things are considerably better in respect to drawing girls into schools.

## VII.

### Work in the East.

1. The method of work amongst women masses in the East which has most justified itself is women's clubs and Red Corners. In 1925 there were 51 such clubs with a membership of

15,000; there were 61 Red Corners with about 4,000 students. Besides club work which has become particularly well established in view of the specific labour and living conditions of the Eastern toiling women, the number of delegate meetings of women delegates is also growing and becoming firmly rooted. In 1923—24 there were 25,028 women delegates, in 1924—25 there were already 57,281. There are considerable achievements in the field of drawing the toiling women of the East into the Soviet apparatus. In 1923—24 there were 4,352 Eastern women, members of Soviets, while in 1924—25 there were already 17,643. The main tasks which confront the women workers' departments in our Eastern republics and Regions consist in producing cadres of trained workers, from amongst the women of the local population which will ensure the possibility of reaching the women of the national minorities better and more extensively with all the existing forms of work. Problems of social life have special significance in Eastern work. It is still necessary to do a great deal to create the necessary change in attitude towards the problems of the emancipation of women in their living conditions. In this field, great significance should be attached to the workshops, clinics, schools for diffusing elementary education, and sanitary hygienic habits among the women masses, which are organised independently and around the clubs.

## VIII.

### Working and Peasant Women in the Party.

1. The number of women amongst the members and candidates of the C. P. S. U. (b) is undoubtedly growing which can be seen from the following figures: In 1925 there were 76,494 women in the Party (10.3%), in 1926 there are 128,807 (12.8%). In the field of further attraction of working and peasant women into the Party, the women workers' departments are confronted with the task of an extremely thorough and thoughtful approach to this problem. The women to be drawn into the Party should be those working and peasant women who have already passed through a school of social and practical work.

Besides drawing working and peasant women into the Party there is the task of a more attentive approach to the questions of political training of women Communists already members of the Party; in particular those from the last two Lenin enrolments. While not forming special women schools, consideration must be given to the level of development and the living condition of the women Communists in order to adapt the forms of Party education more closely to them.

## IX.

### The Apparatus and Guidance of the Work.

1. The apparatus for work amongst working and peasant women has undoubtedly become strengthened during this period. The number of adult organisers has grown not only in quantity but also in quality. The cadres of workers in the factories are improving. A system has been instituted of special training and re-training of workers amongst women both by means of organising special courses and sections of general courses, and also by getting questions of work amongst women inserted in the general programmes of training for party workers.

# Resolution on the Work of the C. P. S. U. among the Women Masses.

Work among the masses of women of the U. S. S. R., which is part of the work of the International Women's Secretariat, is conducted under conditions differing from those in other countries.

On the one hand, the existence of power in the hands of the proletariat and the exceptional position of the Communist Party as the ruling Party is a tremendous advantage for emancipating the masses of women and bringing them into the general proletarian struggle and into the work of construction. On the other hand, the problems of socialist construction under conditions of capitalist encirclement, and the heavy heritage of ignorance, darkness and superstition which has a particularly stubborn

hold among the backward masses of women in the countryside, create a great number of difficulties for successful work among the masses of women of the U. S. S. R.

The conference is gratified to record that in these complicated conditions, there are such considerable achievements in this work, for instance the strengthening of the position of working women in the production, the raising of their qualifications, the organisation of a network of institutions emancipating women, success in drawing the masses of women (not only the working women, but, what is particularly difficult, the peasant women) into the local and central soviets and executive committees, the extensive attraction of women into all forms of social and political work (trade unions, mutual aid committees,

the press, clubs, the Party) and the considerable successes on the cultural front.

The conference particularly emphasises that in the achievement of these results an exceptional rôle has been played by the tested method of work through delegate meetings, and also the constant aid and firm leadership of the Communist Party.

The conference considers that these achievements, while very extensive as compared with those of the period just elapsed, are at the same time quite inadequate in face of the great tasks of industrialisation and of accelerating the victory of socialism, which confront the Soviet Union. The conference considers that in the future, also, workers among the masses of women of the U.S.S.R. will have to exert themselves tremendously to extend their work. The whole International Women's Secretariat should render great assistance in this work.

## Thesis on Work among Working Women of the East.

The revolutionary masses of the East in their struggle for political and economic emancipation from international imperialism and for liberation from feudal-servitude relations which are still prevalent in most Eastern countries, have now a loyal ally—women.

By drawing the women of the East into the struggle against imperialism, an impetus will be given to the national-liberation movement and its success will be ensured. Women's participation will also imbue world revolution with new energy, the energy of millions of people who for centuries were fettered by social conditions, traditions, customs and prejudices. Therefore, the V. Congress of the Comintern insisted on the fact that "Communist work among women is by no means a side-issue for Communist Parties, that it constitutes an important and even determining part of the fundamental task of organisation and realisation of the struggles of the revolutionary proletariat".

In their work among the women of the East, Communist Parties take as their point of issue the general tasks of the national-liberation movement of the proletarian masses and of the proletarian class struggle. In respect to Japan, which is a developed capitalist and imperialist country having a great deal in common with the Western European countries, the Communist Party should base its activities in the field of working amongst women on the general tasks of the working class in its struggle against the rule of capitalism and imperialism for the triumph of the proletarian dictatorship.

With these fundamental tasks in mind, they must in their activity extend and consolidate the united anti-imperialist front, drawing into it large numbers of working women, making use for this purpose of the mass workers and peasant organisations and also of the petty bourgeois national-revolutionary and women's organisations, which are rallying ground also for revolutionary elements. Communist influence over these organisations must be exercised by means of introducing women Communists into them as active workers, and by joint actions in connection with definite concrete slogans.

But at the same time, Communist Parties must display "Maximum caution and flexibility in their support of local national-liberation, feminist and other petty-bourgeois movements. They must draw a line between the Communist women's movement and bourgeois feminism and must also adapt the immediate demands, and the forms of work to local conditions, in complete agreement with the programme and tactics of the Communist Party of every separate country".

Efforts should be made by means of systematic work to eliminate in the ranks of working and peasant women, of working class intellectuals and other petty bourgeois elements the last vestige of the illusion that it is possible for them, within the framework of bourgeois society, to find a way out of their miserable and absolutely dependent position, and at the same time to make them realise that their participation in the economic and political struggle of the proletariat and of the vanguard of the peasantry is essential for the final emancipation of women from the relics of the old religious and social habits and traditions and from exploitation by capitalist society.

The conference calls attention to the fact that the experience of work in the U.S.S.R. is valuable for all countries not only for utilising in the period after the victory of the Soviet power, but also and in particular in the period of preparation for the revolution. The advantages in the hands of the Communist Parties, of capitalist countries in the form of the experience and example of the real emancipation of women in the U.S.S.R. and in the form of the great degree of literacy and culture of the masses of women should be utilised for a more rapid attraction of the toiling women into the general proletarian struggle even before the revolution, in order that at the decisive moment the balance of forces will be in favour of the proletariat and in order that there will not be an obstacle in the form of millions of backward toiling women during the first years of the proletarian dictatorship.

### I. ORGANISATION.

Organisational forms which activity among the women of the East should assume fundamentally were already laid down by the V. World Congress of the Communist International. In its resolution "On the activity of the Communist Party among working women", the V. Congress "insists on the fact that activity among working women is the task of the Party as a whole. It must more than ever become part of the general Party work. In the entire activity of the Party, in all its actions and campaigns, special measures for the mobilisation of working women should always be considered.

In Communist Parties and mass workers' organisations and also in national-revolutionary parties and mass peasant organisations, in workers-peasant parties, trade unions, and co-operatives, women's departments or women's commissions should be established in the form of auxiliary organs whose task it shall be to help to organise women and to draw them into the mass workers', peasant and national-revolutionary organisations.

Women's Departments, women's commissions and the institute of women organisers in their capacity of auxiliary Party organs represent organisational forms which ensure uniform leadership of the proletarian and national-liberation movement, and which prevent the consolidation and extension of bourgeois-feminist influence.

A member of the C. C. is to be made responsible for work among women. It is essential that the C. C. appoint one comrade of the Communist Party, preferably a woman, and if possible a member of the C. C., who shall be responsible for the management and conduct of activity among women.

Every local committee must appoint one comrade, preferably a woman, for work among women and for regular control over the activity of women's organisers. Women's organisers have to account for their work to the Party Committees and the lower Party nuclei. They are the representatives of the Party as a whole and not only of women Communists, but are responsible for their work to the Party as a whole. At the sessions of Congresses and C. C. plenums, local committees, nuclei and Communist fractions, questions concerning work among women should be placed on the agenda and discussed. All questions of principle and the organisational forms and methods of work among women must be decided by the competent leading Party organ in full agreement with the decisions of the Comintern.

Local women's departments must see to it that in every factory and big enterprise where women are employed, there should be regular agitation and propaganda among women with respect to all labour and everyday questions of special interest to women at the particular moment. Should there be a Communist nucleus of at least 3 Communist men or women in the enterprise, one of them entrusted with work among women, should be directly connected with the local women's department or women's organiser and should report on his or her work to them. If no Communist nucleus exists in the factory or enterprise the local women's department must appoint a woman organiser for personal contact with the women's department from the ranks of manual or office women workers in this enterprise. It is desirable to select women organisers from the

ranks of working women. By means of selection circles, groups of the most active non-Party, active working women are formed around the women organiser, or the woman representative of the Communist nucleus. These circles deal with general and special questions of special interest to working women, such as: sanitation, hygiene, protection of motherhood, childhood and labour, reorganisation of social and domestic life, struggle against war, convocation of the national assembly, etc.

In order to achieve maximum successes with respect to the organisation and attraction of women to mass political (proletarian, national-revolutionary and peasant), trade union, co-operative and other parallel non-Party organisations (International Workers' Relief, I.R.A., Society of Friends of the U.S.S.R., etc.) the Communist Parties of all countries should adopt two programmes of action in all fundamental branches of work among women: A broader and a narrower (immediate) programme, bringing forward the most important transitional demands which should be linked up with the general programme of action. The broad programme should comprise general principles, tactics and organisational forms of work among women laid down by special decisions of the Communist International and the I.W.S. and at congresses and conferences. For the realisation of this maximum programme, it is essential in the activity among working and peasant women, active women intellectuals and women of petty bourgeois circles to take immediately in hand the realisation of the most pressing demands. Special branches of work closely connected with the interests of various sections of women and also general questions of the national-liberation and class struggle of interest to all sections of working women should receive special attention.

The fundamental aim pursued in connection with this is — to bring forward a group of questions of immediate and pressing interest to various social sections of women and to make them of equal interest and equally actual for women as a whole, as it is they who will have to fight for them.

Work among women embraces generally speaking several fundamental spheres: the juridical and domestic sphere and the economic and cultural-educational spheres.

## II. SPHERES OF WORK.

### A. The Economic Sphere.

The development of capitalism in the East and the disintegration of the feudal-patriarchal forms of economy and of social and domestic conditions caused thereby, compel women to come gradually out of their former state of slavery and dependence and to endeavour to earn their living, which in its turn brings a gradual change into their economic position. The first great change in this respect is the mass participation of women in industrial production (Japan, India, China), and in agriculture.

The task of the Party and the trade unions consist, on the one hand in the struggle against all obstacles in the way of women's participation in production (this takes place in the Moslem East with its backward forms of national economy) and in free professions, and on the other hand in helping women to become skilled workers, in protecting their labour and demanding equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, etc.

The Communist Party, the women's departments and women's sections in the trade unions must carry on a systematic agitation in favour of the admission of women to technical education and apprenticeship in factories and workshops in those Eastern countries which have such institutions.

With respect to the protection of interests of peasant women, the Communist Party must take an active part in the solution of questions connected with agriculture, as for instance, the land question, the land development policy, the usufruct of land, the land legislation of the country. With regard to the general relations concerning the land question, the Party must be guided by the following considerations: to give women an opportunity to earn their living, to make them economically independent, namely, the Party must issue the slogan of right to landownership and right to inheritance for all women.

### B. The Juridical and Domestic Sphere.

It is essential to study very thoroughly the fundamental laws concerning women's rights in every individual country, and even in every separate region.

Having made themselves acquainted with the fundamental laws on women's rights, workers among women must ensure that those of them which even to a small extent protect the interests of workers and particularly those of women be put into practice, and must point out all their negative sides and their inadequacy.

In this sphere the task of the Party consists in singling out questions which make women economically dependent, deprive them of political rights and condemn them to domestic slavery. The Parties should bring forward demands concerning the removal of the sex disability by law. The fundamental questions of equal rights are as follows: the right to participate in all branches of labour, the right to education, protection of women's and child labour, protection of motherhood, the right to participate in social-political life of the country, equality with regard to the inheritance law, the right to transactions concerning property, the right to divorce and property rights in connection therewith, the father to provide for the child in the event of divorce, the right to the usufruct of land, participation in land development policy, abolition of polygamy as an institution of slavery in the East, of child marriages, a struggle against customs which hinder the normal development of the masses, and particularly the women and children.

Taking these fundamental regulations as their point of issue, the Parties must take advantage of any opportunity in connection with the legislation of the country to bring forward in their agitation suitable demands for the extension of women's rights, endeavouring to have them included in the general legislation. In connection with this it is essential to organise an agitational campaign on a large scale, to explain the Party proposals and their meaning for working women, and at the same time to make use of every campaign of this kind to draw women into social life.

In the East parliament (National Assembly in China, Constituent Assembly and also local autonomous administration), are still in a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries progressive political factors, not only in the struggle against the relics of feudal-patriarchal economic and social institutions, but even become in the process of the struggle the centre of that struggle against the foreign yoke for the independence of the country and the unification of the nation.

By bringing forward suitable demands in the National Assemblies in connection with the protection and the equality of rights of women before the law, the Communist Party and the Y. C. L. enlist the sympathy and support, not only of revolutionary organisations in sympathy with us, but also the support of purely progressive elements and groups through the press, oral propaganda, campaigns and demonstrations. They should organise special campaigns in connection with legislation affecting the interests of working women. In short, they must place themselves at the head of any movement directed towards the improvement of social conditions.

It behoves Communist Parties to make use of all legal possibilities in leading government organisations and institutions (parliament, legislative organs, local autonomous administrations, municipalities), in the various political and social associations, (educational establishments, managements of various societies, craft and guild organisations, among those forms of religious societies, which unite toiling women, in general cultural and social organisations), laying stress on the protection of women's and children's interests and labour. In this respect special attention should be paid to local autonomous administrations, where particularly there is a chance to work successfully for the improvement of the conditions of life of the working class, utilising this work for spreading our influence amongst the broad masses of the people.

The main task in this sphere is struggle against religious and social prejudices, which are a great impediment to successful Communist activity among the working women of the East.

### C. The Cultural-Educational Sphere.

Under conditions prevailing in the backward East, one of the fundamental tasks is cultural-educational work among large sections of working women.

In this respect the task of the Party consists on the one hand in continually bringing pressure to bear on the government of the country, concerning the introduction of a number

of measures of a cultural-educational character for the benefit of large sections of women, and on the other hand in the work which the Party itself must carry on in order to achieve this aim.

With respect to public instruction and the liquidation of wholesale illiteracy among the female population in the East (the only exception is Japan where only 10% of the total number of women are illiterate), first place must be given to the question of women's education. With this object in view, the question of drawing girls into the schools, organising co-education for them as well as special girls' schools, drawing older girls into secondary educational institutions, into pedagogical polit-technical schools, technical schools, courses, etc. — must be brought to the notice of society as a whole.

A campaign must be carried on against prejudices concerning the application of female labour in cultural-educational institutions in the capacity of teachers, midwives, doctors, etc.

In view of the necessity of drawing special attention to raising the cultural and educational level of the female masses, the Communist Party must endeavour to draw them into its general educational activity, into circles, schools and club work, into the theatres, excursions and into participation in the general and women's department wall-newspaper, in the press, etc. Wherever joint work is impossible, because of the customs of the country, the Party must carry on through its women's organisers separate cultural-educational work among women, forming women's circles, schools, corners in the clubs or women's clubs, etc. Special women's dramatic performances and excursions must be organised and women's newspapers, periodicals, etc., must be published.

Apart from all this the Communist Party carries on work in the existing cultural-educational associations and endeavours to gain influence over them; (China, etc.).

### III. DRAWING WOMEN INTO SOCIAL LIFE.

#### Party.

The ultimate aim of work among women must be to draw them out of their domestic hearth, to widen their limited horizon and to compel them to take an interest in the lives of thousands and millions of their sisters and brothers, in the work for their emancipation and also in questions of an economic, political, and social character. Women must not only be made to take an interest in all these questions, they must be induced to take an active part in the social and political life of the country, in the struggle for the interests of the entire working class and of the advanced peasantry, in the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against imperialism.

The Party can do justice to this task by systematically explaining and emphasising the importance of the aims pursued by the Party, the trade unions, the co-operatives, and youth and pioneer organisations, and also by drawing working women into these organisations. In view of the fact that the extremely inadequate influx of Eastern working women into the Party is not only due to objective conditions, but also to lack of attention to this question on the part of the Party, it is essential to concentrate on the work connected with the attraction into the ranks of the Party of the best section of the working women, who have gone through the school of social work.

It is also essential to continue to carry on work among the women who have already entered the Party. They must be drawn into the circles organised by the Party, trade unions, co-operatives, etc. and must be given definite work to do in order to create around them an atmosphere of confidence and comradeship. There must also be systematic control over these women and efforts must be made to eliminate among them and first of all amongst Communists, all the relics of past traditions and of the conservative, medieval views concerning women which still prevail among men.

#### The Trade Union Movement.

In view of the small percentage of women in trade unions and of the enormous importance of women's labour in a number of Eastern countries (Japan, India, China), the Party must pay special attention to the work connected with bringing large sections of women into the trade union movement.

In order to achieve this, the best forces of Communist women workers must be employed in agitation and propaganda among labour, for instance the textile industry. The tactics of

the trade union united front must be applied, taking into consideration the present position and the demands of working women. Efforts must be made to draw working women into the trade union struggle, into all strikes, manifestations, demonstrations and mass actions, in order to cultivate in them class and political consciousness and a feeling of working class solidarity.

The organisation of separate women's trade unions should not be allowed, but wherever they exist, the Party should take an active part in them, endeavouring to merge them into the general trade unions.

To ensure successful agitational-propagandist and educational work, it is essential to organise women's commissions or to appoint women's organisers in the trade unions under the control and guidance of the trade union Communist fraction.

During campaigns which have for their purpose to draw working women into the trade union movement, it is essential to bring forward a number of demands which should form the centre of the entire agitation. Wherever there is a strike in an enterprise in which women participate and whenever it is expedient, demands should be made for the protection of labour and the cultural and social development of working women.

#### Co-operation.

Co-operation in the East can play an important role in women's emancipation. It can be a useful weapon in the struggle for the right to work, for raising the qualification of women's work, for improving their position as home industries workers and also for carrying on cultural-educational work in the spirit of the proletarian class struggle. Among the women of the East the centre of gravity of this activity should be transferred to the producers, agricultural and consumers co-operative movement.

Women should be drawn into organised production (artels, workshops, etc.); purely women's artels should be formed as a means to promote the material independence of large sections of working women.

Efforts should be made to organise through the co-operative movement the normal distribution of the products of the home industries which have special export value (China, Japan, India, Persia, Turkey, etc), in order to rescue from exploitation the working women in the West who have to work for contractors or middlemen.

Efforts should be made to establish trade relations with the co-operative organisations of the Soviet countries in order to facilitate an exchange of technical and political experiences for women employed in home industries. Wherever it is possible exhibitions of the produce of the Eastern women of the U. S. S. R. should be organised, and the exhibits should be accompanied by as many women as possible from the various Eastern countries where the exhibited goods were produced.

In the East the co-operative movement should be one of the means of bringing women into contact with the Party, by grouping them around the Communist women-initiators of this activity as a base for regular cultural-educational and political work, by regular cultural-educational lectures, or rather informal talks and women producers conferences organised by Communists. After a certain amount of preparation and purely political discourses the method of delegate meetings adapted to the conditions of local work should be introduced among the women employed in the home industries.

Relations with women employed in the home industries should be established by means of correspondence, by publishing a periodical for them which should very gradually assume a political, technical and cultural-educational character in order that its women readers should become interested in the political life of the workers.

### IV. WORK AMONG PEASANT WOMEN.

Peasant women in Eastern countries beyond our borders play a very important role in agriculture. But at the same time there is no proportion whatever between their actual participation in the economic life and their civil and political rights. The peasant population and especially the women live and work under very hard conditions of the still existing feudal-patriarchal social order. They are exploited, not only by the imperialists, but also by their own States. At the same time peasant women

are overburdened with domestic work, family duties and are kept in a state of ignorance, oppression and complete dependence.

These conditions of labour and the disproportion between women's actual position in agriculture and their exclusion from all social and domestic rights and privileges create a fruitful ground for the propagation in their midst of ideas of liberation and emancipation. The national-liberation movement in the East is beginning to take hold also of the peasant women. In a number of countries — China (Kwantung), India, Turkey — peasant women participated in the movement against the imperialists. In Japan peasant women are being drawn into organisations and are fighting side by side with men against the exploitation of the landowners ("Tenants Federation").

In its work among the peasantry, the Party must not neglect activity among peasant women. In its efforts to permeate the rural districts, the Communist Party must in addition to its general work take special measures in order to get into closer contact with large numbers of peasant women. It must endeavour to create a strong body of non-Party peasant women around the Party, drawing them into the national-revolutionary parties, into workers-peasants and advanced peasant organisations, and the most class-conscious among them into the Communist Party.

To give an impetus to the work among peasant women, the Party should establish women's departments in the general peasant organisations with which we are in contact, as is already the case in Canton (China), in Mongolia and Japan. Sub-departments of commissions for work among peasant women should be formed in the women's departments (in national-revolutionary parties, workers-peasant and Communist Parties) in the centre as well as in the provinces.

In connection with work among peasant women the various social strata in the villages should not be overlooked and suitable methods for approaching these strata must be adopted. Peasant women-leaseholders as well as women belonging to the poor or middle peasantry endeavour to ensure the well-being of their homesteads, our agitation and propaganda finds favour among them insofar as their well-being is impaired by their general unsatisfactory economic and political position and sex disability. Women agricultural labourers, as hired workers, have every incentive to work against the exploitation of their labour and for the improvement of their conditions of labour.

Because of these fundamental differences in the interests of the peasant masses, the forms and methods of our work among them must also be different. The fundamental activity among peasant women is that connected with questions of women's equality of rights on the economic, juridical and political field, especially insofar as they are connected with the peculiarities of women's position in the national economy and in the family, with questions connected with raising the agricultural, cultural and political level of peasant women, their emancipation from landowners' exploitation and from the imperialist yoke. Our main activity among women agricultural labourers and peasant women is their organisation on an economic basis for the protection of their interests against the exploitation of the ruling classes in the villages, also the protection of their political and civil rights, and the demand for perfect equality regardless of sex.

When we speak of the organisation of women agricultural labourers on an economic basis we do not mean the formation of independent women's agricultural labourers' unions, — we mean that these women are to be drawn into the general agricultural labourers' unions. Women's departments should be organised in these unions whose business it shall be to work among the women agricultural masses.

The methods and forms of work among urban female masses — women's circles, women's non-Party conferences, women's non-Party congresses, general and women's campaigns and of possible women's corners in the general clubs, — can be successfully applied among peasant women, with the only difference that the questions to be brought forward in the process of the work must be in keeping with the demands and needs of peasant women at the given moment, and must be connected with the general political tasks of the Party with respect to the peasant population as a whole.

### The Youth Movement.

In connection with the general desire for education and the growing interest in the social life of young girls, Young Communist organisations are confronted with the question of systematic work in drawing girls into their ranks.

In the Young Communist Leagues systematic propaganda should be carried on to promulgate a Communist interpretation of the question of drawing girls into the cultural, economic and political life of the country.

Side by side with this propaganda an energetic struggle must be carried on against backward views concerning working women which still prevail among rank and file Y. C. Leaguers in the East, especially in Moslem countries. In connection with the activity among girls in the East one should pay special attention to the peculiarities of the cultural, economic, social and family life in each one of these countries. There are in the East countries with considerable industrial development where women participate on a large scale in the industries and free professions (Japan, India, China), where women have more or less free intercourse with men. But there are also countries such as Turkey, Persia, and others with a Moslem population where women are isolated from the social life, are so to speak kept prisoners, have to cover their faces and are forbidden all intercourse with men.

Different conditions require different methods and forms of activity among girls.

Wherever social and family conditions permit it is of the utmost importance to draw girl Y. C. Leaguers, not only into the League, but also into the League's general work.

When drawing girls into the Y. C. L. in backward Eastern countries (especially in Moslem countries) it is permissible as an exceptional and temporary measure to form special Y. C. L. girl nuclei, but efforts should be made to amalgamate these nuclei gradually with the general Y. C. L. nuclei.

Girl Y. C. L. nuclei should only be formed in localities where common Party and Y. C. L. leadership can be guaranteed. The work of girl Y. C. L. nuclei should be generally of a cultural-educational character. It must aim at drawing girls gradually, into social-political work which is not beyond their level of development.

It is essential to plan out this work among girls and to make it systematic, connecting it with the general tasks of the League. The entire activity among girls must be carried on in contact with the women's departments, the organisational connection resting on mutual representation.

In order to intensify and develop mass activity among girls, the Y. C. L. must show in its activity a great deal of tact, in respect to the masses that have to be won over (the family, the environment in which the young women are brought up, live, and work) it must be able to understand and take into account all the peculiarities of social conditions, national culture, customs, habits, and prejudices.

Because of the prevalence of early marriages in the East, special attention should be paid to attracting young girls to the Pioneer Corps, permitting the existence of special girls corps also for older girls. These special girl Pioneers Corps must be very cautiously and gradually transformed into mixed corps.

The Y. C. L. and the women's department must harmoniously collaborate in connection with activity among young and little girls. They must unite forces and funds.

### V. ATTITUDE TO THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND TO THE PURELY FEMINIST (WOMEN'S NON-PARTY) ORGANISATIONS.

In the countries of the East where the national-revolutionary movement is causing a great awakening among all the sections of the population arousing their centuries' old indignation against every kind of enslavement and exploitation, the women's movement is rapidly developing, and is assuming the character of a struggle against the economic, political, social and domestic enslavement of women against feudal-patriarchal relics, and for women's equality of rights. But at the same time this nascent women's movement keeps pace in the majority of countries with the general, national liberation movement and endeavours to draw the backward women into the social life, thereby tearing asunder the age-long ties of submission and dependence.

As the national-revolutionary movement extends and becomes more intensive (China, Turkey, India) and in connection with women's extensive participation in industrial and other public activity, the women's movement develops and forms part of the general liberation struggle of the various peoples. Side by side with this, women's mass organisations are springing up — unions, leagues, etc. In the national-revolutionary parties women participate actively in the liberation struggle against the imperialism of foreign States, and for the independence of the country. They have an enormous influence among the petty-bourgeoisie and partly also among the working class. Such is the women's movement organised by the Kuomintang Party of China, and of the national-revolutionary Party of Mongolia.

Apart from the women's movement connected with the national-revolutionary parties there are feminist organisations which can be divided into two groups:

1. **Feminist Organisations** which have set themselves the task of winning within the framework of capitalist society full economic, political and social rights for women. They embrace mainly bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements, intellectuals, and have no elements from the ranks of working women.

Such organisations are mainly to be found in Japan, some of them being organised under the protection of the government and the Court. Such organisations organised by liberal English women also exist in India.

The bourgeois feminist movement in India is not anti-imperialist.

2. **Feminist organisations**, which identify themselves with the general national-liberation movement, and in their demands touch upon questions of a general political character directed against foreign imperialism. They embrace the revolutionary section of the women intellectuals, petty-bourgeois elements and even working women (China, Egypt, India, Turkey).

The experience of the last few years has shown that there is a strong tendency to organise among the women of the East. But on the other hand, the general backwardness, the social and family conditions, the inequality of rights, create condition for the development of the feminist and petty bourgeois women's movement, which is directed against the age-long slavery and oppression of women and for the establishment by means of legislation of women's economic, juridical, social and family equality of rights — for women's recognition as human beings.

The Communist Party should determine its attitude and tactics to these various groups of women's organisations in accordance with their attitude to the national-revolutionary movement, and to the proletarian struggle, and also according to the extent of their influence over large sections of working women, taking into account their social composition.

Feminist organisations which have no working women in their ranks, but represent women's organisations of a West European type (as for instance in Japan and India) the Communist Party treats as organisations alien to it and carries on a struggle against them exposing to the workers their narrow-mindedness and their bourgeois class character.

With respect to feminist and petty bourgeois organisations, which are animated by a revolutionary spirit and are connected with the rank and file intellectuals, peasant women and even working women, the task of the Party consists in extending, at the expense of these organisations, the national-liberation movement, drawing them into the united anti-imperialist front, but only in so far as they have within them truly revolutionary elements. At the same time the Communist Party should show great cautiousness and flexibility in its support of these organisations. It should endeavour to separate the Communist women's movement gradually from bourgeois feminism and from the petty bourgeois women's movement.

In order to make use of the women's revolutionary national organisations and also of the progressive feminist organisations in the direction of strengthening the united, anti-imperialist front according to the general decisions of the Comintern, Communists must join these organisations and by systematic work bring them gradually to the side of the liberation movement, and the most revolutionary from among them onto the path of the class struggle. Women Communists must endeavour to change

gradually and to supplement the programme and statutes of these organisations in the direction of making them weapons for the protection of the interests of the proletariat and for the class struggle.

Communist fractions in national-liberation parties and organisations must encourage the women's departments of women's sections to work among women. As auxiliary organs, these women's departments and sections represent organisational forms which guarantee unity in the leadership of the proletarian and national liberation movement, as they prevent the women's movement from becoming isolated, and at the same time prevent the consolidation and extension of bourgeois feminist influence which finds a fruitful field in the East.

The fundamental tasks of women Communists in the women's national-revolutionary movement and in non-Party women's organisations are as follows:

1. Political education of the members in the spirit of class struggle, pointing out the limited nature of the tasks which progressive feminist organisations and the national-revolutionary women's movement set themselves.

2. Raising the self-consciousness and activity of working women.

3. Arousing the interest of members in all actual tasks and in the struggle of the working class and the advanced section of the peasantry.

4. Propaganda in favour of the members of these movements joining general mass, workers' and peasants' organisations, especially trade unions, co-operatives, the I. R. A., I. W. R., etc., drawing children and young people into the Y. C. L. and the Communist Children's Groups.

## VI. FORMS AND METHODS OF MASS WORK.

The economic and juridical enslavement of the women of the East, their cultural-political backwardness and their almost wholesale illiteracy demands special forms and methods of work, different considerably from these which are practised in highly developed capitalist countries. Therefore, in order to prepare women's participation in the trade union and political movement, it is essential in the East more than anywhere else to carry on preparatory work on a very large scale with the object of raising the cultural level of women generally, abolishing mediaeval forms of social life, religious fanaticism, savage superstitions and ignorance. But our main effort must be directed towards the emancipation of women from their secluded life which prevents them coming out into the arena of social activity and which prevents their entry into the general mass organisations.

The best methods for carrying on mass work among the women of the East are: women's campaigns, women's schools, clubs, and corners, non-Party women's conferences, women's meetings, circles, delegate meetings and a women's press. All this must be organised and controlled by our Parties, or by organisations in sympathy with us (national-revolutionary, trade union organisations, etc.), through the medium of women's departments, sections, commissions in the C. C. as well as in local committees and in the enterprises.

Women's clubs are the best means for the organisation of the most backward and economically and socially most downtrodden female masses. These clubs work under the control of the Party and in their entire activity they are organically connected with Party, trade union and co-operative organisations. They adapt themselves to the peculiarities of the social, economic and cultural development of every country.

Women's clubs at times fulfil the functions of all political-education organs as well as the functions of juridical general educational organs and organs for the protection of health. Their task consists in familiarising women with definite forms of labour, generally practised, and which could be applied in every locality.

The fundamental tasks of women's clubs is women's political education, by means of connecting the entire club work with the tasks confronting the Party at the given moment and also in the future.

The various institutions for the development of women are: schools for the liquidation of illiteracy, circles for political education, trade union and co-operative circles, literature, art,

dramatic and workers' correspondents' circles, excursions, wall newspapers and periodicals.

In view of the cultural, economic and social backwardness of the women of the East, especially of the Moslem East, it is admissible to establish in the corners and clubs special purely Women's Communist nuclei, which, however, should aim at fusion with the general nuclei.

Special youth sections are formed in the clubs for the benefit of young girls. Work in the youth sections is similar to the work carried on in children's and youth organisations and is based on the Party's decision with respect to this subject.

Through their sections women's clubs do their share in the organisation of Y. C. L. nuclei Youth Sections, Pioneer Corps, various circles among girls and boys and wall newspapers under the control of the Y. C. L.

Young Pioneers' circles are gradually linked up with the Y. C. L. Membership in the Youth Sections is open to girls — children of workers, club members and also non-members of the club. From their ranks Pioneer corps and Y. C. L. members are recruited.

One of the fundamental tasks of the clubs with respect to work among the youth is the physical training of the young girls. This is of particular importance in the East where early and unequal marriages, the downtrodden position of women in the family and in society, lack of culture and complete ignorance with respect to sanitation, hygiene, were bound to have a detrimental influence on women's organism and therefore on the general health of the nation and the vitality of the young generation.

In connection with the activity among young girls, the women's clubs should carry on work among mothers with respect to questions connected with youth and children's movements. They also do their share in social education and enlightenment concerning sanitation. This work must culminate in the establishment of kindergartens in the clubs, in propaganda and agitation among mothers in favour of a rational upbringing of the children, in the organisation of lectures and informal talks on questions of health protection and the protection of motherhood and childhood.

At the same time a number of model institutions connected with club work and intended to promote women's emancipation are to be formed; dispensaries, consultation rooms, creches etc.

The entire cultural-educational and political-educational work of the women's clubs is carried on mainly by means of meetings, general meetings of all club members, conferences and also by means of participation of the club members in revolutionary festivities and the organisation of various forms of entertainments; theatricals, concerts, cinema performances, living newspapers, etc.

Every club should organise gradually dramatic, choral, musical and ballet circles which certainly contribute to the artistic development of the club members.

The organisation of the club must be such as to facilitate on the one hand the attraction of large members of working women and to guarantee on the other hand Party control over them.

Therefore, admission to club membership is open to all working women, be they manual or brain workers, or peasant women. All club members take an active part in club work and have a decisive vote at all meetings. They elect from their midst the management and the auditing commission.

The leading organ of club life is the club management, the members of which are elected at the general club members' meeting and which also includes a representative of the local working women's section, Y. C. L. and Pioneer organisations. The management has to be confirmed by the local women's department which also appoints the manageress of the club.

The funds of the club are raised by means of membership dues, revenue from theatrical performances, occasional donations, etc.

Women's clubs in the East are a temporary institution. As women become more and more emancipated from feudal-patriarchal traditions, as men's conservatism with respect to sex disability will be overcome, women's clubs will, of course, be gradually liquidated.

Wherever women's clubs organised by other parties, or organisations exist it is essential to join them and to organise within them a Communist nucleus in order to gain influence over the rank and file women members.

Wherever conditions prevent the organisation of women's clubs, cultural-educational work should be carried on in the usual way. Its main object should be the liquidation of illiteracy among club and trade union members, the organisation of schools for political education in the general women's and girl's clubs.

A method of our work for extending our influence over the broad masses of toiling women is the women's delegate meeting, which serves as a transmission belt from the Party to these masses. Questions of structure, organisation, programme and plan of work are drawn up by the respective conferences and should serve as the basis for the organisation and carrying out of women's delegate meetings in full accord with the peculiar conditions in the East.

(See: III. International Women's Conference and International Conference for work amongst women on the question of women's delegate meetings).

In most countries women's circles can serve as a basis for the organisation of delegate meetings, for the purpose of drawing women into the women's clubs and Party schools, and women's Party schools again can play a very important role in connection with the training of active workers among women.

If the influence of the Party is to be extended to large sections of working women, energetic work must be carried on in order to draw women into all the mass campaigns of the Party. But at the same time, and in the nature of preliminary work, it is essential to carry on special women's campaigns on questions of direct interest to women as workers, mothers, or wives.

Non-Party congresses and conferences, which play a very important role in the Soviet East as a method of propaganda among the rural female population and also in all campaigns, demonstrations, and slogans concerning not only women's interests, but also the interests of the national-liberation struggle of the working class, can be organised, — certainly on a smaller scale — also in other Eastern countries. They provide an opportunity for women of various localities to meet, they make women delegates familiar with the life and work of others, they enable the Party to form an opinion on the moods and frame of mind of the female masses, to get into touch with them, they widen the political and general outlook of women.

### Training of Workers.

Lack of trained workers is one of the sore points in the work of the women's departments in the East. Therefore it is essential to draw the attention of the Party to the training of workers among women, from workers in the lower organisations up to workers in the C. C. and the Communist Party.

Special circles should be organised in women's clubs and nuclei for the training of workers among women. In the I. W. S. as well as in the central and local women's departments, an institute of probationers should be established. Wherever any general preparatory courses or Party schools for Party workers are organised, a certain percentage of women should be included. The syllabus in the general Party schools should include questions concerning the theory and practice of the women's movement.

All the delegations which are sent to the U. S. S. R. should include women, preferably women who carry on propaganda among women, in order to familiarise them with the work in the U. S. S. R. First and foremost the Party must make sure that a definite quota of women be sent to the Eastern Universities in Moscow (the "Stalin" Communist University of the workers of the East and the "Sun-Yat-Sen" University). The same must be done with regard to the Comintern courses. A definite number of Party workers who have gone through the various courses, should be utilised for work amongst women.

### The Press.

All questions of interest to large sections of working women as well as all questions of principle and those connected with the organisational work of the Communist Party amongst women must be fully dealt with in the general Party press. For agitation among politically backward sections of women, women's pages must form part of all the periodical publications of the Party and trade union press. In the East where women are backward and to a great extent illiterate, it is essential to establish a special women's press, for only such a press could

adapt itself technically and also with respect to contents to the level and peculiarity of the conditions in which Eastern women live. Cadres of women workers and peasant correspondents should be trained and formed.

It would be advisable to establish first of all a periodical women's press in Japan where women's interest in literature is considerable and where feminist publications have a very big circulation (women's periodicals have a circulation of 500,000), and also in China where the movement is developing and gaining in strength, where there is an absolute need of a special organ which would be of great use in giving a definite form to the women's working class movement and where there is already a definite demand for the establishment of a women's periodical.

In character and form the special women's press must be first of all adapted to the organisation of these sections of women who are already under our influence, or are at least

organised in trade unions and other organisations sympathetic to us. This press must be able to give the lead to workers among women. It must bring forward and elaborate all problems of a political, economic, Party and organisational character, and it must at the same time reflect the entire activity in the centre and in the provinces.

For agitation among large sections of women, it is essential to have periodical publications in the form of supplements to other periodicals, or as independent publications, such as pamphlets, leaflets, posters, etc. This literature must be written in a popular style and must confirm itself with topical questions which at the given moment are of paramount interest to the women generally. The publication of periodical literature may be expedient and at the same time extremely valuable if it coincides with the local or general struggle of working women, with general women's campaigns during which women's attention is drawn to a definite question.

## Directions for the Construction of the Apparatus of the Communist Parties for Work among Women.

1. In their struggle for the capture of the toiling masses the Communist Parties come into contact with large sections of women, first and foremost women employed in the factories — whose role in the process of production is growing continuously. Working women are much more under the influence of the ideology of the Parties hostile to Communism than male workers, as a result of their age long oppression and particularly difficult position. Because of this fact work among women looms big in the Sections of the C. I.

2. The work of the Parties among women must be necessarily adapted to the special social, economic and political conditions of women and their psychology. This requires the establishment of special organs for this work.

3. In spite of the peculiarities of work among women it is an inseparable part of the entire work of the Sections of the C. I. among the masses, and not only the work of the women members of the various Parties. The organs created for the conduct of this work are, as all Party organs destined for special branches of work (organisation, agitprop, trade union work, etc.) departments of the respective Party Executives and are constituted by the latter. In every Party executive, from the C. C. down to the nucleus there should be an organ for work among women: the Women's Department. Wherever the weakness of the Party, particularly in the lower organisations, prevents the establishment of a Women's Department, a women's organiser should be at least appointed.

### THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT OF THE C. C.

#### The Structure of the Department.

1. The Women's Department of the C. C. is like all Departments an organ of the C. C. and is subordinate to the Secretariat.

2. At the head of the Women's Department is the chief of the department who is appointed by the Secretariat or the Org. Bureau of the C. C. The chief of the Women's Department is as a rule a member of the C. C., but not necessarily so, in the event of a suitable candidate being available and C. C. members being overburdened with work.

3. In addition to the chief, the Women's Department has several collaborators (paid or unpaid) among whom the chief of the department divides all the work. The division of work is as a rule mainly as follows: org., and agitprop work and trade union work.

#### The Tasks of the Women's Department.

The tasks of the Women's Department are:

1. To adapt the decisions of the Party Congress, the C. C. (Plenum, Pol., Org.-Bureau, Secretariat) and also the decisions and directions of the C. I. (Congresses, Enlarged Executive, E. C. C. I. and its organs), to the work among women, to see to their proper explanation among large sections of women and

to carry them out within the framework of their field of activity, to present periodical oral and written reports in the Org. Bureau of the C. C. and to send such reports to the Women's Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

2. To guide the activity of the lower women's departments (district, sub-district, etc.), through the competent Party Executives and to control their work.

NOTE: The general guidance and control of the work of the Women's Departments are in the hands of the competent Party Executives.

3. To elaborate directions and theses for the activity of the Party among women in close connection with the general tasks of the Party, paying at the same time special attention to the international campaigns organised on the strength of the decisions and directions of the C. I. and to establish in their conduct close contact with the other departments of the C. C.

4. To carry on an ideological campaign for the purpose of creating an understanding within the Parties and also among the masses for the importance and role of work among women, its means and methods.

5. To participate in the reorganisation of the Parties especially with respect to the establishment of factory nuclei and of the apparatus for work among women in all Party Executives.

6. To register with the help of the Org. Department all Party forces suitable for work among women and to endeavour to multiply these forces.

7. To elaborate specific forms of work and methods adapted to the peculiarity of work among women and to ensure their application (women delegate system).

8. To collect material having any reference to the position of women and particularly working women taking into consideration their participation in Parties, trade unions, etc.

9. To participate in the general campaigns of the Party and the C. I. and to organise special women's campaigns (in close contact with the corresponding departments).

10. a) To carry on work among women in the non-Party mass organisations (trade unions, co-operatives, sport organisations, etc.), through the corresponding fractions (or through the women's organiser appointed for this).

10. b) To guide the fractions in non-Party proletarian women's organisations.

11. To give a lead to the women's Party press and to promote its circulation.

12. To ensure there being women's columns in the general Party and trade union press and to conduct same.

13. To participate in the publishing activity of the Party insofar as it is connected with the field of activity of the department.

14. To promote the formation and development of the working women correspondents movement.



15. To participate in the organisation of Party schools, circles, etc., and also to establish courses for women organisers and propagandists.

16. To give attention to the activity of the opponent Parties and organisations among women, and to take the necessary counter measures.

17. To collect the experiences of Party work among women in factories, among housewives, and in non-Party mass organisations, to study and utilise them.

### The Methods of Work of the Department.

The Women's Department carries out its tasks in the following manner:

1. By preparing important questions, by dealing with them in the Department itself and by raising them in the Org. Bureau.

2. By keeping up a regular personal and written correspondence-connection with the district executives and the women's organiser of the central fractions within the non-Party mass organisations.

3. By organising personal consultations with the chiefs of the women's departments of the districts and the lower Party Executives and by holding consultations with the women's organisers of the Communist fractions.

4. By convening national conferences for the discussion of the question of work among women or one or other of their partial questions.

## The Factory Nucleus Apparatus for Work among Women.

### STRUCTURE:

1. In order that systematic work be carried on among women factory workers and the wives of factory workers outside the factory, every factory nucleus executive must appoint a women's organiser (man or woman).

2. The women's organiser is as a rule a member of the Nucleus executive. In smaller nuclei where this organiser does not belong to the nucleus executive he or she is subordinate to the bureau directly through the nucleus chairman.

In larger factories and factory nuclei the nucleus executive can give the women's organiser the assistance of a women's commission consisting of active Party members (if possible women). In the women's commission the women's organiser distributes the work among the members, superintends the entire work and is responsible for their activity to the nucleus executive. The work may be distributed as follows:

Leadership of women's circles, leadership of Trade Union work among women, circulation of women's periodicals, newspapers and the general Party literature, supervision of the women's column of the factory newspaper, etc.

### TASKS:

The tasks before the women's organiser (and the eventual women's commission) are as follows:

1. To have the decisions of the C. I., the Party and its Organs and also the decisions of the nucleus among the non-Party women carried out and to report regularly to the next higher authority.

2. To carry on steady ideological work in the factory among the members of the nucleus itself, and also outside the nucleus, in order to promote an understanding for the necessity and importance of Party work among women.

3. To induce working women to participate in all proletarian activities, campaigns, etc.

4. To induce working women to exercise definite functions (factory council, trade union, etc.).

5. To raise questions of particular interest to working women and to issue slogans in agreement with the competent Party executive.

6. To prepare material (proposals, resolutions, leaflets etc.) for agitation among working women.

7. To carry on individual agitation among working women employed in the factory and to induce them to take an active part in Party, trade union, co-operative, Red Aid work and also in the work of the other proletarian class organisations.

8. To induce non-Party working women to join various circles (dealing with tasks of interest to these women), to organise and educate them around the nucleus.

5. By sending out directions, circular letters and information material.

6. By sending instructors and making use of the instructors of the Party (Org. Department).

7. By utilising the Party press, labour periodicals etc.

8. By publishing suitable literature.

9. By close collaboration with the other Departments (Org., Agitprop, Trade Union, Co-operative, etc.) of the C. C. and by participation in their sessions through the specially appointed representatives of the department and also by inviting the representatives of these Departments to their sessions.

10. By utilising the acquired experiences.

### Relations with the Other Departments of the C. C.

1. To avoid overlapping Org. work is carried on together with the Org. Department, Agitprop work together with the Agitprop Department, trade union work together with the Trade Union Departments and so on.

2. Plans of work, letters of instruction, school programmes, theses, etc., are elaborated by the Women's Department together with the corresponding Departments of the C. C.

3. All Conferences, consultations, etc., organised by the Departments of the C. C. are to be held with the participation of the Women's Department. The other Departments of the C. C. must participate without fail in the consultations, conferences, etc., held by the Women's Department.

9. To take measures for the organisation of women delegate meetings.

10. To organise special women's meetings (at the initiative of the higher Party Organs or at the organiser's own initiative.)

11. To struggle against working women being organised by opponent parties and organisations, and ideologically influenced.

12. To promote the circulation of women's Party periodicals (literature) and to secure subscribers for them; to participate at the same time in the circulation of the general Party press.

13. To encourage and develop working women's correspondence movement in the factory (non-Party women are also to be drawn into this work).

14. To supervise, together with the editorial board of the factory newspapers, the women's column of that paper and to participate in the circulation of the paper among women.

15. To carry on agitation among the working women employed in the adjoining factories where no factory nuclei exist.

16. To help the women's organiser of the adjoining weak factory and street nuclei.

17. To carry on work among the proletarian housewives in the vicinity of the factory, and if territorially possible, especially among the wives of the men employed in the factory (adapting the work to them).

18. To carry on work in conjunction with the respective Party executive wherever the nuclei is patron of a village, among the peasant women and women agricultural labourers.

### METHODS OF WORK:

The women's organiser carries on the work as follows:

a) By elaborating plans of work carrying out this work systematically and reporting on it to the nucleus executive session and nucleus meeting.

b) By participating in conferences convened by the higher Party Organisation for work among women.

c) By utilising and exchanging past experiences.

d) By making use of the general Party press and particularly of the factory newspapers.

e) By individual agitation.

f) By close contact and collaboration with the other members of the nucleus, heads of the departments and with the Party fractions in the Factory Council, the trade unions, co-operatives, Red Aid and sport organisations, etc.

g) By utilizing of the general factory, trade union and delegate meetings, circles, etc. and special women's meetings.

h) By collaborating with the Y. C. L. nucleus in the work among young girls.

# Resolution on the Party Apparatus for Work among Women.

The International Conference on work among women reiterates and confirms the former decisions of the Comintern to the effect that a special apparatus within the C.P. is essential for winning large sections of working women for Communism. The task of this apparatus is: to elaborate within the framework of the Party as a whole, under the leadership and control of the Party Executives and in close collaboration with the other organs of the Party, special methods to secure large sections of women, to give these methods an organisational form and to put them into active practice.

The Conference declares that since the V. World Congress and the 3rd International Conference of Communist Women in Moscow, considerable progress has been made in many countries with respect to the formation and development of Party organs for work among women. This progress was achieved mainly on the following fields of activity:

In a number of countries the network of women's departments and women's organisers has been still more extended as for instance in **Great Britain, France and Italy**. In other Sections the first steps towards the building up of an apparatus for work among women have been made as for instance in the **U.S.A. and in South America**. In other Sections the already existing apparatus was thoroughly reorganised by a systematical subordination of the organs for work among women to the control and leadership of the Party Executives. Thus, old traditions of keeping work among women separate from the general work of the Party were overcome to a considerable extent especially in the **C.P.Cz.**, but also in **Norway** and partly in **Switzerland**.

The activity of the **Women's Department** has assumed a more political and systematic character. It is at present more closely connected politically and organisationally with the general activity of the Party, as shown in connection with all important actions and campaigns of the Party and particularly in connection with this year's **International Women's Day**.

With respect to **factory nucleus work** in all the bigger Sections such as **Germany, France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Poland**, and also in smaller Parties, such as the **Austrian Party**, the foundation was laid for the winning over of working women and certain practical results were achieved which find among other things a reflex in the working women correspondents' movement and in working women's collaboration in factory newspapers.

In various Sections the **Women's Departments** and women's organisers of the factory nuclei were working successfully for the extension of Party influence over the masses and for giving it an organisational form through the formation of circles or groups of sympathisers, as for instance in **Italy, France, Poland and Austria**.

The Conference, however, does not overlook, because of the success achieved, the shortcomings still existing in all countries in the Party organs for work among women and in their activity.

1. One of the main shortcomings consisted in ideological confusion and difficulties within the Party with respect to the

necessity of the politisation of women generally and the application of special methods for this purpose.

a) This led on the one hand to lack of interest and passivity with respect to work among women, to leaving it entirely in the hands of women comrades and thereby to the perpetuation and encouragement of the "keeping oneself to oneself" methods and even to feminist tendencies in women's departments.

b) On the other hand the pseudo radical theories of the superfluity of special Party organs for work among women, particularly in **Germany and Czechoslovakia**, led to an almost wholesale smashing up of the existing women's commissions and to the relinquishment of any special work among women. It was extremely difficult to make good these mistakes and we have not yet got rid of their after effects.

2. The activity of the women's department did not concentrate with the necessary intensity on the capture of large numbers of women outside the Party ranks, with the result that the absolute and relative number of women Party members is very small and its growth very slow.

Not a single Section went about the construction of factory nuclei and their activation for gaining the support of working women energetically enough and the ratio of working women among the women Party membership is still not big enough.

The immediate tasks of the Sections with respect to the construction and development of the Party apparatus for work among women consist in continuing work on the lines laid down by the **III. International Conference of Communist Women**, the **May resolution of the Org. Bureau on work among women** and the **First and Second International Org. Conferences**. These lines tested by the experiences of a large number of Sections during two years imply:

Further construction and development of the Party apparatus for work among women in all Parties from the women's department attached to the C.C. down to the women's organiser of the factory nucleus, refusing to have anything to do with liquidatory theories and tendencies.

A still stricter organisational and political inclusion of this apparatus within the Party apparatus, with the exclusion of all separatist traditions and tendencies on the part of the **Women's Department** and women comrades.

Better joint work between the **Women's Department** and the other respective departments (**Org., Agitprop., Trade Union, etc.**) than was hitherto the case.

Systematic work and more systematic utilisation and distribution of the existing forces as well as training of new forces for work among women.

Politisation and activation of the **Women's Department** and the women's organisers for work among the masses outside the ranks of the Party.

More attention to the winning over of working women employed in factories, in particular by means of systematic nucleus work, trade union work and delegate meetings.

Systematic formation of circles of sympathisers around the factory and street nuclei as a base for the organisation of women delegate meetings.

## Directions re Women Delegate Meetings.

### I. General.

Women delegate meetings play an important role among the methods for winning over organisationally large sections of working women and for gaining systematic, ideological and political leadership and influence over them. This method which in **Soviet Russia**, particularly during the last few years, has proved to be a real school of Communism was already fully discussed at the **Third International Communist Women's Conference in Moscow in 1924**, and the sections were recommended to study it carefully. The resolution of the **Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I., May 1925**, urged the Sections to prepare and organise women delegate meetings. Although since then some sections have taken up a positive attitude to this question, only a few of them, such as those of **Great Britain, Germany and Finland**, can place on record practical experiments and successes in this

sphere. In order to develop effectively the existing and as yet imperfect beginnings and in order to lay the foundation to this work also in other countries, the experiences of the **C. P. S. U.** and of other Parties must be continually and carefully studied and utilised.

### II. Specific Importance of Women Delegate Meetings.

The form which has been adopted and developed with respect to women delegate meetings in **Soviet Russia** in the present epoch is as follows: to every ten factory women workers, to every 30-50 housewives, and to every 10-25 peasant women, one woman delegate is elected for a period of 12 months. This delegate is considered the representative of her women electors. The delegates of a factory, or a group of factories, of a village or town section, constitute in their entirety the delegate meeting which is the link between the Party and the non-Party masses.

The leadership of delegate meetings is in the hands of the Communist Party. The latter carries on for a year, a systematic theoretical and practical training of the delegates, who are for this purpose divided into sections, — activity groups — and who are given guidance and opportunity for practice in the various spheres of public life — trade unions, co-operatives, Soviets, social welfare, etc. The delegates are under the obligation to report regularly to their electors on the work of the delegate meetings and on their own activity. On the other hand they have to keep the delegate meeting informed about the needs, wishes, criticism and demands of the masses. In this manner, the delegates constitute on the one hand the mouthpiece of the masses for the Party and on the other hand, they carry the teachings and slogans of the Party with respect to the tasks of the workers and peasants in the proletarian State right into the female masses.

The typical features of the method of women delegate meeting which constitute their particular value are therefore mainly as follows:

a) The delegates who come from the ranks of non-Communist and frequently very backward female masses, extend the field of activity of the Party far beyond the ranks of its membership.

b) The periodical convocation of delegate meetings enables the latter to exercise not only a passing, but permanent influence through the delegates on the circles of women represented by them and through the latter also on the mass of working women.

c) The organised systematic activity of the delegates is a great help in the preparation, education, and further development of active women functionaries from the ranks of the female masses for the proletarian class organisations, particularly the trade unions. Women delegate meetings are also the preparatory school for the entry of their more advanced elements into the Communist Party.

### III. The Preparatory Basis and the Beginnings of Women Delegate Meetings.

1. The pre-revolutionary form of women delegate meetings in Russia, which still obtains in the East, differs from the form evolved as follows:

It is not the mass of working women themselves who elect the delegates from their midst, — the Party selects among this mass the most active elements who seem to be suitable for assuming control over the work. These selected women fulfill exactly the same tasks as the elected delegates and are therefore to be considered representatives and delegates of the circles of women from whose midst they come.

2. The basis of this form of delegate meetings was the factory. Around the nucleus of a factory or a factory department, a circle of advanced working women, already in touch with the Party, grouped itself and on a small scale constituted the link between the Party and the masses. As the influence of Party increased in one or more factories through the activity of the working women's circles, more working women were selected from the mass of working women. After the revolution, working women's circles were converted into delegate meetings. Delegates of other sections of women, — those engaged in home industry, working women's wives, women officials — were linked up with these factory delegate meetings.

In the villages, delegate meetings of peasant women were organised, one delegate being elected to every 10—15 peasant women and in remote villages to every 20—25.

3. On the strength of the experience of Soviet Russia and the West, the following process will have to be as a rule gone through in Western countries for the creation of women delegate meetings:

The general basis are the Party nuclei, first and foremost the factory nuclei, street and village nuclei coming next. On this basis circles of the most active elements among the working women are built up. These circles are the preparatory basis on which the actual women delegate meetings are built up.

In some cases it will be possible to form working women's circles in factories without factory nuclei through sympathising delegates. It is also quite possible to bring about delegate meetings without preliminary systematic circle work if leadership through a certain number of Communist women is guaranteed and some definite burning question — a strike, etc., provides a favourable ground for the activation of the masses. But a firmly established women delegate meeting which is not to be a passing

phenomenon, but a permanent form of activity presupposes careful preliminary work, not only ideological, but also organisational.

### IV. Adaptation of the Method of Women Delegate Meetings to Western Conditions.

Compared with the present situation in Soviet Russia, the construction of delegate meetings in the West, offers far greater difficulties because in Western countries the Communist Parties cannot do justice to this task unless they carry on a struggle against the State, the employers, fascism, the bourgeois Parties, and the Social Democrats. But when compared with Czarist Russia, a number of countries have certainly more favourable objective possibilities. An impediment in this direction in many Western Parties is the subjective factor — the immaturity and political and organisational weakness of the Communist Parties. With due consideration to varying conditions, the following measures for the creation of women delegate meetings in the West deserve special attention.

1. As Western Communist Parties pay on the whole little attention to work among the female masses and as the method of women delegate meetings is also not sufficiently known even in Communist women's circles, a big ideological preliminary campaign on the subject must be carried on in the press and at Party meetings.

2. As the Communist Parties are not yet completely and actively reorganised on a factory nucleus basis, and as only a very small percentage of the women members of all Western Communist Parties are employed in factories attention must be paid to winning over working women and to the activation of the factory nuclei for this task. Women Delegate Meetings must endeavour to win over the working women in the most important enterprises, for these women are the kernel of all delegate meetings.

3. In order to win the sympathising active elements especially working women, and also other sections of women (working class house-wives, women home-industry workers, office workers, domestic servants, teachers, women engaged in so-called free-professions) for the delegate meetings Communist Parties must be able to utilise the existing organisations and organs of the working class. Apart from the factories, trade unions, co-operatives, war-victims and house-holders organisations, non-Party women's organisations, etc., must also serve as a basis for the attraction of cadres of such female elements and for the election of delegates. The non-Communist delegates of these organisations can, insofar as they are manual or office workers, help the Party via the delegate meeting to get into contact with enterprises where no nuclei exists as yet.

4. If after the establishment of delegate meetings in the towns enough forces remain one should endeavour to organise, after the necessary preliminary work, delegate meetings of peasant women and women agricultural labourers in the rural districts in conjunction and with the help of village or estate nuclei. In connection with this collaboration with the Communist fractions in the existing present organisations is of particular importance.

5. As delegate meetings in the Western countries run the risk of being interfered with and of coming under the influence of political opponents, Party leadership and control over the delegate meetings must be secured by thorough preliminary work on the part of the Party as a whole, and also by providing a fully instructed cadre of well-trained women comrades who are to form the fraction in the delegate meeting.

### V. A Few Lessons from the Existing Delegate Meetings in the West.

Attempts at the creation of women delegate meetings were made in 1924—25 in Germany, Great Britain and Finland. Although these far from perfect beginnings differed in form and origin from one another and also from the Russian model, they were nevertheless very helpful for the organisational capture of circles of women hitherto unconnected with the Party, for getting influence over and assuming leadership of working women from various political camps and for their mobilisation for united class struggle activity.

But all these attempts showed serious defects in some form or other.

1. In all these attempts a cadre of active working women, as the necessary basis in the factory, was lacking (circles, groups of sympathisers). In some cases even the factory as a basis was

lacking. Nearest to our ideal was perhaps the composition of the working women's general meeting in Gera, Thuringia, which consisted of delegates from 23 enterprises in the town. On the strength of preliminary factory nucleus work the delegates were elected at working women's meetings, at the various enterprises. The delegate meetings in Finland have made considerable progress; at the first meeting in Helsingfors only 20% of the delegates came from the factory, whilst at the second meeting the percentage of delegates from the factory was 75.

The numerous meetings in Great Britain consisted entirely of delegates from various general and women's organisations, among whom there were certainly also working women, who were however not elected by the enterprise.

## The Work in Non-Party Mass Organisations.

### I. The Necessity to Work in the Mass Organisations.

1. The campaigns for the expropriation of ruling houses in Germany, against the Morocco War in France, for the release of Communists and miners in Great Britain, the movement of the unemployed in Poland, and above all the gigantic struggle of the British workers, in which large numbers of proletarian women have taken an active part, show the possibilities which exist for us today to mobilise those proletarian women for revolutionary aims who are still keeping away from the Communist Party.

2. In order to utilise these possibilities fully, in order to draw large sections of working women into the united front of the proletariat and to consolidate organisationally the influence already gained, it is above all essential to carry on intensive work in all proletarian mass organisations.

3. Our opponents were before us to realise the importance of activity in the mass organisations, and particularly of late reformists as well as the bourgeoisie endeavour to consolidate their influence among the female masses particularly in the trade union and co-operative sphere (establishment of the international women's commission in the international trade union federation, establishment of the women's co-operative International Guild). We will not be able to successfully counter-act these tendencies and to prevent our opponents utilising the proletarian mass organisations for counter-revolutionary purposes unless we are able by energetic defence of the interests of working women in the proletarian organisations to win also the confidence of those sections of proletarian women who are at present alien or even hostile to us.

4. The necessity of the work among women in proletarian mass organisations has already been definitely expressed in numerous decisions of our International Congresses (First and Second Org Conference and of the session of the Enlarged Executive). But with respect to carrying out this work, in general very little has as yet been done.

a) In the Trade Unions work among women is as yet rather weak although it has been already repeatedly pointed out in the decisions of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. that maximum attention is to be paid to work in the trade unions. In most Parties men and women comrades are not even to a sufficient extent ideologically prepared for this work, neither have the necessary organisational premises — a large enough cadre of active workers and financial means — been created.

b) As far as Co-operatives are concerned Great Britain is the only country where actually systematic and successful work is carried on among women.

c) Whilst most Parties carry on work among women in the organisations in sympathy with us — I. R. A., I. W. R., etc., although not to a sufficient extent, this work is almost entirely neglected in the organisations established by our opponents and for the time being under their domination (house-holders, sport, peasant organisations, etc.).

### II. Our Tasks in the Proletarian Mass Organisations.

1. In the Trade Unions. The main activity of the Communist Parties is to be transferred to the trade unions, which are organisations destined to be schools of the class struggle. The trade unions deal with the most important economic questions which concern working women and which are best fitted to arouse the class consciousness of women, and to bring them

2. The result of this fundamental defect was the irregularity of the meetings and the absence of continuous systematic work. In Germany and also in Finland the delegate meeting was not followed up by further activity. Only in Great Britain there were cases when delegate meetings elected committees of action which initiated regular campaigns and mobilised delegates for this task.

3. Both these defects can be remedied if the Parties secure for themselves support in the enterprises in the form of factory nuclei and working women circles, which will, on the one hand, secure the predominance of the working women element in the delegate meetings and will, on the other hand, see to it that the working women who have been thus won at the delegate meetings be trained for and drawn into continuous active work.

into the class struggle. Through the trade unions it is possible to get hold of the most important sections of the female proletariat and revolutionise it.

a) The reformists are at present carrying on in many countries energetic propaganda among working women, utilising cleverly in the course of this propaganda the still existing petty bourgeois moods and tendencies. On the other hand the as yet politically backward working women fall very easily victims to ultra-Left and syndicalist demagoguery which has not yet been fully overcome in all the Parties.

It is therefore essential that the Parties should appoint for trade union activity among women not only a sufficient number of workers but also sufficiently experienced and trained workers who should endeavour to educate working women into active trade union members. In this connection delegate meetings can be of great assistance.

One of the main premises for correct work among women in the trade unions is full participation in the work by all Party and trade union organs.

b) Economic crisis and Reorganisation efforts on the part of employers in a number of countries affect women first and foremost. They are leading today to mass dismissals of women, to great reductions in women's wages, to longer working hours, particularly with respect to women, to the speeding up system (introduction of American labour methods) and to decrease in the protection of working women, etc. Wage reductions with respect to women constitute, in their turn, the great peril that employers will make cheap women's labour compete with men's labour and will by increased discrepancy between men's and women's wages, cause still greater antagonisms among the workers.

c) The growing acuteness and extension of the economic struggles lend more and more importance to the role played in this struggle not only by working women, but also by working men's wives. This is a fact which is more and more recognised by the enemy, as shown particularly by the efforts of the British "Women's Guild of Empire" to organise an anti-strike movement.

d) The necessary premise for the mobilisation of working women for the struggle against the capitalist offensive and for effective support for all workers' struggles is the organisation of working women in trade unions and their education into active elements within them.

e) In accordance with the general directions of the C. I. it is essential to carry on Communist fraction work not only in the reformist and Red Trade Unions, but also in all other trade unions, such as Christian, national and especially women's trade unions in which a considerable number of women are organised.

f) In the present situation the main slogan for trade union activity is: establishment of national and international trade union unity. The consolidation of the trade unions by bringing into them large sections of working women and their mobilisation for the class demands of the proletariat can act as a mighty lever for the realisation of trade union unity. On the strength of this the Communist Parties and their trade union fractions must see to it that the trade unions carry on campaigns for the trade union organisation of working women, just as this was done in the British trade unions under the pressure of the Minority Movement, and also partly in the French C. G. T. U. In order to be able to carry on successful campaigns it will be necessary to elaborate a general programme of action and also

to bring forward concrete demands for the working women will have to be adapted in the various countries and trade employed in the various branches of industry. These demands unions to the questions which are of paramount importance in these countries and unions. In countries which are seriously affected by the economic crisis (Germany, Great Britain, etc.), the following demands will have to be given first place:

Higher wages (equal pay for equal work) and increased unemployment doles (the dole to be the same for women as for men).

A shorter working day and preservation and development of legislation for the protection of working women, to counteract the speeding up system (the Ford system).

It is not enough to carry on propaganda among unemployed women, these women must also be drawn into the existing unemployed committees, or special women's commissions should be formed in the latter.

Campaigns should be organised everywhere for the despatch of working women's delegations to Russia, or for the participation of working women in the general delegations.

2. In the co-operatives. Next to the trade unions proletarian co-operatives offer the best opportunity to extend and strengthen Party influence among the mass of working women. Large sections of women, particularly proletarian house-wives, come into contact with social and political questions only through the Co-operatives and can therefore be won for Communism only through them. Therefore our Communist Parties must carry on an energetic and systematic agitation among women in order to draw them into the co-operative movement and to make them active members of it.

Up till now Co-operatives are used almost everywhere by the reformists for the purpose of fostering class trade illusions among the masses. The traditional petty bourgeois backwardness of large sections of working women helps them in this work. On the other hand, besides the general growing acuteness of class differences the ever-growing monopolist tendencies of capitalist economy are making themselves more and more felt particularly in the consumers' co-operatives, and gradually destroy the illusion that capitalism can be peacefully overcome by purely co-operative trade methods. Particularly working women in their capacity of purchasers are made to realise the connections which exist between their daily needs and the entire capitalist system.

Therefore the best way for Communists to win the sympathy and confidence of large sections of women for the Communist Party and its aims is — energetic defence in the co-operatives of the material everyday needs of the workers.

Within the co-operatives they must above all work for the following aims:

a) Leadership in the struggle against high prices and against the dictatorial tendencies of rings and trusts, struggle not only against trade methods within the framework of alleged political neutrality, but also in the political sphere, in conjunction with the other proletarian class organisations.

b) Struggle against the exploitation of the masses by protective tariffs and customs.

c) Solidarisation of co-operatives with the workers in all class conflicts of an economic and political nature.

d) Credits to strikers and unemployed, or care for them free of charge.

e) Establishment of feeding centres, institutions where children are looked after, etc.

f) Defense and development of democracy within the co-operatives, women being given equal rights, drawing women into active collaboration in all co-operative organs.

3. Re householders organisations. In a number of countries (Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, the Balkans etc.) the gradual abolition of rent protection is the order of the day. In view of the enormous interest which proletarian women take in these questions it must be possible, particularly as women are very fully represented in the householdered organisations, to mobilise working women for the struggle for the following demands:

a) Defense, preservation of the validity and development of the rent protection legislation.

b) Construction of new dwellings for the working class.

c) Confiscation of dwellings of the rich.

4. In the War Victims Organisations. It is essential to mobilise women for the following tasks:

1. Struggle for bigger pensions.

2. Struggle against an unjust allocation of pensions.

3. Systematic propaganda against imperialist wars and pacifist illusions, pointing out the necessity of class struggle.

5. In the Sport Organisations. Proletarian women's work in sport organisations is essential for the strengthening of the class struggle, for educating the masses for collective action, discipline, solidarity and confidence in their own power. With respect to women, sport organisations have also the following tasks to fulfil:

Enlightenment on protection of women's labour, on health protection in the capitalist society, on alcoholism and its causes, etc.

6. In the International Red Aid. The I. R. A. has two tasks to fulfil:

1. To support materially, juridically and morally the proletarian victims of the class struggle (political prisoners, political emigrants, their wives and children).

2. To bring new sections of the population in the ranks of the struggling proletariat by means of active solidarity in the struggle against terror and class justice, and also by means of political education.

Hitherto women, with a few exceptions (Germany, Poland and Italy) have not participated actively enough in the work of the I. R. A. Therefore it is absolutely necessary:

a) That women participate more and more in the organisational structure of the I. R. A. (co-operative affiliation of women's organisations to the I. R. A., canvass of individual members of the I. R. A., especially amongst women. Inclusion of women amongst I. R. A. officials from leading bodies to the nuclei, active participation in all manifestoes and campaigns of the I. R. A. opening up the columns of the Women's press for I. R. A. reports. Publication of I. R. A. special editions of the women's press on such special occasions as March 18th, etc.)

b) That women should be particularly active in relief activity (collection of funds, distribution of same, help in the work connected with children's homes, organisation of holiday colonies, organisation of the adoption of orphans of the Revolution, participation in the Prisoners' Councils existing in Germany, etc.)

c) That women regard as chief task in connection with the I. R. A. the moral support and political education of the wives and children of the victims of the proletarian revolution (regular visits, study of their position in exceptional cases such as illness, etc., the organisation of special help, supply of literature, etc.).

In this connection it is important that on the occasion of every new murder, arrest and emigration of a proletarian contact should be gained immediately with his relatives.

7. In the International Workers Relief. By making it its business to come to the assistance of the workers in cases of great need, the I. W. R. provides working women with splendid opportunities to give proof of their practical solidarity with the working class. By making women serve the interests of the working class their class solidarity is awakened and developed, so that even petty bourgeois circles of women can be won over as sympathisers and allies of the working class.

The specific activity of working women in the I. W. R. consists, on the one hand, in propaganda and organisation of activity connected with the house to house collection of funds and on the other hand, in active participation in practical tasks, such as taking up collections, distributing food stuffs and clothes, setting up and supervising public kitchens, organising the care of children, etc.

8. In the Self-Defence Organisations. The growing acuteness of the capitalist offensive, the adoption of fascist methods in a number of countries, the increased efforts of the bourgeoisie, not only to develop the "technical aid" and the other strike-breaking corps (Great Britain), but also to capture particularly the women in these organisations for the fulfilment of definite tasks, make it incumbent on us to prepare for the civil war also the women in the self-defence organisations.

It is advisable to form special departments for the training of women for special tasks. (Strike-pickets, food supply, first aid, children's care, information, etc.).

### III. Organisational Forms and Methods of Work.

1. The organisational forms to be adopted in the work among women in non-Party mass organisations have already been laid down in the decisions of the First and Second Org

Conference and in the May resolution of the Org Bureau of the E. C. C. I. In every Communist fraction, first and foremost in the fractions of branches of industry employing large numbers of women, a women's organiser or a women's commission must be appointed whose business it is to organise together with the women's organisers of the factory nuclei, the work among women. Wherever there is a prospect to increase the influence of the Communist fraction through the formation of special circles of sympathising women, Communists can proceed to do so where truly effective fractions exist (in the trade unions, co-operatives, etc.). These circles will create opportunities for a more intensive education of larger numbers of non-Party women and will contribute to the development of their revolutionary self-activity.

2. In the trade unions, co-operatives, and all other proletarian mass organisations, Communists must see to it that women's commissions be formed in the leading organs, on the model of those in the French C. G. T. U. and in the British Minority Movement.

The task of these commissions should be to study the labour conditions of working women (collection of material, to give these women a revolutionary education, to circulate literature as a means of preparation of campaigns to win over working women for trade unions and to mobilise the working women for definite campaigns.

3. Wherever our opponents have already formed such commissions, as for instance in the textile workers union in Germany, we must enter them and carry on fraction work within them.

Under certain circumstances it might be expedient — as already done in some organisations (the I. R. A. for instance) — to form special women's activity-groups for special tasks.

Wherever women's guilds exist in the co-operatives in which proletarian women are organised, Communists must carry on fraction work in order to utilise them for the united front in the struggle against capitalism.

The formation of new women's guilds is as a rule to be regarded inadmissible. In exceptional cases in which the Party executive Committee considers the formation of women's guilds necessary for exceptional tactical reasons, they may be formed, detailed information being given each time to Comintern.

## NON-PARTY WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

### Introduction.

In almost all the countries both in the West and East, there are plenty of various non-Party proletarian, petty-bourgeois and peasant women's organisations in which, generally speaking, Communist Parties did not begin to work until quite recently.

It is the proletarian women's organisations which receive most attention from the Communists. Some of them are, with respect to leadership and programme, akin to the organisations of the working class, whilst others are under bourgeois and above all under national and clerical leadership although the overwhelming majority of their members are proletarian women.

Among these organisations there are two main groups:

a) Organisations with an old tradition where Communists have no leading influence. This applies particularly to the Anglo-American and Scandinavian countries. Among these organisations women's trade unions play a special role.

b) Organisations of recent date which were formed at the initiative or with the assistance of Communists under whose leadership they are. These organisations may be considered in sympathy with the Comintern and include:

The Red Women's and Girls' League in Germany, the House-wives' Leagues in Norway, the United Working Women's Council and the Mothers' Leagues in the United States of America, the Federation of Working Women's Leagues in Canada, the Working Women's Guilds in Great Britain, the groups of sympathisers in Italy, the Widows and Mothers Anti-war Committees in France, etc.

### 1. The Importance of Non-Party Women's Organisations.

Experience has shown that among large sections of women there is a certain inclination to organisational amalgamation. But the less politically enlightened these sections of women are, the less they are inclined to affiliate to the general mass organisations of the proletariat, — trade unions, co-operatives, etc., or to the Communist Party. The low percentage of women members in the trade unions and Communist Parties even in

countries with such a high capitalist and cultural development as Germany, Great Britain and France, speaks for itself. Still greater difficulties are in the way of the organisation of women together with the men in countries with a backward capitalist development where, moreover, women are under the spell of tradition and religion, as for instance in Spain, in the agrarian districts of Italy, in the Balkans and particularly in Eastern countries.

On the other hand, the experiences of many of our Sections have shown that bourgeois-national, clerical, feminist and pacifist-Parties and Leagues have known how to make use of the mood and ideology of working women so as to bring them under their influence and organise and lead them in an anti-proletarian spirit.

Under such circumstances, women's organisation in special women's leagues might be the bridge leading from total absence of organisation among the female masses to their inclusion into the general organisations together with the men of their class. In this connection the main thing is to draw working women into the trade unions. As women's organisations are the first step towards organisation, political enlightenment and collective activity of women for common interests they will — in spite of the apparent transitory separation of women from men — be in the end a lever for the extension of the revolutionary united front, by bringing in a roundabout way new sections of women into the great common front.

The already existing organisations and groupings of women are at the same time a reservoir of active female forces which must be utilised for the creation of delegate meetings in the factories, particularly where direct Party influence in the enterprises and trade unions is still weak.

Communists must not over-estimate the importance of women's organisations and overlook and neglect, because of them, the most important spheres of work in the factories and trade unions, neither must they reject activity through the women's organisations and within them as an auxiliary means for the preparation and support of the work in the fundamental spheres — the factories and trade unions.

The fundamental tasks which Communists must set themselves in the non-Party women's organisations are:

a) Political enlightenment of the members in the spirit of class struggles.

b) Raising women's activity and self-confidence by systematic training in thinking, speaking, writing and acting.

c) Awakening the interest and activity of the members in all important tasks and struggles of the working class.

d) Propaganda among the proletarian section of the members for adherence to the general organisations of the proletariat, particularly to trade unions, co-operatives, and Red Aid, propaganda in favour of proletarian children joining the Y. C. L. and the Communist Children's groups and of drawing the more developed proletarian women, above all, working women who have gone through the school of delegate meetings into the Communist Party.

e) Utilisation of the organisation for systematic propaganda, preparation and election of delegate meetings and also for supporting delegate meetings in carrying out definite tasks.

Work in the women's organisations can on no account be considered a substitute for the organisation of women delegates meetings.

### 2. Attitude to the Existing Non-Party Women's Organisations.

According to the general decisions of the Comintern Communists go into all the organisations of the proletariat and the small peasantry, therefore also into the non-Party women's organisations, and form fractions there. The task of the fractions are determined by the competent Party Executive.

### 3. Formation of New Women's Organisations.

1. In the countries of West Europe and America, the formation of new general women's organisations at the initiative of the Communist Party is not to be recommended. On the other hand it is certainly permissible to form proletarian women's organisations for definite actions in connection with any important economic and political circumstances. The construction and activity of these organisations should be such as to enable them to be an auxiliary means for the consolidation of the general class organisations of the proletariat. Decisions on the formation of such organisations rests with the C. C. of the Party.

The latter is under the obligation to keep the Women's Department of the E. C. C. I. fully informed about this.

2. In colonial and Eastern countries, the excessive political, economic and cultural backwardness of the female masses and also the inadequacy of Party influence among the masses are to be taken into consideration. For these reasons, more scope can be given here to the formation of new women's organisations, but care must be taken that existing conditions be carefully examined in every separate case.

3. The Party must in every case examine among other things the question of available forces for the leadership of the new organisation.

a) The leading organ of the organisation is not to consist entirely of members of the Communist Party. It is essential, to have non-Communist elements in the Executive in order to raise

recruiting power outside the organisation and in order to train and mobilise new forces. After examination by the competent Party executive, the strength of the Communist fractions in the executives is to be regulated — in accordance with existing conditions — in a manner to guarantee leading influence to the Communists.

b) Generally speaking, it is not obligatory for women Party members to join the women's organisation. But if required the Party can make it obligatory for individual women members or groups of women comrades to join the women's organisation for the purpose of carrying out definite tasks.

c) The work of the Communist fractions in the organisation must be carried on under the leadership and control of the Party in accordance with the general directions of the Comintern for fractions in non-Party organisations.

## Instructions on Educational Work and the Press.

The maximum of attention must be directed to the winning over and the education of women, since in accordance with the decision of the Plenum, the centre of gravity of the work of the Communist Party has been transferred to winning over the masses, of whom working women are the main component part. To do justice to this task there must be participation by the Party as a whole, its functionaries and rank and file members must be made to realise the necessity of winning over large sections of women to the side of Communism.

Therefore, work among women must no longer remain the task of the Women's Departments and women's organisers only. All the functionaries and the entire Party apparatus must be set in motion to win over large sections of women, to overcome the mistaken idea of many men comrades that the work of winning over women is a task of secondary importance, and also that other and still more unfortunate notion that women have nothing to do with politics.

Therefore, the educational activity of the Party must take all the circumstances into consideration and make sure that the necessary measures, particularly the education of the working women employed in factories, receive due attention in the Party programme.

### Educational Work.

To give the Party membership a fundamental political and practical education is one of the general tasks of the Party, especially of the Agitprop Department.

The Women's Department of the Party, as an organ of the Party as a whole for work among women, has within the framework of the entire educational work the special task of seeing to it that work among women be given the necessary consideration. In connection with this three points are of particular importance:

1. The Party as a whole — both women and men members — must be made to take up correctly an ideological-political attitude towards Communist work among women, and a definite fundamental knowledge of women's role in society and in the class struggle must be imparted to them, particularly in view of the present revolutionary epoch.

2. As many Party members as possible must be induced to take an interest in practical work among women and must be educated for it. (Cadre of functionaries for work among women.)

3. Educational work among women members must be such as to enable every woman to take an active part in Party work among women or in other spheres.

All this makes it incumbent on the women's department to concentrate on the two main spheres of educational work:

1. Full Utilisation of the General Educational Opportunities (schools, courses, debates, reporters' courses) offered by the Party.

2. Formation of special courses as a supplementary measure for the special purpose of doing justice to those subjects which can receive only little, or no attention at all, in the general courses, etc.

### I. General Party Education.

In this connection, the Women's Department together with the Agitprop have to proceed as follows:

1. They must include in the programme (plan of work) of the schools, courses, etc., items important for work among women (for instance women's role in the various stages of history of human society) in connection with the labour movement; the necessity to draw women into social production, in connection with the programme of action of the Party; the main reasons and opportunities for the mobilisation of women; in connection with organisational questions; the structure and tasks of the Party apparatus for work among women, etc.

In connection with all these questions, the Women's Department has to do its share in supplying teachers and students with the necessary material. Eventually it will have to appoint itself the teaching staff for certain courses or sections.

2. It will have to include into the programme of the educational work of the Party questions connected with work among women which offer particular difficulties or are ideologically vague, in order that a special study be made of them, for instance sex equality (the right to vote, equal pay, competition between male and female labours, etc.)

3. It must see to it that women members be drawn in large numbers into the general courses.

It must fix a definite minimum of women's entries and advise and take part in the selection of suitable women students for definite courses.

### II. Special Courses.

Two main types of such courses must be considered:

1. Courses for the training of the active body of Party functionaries (women and men) for work among women.

These forces pre-suppose a certain amount of elementary Party education. On this basis they deal entirely with special questions indispensable for work among women.

These courses may be comprehensive and of long duration and may deal for instance with the following important subjects:

a) Women's role in history and in the modern labour movement including results of the proletarian revolution in Russia.  
b) Relation of the general tasks and slogans of the CP. to the question of women's emancipation.

c) Thorough study of the so-called "women's questions" as opportunities for the mass mobilisation of women (political fights, protection of women's labour, wage questions, mother and child care, position of unmarried mothers and their children, family and matrimonial rights).

d) Forms and methods of Party work among women.

Other courses to follow on these may be used for the training and education of functionaries (women and men) for Definite spheres of work on the basis of the former experiences; factory work, trade unions, co-operatives, working women correspondents, women reporters, etc.

Finally, there are the short duration courses for the preparation of Definite Campaigns, such as Women's Day, Lenin Week, important national campaigns of a Section, etc.

## 2. Elementary Courses first and foremost for women comrades.

An elementary education of all Party members through the general courses of the Party is desirable.

Experiences has shown that the Party elementary courses are not elementary enough for politically unprepared members. This frightens many away, particularly women, from participation in these courses.

Therefore, it is essential to organise special courses for the totally uneducated members particularly for the newcomers.

These courses may be of various kinds, in accordance with the degree of education of those who want to attend them.

Beginning with more or less narrow circles, they can be if necessary, extended in the event of a mass influx of new members into the Party, as for instance at the time of the Lenin recruitment in Russia, into periodical big meetings of an instructive character.

Experiences has shown that such courses are well attended, particularly by women. Therefore, women's departments should induce the Party to give due consideration to the organisation of such courses.

The aim of the special courses for utterly untrained (particularly new) members is — to explain to them on the basis of the concrete situation and the mutual tasks of the Party, the principles of the revolutionary class struggle and the aims of the Communist Party. This grounding is to prepare them for successful participation in further educational work side by side with the other Party members, and serve as a basis from which they can undertake some Party function after the necessary practical training.

## III. Organisation and Methods of the Courses.

1. The barriers between the various forms of the special courses under II are not rigid.

In many cases courses of training for definite spheres of Party work (work among women, trade unions, etc.) will follow up the more comprehensive general course, — will so to speak, form the advanced grade, — the participants in the first course being divided among the various special courses which constitute the second course.

In the same manner the elementary preparatory courses will, as a rule, have to be continued for practical reasons in the form of further instruction for practical work.

Arrangements with respect to the various types of courses and the selection of students will have to be regulated from case to case as necessity arises.

2. On the strength of past experience, the following points must be taken into consideration with respect to methods and organisation:

a) The more decentralised the courses are, the broader the sections of members — particularly women members — they can absorb and the better they can be adapted to concrete conditions.

b) Educational work should be conducted according to modern pedagogical methods (development of self-activity). No long lectures, seminary exercises, written work, organisation of discussions on the standpoint of our opponents.

c) When selecting the teaching staff, quality must be the first consideration, in order that the most inadequate trainers should not be allotted to the women as is frequently the case. Already during the preparatory period the capacity of the teachers at the disposal of the courses must be seriously considered. Care should also be taken that the number of students be not excessive, in order to make individual intercourse between leaders and pupils possible.

d) The courses should be steadily utilised by making the acquired knowledge the subject of debates, or by organising circles on the whole course.

e) At the end of the course the students are to receive further advice and instruction in practical Party work.

In connection with all these courses the initiative, the participation in the preparation of programmes and material and also the selection of teaching staff and students rest with the women's department, as it has a special interest in such courses.

But preparation of the subject matter itself should be made jointly with the Agitprop, and organisational preparation with the competent Party Executives and their Org-Departments.

## THE PRESS.

### Form Substance and Volume of the Women's Press, International and Nationally.

#### The International Press.

A bulletin as leading central organ for dealing with actual questions on the basis of principle and for international exchange of national experiences in campaigns, with respect to organisation and the press. Every now and then devoting a whole number to some burning question of principle, utilising from time to time the material in the form of a pamphlet.

#### The Party Press of the Sections.

##### Press for Recruiting Purposes Among the Masses.

1. Central organ for large sections of working women, the title not to be an official Party title, ditto with respect to the outward appearance of the publication. Special emphasis to be laid on gaining large numbers of working women, in the factories and trade unions. Moreover, to give effect to a real "smytchka", we must turn our attention to the capture of those sections of the population which count in the respective country (for instance, peasant women, women engaged in home industries).

Brightening up the press by pictures reflecting women's role in the fighting front of the revolutionary proletariat on an international scale.

2. All sections must have a central organ. Wherever it is possible, district or local organs of a smaller volume should be published. These organs are to link up the needs and struggles of the working women in the district or town with the wider issues and give a vivid picture of factory and social events by means of a big staff of working women correspondents (on the model of the "Arbeiterin", Berlin).

3. Women's pages or platforms and working women's correspondence in the general press on the model of the women's periodicals.

4. Women's pages in the factory newspapers, women to contribute to them.

5. Pamphlets and leaflets (pamphlet for agitation and propaganda among the female masses).

Supplementing printed material by hand production.

6. Collection and advance publication of agitation material on Soviet Russia in various forms, making use of all possibilities — correspondence, poems, essays, theatrical pieces.

7. Production and collection of illustrated material, both national and international.

8. Exchange of articles and correspondence, newspapers etc., on a national and international scale.

9. Production and collection of theatrical pieces and recitation material, propaganda material generally.

10. Initiative and encouragement in the matter of getting literature from working women's circles.

11. The formation of editorial boards and attraction of a circle of contributors and working women correspondents.

12. Training of active elements and working women correspondents through the editorial boards.

#### II. Material for the clearing up of the Political Attitude and for Practical Guidance in the Work among Women.

1. Publication of articles and material in the general organs of the Party and in the dailies, the scientific organs, the trade union press, the co-operative press.

2. Issuing instruction, reporters', teachers' and students' material on special questions (trade union, protection of women's labour, abortion paragraphs, etc.).

3. Information material for one's use and information.

#### III. Utilisation of the Non-Party Press.

1. Utilisation of sympathising women's newspapers and newspapers of sympathising or neutral proletarian organisations through the inclusion of women's pages.

2. Supply of material to proletarian and petty-bourgeois press of organisation not under our influence.

3. Following up carefully and utilising women's periodicals of other tendencies and polemical attitude to their views.