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Organisation Conference on the Work among Women.

Arranged by the Organisation and Women's Departments of the Comintern during
the Session of the Enlarged Executive on 5. and 6. April 1925.

(Detailed Report of Conference.)

Agenda:

1. Report of the International Women's Secretariat on its Activity, and on the Progress of Work among women in the Sections. Speaker comrade Zetkin.
2. Report on the activity of the Russian C.P. among the masses of women, and on the utilisation of the experience gained for work in the West. Speaker comrade Nikolayeva.
3. Reports of the Sections.
4. Discussion.

1. Session, 5. April 1925.

Comrade Kornblum (Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.)
opened the meeting:

The Secretariat of the E. C. C. I., at its last meeting, decided to take the opportunity offered by the presence of delegations to the Enlarged Executive from so many countries for the purpose of holding a detailed consultation on the most important or-

ganisatory questions touching women's work in all the Parties of the Comintern. This conference has now been convoked by the Organisation Department of the E. C. C. I. and by the International Women's Secretariat. We shall here hear a short report from comrade Clara Zetkin on the work hitherto accomplished by the Women's Secretariat, and a report from a representative of the central Women's Department of the Russian C. P. A resolution it to be debated and passed on the conclusions to be drawn from these reports and from the reports from the various countries.

The following presidium was unanimously elected on Kornblum's motion:

Clara Zetkin (International Women's Secretariat).
Suzanne (France).
Bertz (Germany).
Nikolayeva (Russia).
Kasparova (East. Dpt. of Int. Women's Secretariat).
Mizkevitch (Organisation Dpt. of E. C. C. I.).
Kornblum (Secretariat).

Report of the General Secretary of the International Women's Secretariat Comrade Zetkin on the Activity of the International Women's Secretariat and the Progress of Work among Women in the Sections.

My report will be brief. The point of greatest importance is to hear the reports given by the representatives of the individual sections.

The task set the International Women's Secretariat was the execution of the decisions of the V. World Congress and of the International Communist Women's Conference. This task consisted of the complete ideological and organisatory incorporation of communist work among women into the general work of

the Party. This task has nothing to do with the question of the right and duty of women comrades to co-operate, on terms of perfect equality as members of the Sections, in all work, actions, and struggles in the Communist Parties. This right and this duty are beyond question. Our task is to win over the broad masses of working women for the principles of communism, and to make them so at one with these principles that their faith becomes action. The masses of proletarian women must be in-

duced to take part in all the economic, political, and social struggles of the proletariat and to do this under the leadership of the Communist Parties and of the Communist International.

The Communist Parties must create suitable organs for the accomplishment of this task. In every leading body — from the national Central down to the nucleus — one member is to be specially entrusted with the duty of systematically organising the work among the masses of the women. This member — whether a man or a woman comrade — must of course receive the help of the necessary technical aids and auxiliaries. The work of the women's secretary or women's secretariat must be complemented by the co-operation of auxiliary organs: women's committees, women's agitation committees, etc. The International Women's Secretariat has set the example of complete incorporation. In every question it invariably co-operates with the corresponding working departments of the Communist International. It has done this with reference to the Department for Agitation and Propaganda, the Organisation Bureau and the Co-operative Department. It invites representatives of the various Sections to take part in its meetings. It co-operates with the related revolutionary organisations: the Red International of Labour Unions, the Peasants' International, Youth International, International Red Relief and International Workers Aid.

Unfortunately the ideological and organisatory incorporation of communist work among women is still exceedingly incomplete in the majority of the Sections of the West. Very few of the Communist Parties possess the required apparatus.

The central incorporation of work among women has made the greatest progress in Germany. But there is still much left to be desired here in the districts and centres.

In France the central organ has been created by the appointment of a woman secretary, but until quite recently her activity was confined almost solely to Paris.

In Italy earnest endeavours have been made towards the organisation of a good apparatus, despite Fascism. Here there is a national women's secretariat, reinforced by a national women's committee, composed of representatives of the large provinces. 29 federal women's agitation committees have already sprung into existence, but the Party has not yet organised and developed the work sufficiently in the various centres.

The apparatus is still exceedingly imperfect in England. The national woman secretary receives practically no technical aid, and in the various districts and centres there is a lack of organs making it possible to co-operate with the Central for the awakening and mobilisation of the masses.

Czecho Slovakia possesses a well developed apparatus for work among the women. Unfortunately, up to the present we have no definite information as to the relations between the various departments, as to the organisatory relations to the Party Executive, to the Party press, etc.

In the United States the organisation — so it appears to us — does not seem to have been commenced on right lines for our work.

This has however been the case in Austria and Holland. In Sweden and Norway there are still many remains of the old social democratic forms of organisation. We have no definite data of the state of affairs in Poland, the Party there being obliged to work illegally or semi-illegally.

As a general rule we find the following two erroneous tendencies with regard to the incorporation of women's work into the general work of the Party. Despite the repeated decisions of the World Congresses there are still independent women's communist organisations, working side by side with the Party. And on the other hand there is a tendency to deny the necessity of special systematic work among the masses of proletarian women, by means of special organs. Both tendencies must be overcome.

What has been accomplished towards carrying out the work itself? The World Congress and the Women's conference laid special emphasis upon the extreme importance of reaching the working women in the shops and factories. This is closely bound up with the reorganisation of the Party with regard to factory nucleus work, and with the growing economic struggles of the proletariat. Unfortunately, work in this direction has not yet made much progress.

The best work has been done by the Communist Party in Germany, though even here it is by no means perfect. A beginning has been made with the work of organisation among the working women in large industrial centres, such as Berlin, Saxony, Thuringia and Wurtemberg. The initiative has been taken by the women's departments, these entering into communication with

Party and Trade Union functionaries. Special success is reported from the work among the women textile workers of Thuringia. In Gera it was possible to convocate a delegates' meeting among the women textile workers, and this elected a permanent women workers' committee. A committee of women home workers' was founded in Berlin. Systematic work towards organising the women was interrupted by the election campaign undertaken by the Party. This fact shows the weaknesses of our general Party work in the shops and factories. The situation should have been utilised for mobilising the women workers in the factories.

In France the Paris Federation drew up an excellent programme for work among the women workers in the factories. The International Women's Secretariat forwarded this to all Sections as information and stimulation. Up to the present we have received no report on the actualisation of this programme, nor on the necessary extension of the work to the great industrial centres in the provinces: the Departement du Nord, Lyons and its environs, upper Alsatia etc.

In England, Party work among the proletarian masses has been chiefly confined to the miners, metal workers, and transport workers, these being the bearers of the Minority movement. Practically nothing has been done towards organising the working women in the factories. The Minority movement has been extended too little to the trade unions in which women are organised. It is not sufficient to organise women merely for the struggles against the employers, they are to be enlisted in the ranks of the fighters against trade union bureaucracy, and among the champions of trade union unity.

This must be done in all the countries of the West. Here the women organised in trade unions are everywhere supporters of trade union bureaucracy, although this betrays the interests of the working women.

In Germany the women Party functionaries held a conference participated in by the women shop stewards from different districts. This conference proposed that the elections to the factory councils and to the local trade union administrative bodies should be utilised for systematic work among the women, and for their trade unionist organisation and education. For this purpose working women are to be nominated as candidates in the oppositional or communist lists.

In France the C. G. T. U. has appointed in Paris a women secretary for the furtherance of trade union work among the working women, and is arranging a national conference at which this question will be dealt with. The C. G. T. U. intends to co-operate systematically with the national women's secretariat of the French C. P. for the organisation of the women.

Up to now there has been but little Party activity in England towards the trade union organisation and schooling of the women workers in those industries in which women's work plays a great, if not decisive rôle: the textile industry, ready made clothing and foodstuff trades etc. The International Women's Secretariat proposed to utilise the last unemployed conference for this purpose, as also the conferences held by the Minority movement. The work being done by our trade union fractions among the working women who are not organised in the trade unions, and among women trade union members, must be greatly increased. Detailed representations on these questions have been sent to England by the International Women's Secretariat.

In districts where women take a smaller part in industrial work, but where the attitude adopted by the housewives is of decisive importance in strikes and political struggles, auxiliary organs and organisations must be created for the activation of the masses of proletarian women, and these must maintain a permanent and regular organised connection with the Communist Party, working under its leadership. These organs and organisations, which we require at the same time for the non-communist working women, must begin at once to develop on Russian lines into delegates' corporations. This must of course not be done by mechanical imitation, but the actual given circumstances ruling in the separate countries must be taken into account.

The beginnings of such a development were noticeable in Germany, in the form of control and action committees, during the movement caused by the high prices. In England the proletarian women's guilds comprise the proletarian women in sympathy with us.

Organisations of sympathising proletarian women have, been founded in Italy; these however appear to include communist women as well and thus go beyond the limits of their actual character. In the United States we had the "Council for working class women" to which not only many leading women

communists and individual members belonged, but more than 40 non-communists women's organisations. This was dissolved by the Workers Party, but it is certain to be reorganised and called back into existence.

It will be one of the leading tasks of this conference to follow comrade Nikolayeva's address by a detailed discussion of the practical ways and means to be pursued for creating the organs and organisations which are to keep up the contact between the broad masses of proletarian women and the Communist Party. Methods of work among the peasant women have been indicated by a circular with question form sent by the I. W. S. to all Sections. Most of these have sent no reply. Reports on small holders' conferences, press notices etc. show that slight efforts are being made to take up this important work in Germany.

With respect to our press, our Parties have no clear idea of the tasks and aims of the so-called women's press. We are all agreed in principle that the theoretical and political schooling of our women comrades is to be effected by the general Party press, its political and scientific organs. The same applies to problems pertaining to the so-called women's question and women's demands, for these are at the bottom the problems and demands of the proletariat. The "Women's Pages" and "Women's Columns" in the general Party press should be adapted, like the special women's papers, to the broad masses of working women. This object is but partially attained, owing to the double character of their publications. Their contents are adapted in part for women comrades, and in part for the masses of women just awakening. This is explained by the fact that the general press organs of our sections do not adequately fulfill the tasks of schooling the women comrades theoretically and politically, so that the need arises to deal with urgent question in special "Women's Pages" and women's papers.

Organs which are already fairly well adapted to the needs of the broad masses of women are following: in Germany the "Kommunistin", organ of the German CP. and various working women's newspapers appearing in the provinces; in France the Party papers "L'Ouvrière". Our Party press in Italy appeals to the women comrades, to the Party functionaries, and to the masses of the proletarian women. Almost all articles, notices, etc. are written in such a simple and popular style that they can be understood even by backward women. In this respect the character of our women's press in Czecho Slovakia is extremely contradictory and unclear.

As a general rule the purport of our women's newspapers of every description is not yet sufficiently permeated with communist principles. The events and facts dealt with are not linked up vitally with the daily slogans of the Party, of the trade unions, or of the proletarian struggle. We receive valuable material from the women of the proletariat in support of our charges against capitalism, but this does not raise our women's press to the level of an organ for training and leading the masses of women.

It is of leading importance for overcoming this drawback that **Worker correspondents** should be organised and schooled from among working women, workmen's wives, and if possible peasant women. It need not be said that the letters sent by these women must be carefully examined, and brought into line with the principles of communism, naturally with the agreement of the writers. This must be done with the requisite fine feeling for the thoughts, feelings, and modes of expression of the correspondents. Their contributions must lose nothing of their freshness and originality, and on the other hand our women's papers must not be permitted to become the gathering place of petty bourgeois and uncommunist views, and even of unconsciously anti-communist views. The correspondence carried on by working women, the contributions sent by working women to factory newspapers and other organs, educate proletarian women to independent thought, to independent activity and self-reliance. Besides this, they form personal, reliable, and zealous fulcrums for our organisatory work in the factories, and give us canvassers for our press. I confine myself to this abbreviated and general survey of the progress of our work among working women.

The experience gained by the IWS. shows that outside of the Soviet Union there is an international shortage of men and women comrades who, schooled in theory and practice, have actually grasped the whole complex of the women's question as a part of the social question in the sense of Marxism and Leninism, and have there seen clearly that at the bottom every so-called woman's question is also a man's question, a children's question — in a word, a social problem concerning the whole proletariat. Our comrades are not yet thoroughly imbued with Lenin's view that without the participation of millions of women the proletariat is not in a position to seize and maintain power, and is unable to reconstruct society on communist lines after seizing power.

We must call theory and practice to our aid clear away the Philistinism still clinging to many of our comrades. The whole of the institutions and organs of the Communist Parties are to be so adapted that they not only serve the purpose of general enlightenment, but ensure at the same time the development of Marxist understanding in the women's question. Thus for instance the treatment of this question must be made part of the educational programme of the national sections. It is of the utmost importance to ensure that the largest possible number of women comrades utilise the educational opportunities. Lenin emphasised that we can only have a good revolutionary movement if we have a good revolutionary theory. Until this has been realised by both men and women comrades our work among the masses of women is but patchwork. Our utmost endeavour must be towards gaining the right to say: In this sphere too we are Bolsheviks, understanding pupils of the master, ready to convert good revolutionary theory into good revolutionary practice.

Comrade Nikolayeva's Address

on the activity of the Russian C. P. among women and on the utilisation of the experience gained for work in the West.

The active elements among the non-party working women were organised in such manner that circles were formed for the working women in the workshops and factories, by women comrades closely connected with the various shops, departments, etc.

Under the rule of the capitalist order, this form of work was the original form of the delegates' meeting. But since it was not possible at that time to hold delegates' elections in the factories, these circles were so organised as to permit the Party nuclei to exercise influence over the masses of working women.

The circle was conducted under the leadership of the nucleus, it served to maintain communication between the nucleus and the masses of women workers, it was the recruiting centre for gathering together more and more working women. The existence of such circles in the factories naturally led to syste-

matic meetings among their organisers, to consistent and systematically conducted work.

Besides this, common meetings of all circles were held from time to time, in order that reports might be heard, a rapprochement made possible between the working women employed in different undertakings, the feeling of solidarity encouraged, and the members of the circles (and with these the broader masses of working women) revolutionised.

The organisation of working women correspondents organised by the periodical "Rabotnitsa" (The Working Woman), an organ published by the Central Committee of the Russian C. P., attained a position of great importance in our sphere of activity, not only for our agitation and propaganda, but at the same time for the organisation of the masses of working women. The working women immediately connected with the factories and with the editorial staff of our newspaper were successful

in gathering the masses of non-party working women around our paper; this they attained by publishing notices, articles, and poems sent in by the working women, and by calling upon the women to support their own press organ.

By means of these measures, aided by the trade unions, the educational organisations and the workers' clubs, we were able to so organise and revolutionise the working women under the leadership of the Party that the women have taken part in the strikes, and in the revolutionary actions entered into by the working class.

In the time during and after the February revolution, when our Party was no longer obliged to work illegally, but was able to go forward to real mass work, the Party activity in the women's circles changed in character, and was also enabled to advance more and more to mass work.

The small circles in the separate factories were now replaced by large groups of women workers, connecting the different workshops and departments with the masses of proletarian women. The Central Committee of our Party received further aid through the affiliation of a special commission for conferring on the work to be done among the women. This commission formed at the same time the editorial staff of the periodical "Rabotnitza". It organised the work among the women, and ensured its being carried on under the leadership of the Party. At the same time this commission was complemented by communist women workers working in the factories and districts.

Besides the general factory meetings, special women workers' meetings were systematically organised by the groups of active women workers, under the leadership of the nucleus. At first the general mass of working women in the undertakings in question did not attend these meetings, but after a while, hand in hand with the development of our agitation, and with the increased organisation of the active elements among the non-party women workers around our Party, more and more women participated.

The working women, thus becoming accustomed to the women workers' mass meetings, now began to attend other meetings, bearing a politically fighting character. Thus for instance in July 1917, when the Party was again forced into illegal activity, mighty meetings were arranged in the name of the "Rabotnitza", the sole Bolshevik press organ left existing, for the purpose of enlightening the masses on the meaning of the events in July, and on the treacherous rôle played by the Mensheviks.

We sent special groups working women to the meetings called by the Mensheviks, to expose the true nature of Menshevik activity. Here we achieved positive results. We proceeded in the same manner at the meetings convoked by the "League for Women's Rights". At this time there was a mighty increase in the publication of leaflets, posters and other propagandist literature. We devoted special attention to our periodical, and its circulation increased rapidly.

We may claim that the whole of this work was eminently successful. The working women participated in enormous numbers in the street demonstrations in Leningrad on 21. April 1917, and in the June demonstrations. The preparatory work was carried forward not only by the Party members but by a large number of non-party working women. Many of these came to the office of the "Rabotnitza" to ask how they could best prepare for the coming demonstrations.

Besides this, the working women carried on active agitation among the soldiers sent to Petrograd by the provisional government to suppress the Bolsheviks. The forward march of General Kornilov on Petrograd aroused not only the workmen, but the working women as well.

Then came the Red October, and with it fresh work. But fresh forces came as well, fresh energies, fresh strivings in the struggle and for the establishment of our workers' and peasants' state. Every working woman saw a mighty field of activity opened out before her. Now she had become a citizen possessing equal rights, and now she could participate in the building up of the first workers' and peasants' state.

The Party made this clear to many thousands of women workers and peasants. Day by day, and month by month, the Party pursued its work of awakening fresh strata of the backward masses of working women. The Party had frequently passed resolutions, at its congresses, to the effect that the organisation of the broad masses of working women is one of the tasks incumbent on the whole Party, and the Party Committees were thus induced to pay special attention to this sphere of work.

Now that the Party had extended its influence to certain strata of the non-party working women, it became necessary to convocate conferences, first among the non-party women workers, and later among the non-party women workers and peasants.

The first of these conferences of non-party women workers took place in Petrograd before the October revolution. About 800 delegates were present, representing 80,000 working women. The conference declared its complete solidarity with the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) in its struggle for the power of the Soviets.

This first conference was followed by a number of similar ones in all the industrial cities and districts of Russia. They proved of enormous organisatory significance. The October revolution faced us with the necessity of perfecting these forms of activity, in order to reach the greatest number of working women in every branch of industry, and to organise at the same time the women peasants and other strata of working women.

The departments already existing for work among the women were now developed into integral parts of the Party apparatus, employing paid comrades. Up to this time, in the first and second working periods, none of the comrades carrying on this work were paid, except the comrade responsible for editing the newspaper. The whole of the members of the lower Party apparatus performed their work for nothing, as a part of their duty as members of the Party. Now, however, a central apparatus was formed and affiliated to the Central Party Committee, and special organs were provided for the lower Party organisations. Every factory nucleus, and every Volost nucleus (rural district cell) appointed a special organiser for work among the women workers and peasants, and among the women of the other strata of the population. In every factory and village delegates' meetings of working and peasant women were organised, the delegates being however no longer volunteers, but elected.

Systematic conferences were now held among the women organisers, and the question of training suitable comrades for this work arose. Work among the women could now be carried on in complete harmony with the tasks confronting the Party and the Soviet power.

Thus for instance the working and peasant women aided the Red Army during the civil war, took part in the sappers' work, organised ambulance divisions, participated in the defence of towns, and performed every possible description of work. The actual participation of working and peasant women in the building up of the state became a reality. 40,000 peasant women became members of the village Soviets, thousands of working women worked in the city Soviets. Many hundreds of working and peasant women distinguished themselves not only in the civil war, but in every kind of civil service. Even the working women of the East, enslaved and suppressed for centuries, brought forth from their midst a considerable number of energetic women, capable of active participation in the constructive work of the Soviet power.

Millions of working and peasant women are represented by hundreds of thousands of women's delegates. The organised cadres of working and peasant women gathered around the Communist Party grow from year to year. The number of our women Party members grows in proportion. The development of the institutions actuating the emancipation of working women, the abolition of illiteracy, and the uplift of the cultural and political level of the broad masses of the working and peasant women, are winning millions of these women for the social and political life of our country, and for the constructive work of the Union of Soviet Republics.

In this sphere of work the Party is following faithfully in the footsteps of Lenin.

Reports of the Sections.

Comrade Bertz (Germany):

The work of our Party among the women has made great progress. It now forms a part of the general Party work. In all Party organisations a leading member is made responsible for the work among the women. By this means a closer connection is brought about between the women's work and the political leadership. The district organisations, local groups, etc., possess women's committees carrying on the work among the women in the factories, among the housewives, etc. In Chemnitz the leaders of the district organisation decided that every district conference has to hear a half hour's report on the work being done among the women. The women comrades including working women from the factories, take an active part in the conferences. The mandates of the women comrades have to be confirmed by the competent Party leaders. The Party leaders have to be represented at every meeting held by the women's committee or by the women comrades.

Our chief sphere of work is in the factories and trade unions. The reorganisation of the Party work on factory nucleus lines has involved certain difficulties, since the majority of our women comrades are housewives, and our work was formerly carried on more among the housewives than among the working women.

One member of each factory nucleus is made responsible for work among the women.

In the textile industry we have numerous nuclei composed of women comrades only, and working extremely energetically. The nuclei furnish us with excellent fingerposts for our work. At the last women's conference in Berlin not only the women leaders of the district women's committees participated, but women representatives of important factor nuclei.

We have not made much progress with the working women's committees. The committee in Gera is still too isolated. The movement should be spread over the whole of Thuringia and Saxony.

Work in the shops and factories is being carried on in close combination with the trade union fractions.

We have carried on campaigns among the women home workers, especially in the Ore Mountains, Vogtland, in Silesia, and in Berlin. The only way of reaching these women is to visit them in their homes. In the Ore Mountains a series of systematic visits paid by our women comrades enabled 50 question sheets to be filled out, containing much valuable information on the working and living conditions of the home workers. This material is used by us in the press, and for working out motions to be submitted to parliament, as for instance in the question of the exploitation of child work.

We are also endeavouring to reach the peasant women. But for this field of work we have not many active women comrades. Our women comrades have delegated a working woman to a peasants' conference for the establishment of a connection between town and country.

We place great value on keeping the working women in communication with the press. In Chemnitz the working women have become accustomed to coming to the district secretary when they have complaints to make.

Besides the "Kommunistin", we have a number of other special working women's papers, written almost exclusively by working women, and appearing in Berlin, West Saxony (Leipzig), Ore Mountains, Vogtland (Chemnitz), Thuringia, and Baden-Rhine-Saar. These papers, despite some defects, give a faithful picture of the working woman's life.

Our latest experiences have taught us that the movement is still in the stage of infancy, but that we were able to attain greater success last year than ever before, having emancipated ourselves from the false traditions of separating the women in special organisations.

Comrade Suzanne (France):

We are not yet able to give any extensive report on the success of our work. We have however made considerable progress since the congress at Lyons. The necessity of energetic work among the women has been recognised by the whole Party. The last Party conference dealt exhaustively with this question,

and the men comrades took part in the discussion. New faces were seen at both the Party conference and the women's conference. Hitherto the women attending the conferences and meetings were chiefly the wives of the men comrades, but this time the women were workers from the factories, delegated by the district conference. This is the first result of the reorganisation of the Party on the factory nucleus basis. In France, even among the working class, there is still a tendency to cling to the tradition that woman is the "soul" of the home, the "house fairy", and should not trouble about politics. The factory cells are now enabling us to come into direct contact with the working women.

In Paris we have a commission for work among the women in almost every district. There are also such commissions in the Departements Nord, Lyons, Pas de Calais, and Basse Seine, etc. In every nucleus one comrade is entrusted with the work among the women. There is scarcely a factory nucleus newspaper without at least one article on questions relating to the women workers.

We have a Central Women's Agitation Commission for the whole country, and a women's secretariat. This consists of a secretary, an editor, and a shorthand writer. These three woman comrades are employed by the Party. Besides this, the Paris federation has appointed an additional secretary for work among the women. In the other federations the work is done by the comrades without payment.

Besides the national women's conference, district women's conferences have also been held for the Paris and Nord federations. The national women's conference appointed two commissions, one for drawing up the demands of the working women, and one for the housewives. A commission composed of members of the parliamentary fraction, physicians, lawyers, and representatives of the women's commission, is engaged in drawing up bills to be submitted to the Chamber by our Party fraction. The first bill is one for the protection of mother and child.

The cadres of active women comrades are still very weak. We are endeavoring to bring forward fresh forces. In the central Leninist Party school there were five women comrades out of 50 participants. In Paris we have now arranged for a special course of instruction for schooling active women comrades. This is held twice weekly, and is attended regularly by 60 women comrades, frequently by more.

The Seine federation has worked out a definite working plan for factory nucleus work among the women.

In the trade unions there is a much closer connection than formerly between the Party and the labour C. G. T. U. The new secretary for women's work, appointed by the C. G. T. U. in agreement with the Party, is a working woman from a large factory. Besides this, a special woman secretary is employed for the trade unions of the Paris federations. The end of the "stabilisation", the ever rising prices, and the failure to maintain the eight hour day, afford excellent opportunities of appealing to the masses of working women.

No work has been done yet among the women peasantry.

The Party carried on an effective campaign during the strike of the sardine workers in Douarnenez. It is now carrying on an extensive campaign for women's suffrage. At the municipal elections the Party placed women candidates on the lists in places where they were secure of election. The great feminist organisations, at one time standing so energetically for women's suffrage, are now silent. They will soon be obliged to confess their true colors, for or against, as soon as the attempt is made to set aside woman's vote.

The press carrying on propaganda among the women has suffered from two main defects up to now. It has been more feminist than communist, and has appealed more to the housewife than to the factory worker.

The propadanda periodical has now become more accessible to the working women. Its distribution is organised by the nuclei. It has thus been possible to increase its circulation from 3000 to 7500 since January. The paper is now being distributed by the provincial federations as well, especially in the Nord and Lyons.

The periodical "L'Ouvrière" is now publishing the letters of working women correspondents.

The daily press now publishes women's pages daily. The "Humanité" was the first to publish half a page weekly, and the provincial papers have since followed this example. On the occasion of the International Women's Conference the "Humanité" devoted two pages of one number to the working woman, one page of another number to the peasant woman.

The growing influence of the Party on the masses of women workers could be plainly observed at the International Women's Day, held in Paris on 18. March at the same time as the anniversary celebrations for the Commune. Of the 6000 participants in the mass meeting in Paris, 2000 were women, a greater proportion than has ever before been the case.

In France the homeworkers play a very important rôle. The Party has however not yet begun work among these workers.

The district conferences, attended by women Party members only, are informative and instructive in character. The subject here chiefly discussed are plans and methods for work among the women. Besides these conferences, we hold others of a more agitational character, attended by women sympathising with our movement.

Comrade Suchardova (Mährisch-Ostrau, Czecho-Slovakia):

In Czecho-Slovakia the women's movement was at one time a women's rights party. Large masses of women were organised in the old Social Democratic Party, forming the Left wing of this. In 1920, at the time of the split and founding of the Communist Party, the great majority of the women decided for the Third International. The C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia counts 25% women among its members, the majority of these being housewives.

The Party central includes a National Women's Agitation Commission. Its decisions are submitted to the Executive Committee for confirmation. Every district has its District Women's Agitation Commission, and a member of the political leadership is responsible for the work among the women. The local groups do not yet all possess Women's Commissions.

The cadres of active women members are composed chiefly of housewives. The women have worked with great energy, especially during strikes and in the high prices campaign, many women's meetings and demonstrations being held in the market places and at the exchange. The women comrades have also worked zealously for the International Worker's Relief and have induced non-party women to join them in this. Their work has also been of great value among the children and in the Group of Ten service.

We have done but little work in the shops and factories. This work is bound up with the general Party work. In every place where factory nuclei exist, work is being done among the working women. The women comrades working in the nuclei have also to take part in the sessions of the Women's Agitation Commission.

In the trade unions the work is very much split up. Almost every party has its own trade union. Women comrades are delegated to the meetings of the Red Trade Unions, in which many women are organised, for the purpose of raising the question of work among the women.

Among the women peasants and women agricultural labourers work has developed greatly. There are but few women places in which there is no local group of the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia. These groups include women everywhere. The women cottagers attend all our meetings in the country. The peasants' communist newspaper has one page for the peasant women.

In the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia it will be difficult to organise the delegates' meetings. The conditions are exceptional in Czecho-Slovakia, and almost all women are politically organised in some manner. There are practically no non-partisans.

We have carried out a very successful recruiting campaign for the trade unions.

The homeworkers' industries are highly developed in Czecho-Slovakia. We are preparing the formation of women homeworkers' committees.

We have three political and one trade unionist women's periodicals. The "Kommunistka" (Czech) publishes an edition of 10,000. Women worker correspondents contribute to this paper. The "Kommunistin" (German) has a circulation of about 2000.

the "Proletarka" (Slovakian) of 1300 and the "Delnice" (Czech), the organ of the Red Trade Unions, of 18,000. On special occasions, as for instance the International Women's Conference special numbers of these periodicals are issued. The daily Party papers have women's supplements. Besides this, pamphlets are issued for the agitation among the women.

The International Women's Day will be conducted on a larger scale this year than last. In 1924 there were 190 meetings, attended on an average by 50 persons. For this 300 meetings have already been arranged.

Our sole representative in Parliament is the woman comrade Mala. This comrade has collected much material on the position of women, and has drawn up various bills to be submitted to Parliament. At the present time a motherhood law is being proposed by us. It is our endeavour to combine the presentations of our motions in Parliament with mass actions, and we organise great propaganda meetings at which these questions are dealt with.

We have been reproached with imparting a petty bourgeois character to the women's movement. We are however exerting our utmost endeavour to revolutionise the women. This is evidenced by the demonstrations at the magistracy, etc. during the campaign against high prices.

We have arranged courses of instruction for women comrades in Prague and in various districts.

The central apparatus for work among the women is exceedingly weak. In Prague we have a woman secretary, three women editors for the three women's periodicals, a woman secretary in Brünn, and another in Carpatho-Russia.

A National Conference of Women Communists was held in connection with the Party Conference, and this elected the Women's Agitation Commission afterwards confirmed by the Party Conference. At the same time women's conferences were arranged in the various districts. The elections made at District Agitation Conferences must however invariably be confirmed by the District Executive Committees or by the District Conferences.

Comrade Viola (Italy):

I can only report on a beginning of our work. Between 1923 and the V. World Congress the Party accomplished nothing in the sphere of work among women. The whole forces of the Party were concentrated on the defence of the organisations apparatus and on the fight against Fascism. After the V. World Congress a woman comrade was appointed as secretary, exclusively for work among the women. This comrade is at the same time a member of the central.

The two first tasks undertaken by the women's secretary were the re-issue of the woman's periodical the "Compagna", which had been suppressed under Fascism, and the organisation of a national conference of women communists for the reorganisation of the whole work.

The "Compagna" published an edition of 3000 copies. It proved however impossible to hold the national conference. It is now intended to convocate it in connection with the next Party congress.

In Italy powerful traditions still exist, even among some of our own comrades, against the participation of women in politics. We have in consequence only a small percentage of women members.

The periodical cannot appear regularly. When it was suppressed, it was substituted by an illegal paper, the "Proletaria". We are trying to form a firm body of women correspondents in the Party centres. Letters from the working women themselves have appeared in the latest numbers. The paper has now attained a circulation of 6000. Besides this, the Party has issued small elementary pamphlets for the agitation among women. The general press is also according much attention to the women's question.

The decisions of the Third International Conference of Women Communists have caused instructions to be sent to all Party organisations with reference to the reorganisation of work among the women.

In the districts we have arranged for small conferences among the women comrades, in order to give instructions for the work. Such conferences have been held in Turin, Milan,

Florence, and Rome. A decision of the Turin conference led to the appointment of a central women's committee to aid the women's secretary. This committee is composed of six women comrades from the most important districts of the country, as for instance Turin, Florence, Milan, Como, and Rome. There are several working women among the members of this committee. Other committees of three to five women comrades have been formed in 34 districts. In the remaining district one man or woman comrade is entrusted with the work.

An important part of the work is that performed by the factory nucleus. Working women are members of many of these nuclei. Nucleus work induces numbers of women to join the Party, especially in the industrial centres. One of the main slogans is for the return of the working women into the trade unions.

Before the Fascist coup d'état we had clubs of women sympathisers in the main centres for carrying on work among the housewives. The Party is now beginning to reorganise these groups. The situation is favourable, mainly owing to the high prices. In Southern Italy there has been much unrest on account of the rising prices, and the working women have demonstrated in the streets. In Naples, Bari and Lecce the women stormed the bakers' shops.

Work among the peasant women is extremely difficult. As a rule we possess no Party organisation in the small villages.

An extensive campaign was organised on the occasion of the International Women's Day. In our situation it is not possible for us to arrange the great meetings and demonstrations which can be held in other countries. We organised meetings at the factory gates when the workers were coming out, and small semi-legal meetings both in town and country. A special number of the "Compagna" was published.

The women Party members have proved reliable and useful even during the periods in which the Party laboured under the greatest disabilities. They have rendered excellent service in keeping up communications. In matters relating to the housing and high prices questions the women comrades have also given much energetic aid.

In the Trade Unions, women are represented in the largest number in the textile workers' union, 80% of whose members are women. As a rule the trade union leaders are reformists. The work being done by the Social Democrats (Unitarians) among the women is retrogressing. Their organ for women's agitation: "Difesa della Lavoratrice" (Defence of the working woman) has died out for lack of readers.

* * *

The session here adjourned till Monday.

2. Session, Monday 6. April 1925.

Comrade Kornblum suggested that the further reports from the sections should be combined with the debate on the resolution submitted.

The most important point of the resolution is its reference to work among the masses, and to the organisatory means of reaching these masses. The part of the resolution dealing with the inner Party organisation of work among the women is for the most part taken from the organisation statutes of the Organisation Conference, and already well known in substance to the Sections. The question of the organisatory means of reaching the masses is however new, and should be specially debated. Above all, the possibility of employing the Russian forms of work, the formation of women workers' circles and delegates' meetings, should be discussed.

Comrade Kornblum then opened the debate.

Comrade Brown (Great Britain):

I am in agreement with the resolution on the whole. In the C. P. of Great Britain there has been a great danger of isolating the work among the women from the general work of the Party. Thus for instance at the last Women's Conference, held simultaneously with the Party Conference, no attempt was made at politically combining the work of the two conferences.

The most important point of the resolution appears to me to be the work of the factory nuclei among the women, and the work in the trade unions, to be carried on in closest connection with the Minority Movement.

The 5. Party Conference and the Women's Conference being held at the same time are confronted by three main tasks. In the first place the whole Party must be thoroughly permeated with the realisation that work among the women is not merely the affair of the women communists, but has to be carried on by the whole Party by means of the Party apparatus.

In the second place groups of working women must be formed around the Party nuclei and the committees of the trade union Minority Movement, in order to reach and lead the working women. This applies especially to the textile industry, which employs 500,000 women workers. It is precisely in the textile centres that we suffered the severest defeats in the parliamentary elections, for the working women voted for the Conservatives. The crisis now impending in the textile industry, a consequence of the supercapitalisation following on the conditions induced by the war, will lead to an aggravated exploitation of the working class. We must make use of this. A staff of 20 to 30 women comrades, upon whom the Party can rely, should be trained for working among these women.

In the third place the Communist fractions in the co-operatives, and in the women's sections of the Labour Party, should be developed. It is precisely the women's sections in the Labour Party which form the fulcrum of Macdonald's policy, as we saw in the elections. Here again a left wing should be formed.

A new question is the development of the housewives' guilds, especially in Sheffield, Dundee, Greenock and Bradford. The members of these belong to the Labour Party, but are in opposition to Macdonald's policy, and are now showing a tendency to desert the general movement. It is our task to bring these women, individually or collectively, in connection with the women's sections of the Labour Party.

The press is a weak spot. We need: firstly a periodical for the masses of working women, dealing in the plainest manner with the daily questions of women's struggles, and secondly a number of similar leaflets dealing with separate questions and calculated to counteract the influence of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party.

Comrade Mitzkevitch (Org. Depart. of the E. C. C. I.):

The question of the extension of our influence over the non-party masses of women is the really essential question to be dealt with here. The Third International Women's Conference discussed this subject, but only in general. Nothing definite could be stated, for the necessary experience was lacking. The facts here adduced show that it is possible to utilise for the West, in some form or another, the methods of work employed by the Russian C. P. Today, now that we are forming factory nuclei everywhere, and are building up the Party on this basis, it is possible to convocate factory meetings and special women's meetings. Perhaps in forms similar to those adopted in Russia in 1903/09.

In 1923, when the movement took its uplift in the West, control commissions sprang into being for combatting the high prices. At the present time, in the midst of a standstill, we must ask ourselves whether it is possible to form a control commission or a delegates' meeting. To me it appears impossible to do this today without preparation. The experience gained in Russia must be applied, but not in the abstract form of delegates' meetings, but in the ways and means of reaching this point. This is expressed in the resolution submitted to us.

The delegates' meetings developed systematically out of the small circles and gatherings first organised. We become fully conscious of developing from similar beginnings, when we look our difficulties fairly in the face. If we do not do this, we shall not reach our goal. During a fighting period even the most backward masses can be gathered around certain slogans. But at the present juncture it is not so easy to proceed to delegates' meetings in the strict sense of the term. We can begin with a circle, and not on a scale embracing the whole country, but proceeding from one department to another, from one factory to another, etc. This is the sole basis upon which it is possible to arrive at the delegates' meeting.

What is new in our resolution as compared with the resolution passed by the Third International Women's Conference? On that occasion the question was raised generally, here it is defined. It may be that even yet we do not define it sufficiently. But this is a task which may be performed later by the International Women's Secretariat or by a special commission.

Comrade Suzanne (France):

The formulation of the resolution on the formation of delegates' meetings is not forceful enough. We read: "Should the masses evidence interest in any political or economic question, the attempt must be made to form delegates' meetings" Under such conditions it should be made the duty of the Party. And in any case the circles and groups must be organised among the working women.

In the section on "Trade union work" another paragraph should be added on the co-operation of the trade union women organisers in the factories with the organisations of such trade unions as are affiliated to the R. I. L. U. Another necessary additional paragraph is one on women homeworkers, especially a demand for their organisation in trade unions.

Comrade Ullrich (Germany):

I share the opinion expressed by comrade Mitzkevitch, that it is not possible to simply introduce the delegate system. The way must first be prepared. But to do this it is not necessary to wait for conflicts. What this leads to may be seen in the developments of the control committee movement in Germany. The crisis of 1923 left us no time to build a firm foundation; we were obliged to pass at once to the election of control committees — organisations corresponding to the delegate system. When the stabilisation came, the control committees fell to pieces.

We must therefore steer definitely and determinedly toward one goal: The delegate system must absolutely be actualised. But in preparing the way for it, value must be laid on the circles, the bases of the delegate system. We need not wait for conflicts, for they are always there.

The resolution should contain no formulations containing the word "attempt"; the decisive mode of expression of the earlier draft should be restored.

Comrade Kornblum (Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.):

The new formulation gives the impression that the whole delegate system is not to be accepted. It looks like a compromise proposal. This was however certainly not the intention of the writer of this paragraph. The formulation does not express that we are to endeavour to organise the delegates' meetings. We must not set up various conditions as prerequisite for this organisation, as for instance the influence exercised by the communists, the interest taken by women, and the like.

Comrade Hansen (Norway):

In our Party we still find many of the old social democratic conceptions of the women's movement. Before the split our Party resembled the English Labour Party in its organisatory structure. This makes it difficult to adjust work into the right lines. We have still no contact with the masses, and no factory nuclei. We have commenced of late to form these, but they have not yet been activated. We have on the other hand already appointed organisers for the work among the masses of women.

Recently we conducted an extensive campaign against the bourgeois women, who had joined to form a united front in defence of the so-called "women's interests". The non-party women's organisations under our leadership — in Bergen 500 to 600 members — deal with all the leading questions of the day. Besides the Party schools, attended by numerous women comrades, we have women's groups for schooling those women members who are still backward. The development of the factory nuclei, and the transition to the incorporation of specifically women's work in the general work of the Party, will enable these women's groups to disappear gradually.

I am in perfect agreement with the resolution. The new formulation on the delegates' meetings appears to me too to be exceedingly weak.

Comrade Clara Zetkin:

The contested passage must be better formulated, and made to express our idea more clearly and definitely. Shall we exert our utmost endeavours to put the delegate system into actual practice? The opinion has been expressed that this is only possible during especially acute conflicts between the classes. This opinion has

been influenced onesidedly by the origin of the committees of control and action in Germany. In a capitalist state of society every day and every hour supply the premises for unrest and fermentation among the proletariat and working women. These premises are given by the class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, affecting the working and living conditions of the working women.

Is it possible to form a system of representatives? History itself has replied to this question, long before this session was held, and even long before our Russian women comrades put or answered the question. In England the suffragettes, trade unions, women's cooperatives, etc. have been forming institutions for many decades, the Joint Committees, fulfilling the tasks of the delegate system in another form. The English example shows that we can create a system of elected women representatives of the interests of broad masses of women at any time, without acute conflicts being the necessary premise.

That which is possible in capitalist England must be equally possible in capitalist Germany, France, and other capitalist states, but in forms and under conditions corresponding to the given situation. The importance of the requisite preparatory work has been delineated by comrade Nikolayeva in the most convincing manner. In the highly developed capitalist countries the organisation of women workers' and delegates' meetings in the factories is for instance rendered very difficult, or even impossible, by the system upon which production is organised, and by the rule of the employer. But where good preparatory work has been accomplished with the aid of circles and nuclei, it becomes possible to hold such meetings outside of the shops and factories.

The delegate system is one of the very best methods of mobilising great masses of working women, housewives, women homeworkers, and women of the petty bourgeoisie, holding the most varying social views, and of bringing them into contact with the Communist Party. The housewives are frequently homeworkers at the same time. It is our endeavour to organise the women home workers in the trade unions, with their fellow workers from the factories. This organisation is made difficult by the scattered dwellings of the homeworkers, and their isolated work. The delegate system facilitates their co-operation for campaigns in defence of their common interests. As a general rule this system enables the intelligent, energetic, and capable personalities to emerge from the broad masses, and to be trained for common work for a community, for their class, for social work — not in a bourgeois sense, but in a revolutionary sense.

The delegate system educates women leaders for the economic and political class struggles of the proletariat, valuable forces for constructive communist work. It trains the women, enabling them to devote thorough study and suitable treatment to the definite questions arising, to form a judgment on these questions in their general social connections, and to defend their standpoint against the united forces of bourgeois society, social democracy, and trade union bureaucracy. The reports made by the delegates to their electors form another educative factor. The delegate system thus forms a high school for training women leaders for the work of bringing the women of the proletariat to communism. The prerequisite for the attainment of this goal is closest association with the Communist Party. The system itself, with the aid of other institutions, forms one of the best means of establishing this connection on a firm organisatory and ideological basis — a connection which cannot be broken off by changes in the economic or political situation, but is permanent.

Comrade Arboré-Ralli (Eastern Dpt. of the IWS.):

The question of the women homeworkers is to be taken into account in the resolution.

The paragraph dealing with the winning over of the peasant women is to be worked out in further detail. Above all, the question of the peasants, parties and unions has been omitted.

Comrade Nikolayeva (Concluding Speech):

The lively debate shows these questions to be vital ones, and that we need definite directions as to the forms and methods of work among the women. The so-called circles and groups formed among the women have been referred to here as connecting links between the Party and the non-partisans. These circles and delegates' meetings must make it their leading

endeavour to form a group around the Party, one upon which the Party can rely. The delegates' meetings must always have a definite programme. This is concrete, states a number of political tasks which have imperatively to be carried out, and takes all the practical demands of the day into account. Besides this, we are given the possibility of inducing the delegates to participate in the practical work. For instance, in the case of strikes the women are allotted certain definite tasks, they have to take part in drawing up certain definite demands, etc.

Secondly, many of our women comrades have spoken here of the work they are doing in Parliament. I am of the opinion that here the groups must first consider their standpoint, the members of the groups drawing up the demands for instance, and these then being submitted to Parliament.

Thirdly, the delegates' meetings afford the opportunity of not only attracting the broad masses to the Party, but of discovering the capable and intelligent minds among the great masses of women.

How should such a circle work? Each group has its periodical meetings, at which it settles a definite number of questions. Every working woman belonging to the circle has to discuss in her own branch or department the questions raised in the circle. She must report on the decisions arrived at by the circle. This is a means by which the masses in the factories can be interested and induced to participate. In places where the Party, and even the circle, have to work illegally, it is a means towards the training of the members.

With reference to comrade Ullrich's words: This will not be the last time that we discuss the possible forms of work. Later on our experience will likely permit us to impart more exact instructions. It is of course preferable to substitute "endeavour" for "attempt" in the paragraph referring to the formation of delegates' meetings.

With regard to the women of whom the delegates' meetings are to be composed, it need not be said that we cannot take these from the backward masses only, but that some of the women must be already revolutionised. In Russia a woman delegate has become quite another person after a year's activity, is thoroughly trained, steeled for the struggle and the work.

Comrade Kornblum (Secretariat):

I should like to make the following statements as result of the discussion, in order that we may be assured that we are all in agreement.

1. Work is to be carried on in an increased degree among the masses of the women.

2. The whole of the Parties should take more interest in this work.

3. There are no fundamental differences of opinion with regard to the most important question, the delegates' meetings.

It will thus be an easy task to alter the resolution in accordance with the wishes which have been expressed here. I propose that a commission be formed for this purpose, composed of the following men and women comrades:

Clara Zetkin, Women's Secretariat;
Hertha Sturm, Women's Secretariat;
Nikolayeva, Soviet Union;
Mala, Czecho-Slovakia;
Suzanne, France;

Ullrich, Germany;
Mitzkevitch, Organisation Department;
Kornblum, Secretariat.

(This commission was appointed.)

* * *

After the commission has concluded its work, the resolution will be submitted to the Organisation Bureau of the ECCL for confirmation, and then sent to all Parties of the Comintern.

Comrades! Our conference is concluded. It seems to me that we have made considerable strides forward in the discussion and working out of the resolution. I hope that we shall soon have evidence that our conference has accomplished much towards converting the work done among the women, up to now left chiefly to the women themselves, into a duty shared by the whole Party. I hope that we shall make as much progress with this in the coming year as we did with the factory nuclei after the V. Congress of the Comintern. All the Sections of the Comintern work on the lines laid down by comrade Zinoviev in his article on the International Women's Conference.

"May all Communist Parties remember that in the future one of the standards by which their degree of Bolshevisation will be judged by the Comintern, will be the extent to which they can report actual success towards the mass organisation of women."

Before closing the conference, I call upon comrade Clara Zetkin to speak a few closing words.

Comrade Clara Zetkin:

We are all agreed with the resolution in principle. The Sections are placed under the obligation to work with increased energy and system for the execution of the decisions issued by the V. World Congress and the III. Women's Conference of the Comintern. We are at one in the firm determination to utilise every practical opportunity enabling the Communist Parties to lead the proletariat to victory. Victory is impossible without the co-operation of the broadest masses of women. We must all exert ourselves to the very utmost to push forward the proletarian revolution by means of practical and ideological work among the women of the proletariat. If the men are found wanting, we women will shame them. We will prove how to be a real Bolshevik in theory and practice. It is with this conviction and this will that we separate.

* * *

List of the Participants

in the Organisation Conference of the Enlarged Executive on Work amongst Women:

Nikolayeva-Russia, Nurina-Russia, Boyarskaya-Russia, Bertz-Germany, Suzanne Girault-France, Sauvage-France, Brown-Great Britain, Viola-Italy, Mala-Czecho-Slovakia, Suchardova-Czecho-Slovakia, Grünwald-Czecho-Slovakia, Arvid Hansen-Norway, Mira Hansen-Norway, A. W. Kristiansen-Norway, Hugo Sillén-Sweden, Fredricson-Sweden, Hanna Malm-Manner-Finland, Aino Kuusinen-Finland, A. Petrovsky-Lithuania, Mirovitch-Yugoslavia, Milosevitch-Yugoslavia, A. Sgrudeos-Greece, Canon-America, Rose Carsner-America, Kornblum-Secretariat ECCL., Mitzkevitch-Organisation Dpt. ECCL., Clara Zetkin-IWS., Hertha Sturm-IWS., Kasparova-IWS., Arboré-Ralli-IWS., Lisa Ullrich-IWS., Leonhard (translator), Schiecke (protocol writer).

Resolution passed by the Organisation Conference on Work among the Women.

Confirmed by the Organisation Bureau on 4. May 1925.

The Organisation Conference held at the Session of the Enlarged Executive, after hearing the report of the International Women's Secretariat on its activity and on the progress of communist work in the Sections among the masses of women since the V. Congress, and after hearing the address of the woman leader of the Central Women's Department of the Russian CP. on the forms and methods adopted by the Russian CP. for work among the women, and the reports given by the representatives of the Sections (Germany, France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, and Norway) is able to state that:

The principles carried out by the Russian CP., in agreement with the decisions of the V. World Congress and of the III. International Conference of Women Communists, are not by any means sufficiently followed and practically carried out by all the Sections.

The Organisation Conference again emphasises that the experience gained by the Russian CP. show that the following tested measures are requisite for the Bolshivisation of the Sections and for the extension and firmer establishment of their influence upon the broad masses.

The Organisation of the Party Apparatus for Work among the Women.

I. In all leading Party bodies, from the Central down to the local and municipal district groups, special departments are to be organised for work among the women, the head of this department being a responsible organiser (a man or woman comrade). The department can under some circumstances be substituted by one organiser only.

1. These organisers, commissioned by the whole Party and not merely by the women comrades, are responsible to the whole Party for their work. They are appointed by the general leading bodies of the Party, and not elected by conferences or meetings of women Party members.

2. All work is to be carried on in full agreement with the various departments of Party leadership (Organisation, Agitation and Propaganda, Commissions etc.), and under the leadership of the Party organs. Should advisory corporations (collegiums, commissions etc.) be affiliated to the various departments, it is advisable to request the attendance of representatives of the women's departments or of the organiser, at the meetings, according to the subject under discussion.

3. The women's department or organiser is allotted a commission of three to seven men and women comrades; this commission shares the preparatory outlining of the work, its development and its performance. The members of these commissions should for the most part be women workers from the shops or factories.

H. In order to draw the attention of the whole Party to the work among the women, and to hold the political leadership of this work strictly within the lines of general Party leadership, reports on the work among the women are to be placed periodically on the agenda of the Organisation Bureau of the Central and of the local Party groups. It is advisable that the plenary sessions of central leading bodies of the Party should hear such a report every half year.

III. All reports from subordinate Party organs to higher ones are to deal with work among the women as a necessary factor of the report.

IV. All fundamental questions touching work among the women are to be decided by the competent leading party bodies.

V. The general Party instructors must be made familiar with the work among the women, and must extend their activity into this sphere. All written instructions issued by the leading Party bodies and their departments must take into account the application of these instructions to the work among the women.

VI. In every factory nucleus the nucleus leaders appoint an organiser (man or woman comrade) for work among the women. The work done by this organiser is subordinate to the nucleus. Questions referring to the work among the women are to be dealt with periodically at the meetings of the nucleus leaders.

VII. Periodical conferences of factory organisers working among the women are to be convoked by the competent Party leaders for the various places, municipal districts and towns, for the purpose of exchanging the results of experience and to enable the control and leadership of the Party to be actuated. Corresponding conferences of the leaders of the women's departments or of the organisers, are to be called periodically for the districts and for the whole country, by the competent Party leaders.

VIII. Work among the women is to be accorded special consideration in the programme drawn up for the general course of instruction. Women members of the Party are to be induced as far as possible to attend these courses.

Remark: In special cases special circles, courses of instruction, etc. can be organised for the women comrades.

The Forms of Organisation for Work among the Masses of Working Women.

IX. In order to gain influence over the broad masses of the working women and to organise these women, it is necessary to gather cadres of women workers around the factory nuclei, forming the connecting link between the Party and the broad masses. The system of delegates' meetings is adapted to becoming a real school for the class conscious organisation enlightenment and activity of the working women. The experience gained by the Russia CP. has clearly shown this. Thus all the Sections must begin with the organisation of delegates' meetings.

1. In cases where it is not yet possible to proceed to the immediate election of delegates in the factories, the following organisations must be formed at once as preliminary stage for the delegates' meetings:

a) Circles are to be formed in every shop and factory, composed of working women from every branch, workshop and department of the undertaking.

b) The circles formed in the various departments and workshops of a factory, or in various factories, are to be joined together in circle groups as soon as the circle work has advanced far enough to render this possible.

2. When delegates' meetings are being organised among selected women representatives of the working women in a factory, care is to be taken that broader circles of working women are induced to participate beyond the women who have already been reached by the circles or circle groups.

3. Everywhere where united organs of the working people have sprung into existence in consequence of burning questions of the day, or of conflicts between the workers and their exploiters (control committees, committees of action, etc.), women representatives of the working women must be elected to these organs. The movement for these committees should be utilised at once to its fullest extent for the formation of delegates' meetings.

X. The circles, circle groups, and delegates are to be called together periodically for local, municipal district, or city conferences, by the competent Party leaders, for the purpose of exchanging the results of the experience won, and to ensure consistent co-operation.

XI. Aided by these active women workers, the competent Party leaders organise mass meetings of the working women within or outside of their place of work; the recruiting powers of these meetings can be enhanced by the combination of artistic externals and political import.

XII. Corresponding conferences of the broad masses of the working women are to be held for every quarter of a town, for the town, and for the district.

XIII. The competent Party leaders organise circles for the training of the working women taking an active part, but not belonging to the Party. The object of these circles is to familiarise these women with the fundamental principles of class warfare and communism.

Work in the Trade Unions.

XIV. Every communist trade union fraction appoints a responsible organiser (man or woman comrade) from its midst for trade union work among the women.

XV. The trade union organiser works in closest association with the factory nuclei of the whole of the factories in which working women are employed in the trade represented by the union concerned. The women's organiser of the trade union fraction carries on his or her work within the factory with the aid of the women's organiser and of the trade union organiser of the factory nucleus, these two also working hand in hand in the factory.

In those country where there are trade unions affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions, the trade union organiser must also keep up the closest contact, in his work, with the trade union organisation in question.

XVI. In order to ensure consistency for this work, the competent Party leaders convocate periodical common conferences of the women's organisers of the factory nuclei, the women's organisers of the trade unions and the organisers of the factory nuclei conducting the general trade union work in the factory on the instructions of the factory nucleus.

XVII. Where working women's commissions already exist in the trade unions, the trade union fractions must ensure the delegation of suitable communist members to these commissions. The communist fraction, or the communist member in the working women's committee, works under the immediate leadership of the trade union fraction, under the control and leadership of the competent Party leaders.

Where working women's commissions do not yet exist in the trade unions, the fraction has to strive for their formation, and to ensure their containing men or women communists, in order that decisive influence may be gained in them.

XVIII. Where there are works' councils, the communist factory nucle and the communist trade union fractions must ensure the candidature and election of working women as shop stewards. The working women are to be interested in the elections and tasks of the works' councils, and to be induced to take part in them:

Remark: Corresponding principles of organisation and work in the trade unions apply equally to work in the co-operatives, tenants' organisations, war victims' associations and all other proletarian and peasant organisations in which women share.

Work among the Housewives.

XIX. The leading Party body of every place, municipal district, or city appoints an organiser (man or woman comrade) for the work among the housewives. This organiser, under the leadership and superintendence of the competent Party leaders, organises in the nuclei circles for more advanced housewives from the broad masses.

XX. Among the housewives, as among the working women, the endeavour must be made to form delegates' meetings, but with the difference that the delegates are elected in mass meetings in the towns or in the various quarters of the towns.

XXI. In order that the proletarian organisations may form a whole, and to ensure consistency of work, the competent Party leaders call periodical common conferences among the organisers of the housewives and the women's organisers in the factory nuclei. The competent Party leaders also convocate periodical common mass meetings of working women and housewives in order to strengthen the consciousness of class solidarity among the housewives and the working women.

XXII. In order to bring about a closer association between workmen's wives and the workers in the shops and factories, common meetings are organised for the workmen and the workmen's wives, especially in cases calling for special action (wage struggles, strikes, etc.).

Work among the Homeworkers.

XXIII. Special attention is to be devoted to winning over the women homeworkers, and to their organisation. For this purpose systematic house to house agitation is necessary. The aims of the work must be as follows:

1. The women homeworkers are to be organised in trade unions to the utmost possible degree.

2. The women home workers are to be reached by means of the delegate system, and to be brought in contact with the delegates chosen by the working women in the factories.

Work among the Women Agricultural Labourers and Cottagers.

XXIV. Work among the women agricultural labourers and cottagers should be accorded a wide degree of attention. A special organiser is to be appointed in the nuclei in the villages and on the farms for this work.

XXV. The work is carried on by means of:

1. Systematic written and oral agitation, agitation excursions, artistic performances, issue of special literature or utilisation of the existing country press and of the trade union newspapers read by the agricultural labourers, organisation of travelling libraries, etc.

2. The utilisation of the trade unions of the agricultural labourer, of the co-operatives, of the war victims' organisations, youth organisations, etc.

3. Utilisation of personal relations between the city population and the country population, and the creation of definite connections between the villages and a city nucleus.

4. Besides this, the country co-operative societies are to be utilised for purpose of work among the peasant women, as these arouse the interest of the broad masses of the women. The peasants' unions and parties are also to be utilised.

5. The women peasants and women agricultural labourers are to be brought together and schooled in delegates' meetings, in the same manner as the women factory workers.

The Press.

XXVI. All questions of interest to the broad masses of women, as also all fundamental political and organisatory questions dealing with communist work among the masses of the women, are to be dealt with in the general section of the Party press.

XXVII. Women's pages or women's columns are to be introduced into all Party newspapers for purposes of agitation among the broad masses of unschooled women.

XXVIII. The special women's periodicals issued by the Party are to be adapted in form and purport to the purpose of recruiting among the broad masses.

XXIX. Special leaflets, pamphlets, posters, handbills, sticking bills, etc., for the broad masses of women, are to be issued periodically or on special occasions (local or general struggles or campaigns, as strikes, elections, high prices, etc.).

XXX. In order to render the press more effective for purposes of agitation, and to enhance its organisatory association with the masses, women correspondents from the class of working women, peasant women, workmen's wives, etc., are to be induced to contribute constantly to the general press, to the women's periodicals, and above all to the the factory nucleus papers.

XXXI. The women correspondents are to be instructed and schooled, together with the men correspondents, in circles. Besides this, the men and women correspondents for the women's press are to be given special opportunity of instruction on the nature of their tasks, in order to enable them to work in the closest possible association with the masses.

XXXII. The women readers of the women's press are to be brought together in circles — friends of the workers' press — and should be entrusted with definite tasks in agitation and organisation.

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