

SPECIAL NUMBER.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 11

1st March 1928
1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schloßbach 212, Vienna IX. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

International Women's Day 1929.

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The International Communist Women's Day 1929.

By Clara Zetkin (Moscow).

War against war; with the Soviet Union in defensive and offensive. These are the main slogans inscribed on the banner waving in every country today over the meetings and demonstrations held in connection with International Women's Day. It is the red banner of the Communist International. Around these main slogans are grouped the demands made by the exploited and oppressed in the capitalist states and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in their struggle against their lords and oppressors, and the special demands for alleviations ameliorating the crushing misery suffered by the working women of these countries.

The two main slogans and these demands alike are born of the imperative need of the hour. They call for the mobilisation of the great masses of working men and women against their deadly enemy. Stabilised international capitalism is utilising the power which it still holds at the moment, for the purpose of converting the whole world into a gigantic apparatus of capitalist profit, in which exploited humanity is to be transmuted into gold. This purpose can only be thwarted and torn out by the roots by working men and women. Power against power. Against the power of the world capitalism of the im-

perialist States the power of the world proletariat fighting for its emancipation.

The International Communist Women's Day recruits from the masses, especially the masses of the women, for this struggle for the world revolution. The proletarian State, the proud creation of the Red October, has been able to give to the working and peasant women, the women following every profession and trade in the Soviet Union, the rights for which their sisters in the East and the West will still have a hard fight to attain. For these the 8th March is a day on which they vow to continue to do their revolutionary duty. The State of the proletarian dictatorship has given the women of the Soviet Union freedom and equal rights. It has created far-reaching legal protection for the working women, for mothers and children, for the promotion of the education and culture of the people. And now the working women of the Soviet Union must make use of their rights of freedom and equality, and dedicate the whole of their powers, their devotion, and enthusiasm, to the realisation of Socialism, which means imparting full and practical vitality to their freedom and equality.

Proletarian and peasant women, working women of the Soviet Union, your sisters in the capitalist countries and co-

lonial regions look to you as heroines of the revolutionary struggles which created the Soviet State and have defended it victoriously against internal and external enemies. They look to you as heroines of work, never discouraged by difficulties nor daunted by danger, but carrying forward the work of building up Socialism. The furtherance of the building up of Socialism is the strongest and most irresistible defence of the Soviet Union against the attacks being planned by the imperialist foe. The advancing cultural revolution of the proletarian State secures the work of the political and economic revolution. This cultural revolution must be participated in by the women.

It was on the 8th March that the tocsin of revolution once rung against tsarism and war. The 8th March of this year calls the masses of working women in the State of the proletarian dictatorship to take part in the cultural revolution which will make the Soviet Union the stronghold of the world

revolution. The unshakable will to the building up of Socialism which permeates the workers of the Soviet Union, and the fighting determination of the exploited and oppressed in the countries in which capitalism rules and pillages, join together to form an invincible whole.

The International Communist Women's Day recruits the masses for the revolutionary united front against international capitalism, under the leadership of the Communist Parties and the Communist International; masses of fighters knowing no difference of sex, of nation, of race, or faith. Masses of fighters for the war against war, with the Soviet Union in defence and offence. The united fighters of the capitalist countries and colonial lands greet on 8th March their sisters and brothers of the Soviet Union who are building up Socialism, with the promise: Fidelity for fidelity! Forward with you to the proletarian world revolution! Long live Communism!

Slogans of the E. C. C. I. for International Women's Day.

1. Forward under the Leninist banner of the Comintern to the world's October, which will bring complete emancipation to women.
2. Working women of all countries, join the ranks of the fighters, with the land of the Soviets, for peace, for general disarmament.
3. Down with imperialist war.
4. Down with pacifism, which lulls the watchfulness of the class conscious women workers.
5. Proletarian women of all countries, join the united front of class struggle against imperialism, against imperialist war, and for the Soviet Union.
6. Working women, join the Party of Lenin, the Party of the Communists, which really represents your interests.
7. Down with capitalist rationalisation, which brings starvation and disease to the working woman.
8. Oppose the offense of capital by the counter-offensive of the working men and women.
9. Working women, remember that social democracy has always betrayed the interests of your class. Clear the trade unions from the social democratic bureaucrats; put workers into the leadership of the trade unions.
10. Working women, join the free trade unions, strengthen the Left wing of the trade union movement, elect oppositional factory councils.
11. Down with the treacherous trade union leaders.
12. Hands off the colonies, proletarian solidarity with the oppressed working women in the colonies.
13. Relentless fight against the compromising social democrats, against the reformists, who betray the interests of the working class.
14. Working women correspondents, women village correspondents, direct your fire against your enemies, the pacifists, reformists, bureaucrats, and social democrats.
15. Fight for higher wages and sufficient bread.
16. Equal pay for equal work.
17. Milk and bread for the children, instead of war armaments.

18. Down with war preparations all over the world.
19. Remember that every fight against capitalism is a fight against imperialist war.
20. Be watchful, and disclose to the working class the secret war armaments going on in the factories.
21. Protest energetically against dismissals of working women from the factories.
22. For the complete support of the unemployed.
23. Solidarity with the fighting working women of all countries.
24. Fight for the international unity of the trade union movement.
25. Relentless fight against high prices, against tariff robbery, and mass taxation.
26. Women, in your millions, join the struggle of the whole proletariat.
27. Join the Communist Party, the Red Aid, the International Workers Relief, strengthen the ranks of the fighting world proletariat.
28. Demand amnesty for the political prisoners.
29. Fight for adequate protection of mothers and children.
30. For the abolition of the abortion laws.
31. Demand from the parliaments adequate social insurance for the women workers.
32. Fight against the anti-labour policy of the state and municipal organs.
33. Down with bourgeois charity. Demand governmental laws for the protection of the work and the motherhood of the women workers.
34. Down with the government of starvation and imperialist wars.
35. Fight against the increasing persecution of revolutionary political organisations.
36. Down with white Terror, with class justice.
37. For the release of the proletarian political prisoners in all countries.
38. Subscribe to and distribute the communist and revolutionary women's press.

The Life of the Textile Working Women in the Soviet Union.

Letter from the Working Women Correspondent Kastova to the Comrades abroad.

Dear comrades,

I should like to relate to you briefly how the women workers in our factories live and work.

In the two buildings of our factory, the spinning mill and the weaving mill, 9000 working men and women are engaged; of these 70 per cent. are women. The seven hour day was introduced in our factory in April 1928, and we work three shifts, so that we have night shift every three weeks. All expectant

and nursing mothers are exempt from night shift for nine months; they are allotted day shift, without their wages or working conditions being a iota worsened. For two months before and two months after confinement the woman worker is freed from all work in the factory, and receives during this time benefit from the insurance fund to the amount of her wage. Besides this, the mother receives from the insurance fund nursing benefit to the amount of 9 roubles monthly. The insurance fund also pays a lump sum on the birth of the child.

a provision for the infant's "outfit", to the amount of 35 roubles, or furnishes a layette of the same value. Should the child die, the mother receives 37 roubles for funeral expenses.

The women's department and the factory council have organised crèches for children beneath three years of age; for the older children kindergartens are provided, where the children are cared for free of charge, fed, provided with clean and hygienic surroundings, their health looked after with the utmost care under medical superintendence, and they are permitted to remain as long as the mother is working in the factory. In our factory the women's department is submitting to the factory management a suggestion that the children may remain in the kindergarten whilst the mothers are attending meetings or sessions, or are engaged in some other social work after factory work.

We have also gratis consultations for mothers and children. We women workers receive the same wages as the men, in proportion to our qualifications or to the work done. For instance: A weaver (man or woman alike) earns on an average in a month that is, in 25 days 50 to 60 roubles, or sometimes 70 to 80 roubles. A spinner at the Sigal machine earns 70 to 80 roubles, a women worker at the water machine 55 to 60 roubles.

Women who are nursing their infants can leave the factory half an hour earlier for nine months.

These are the material advantages which our factory has introduced for raising the standard of living of the working women, and which we may count among the achievements of the Red October.

Now I shall pass on to the social and political life of the women. You will be already aware that the women textile workers are people somewhat backward in culture, especially among us in Russia. It will therefore be easily comprehended

that only a part of the women textile workers of our factory are educated, and can read and write well; there are even still a few illiterates among them. But, thanks to the persevering work of our organisations, the women's department, the factory council, the Young Communist and Party nuclei, we succeed better every year in inducing the women workers to take part in the leading organs, in the management of the factory, and in the social organisations.

This is not so easy for our organisations, for our conditions of life — cooking, "women affairs" — have us still much too fast in their grip —, and there are still many among us who think their housework and their household matters more important. During the eleven years of the existence of the Soviet power, however, many of the women in our factory have developed into the most active, most class conscious, and best of our workers, taking leading places in the workshops (the younger technical personnel in the factories), as members of the town and village Soviets, as leaders in the co-operatives, as presidents in the commissions for the protection of labour, and in many other important positions. The present secretary of our factory council is a weaver, our woman comrade Komenkina; the directrice of the factory comrade Vengerova, the chairman of the commission for the protection of labour in our factory is the non-Party weaver comrade Petschinikova, the chairman of the revision commission of the co-operatives comrade Akimzeva, four women comrades take part in the management of the co-operatives themselves, ten women comrades are working in various sections of the town Soviets and district executive committees, and it is impossible to enumerate all the other women actively engaged, for there is no work in our factory, and no leading organisation, in which women do not take part.

The International Women's Day 1929 in Germany.

By Lene Overlach (Berlin).

From the red banners, the streamers, and the placards carried by the working women and workers' wives marching to their meetings and demonstrations, blaze the slogans of the International Women's Day 1929:

War on imperialist war. Protect and defend the Soviet Union!
 Fight for wages and bread. For equal pay for equal work.
 Working men, fight side by side with your women fellow workers!

Solidarity with the fighting working women of all countries!
 Fight against the government of starvation and armoured cruisers!

Come to the conferences of the working women!
 Joint the C. P. G., read the communist press!
 Manifold are the demands and fighting slogans of the working women at this year's Women's Day, as manifold as the methods employed by capital for exploiting and robbing the women of the proletariat and depriving them of their rights.

In view of the rapidly growing danger of war, this year's Women's Day is of extreme political importance. The serious preparations being made by imperialist Germany for active participation in the predatory war to be made on the Soviet Union are increasingly self-evident to any attentive observer. Besides the open war armaments — armoured-cruiser building, re-equipment of obsolete ships, construction of great air bases on the coast and in the largest industrial centres — secret armaments are being carried on with equal energy, as borne practical witness to by the shells and projectiles laid on the table of the Reichstag president, amidst the howls of rage of the bourgeois parties, including the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The bourgeoisie realises even more clearly than the proletariat the decisive rôle which will be played by women in the coming war, and is therefore working feverishly to gain their allegiance, organising them with much skill in every description of Christian craft union, gathering them around the welfare organisations, and now even penetrating — a vitally important point — into the works and factories. Of late the work's sport clubs have contrived to recruit tens of thousands of women workers. The report sent in by a woman worker delegated to the district conference of the R. F. M. B. (Red Women's and Girls' League) Berlin-Brandenburg states the alarming fact that in the factory sport club of the Singer's sewing machine factory at Wittenberge the women workers practice shooting.

Our German proletarians still fail to realise that the tasks of the proletarian woman have long since gone beyond pots and pans and the knitting of stockings, or at most ambulance service in the workers' struggles; that the badly paid working women and unskilled young workers are now playing a leading part in the process of production; and that in the coming war the women will be as subject to compulsory military service as the men.

When our working women and girls, following their sound proletarian instinct, strove to organise themselves in the Red Front Fighters League, they often encountered lack of understanding for their aims. When they gathered together in the Red Women's and Girls' League, and organised marches clad in the uniform clothing of the League, all they often earned was derision, and they had often to put up with cries of: „Get back to your cooking. Go home and darn stockings“, and the like.

But in the meanwhile the bourgeoisie all over the world is proceeding systematically to work to militarise the women!

We must make a radical break with this petty bourgeois backwardness in the proletariat, this reformist failure to realise the importance of the part played by the working women. This backwardness is merely grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie, and means seriously endangering the success of our revolutionary struggles.

Hence one of the most important tasks of the International Women's Day is to convince the proletariat of the necessity of including the working woman in the struggle, to convince the working men of the importance of winning over their women colleagues for the economic struggles, and to recruit the great masses of the working women for the struggle against imperialist war.

The rôle of the working women in the economic struggles is increasing along with their increasing participation in the process of production and their increasing revolutionisation, resulting from the intensified exploitation.

Last year we witnessed frequent spontaneous strikes of the working women, for instance in the textile industry, although these ended in failure for the most part, owing to the treachery of trade union bureaucracy.

The women workers took an active part in the textile struggle on the left Lower Rhine until the day when this struggle was betrayed by the arbitration machinery. Indeed it was a factory employing female hands which was the first to enter the

struggle against an attempted reduction of wages and to carry the fight to a successful finish.

In Thuringia and West Saxony the women textile workers have shown themselves especially courageous in the strike. They contrived to collect the money required for fares and expenses, and to send eight delegates, elected at their factory meetings, to a women textile workers conference for Ore Mountains Vogtland; this conference was well attended by non-party delegates. The women workers employed in the Munich-Bernsdorf (Thuringia) factories, however, mostly girls from the country, let themselves be persuaded by a written notice from the employers to return to work, and streamed back to the factories at the beginning of the week, thereby breaking the backbone of the strike.

The struggle expected in the textile industry of the Wupper valley (left bank of Lower Rhine) in reply to threatened wage-cuts to the extent of 8½ per cent., did not break out. This struggle again was suppressed with the aid of trade union bureaucracy, by means of the appointment of a central board of arbitration. The women workers of the Wupper valley are still discouraged by the remembrance of former failures. They feel themselves indirectly threatened by the unemployed men and women textile workers standing outside the gates; they are sunk in want and misery by long years of short time at starvation wages.

A fresh wave of rationalisation is surging over Germany. The International Women's Day must therefore call for the active self-defence of the proletariat, for the counter-offensive against the offensive of the employers. We must prevent hundreds of thousands of women workers from being the first to retreat before the pressure of the employers, from being the first to submit to the new rationalisation methods, and thereby to become the docile tools enabling the new war armaments to be made.

The Communist Party of Germany therefore finds itself faced with the enormous and responsible task of leading about 4 million working men and women, whose tariffs expire this spring, in their struggle for higher wages, for equal pay for equal work, and for the eight-hour maximum working day. The successful accomplishment of this task would make the first breach in the capitalist front and mean a severe blow dealt against the war plans of the bourgeoisie. The fight in the North West metal industry was already able to record the initial successes of the tactics including the unorganised workers in the struggle and of mobilising the masses of the working women. In the struggles here cited as examples success or failure depended chiefly on the extent of our previous syste-

matic work, on the employment of trained organisers for the mobilisation of the masses, and to a very considerable degree on the activity or passivity of our opposition and our works councils.

This applies especially to the mobilisation of the working women. Where good work was done, good results were attained. Our staff of schooled functionaries is, however still very small. The task of mobilising the women workers this spring is one incumbent on the whole Party, for in many branches of industry success will depend on its accomplishment. In spite of the radicalisation of the masses of women workers, the danger still exists that if the women are left in the lurch, if no power comes to organise them, and show them the way, this new wave of rationalisation will plunge them back into passivity, broken in spirit and body by redoubled exploitation.

The C. P. G. is realising the importance of this question more and more, and is working steadily for the fulfilment of its historical task. The most pliant tool for the making of wars must be torn from the hands of the bourgeoisie and converted into the most dangerous weapon in the hands of the proletariat, the most efficient aid for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

During the International Women's Week women's demonstrations and meetings will be held in the most important industrial districts, and besides these eight conferences of working women, to which delegates will be sent by the workers in shops and factories, by the unemployed, and by the proletarian mass organisations. The conferences will discuss the position of working women and the threatening war danger and will resolve on united fighting measures. They will form the first steps towards the practical mobilisation and organisation of the masses of the proletarian women of Germany in the struggle against war. In the International Women's Week our call must penetrate every great industrial undertaking:

Women, come forward to the fight in your millions!

Follow the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany!

Join the C. P. G.; become active members!

The Women of Russia have thrown off their chains, follow their example!

Join hands with the working and peasant women of the Soviet Union!

The Soviet Union is the home of the oppressed; protect and defend the Soviet Union!

International Women's Day in Great Britain.

By W. A.

The campaign for the 8th March in Great Britain this year will be of a converse character to that of 1928.

Last year (the ground having been prepared during 1926 and 1927 by fraction work in the mass organisations of working women; by mobilising the miners' wives during the great lockout, and subsequently at the termination of wage-agreements; by united front campaigns in the Hands Off China movement and against the infamous Trades Dispute Act), the Party aimed to rally working women on a national scale for a large demonstration in the capital. The first step was the calling of conferences of working women's organisations, openly in the name of the Communist Party, against the capitalist attacks upon working class women, the preparations for imperialist war, and the class collaboration policy of the labour leaders. Such conferences were held in London (159 delegates), Manchester (30), Nottingham (20), Newcastle (39), Glasgow (Scotland 30), Stirlingshire (Scotland, 16), Fife (Scotland) and Bradford. In all cases large numbers of women attended the conferences as visitors, in addition to the delegates, and keen discussions took place, many women participating.

United Front Committees of working women were elected at the conferences, to organise propaganda for International Women's Day and to make arrangements for contingents of women to represent their districts at the national demonstration. These Committees were successful in mobilising the organisations which they represented for very energetic and varied

activities — publicity, collection of funds, making of banners, posters, etc. In areas which were so distant from London that it was only possible to send one or two women as delegates, meetings were held on March 8th uniting the women from surrounding towns and villages.

The great London demonstration was attended by 300 women from the provinces, many of them coming at the cost of heavy sacrifices, from the areas where poverty was greatest. The speakers included miners' wives (who carried pit-lamp and standards upon which their husbands' miserable pay tickets were affixed for all to see); and textile workers, many of them speaking out of their own experience. After the demonstration these women returned home to report to those who had sent them. And the United Front Committees, their first specific task being completed, remained in existence to co-operate further with the Party (together with many new Committees, set up at new Conferences) in its campaign against imperialist war, which led up to another and larger demonstration in London in July, and the sending of a delegation of 50 British working class women to the U. S. S. R.

This year, instead of bringing provincial women to London for the 8th March, the Party has the plan to organise demonstrations in four or five of the most important industrial centres and coalfields, to which contingents of women will go from London; will carry their banners, participate in the demon-

strations, view as far as possible the conditions in the districts which they visit, hear of the struggles of their sisters of the Midlands, the North, Scotland and Wales, and then return to London to report to their fellow workers there.

It is believed that by such a proceeding Communist influence among British women will be further advanced in several ways: first, by stimulating the work of the Party and bringing recruits in the industrial centres where they are so much needed; giving impetus to the organisation of women industrial workers into trade unions and the unemployed or-

ganisation, and strengthening the Party in its electoral fight; second, by broadening the outlook of the working women of London, who know too little about the lives of those elsewhere; third, by consolidating the work done during the autumn and winter by the returned delegates from the U. S. S. R. (who together have addressed hundreds of branches of mass organisations), organising in and around the Communist Party the widespread sentiment against the war-plans of the British capitalist class, and for solidarity with Soviet Russia.

The Significance of International Women's Day in France.

By Jeanne.

In the next few days, when the proletarian women of the whole world will demonstrate for their demands, the Communist Party of France will again, as in previous years, call upon the working women to take part in the International Women's Week.

During the present intensification of the class struggle in France, and at a moment when the struggle between capital and labour assumes peculiarly acute forms, the International Women's Week is of special importance.

It cannot represent an isolated demonstration, separated from the whole of the labour movement. This year it is being held in the atmosphere of the tenth anniversary of the Communist International, which has been leading since the Red October the exploited and oppressed of the capitalist world to liberating world revolution. It must be one of the upward stages, one of the links in the chain of our work of mobilising broad masses of the workers for the mass celebration of 1st May, and for the preparation of an International Red Day of the whole working class against imperialist war.

When we remember that in consequence of capitalist concentration 40 per cent of the workers of France are women, distributed over all branches of industry, then it becomes obvious that the problem of female labour cannot be considered apart from the system of capitalist production and its resultant phenomena: It is an inseparable constituent part of the problem of rationalisation.

The employers, in their struggle to reduce the costs of production, fall back upon female labour, and upon juvenile workers and foreigners.

By means of special additions to wages of the workers, the employers bring about great differences in the amounts of wages; they create competition in wages. Women is becoming a competitor of men. And women, in allowing to be paid less wage than men, promote the general deterioration of wages.

Both for the whole working class and for the women workers in particular, the main problem is the fight for "equal pay for equal work", combined with a general rise in wages.

The slogan of "equal pay for equal work" must be imparted a definite class character; it must not be regarded as a purely women's demand.

The modernisation of production transforms the working woman into an automatic machine, to whom no thought of her own is allowed, merely observance of the labour laws. The working woman, not having time to think, frequently does not even know the causes of the wretched situation in which she finds herself. Capitalist rationalisation, demanding from her an output of work beyond her powers, and that at a starvation wage, reduces her to a work beast.

Her children fade and die in the over-crowded dwellings, without light or air, for the building speculators demand ever higher rents, and are of the opinion that workers have no claim on either hygiene or pure air.

The workers' families are crushed beneath the burden of taxation, and two thirds of the sums thus wrung out of them are applied to meet the enormous expenditure of military purposes. The costs of living rise steadily, rushing rapidly ahead of the buying powers of the working class.

The working woman is only too well aware of all these things, crushing her to the ground from all sides. She recognises them instinctively, for indeed their heaviest burdens fall upon her shoulders, but she does not fully realise their ultimate cause. Often she protests, but it is not a consciously revolution-

nary protest. She does not know that the whole situation is the inevitable result of capitalist rule, which aids solely at exploitation and profit.

While woman is exploited daily, and deprived of all rights politically and as "citizen", still a special rôle is being allotted to her for the coming war. The law drawn up by the socialist Paul Boncour, reorganising the capitalist army on a fresh basis, provides for the mobilisation of the women in the factories and workshops. She is to be forced into the service of the fatherland of the capitalists, in company with the working men, to help the criminal war against the Soviet Union; she is to manufacture war material during unlimited working hours.

Already the women working in hundreds of factories are making munitions intended for the Baltic states.

At the same time, however, the women in various important industrial centres have commenced energetic opposition to the employers.

The first victims of capitalist rationalisation have been the women workers in the textile undertakings of the North, in Rouen, in the valley of the Marne, in Troyes, and the women workers in the bleaching works of Arcueil Cachari, who -- like the wives of the miners in the Loire district and Gard -- took up the struggle for better wages, and against the consequences of capitalist rationalisation; a struggle, however, unorganised for the most part. In the growing strike movement the women lead the struggle. In the course of these struggles, in which they take part on an entirely equal footing with the workers, the women have the opportunity of recognising the Communist Party as the sole Party true to the interests of the working class. The working woman, too, realises the treacherous rôle which the social democratic leaders and the bureaucrats of the reformist trade union federation are playing in the class struggles of the working class against the capitalist class. Their daily struggles bring them more and more to the realisation that the socialist leaders are the zealous servants of the capitalist system.

The working women, in the course of their attacks on the strongholds of capitalism, learn to join the front against the bourgeoisie.

We do not doubt that in the era of struggle now before us, the women workers will throng to the meetings now being convened by the Communist Party in connection with International Women's Day, and will demonstrate for the slogans of the Communist Party, against the imperialist war which we are approaching with rapid strides, and which is designed to overthrow the first workers' and peasants' State of the world, the first State in which woman lives in freedom, and from which her exploiters have been driven away.

Forward to 8th March! Fight:
Against the preparations for imperialist war!
Against the pacifist lies of the bourgeoisie!
Against the persecutions!
Against the Irrationalisation!
Against the rent usurers!
For the defence of the Soviet Union!
For higher wages!
For protection of mothers!
For the political rights of women!
Equal pay for equal work!

by joining the ranks of the Communist Party.

The Struggle of the Czechoslovakian Textile Workers.

By Josepha Kraus (Prague).

The women workers of the North Bohemian textile industry have entered the struggle, against a host of enemies, in a spirit of joyful sacrifice and with fighting determination.

The reformists, who in Czechoslovakia have never devoted any attention to questions concerning the women workers, and who have never combated nor wished to combat the inhuman exploitation in the textile mills, have organised strike-breaking from the very first day of the strike, and have even gone so far as actually to hire and pay the strike-breakers.

They stand in one front with the whole apparatus of State power on the side of the capitalists. On the first day of the strike the area involved in the struggle was converted into a military police camp for the "protection" of the scabs, the pickets were driven away, the places of meeting watched, etc.

But the women workers, whose lives are daily and even hourly in danger, through the capitalist rage for rationalisation and work at unguarded machines, have had no fear of the bayonets of the military police; they have rather steeled their courage, and have only felt an even greater dissatisfaction with a state of society in which they are forced to work, but are not even given security from starvation in return, and in which their cries for a larger morsel of bread are answered by the points of bayonets and blows from rifle butts. Therefore they have stood undaunted in the front ranks, ready for the attacks of the myrmidons of capital, and meeting these with cries of: "Come on and stab us to death, if you will not let us strike so that we may earn more...", or: "Go into the workshop yourselves and try working under such conditions", "Must we look on and see our children actually starve?" "What are we working for?", "You are only workers' children yourselves".

The women workers have done picketing work, and carried this out in an exemplary manner. In the meetings too they have been the most active element, and have evinced no fear of gendarme, foreman, or director. The fighting spirit of the unskilled women workers, too, has been most remarkable. This category suffers most severely from the low wages and the rationalisation. From all this it may be clearly seen that the great mass of men and women workers are prepared to fight, that they well understand the tasks confronting them in the present situation and in the face of the Fascist offensive, and are resolved to fulfil them.

In these first onsets to the great fight still to be fought by the textile workers for the attainment of their just demands, they have been obliged to recognise that the reformist trade unions are no longer class organisations representing the interests of the workers, but have been dragged down by their leaders into Fascist organisations, protecting the interests of the employers.

This realisation is the most important and valuable lesson which has been taught the workers by this struggle, in which 8000 textile workers, men and women, have taken part, and which has had to be broken off because the fighters are not yet strong enough to defeat the strike-breaker methods of the reformists, and have encountered in this struggle the additional

obstacle of the opportunist attitude of those functionaries who should in reality have undertaken the leadership of the strike.

It is now not only the task of the Communist Party, but the duty of the Textile Section of the International Workers Union, to intensify the struggle against capitalist rationalisation, under which the women workers suffer especially. The All Trade Unions Federation has not done all it might have done for the ideological preparation of the working women for this struggle. Many of its secretaries are still dominated by the obsolete reactionary and reformist craft spirit, degrading the rôle played by the working woman in the economic struggle to that of a mere hanger on, an insignificant fraction of the trade union movement. This is why all the struggles hitherto attempted have been carried on by one section of the workers only, whilst the other section, although the most exploited and oppressed, has stood apathetically on one side. The recent struggles have shown us that the working women are often able to defend their interests with far greater ardour and splendid courage than the men workers, that they are well able to fight against their exploitation, and that it is high time that the Red trade unions cleared away the old and useless tradition of making a distinction between men and women, and should accord to the working woman that place in the movement which the greatest of all revolutionists, Lenin, accorded to her long ago in the fighting front of the working class. Today the women workers must no longer be regarded as the ballast of the workers' struggles; the greatest attention must be accorded to them, for they form today a considerable proportion of the workers engaged in production. The capitalist reckons on the women workers, and not only now, but in the eventuality of war. And this must be the decisive factor for us. We must not regard woman only as such, but must see in her a sharer in the process of production, a factor of political importance for us, for which we must fight, for it is only in co-operation with this factor that we can be victorious.

We take this opportunity of reminding the Czechoslovakian All Trade Unions Federation of the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. with respect to work among the working women, and must place on record that these decisions are not being carried out with the consistency which the times require.

In spite of all neglect on the part of the trade union, one part of the Czechoslovakian women textile workers has proved its class-consciousness in this struggle, and is determined to continue the struggle thus begun.

On the occasion of the International Women's Congress we appeal to you:

- Fight against capitalist rationalisation.
- Against night work.
- Against overtime and shifts which rob you of the free Saturday afternoon.
- For higher wages and equal pay for equal work.
- For the observance of the laws protecting women workers.
- For the protection of women during pregnancy and childbirth.

The Position of the Working Women in Austria After Ten Years of Women's Suffrage.

By Anna Strömer (Vienna).

Austria is the country possessing the relatively strongest social democracy and the highest percentage of working men and women organised in the trade unions. Out of 6,750,000 inhabitants 683,786 are organised by the social democracy; every tenth Austrian is a member of the Social Democratic Party. The number of members of the free trade unions is over 700,000, of which 23 per cent. are women, while 32.9 per

cent. (absolute number 225,200) are organised in the Social Democratic Party.

And how do we find matters in this country with the "greatest", "strongest", and "most influential" social democracy, when it comes to questions of social achievements and the standard of living of the working men and women? What

is the state of affairs in regard to the juridical and cultural demands of the working women?

The Austrian worker — apart from the Estonian worker — is the worst paid in the whole of Europe. And if the wages of the working men are shamefully low, those of the working women are truly starvation wages. A few figures will confirm this:

Weekly wages of women workers:

	Austrian Schillings (1 Schilling = 7d.)
Brick-workers	14.21
Dressmaking assistants	14.24
Blouse making assistants	21
Ornamental leather making assistants	18.22
Milliners	21.33
Assistant Bookbinders	15.33
Special workers in bookbinding trade	13.32
Assistant workers, paper articles	14.75
Workers in incandescent lamp trade	20.64
Textile workers	18.23

These figures represent the most usual weekly wages paid at the end of 1928, compiled by the chamber of labour at Vienna.

How truly these wages deserve the designation of starvation wages will be realised when it is borne in mind that even the Association of Industrialists has calculated the minimum living wage of an employee to be S 200 monthly, or an average of S 46 weekly. The actual earnings of the female employees defy all description: salaries of S 50 to S 100 at most are customary; at the same time the highest qualifications are demanded.

Matters are no better with respect to social achievements. The social democrats, it is true, continue to boast of their "exemplary" social laws, created during the era of the social democratic Secretary of State Hanusch; in actual fact most of these laws exist only on paper, and were provided by their author from the beginning with loopholes by which they can be evaded.

The law, for instance, lays down the 44-hour week for young male and female workers, and for female workers and employees. But an emergency enactment deprives the whole law of its effect, for this enacts that in cases when the shorter working hours of youths and women would cause shorter hours for the men workers, an exception to the law may be made. And what employer cannot demonstrate conclusively that this emergency has arisen in precisely his undertaking? Hence in actual fact there is no 44-hour week for youths and women. The hotel and restaurant trade was directly exempted from the law, and for workers in this trade there is not even the eight-hour day, as the law itself prescribes a 54 hour week.

Since 1921 a woman is supposed to be protected for six weeks before and six weeks after a confinement. During this time she receives sick benefit and maternity relief, to an amount, however, very often beneath the living minimum. Very few working women avail themselves of this leave, owing to fear of dismissal, and continue to work till the last moment before their confinement, returning to stand at their machine again within the shortest possible time. The agricultural labourers health insurance society for Lower Austria reports that in the majority of cases the women agricultural workers return to their arduous work on the third day after a confinement...

Somewhat better provision is made for the women clerks and office workers. True, the 44-hour week here again exists only on paper. But the employees' law affords a certain protection to expectant and nursing mothers, and prohibits the discharge of expectant mothers. In 1926, however, this law was weakened again by the proviso that only one half of the sick benefit is to be paid as maternity relief.

To judge by the fuss being made by the women social democrats about the ten years of the women's franchise, it might be imagined that in Austria woman's legal and political position was the most brilliant possible. Far from it. Austria adheres not only to entirely obsolete enactments on marriage rights and the rights of illegitimate children, but to the most reactionary of marriage laws. In Austria the obligatory civil marriage does not exist, and divorced Catholics cannot remarry. The Austrian marriage law is more backward than even the Italian after the re-introduction of the Concordat. The General Code of Civil Law enacts that "the man is the head of the family". "In this capacity he possesses in particular the right to direct the household." "The wife receives the name of the husband, and enjoys the rights of his status. She is in duty bound to follow her husband to his dwelling place (which can be enforced by the police and gendarmerie. A. S.), and to aid him in the household and in earning (!) to the utmost of her power..."

With reference to illegitimate children, it is stated that "these are entirely excluded from the rights of the family or of relationship".

The enactments of the paragraphs on the procuring of abortions (§§ 144—48) again appear to originate from the middle ages, and even the truly not very great alleviation proposed by the German criminal law Bill, coming under discussion in Austria in connection with the "adaptation to German law", found no mercy at the hands of the Christian socialist government.

Social democracy bears the full weight of responsibility for the existence of the reactionary marriage law, and for the frightful penalties under paragraph 144 suffered by the proletarian women of Austria — in one small locality in the vicinity of Vienna no fewer than 40 women are awaiting trial on the charge of attempting to procure abortion. Social democracy made a pact with its Christian socialist partner of the coalition government to leave "cultural questions" untouched, for the prelate Seipel declared at a Christian Socialist Party Conference that nothing short of "thunder and lightning" would alter paragraph 144, and this word was strictest law to the social democrats.

This tendency on the part of the social democrats to give way on every question has of course strengthened the bourgeoisie and has permitted Fascism to raise its head in Austria. Today, after ten years of women's suffrage, and with a quarter of a million women organised in the Social Democratic Party, the hand of the bourgeoisie is heavier than ever on the neck of the worker. Deprivation of economic rights, a clerical and reactionary marriage law, intensified persecution under the abortion law — these are the "successes" of a "powerful" social democracy, the harvest of ten years of equal rights for the proletarian masses in a bourgeois democracy. These "successes" form the best object lesson, demonstrating that equal political and economic rights for proletarian women cannot be realised in a bourgeois democracy, as the social democrats would like to induce the proletarian women to believe, but solely through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Swiss Working Women's Movement.

By Minna Tobler-Christinger.

In the historical years 1918 and 1919, there were optimists who believed that the working woman was about to emerge from her passivity and to become an active and historically decisive factor in the labour movement. Even greater optimists believed that in the coming struggles the working women would not only take an active part, but a leading one. The immense upsurge of the working women's movement and the active rôle played by the working women in the demonstrations and strikes of those revolutionary years, led our active com-

rades to form this judgment. Developments have proved this optimism to be misplaced. During the last few years the working women have scarcely come to the fore, either as mass or as an active element.

What are the causes of this retrogression, why did the number of women organised in trade unions sink from 44,000 in 1918 to 13,000 in 1926, why is the increase in the number of men organised in trade unions in the last few years accom-

panied by such a very slight increase in the number of organised women?

First a few facts. All our communist women comrades complain of the difficulty of reaching the working women in the large undertakings. Even those working women who sympathise with the communists are so afraid of dismissal that they have not even the courage to subscribe to the communist women's paper. And yet it is an indisputable fact that during the last few years the wages of the women workers have fallen rapidly, and that in spite of the legal eight-hour day working hours have been lengthened in almost all undertakings employing female labour, whilst at the same time the intensity of labour has been increased by the so-called rationalisation. On the other hand, we see that at the present time there is practically no unemployment among women, a fact explicable by the general tendency of capitalism to exploit cheap women's labour wherever possible in place of the dearer men's labour.

Another fact is the rapid falling off in the birth-rate among the working class. In the towns many working women deliberately renounce the joys of motherhood. The working woman of the city will scarcely ever bring more than two children into the world. Workers' families with many children are either from backward countries, or from backward agrarian or mountain districts of Switzerland. However reactionary Switzerland may be in other respects, with regard to birth control it takes a foremost place. By means of this limitation of the family, many married couples among the workers succeed in securing for themselves an individually bearable standard of living, the more that under these circumstances both man and wife can be earners.

These individual cases of improved position, however, represent no more than a momentary loophole, incapable of ensuring a permanent betterment of the standard of living in face of the steady reduction of wages, and above all are incapable of preventing the pressure of capital from weighing more heavily year after year. The idea that to keep the family small is the main thing, and is the best means of preventing poverty, exists however in the heads of many working women and workers' wives, and is therefore a fact which we must take into account.

That the ever increasing pressure exercised by capital encounters no corresponding counter-pressure from the reformist trade unions, is a further fact. It may even be definitely stated that the present leaders of the Swiss trade unions are deliberately neglecting the organisation of the working women; doubtless they are still shaking in their shoes at the remembrance of the masses of the revolutionary women in the war and post-war years. Until a few years ago the Swiss Trade Union Federation still possessed its working women's secretariat. With the retirement of the last secretary this institution ceased to exist. The rejective attitude of many trade unions towards the co-work of women is demonstrated by a conference of the Swiss Textile Workers Union, at which, we are told, the question was seriously discussed as to whether the women delegates present were to be allowed to vote.

The social democratic standpoint towards the working women's movement is characterised by the fact that since the split this Party has not issued any women's newspaper of its own, but at most devotes an occasional page to women's interests in its daily newspapers, thereby carefully avoiding any reference to class war.

On the other hand, it must be recorded that of late the bourgeois women's movement in Switzerland has become extremely active. The organisation of the "Saffa", that is, the Swiss Exhibition of Women's Work, has brought great numbers of women, including many working women, under the influence of the bourgeois women's movement. In some cases all the women employed in a factory have been sent to this exhibition at Berne, where skilful propaganda is carried out for harmony between capital and labour. Of late the bourgeois Women's Suffrage Union has launched an extensively organised petition for the attainment of women's suffrage; this is the only bourgeois women's movement in which the communists take a hand.

The bourgeois women's movement is further endeavouring to hold the working women back from the class struggle with the aid of innumerable philanthropic institutions; besides this there are many religious sects, which have for decades exercised much influence over the working women of the textile districts.

It is obvious that under this severe bourgeois pressure, and in face of the social democratic reformist inactivity, the work of our communist women comrades is made very difficult. That they still succeed, in spite of all this, in mobilising working women in public meetings, and that it is nevertheless possible for a special communist women's newspaper to exist, is only made possible by the tenacious and persevering work of our comrades. Indeed, this little band of women comrades forms a centre of comparatively intense activity.

A Red Women's and Girl's Association was recently formed, and this may well be called upon to form the bridge between Party comrade and factory worker.

The growing exploitation of the working men and women, accompanied by the declining standard of living, must and will arouse revolt among the working women, and it is very probable that the near future will witness this. The emancipation of the working woman from undesired large families brings with it greater independence and earning capabilities, strengthening her self-reliance and will to fight. The ever increasing destruction of family life resulting from economic independence and the necessity of earning, is working objectively as a revolutionary factor. Other factors working in the same direction are the advancing rationalisation and the greater demand for cheap female labour which it brings.

All these factors will have their effect in Switzerland as certainly as they do in other capitalist countries. It is our task to lend an attentive ear to the murmurs of discontent and indignation, and to be ever ready to convert the every-day cares and needs into revolutionary action.

American Negro Women in Agriculture.

By A. S.

When we consider women in agriculture in the United States we must divide our attention among various groups. There is the woman that works and lives on the grain or vegetable farm, the woman that works in the fruit orchards and the women in the various plantations, cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, etc.

In the first group, the woman on the grain farm, not a very large percentage of Negro women can be found. This is due to the fact that usually women working on a grain farm are either wives or daughters of the farm owner and the percentage of Negro farm owners is comparatively small. However, this does not lessen the fact that the life of the farm woman on the grain farm, and of the Negro woman particularly, is an exceedingly difficult one, when one takes into consideration the high degree of development of America. Added to the

burden of the heavy tasks every farm woman is confronted with, such as more or less delapidated farmhouses minus electricity, minus a heating plant, minus any of the improvements which may lessen her labour of feeding the farm hands, keeping the house and barn in good condition, feeding the animals, milking the cow and lending her back to any other work that she may find time for, working from sun up to sun down the year round, eighteen to twenty hours daily, the Negro farm woman, along with her husband, has to cope with race discrimination. This makes her position the more difficult, the banks do not give them the same assistance they will give a white farmer, the rates of interest are not as elastic as they might be in the case of a white farmer, mortgages are foreclosed more promptly and the Negro farmer, already the poorest of the poor farmers and the poorest of the owning

farmers, is more rapidly than the white farmer disappearing from the field. The extreme poverty with which the Negro farmer and his family must put up with, the miserable conditions under which they must live, makes the life of the Negro farm woman many times more difficult than that of the white farmer woman.

Industrialisation of the farm is eliminating the small farmer and making it harder each year to eke a living out of the soil. As the industrialisation of the farm grows, more and more of the farmers, Negro and white, men and women, will become labourers on the industrialised farms where, under capitalism, instead of bettering the conditions of the workers as the Soviet farm does, the conditions become worse. Wages are low, the working day is long, and the speed up system applied to farming is as deadly as when applied to industry.

The Negro women employed in the fruit orchard and its sister industry, fruit canning are many. The conditions here are the same as on the cotton, sugar and tobacco plantations of the south. On the plantations their life is the life of a slave. Their living quarters are shacks built especially for the Negro help. These shacks are often of a poorer construction than the barns and chicken coops of the farm. Merely four walls, a mud floor and a leaking roof. The extremely low wages force their standard of living down to worse than a mere existence. This forces parents to use the labour of their children to help make

a living at all. A Negro mother going to the field takes with her her children as young as five and six years old to help her pick cotton, work in the sugar fields, or pick fruit. She is paid by the basket and the help of immature fingers and a child's back, insignificant as it may seem adds a few much needed pennies to the small income.

Infant mortality is extremely high, as the pregnant woman has no social protection whatsoever. She often gives birth while working in the fields, working to the last moment in a frantic endeavour to hoard together enough to offset the two or three days she will have to remain in bed and away from work and may even lose her job for being away.

A large percentage of the children do not attend school regularly. In Alabama 10% of the white and 30% of the Negro children of school age do not attend school at all.

On the field the worker is treated like the slave of old. Slowness, tardiness, disobedience is punished by severe reprimands, often physical violence on the part of the managers.

And this in advanced America that boasts of its lack of illiteracy, its tall cities and giant industrial plants, of its "equality of man", its human treatment of workers and dogs! Of all the proofs of the hypocrisy of Imperialist America in setting out the above advertising slogans about the country, the example of the Negro plantation worker speaks loudest.

Women Agricultural Workers! Peasant Women! Let 8th March be Your Day!

By W. M. (Moscow).

In East and West alike, the most utterly oppressed, disinherited, and crushed proletarian in the bourgeois State and in the colonial countries is the agricultural labourer, man or woman.

Hundreds of thousands of men and women agricultural workers till the soil and reap its fruits with the strength of their hands for those who neither sow nor reap, but exploit these "free" slaves till the last drop of blood is drained.

In an industrial country like Germany about two and a half million human beings belonging to the proletariat are employed in agriculture; of these more than one million are women. In Italy, which is mainly an agrarian country, the number of agricultural labourers is more than seven million, of which more than three million are women.

In Roumania more than one half of all peasant holdings are held on lease.

In India there are about one and a half million women agricultural workers. The exploitation of the agricultural workers and the brutal force by which they are ruled is everywhere exceedingly great.

The village is so far behind the town that the capitalist ventures here what he would not dare in the city. But the peasantry will not continue to be silent. Step by step it is taking up the offensive against the landlords, and when the moment of insurrection comes the exploiters will be swept away.

The worst point of all is the imperfect organisation of the land-poor peasants and the agricultural labourers, and their insufficient contact with the workers in the towns; this is the reason why their revolutionary stirrings are so cruelly suppressed.

But the examples of insurrections and heroism already experienced protect the poor peasantry, teaching them how to prepare for the coming struggle. And the struggle is close upon us. The day is approaching when the working class will rise, along with the army of the agricultural workers and the small peasants, will free itself for ever from the yoke of the landowners and establish for itself the Soviet power.

The peasant women and women agricultural workers in the capitalist countries are ignorant, but they know their enemies only too well.

In Roumania an author went into the country to recuperate from the noise and bustle of the city. Just think, he dreamed of the submissive and humble country woman, but found an aggressive peasant woman demanding her "rights". He returned to the city in a bad temper, grumbling at the "womenfolk" of the country.

He forgot that during the great war the Roumanian land-

owners, with the aid of the gendarmerie, drove the women and children to work in the fields. But the peasant women have remembered it.

He would not see that the woman agricultural workers bend to their labour day and night for a copek, working to increase the riches of dissipated and dissolute Roumanian landowners.

He did not comprehend that the Roumanian peasant woman is striving for the right over her own labour, and that she has not been given this right, even after the war. This writer forgot that the Soviet Union is very close to Roumania and the Roumanian peasant woman cannot but observe that the peasant women of the Soviet Union enjoy every right. Therefore the Roumanian peasant women have taken part in the peasant risings in Bessarabia, where they have taken an active part in the struggle for union with the Soviet Union.

Of late years the Roumanian peasant woman has supported the National Peasants Party. In spite of her lack of rights, she took active part in the Peasants Conference at Alba Julia, and finally helped the National Peasants Party to come into power. The peasant woman believed that this Party would keep its promises. But the National Peasants Party deceived the peasant woman. Once in power, it not only gave her no rights, but commenced to oppress the peasantry as cruelly as the old government.

Under the cruel White Terror in Italy the revolutionary movement of the working class has been driven underground. It is but seldom that the veil concealing the revolutionary trends in the Italian peasantry is drawn aside for a moment. A year ago the women workers in the rice plantations went on strike. The leaders were beaten and thrown into prison. The church, even the pope, and the bourgeois intellectuals had nothing but scorn and derision for these women; they felt no pity for the mothers, nor for their children.

After these peasant women had spent a year in prison, the Fascists let them go free, for the tribunal declared them not guilty.

In China the peasant women do not quieten down; they continue to take part in the risings of the peasant divisions. In far America, in Mexico, in Argentina, everywhere the army of the revolutionary peasantry is growing.

The enslaved women of India, who have worked for centuries for others, have learned to rise up against their landowners. The strikes among the Indian women agricultural workers have not yet been settled.

On 8th March the Communist Parties call upon the working peasant women of the West and the East to join hands with

the working women of the towns, and to go forward together on the all-revolutionary path to the emancipation of the working masses.

The alliance of the women peasants and women agricultural workers is an alliance for the attainment of a common goal — the annihilation of the common enemy of the working classes, the overthrow of capitalist rule.

The alliance of the working women in town and country is an alliance for putting an end to the war preparations of the bourgeoisie, for converting the imperialist war into civil war.

The peasantry has already suffered much; the last great war brought loss and sorrow. It is not without a struggle that the peasant woman gives up her son as fodder for the enemy. She knows that the peasant's son does not return home from the imperialist slaughter, that the cares will rest upon her shoulders, unaided by the lords and masters.

The peasant woman will rather give her own life in an insurrection against the exploiters than her son for the destruction of the workers, the destruction of the peasantry in other countries.

The peasant women disappointed by the nationalist and socialist parties must listen eagerly to the appeals of the Communist Party, and learn to what these call them. Beneath the flag of this Party, united with the com-

munists, concealed from the authorities, in illegality, the peasant woman will learn from the communists how to force her government to its knees; and she will teach her children to fight against that government.

Many peasant women are pining in prisons; many have escaped at the risk of their lives and have found refuge with other families, where they have spread their ideas; many of them have died. But the seed of Communism is springing up among the working women out in the country. Neither prison, nor mass murder, nor torture, will save the power of the capitalists and landowners.

The Soviet power already comprises many peoples; the Soviet power will liberate the working peasant woman.

Long live the International Women's Day, which awakens the peasant woman to revolutionary struggle.

Long live the international proletariat of the whole world, which will liberate the enslaved and oppressed.

Long live the alliance between the proletariats of the town and the country, between the women workers of the city and the working peasant women.

The united forces of the working masses will carry forward the women workers and peasant women to victory, and they will tread the path to freedom which their sisters in the Soviet Union have already reached.

Nadeshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya and the Working Women.

By Clara Zetkin.

The men and women communists of all countries, and especially the women comrades of the Soviet Union, do not need the occasion of the 60th birthday of Nadeshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, which occurs on 27th of February, to remind them of the thanks they owe to this undaunted fighter, builder, and leader. Comrade Krupskaya has passed through the fiercest struggles and severest conflicts, through bitter experiences and painful sufferings. And yet her life is rich in what really make life precious, rich in strivings and labour for the highest idea which moves humanity: the emancipation of all the exploited and oppressed of the world as the conscious work of these exploited and oppressed themselves. Comrade Krupskaya's service for the realisation of this idea, this conception rising on the foundation of revolutionised conditions of production and expressing the new order of society, is written in indelible letters in the history of the Russian Labour movement, of the revolution of October 1917, of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the world. But its content is not a glorious past; it is an active present, filled with labour and struggle.

Ever since day when Nadeshda Konstantinovna, still a young girl, recognised that every individual destiny is bound up with the social whole, and gave her own life thereby a conscious social import, she has steadily kept only one goal in view: to liberate humanity through Communism and to make human beings the mature masters of their fate. She is the embodiment of self-sacrificing devotion, of unshakable faithfulness to this aim. To serve this purpose is for her the fulfilment and happiness of life. Comrade Krupskaya, in her work for that abolition of capitalism and that victory of Socialism which will emancipate humanity from the enslaving bonds of the possessing class, has never forgotten that every state of society recognising private property has made woman its slave and servant, and that the struggle of down-trodden-womankind for liberation is one of the most powerful revolutionary forces in history.

When Comrade Krupskaya, still a young student, joined the movement of the revolutionary workers and student youth, she did not find it necessary — as many women sharing her ideas in Western Europe have done — to assert her right to take part in the work and struggle. Conspirative work would have been scarcely possible without the co-operation of clever and energetic women, devoted to the cause. Passing forward from the work of winning over such women co-workers, Comrade Krupskaya devoted herself to propaganda and teaching among the proletarian women. To enlighten working women, to induce these to join the groups, to see them working among

their fellow working women, this was the work in which she found particular satisfaction.

In the midst of revolutionary will and deed, there sprang up and developed that firm and intimate community, both of conception of life and fighting steadfastness, between Lenin and Comrade Krupskaya, which was to be determinative for the course of Comrade Krupskaya's life. During the hard years of banishment to Siberia and exile abroad, Lenin grew into not only one of the best leaders of the Russian Labour movement, but into the over-toweringly great leader. In impassioned conflicts of opinion over theory and practice with the various socialist and revolutionary schools and trends of that time, he created the ideology and organisation of the Bolshevik Party. Comrade Krupskaya took an active part in the fervid intellectual battles of these years, and rendered an especially valuable service in maintaining and helping communication between Lenin and the comrades, groups, and organisations in Russia.

In the first Social Democratic Labour Party, and later in the revolutionary wing separating from this, the Bolshevik Party, Comrade Krupskaya urged unceasingly the awakening of the women workers to class consciousness and their inclusion as schooled fighting forces in the movement. She followed carefully the development of the proletarian women's movement in the capitalist states, especially in Germany. As a schooled and revolutionary Marxist, Comrade Krupskaya stood decidedly on the side of those in Germany, and in the II. International, who fought for a definite dividing line between the proletarian and the bourgeois women's movements and for the participation of working women, the proletarian women, in the trade union and political organisations of their class. Guided by this fundamental standpoint, she demanded energetic and systematic work among the working women on the part of the revolutionary social democratic associations, and promoted this work by fruitful suggestions, proposals, and advice, and by contributions to the Party organs, etc., especially the publications of the Bolsheviks. In Siberia Comrade Krupskaya wrote the first Russian propaganda pamphlet for the working women: "Woman and Woman Worker". This pamphlet appeared anonymously in February 1901, and had such a successful effect that a second edition could be issued by August. The object of the pamphlet was to induce co-operating solidarity between the working women gathering together in Russia and their sisters in Western Europe. The International Women's Day resolved upon by the International Women's Conference at Copenhagen in 1910 was celebrated also in Russia as a proclamation of the solidarity of the proletariats of the world. The Bolshevik Party demanded that this Day should not be regarded as purely a women's affair, but as a task incumbent on the whole Party and as a proletarian demonstration without difference of sex. It was due

to Comrade Krupskaya that this standpoint, class-conscious and true to purpose, was maintained. After the outbreak of the great imperialist war, the Bolshevik Party dashed courageously into the breach to rescue the banner of international revolutionary solidarity of the proletariats of the world, trodden into the mire by the Second International. Despite enormous difficulties, it strove to gather the working women, too, around this banner, and to make them a driving force of international and national action against war and for revolution. It lent energetic support to the execution of the first international action with this aim. This was the International Socialist Women's Conference at Berne on 26th, 27th, and 28th March 1915, which preceded and thereby encouraged the International Conference of the revolutionary section of the socialist youth. The Women's Conference became an important stage on the path of the vanguard of the proletariat to Zimmerwald and Kienthal. Comrade Krupskaya, collaborating with comrades Inessa Armand and Lilina, took part in the Conference, and thereby ensured the sharp stressing of its revolutionary character.

Comrade Krupskaya never ceased to urge the importance of revolutionising the working women in the great industrial centres of Russia. Thanks to her efforts, the success won by the systematic and purposeful detail work of the Bolsheviks among the working women swelled into an event of historical importance. The International Woman's Day held on 8th March, 1917, in the then Petrograd gave the signal for those mighty demonstrations against war and tsarism which became the starting point of the February-March revolution.

With Lenin's return to Russia there began for Comrade Krupskaya a new period of intenser active effort among the proletarian masses themselves. Lenin, the most unwearying, clear of purpose, and strong of will of the proletariat in the gigantic struggle, was forced to remain on the other side of the Finnish frontier, to hide himself. It was none the less necessary that he should be kept rapidly and accurately informed of all occurrences in the public life of Petrograd, and especially of the currents influencing the great industrial undertakings and the barracks. Nadeshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya — as also Lenin's sister Maria Ilyninichna — undertook in the most dangerous and responsible situations the confidential post of secretary, intermediary, and propagandist, again proving the embodiment of revolutionary faithfulness to duty. In Leningrad there are still proletarian women and comrades who tell of Comrade Krupskaya's self-sacrificing activities during these months.

The conquest of State power by the proletariat with the aid of the peasantry, in a country capitalistically undeveloped and culturally backward, made in every respect enormous demands on the leading Bolshevik Party cadres and especially on Lenin. The civil war flamed up furiously.

This gigantic and chaotic struggle brought to light more clearly than ever the extent of the decisive importance of the revolutionary masses of the women. Women worked in the trenches, in industry, on the land, in the administration; they kept the wheels of social life running. They grudged themselves even an hour of rest from tending the sick and wounded. They helped untiringly in distributing the scanty stores of food and other necessities. They organised communal kitchens, homes for mothers and infants, creches, kindergartens and educational institutions for older children. They worked, fought, and died at the military fronts. Their deeds proclaimed even more forcibly than the text of the Soviet law their social right to emancipation.

In this period again Comrade Krupskaya merged herself completely in the mass of actively revolutionary women. With the women comrades Kollontay, Lilina and Inessa Armand, Samoilova and others, she was to be found everywhere where the historical dawning day of creation for women called to new and responsible tasks, everywhere where among women the inner foes of revolution had to be fought: starvation, nakedness, doubt, discouragement, sabotage. Comrade Krupskaya never pushed herself into the foreground, but she was always ready to hand when needed: in the leaders' consultations, in mass demonstrations, in the execution of practical measures. Comrade Krupskaya did her duty simply and as a matter of course. One witness of this is her co-operation in the great All-Russian Women's Conference in October 1918.

Comrade Krupskaya is one of those men and women comrades whose participation ensures the success of an undertaking, for they realise its far-reaching effects.

In March, 1919, the Communist International was founded. Nadeshda Konstantinovna aided the initiative taken by the

Russian women comrades to ensure that the inaugural Congress should establish the fundamental communist principle of the historical necessity and importance of the participation of women in the proletarian struggle for emancipation. The Congress passed a resolution in accordance with the motion proposed by the women comrades, containing the passage:

"The Congress of the Communist International declares that both the success of all the tasks which it sets, and the final victory of the world proletariat and the complete abolition of the capitalist order, can be secured only by the closely united joint struggle of the women and men of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat can be realised and maintained only with the active and energetic participation of the women of the working class."

In 1920 the Second World Congress of the communists was followed by the First International Women's Conference, organised for the purpose of gathering together the women communists for systematically organised work in the national sections. It need not be said that these efforts were supported by Nadeshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya by word and deed at their central point, Moscow. She took an active part in the consultations of the women's commission which examined, in the late summer of the same year, the programmatic "instructions" proposed by the international communist women's movement, agreed to by the Second International Women's Conference in 1921, and confirmed by the Third World Congress. She attended the Conference and those which followed, as also other women's conventions working for the same aim, as delegate and speaker.

It need scarcely be emphasised that these dry and scanty data are far from giving any real idea of that profound solidarity making Comrade Krupskaya one with the proletarian woman, the exploited, the oppressed of the whole world, and especially with the down-trodden women now striving to raise their heads. And this solidarity is more than a mere feeling; it is a clear and firmly founded recognition and conviction of the indestructible unity of the great family of humanity, now to be liberated and joined together by Communism.

Comrade Krupskaya strives unceasingly to unite the workers and working women of the Soviet Union in understanding and active sympathy for the struggles of their sisters and brothers in the capitalists States and colonial countries. She is fully conscious that the proletarian revolution can only give full effect to its creative force when it strides triumphantly over the whole globe, destroying the old and building up the new.

Scarcely had the Soviet State forced counter-revolution to its knees, when it took up without pause for breath its historical task of revolutionising the economic and cultural conditions of society, of socialising these. The Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the administrator of proletarian State power, had not only to provide the proletarian leaders ready to seek the path to this goal, to lay it down and furnish it with landmarks; it has at the same time to provide the executive, constructive, and creative forces. Nadeshda Konstantinovna found here the activity corresponding to her gifts and many-sided capabilities, and adapted to the innermost essence of her nature. Whilst remaining the same active Party comrade as before, indissolubly bound up with political life and with the life of the organisation, at the same time the greater part of her labours now began to be devoted to the specifically cultural tasks of this organisation. Comrade Krupskaya became a member of the People's Commissariat for Education, and applied the full powers of love and devotion, in the highest sense of the words, to the cause of the enlightenment and education of the people. In doing this she acted with Lenin's full agreement, for to Lenin the highest possible education of the workers was always the prerequisite and result of the further development of proletarian revolution to Communism.

Nadeshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya experienced the greatest of happiness: she experienced the proletarian revolution. She was not spared the greatest of sorrows: Death tore Lenin from her side. The cruel wound of this loss can never heal. But the strength of her will to work for the revolution is such that though bereavement may bend her, she remains strong and unbroken. With undiminished energy and devotion Comrade Krupskaya continues to work for the creation and development of every description of educational institution, for the organisation of cultural possibilities enabling the rich gifts slumbering in the working millions to be awakened and utilised. All knowledge for the people! All art for the people!

All joy in nature and in full-blossomed active humanity for the people! This is the leading motive of her endeavour as educator of the whole people: Everything through the people, thanks to the realisation of Communism, of the social order without class or exploitation, as the achievement of the fighting revolutionary proletariat.

In the wide sphere of cultural work Nadeshda Konstantinova Krupskaya again finds opportunity for the furtherance of international solidarity. She supports the international alliance of the teachers and educators of the Soviet Union with their colleagues abroad, and promotes the international exchange of results and experiences in educational science. The masses of creatively working women possess in her a faithful defender of their right to win knowledge and culture. Comrade Krupskaya understands the burning longing of the working woman, the

workman's wife, the peasant woman, to throw off the crushing burden of backwardness and lack of culture. Every achievement of advancing cultural revolution is for women as well as men! Comrade Krupskaya, in realising this principle in socially creative work, is the faithful executrix of Lenin's will, for Lenin was the greatest of all champions of the emancipation and equal rights of the female sex.

Comrade Krupskaya's nature and work are a granite unity, are a shining example. Innumerable are the hearts which turn to her in love and reverence on her 60th birthday. We international communist women step forward with our comrades, the working women of the Soviet Union, and join our birthday wishes to theirs with the words: We thank you for what you give us and what you are to us. An upward striving and ever active human life.

International Red Aid and the Women.

By A. K.

The present developments of capitalism on the one hand, and of the revolutionary movement on the other, are undoubtedly leading to an enhanced importance of the working woman in the great class war being waged by the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the socialist state of society. Capitalist rationalisation increases the total number of unemployed, and at the same time draws more and more women into the process of production (as cheap labour). The working and peasant woman represent a force which the capitalists must take into account in the coming imperialist war.

The bourgeoisie, which is fully aware of the increasing importance of the part played by the woman worker in the class war of today, and observes very well the growing contradictions of the capitalist system, is making every possible endeavour to ward off any revolutionary influence from the women, and to hold them entirely under its own ideological influence. For this purpose it employs every means, including those of Terror and police persecution, and exerts every effort to destroy all revolutionary roots among the working women; the bourgeoisie makes use of the schools, of religion, of the press, and of every available bourgeois organisation. Finally, Fascism too attempts to conduct active work among the working women, and hopes to win adherents among them.

At the same time the rôle played by the working and peasant women in the international labour movement, in the struggle against the war danger, increases greatly in importance. In the course of the colossal class struggle which has developed since the great war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the revolutionary woman has taken sides with the steadfast revolutionary worker. In order to extend and deepen the influence of this revolutionary rôle of the working woman, and in order to create a reliable red base behind the front for the fighting proletariat, it is imperative that all revolutionary workers and peasants should devote especial attention to the intense development of Red Aid activities among the women, and exert all efforts to draw women into the Red Aid.

This task is one which must be fulfilled in connection with the 8th March. In view of the increasing intensification of the class struggle, the Red Aid must become an ever more powerful support for the revolutionists torn from the class struggle, and the greater the number of toiling women in the ranks of the Red Aid, the more definite and effectual will be the work of this organisation.

The Red Aid is a powerful factor in international proletarian education, and is not only able to combat successfully the ideological slavery to which the bourgeoisie is anxious to condemn the backward strata of the working women, but is in a position, by means of its active and propagandist work, to group ever new cadres of class conscious proletarian women around the champions of revolution.

Everywhere the revolutionary woman stands side by side with her fellow fighter, the revolutionary worker. Apart from the well known leader of the German working class, Rosa Luxemburg, we see that in other countries too, where the revolutionary movement has already greatly extended, there are a great number of women who have distinguished themselves by their self-sacrificing revolutionary activities, who have fallen in the fight against the class enemy, or are pining in the dungeons of the bourgeoisie. In the Balkans, in Fascist Italy, in Poland, in China, everywhere where the battle raged most obstinately,

women have taken their place in the foremost ranks, and have shared with the other revolutionists all the dangers and sacrifices of the struggle. And not alone in the immediate fights in the capitalist countries and colonies do the working and peasant women prove their readiness for self-sacrifice; often they must suffer hunger, must suffer as the mother, wife, or sister of the revolutionist who falls a victim of White Terror or bourgeois class justice.

The revolutionary women who give their forces, their health, and their whole lives to the cause of revolution, are to be counted by hundreds and thousands; and by dozens and hundreds the women and children whose homes have been destroyed by the White Terror, their breadwinners murdered. The working women of all countries must hasten first of all to the aid of these innumerable persecuted and tortured victims of class justice and White Terror. Every woman worker, and every peasant woman, must be made aware that at any moment she may fall a victim to that White Terror and Fascism which is gaining ground in the capitalist countries, and that then the mighty organisation of the Red Aid will come to her help and defend her.

These elementary truths of daily class struggle, and the unselfish and heroic struggle of the revolutionary women, must be made clear by the Red Aid, at International Women's Day, to the great masses of still unenlightened working women. On this Day there must be no working woman who does not know what the Red Aid is; on this Day tens of thousands of women must reinforce the ranks of the Red Aid. The percentage of women members in the Red Aid organisations (29 per cent in the Soviet Union and 15 per cent in other countries) is quite insufficient. And the Red Aid will only be able to cope with its task when the backward strata of working women too have recognised the importance of this great mass organisation.

Therefore the campaign for 8th March must accomplish the execution of the following definite measures:

1. An extensive recruitment campaign inducing working women to join the Red Aid.
2. Collective affiliation of proletarian women's organisations.
3. Detailed discussion in the whole proletarian press (Party, trade union, Red Aid, women's organisations, sport organisations) of the part played by women in the Red Aid and its struggles.
4. Organisation of patronage for women inmates of prisons, for political prisoners, and for the wives and children of revolutionists murdered or imprisoned.
5. Organisation of evening lectures and entertainments showing the work of women revolutionaries, and the rôle played by the woman worker in the revolutionary movement and in the Red Aid.
6. Organisation of joint meetings with the political emigrées.
7. Organisation of money collections for the victims of White Terror, of Fascism, of class justice, etc.

May the 8th of March be at the same time a great recruiting day for the Red Aid. No class conscious working or peasant woman shall remain outside of its ranks!

The women workers must reply to advancing Fascism and White Terror, to the furious attacks of bourgeois class justice, by joining in masses the Red Aid, and by strengthening and reinforcing this organisation of proletarian solidarity.

Chronological Survey of the Celebrations of 8th March in Different Countries.

In 1908 the Congress of the American Socialist Party resolved to fix a certain Sunday in each year to be devoted to propaganda for women's suffrage and for general socialist agitation among women. The last Sunday in February was agreed upon.

In 1909 (27th February) the Women's Day was celebrated in all towns in the United States in which organisations of the Socialist Party existed. It was celebrated with special solemnity in New York. 3000 persons took part in the meeting organised by the socialists with the active support of the Party press and organisation. The women's rights organisation also participated. The resolution which was passed condemned the withholding of the vote from women, but did not mention a word about the class struggle of the proletariat. This first socialist Women's Day was thus dominated by opportunism.

By 1911 the International Women's Day could be celebrated on the basis of the proposals accepted by the Copenhagen Conference (1910) under the leadership of Clara Zetkin. The American socialist women sent a message of greeting to the International Women's Secretariat.

In 1912, 1914, 1925, and 1927 the Women's Day was celebrated in America as in previous years. Special mention must be made of the meetings and demonstrations held in the Argentine Republic (1925), and of the publication of special leaflets.

In 1928 the Women's Day was celebrated on 8th March for the first time, under the leadership of the Communist Party. The campaign, including the preparations, lasted from 1st December till 15th March, and was more successful than in previous years. It fulfilled its purpose of creating a Party apparatus for work among the women, and for spreading the influence of the Party among the masses of working women. During the period of preparation various conferences of Party members were held, and lectures given on the tasks of the Women's Day. The labour press, especially the women's newspapers, carried on active propaganda. The central organ of the Party published a special number. A meeting held in connection with the 8th March in New York was attended by 3000 women. 25,000 leaflets were distributed. Meetings and celebrations were held in not only New York and its environs, but in all the great centres of the United States: Chicago, Boston, Springfield (Massachusetts), Buffalo, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles, etc. At the same time a conference of the Co-operative Women's League was held.

The 1928 campaign was the most successful of those organised in America up to that time, for it actually reached the masses of the working women and proclaimed political and economic slogans (the fight against the war danger, greetings to the women of the U. S. S. R., organise the unorganised, higher wages, shorter working hours).

Germany. Thanks to Comrade Clara Zetkin, the idea of the American socialists for the organisation of a Women's Day of propaganda and agitation was imparted a new and international content. At the second socialist conference at Copenhagen (1910), Comrade Zetkin proposed the organisation of an **International Socialist Women's Day**. This motion was proposed in connection with the first point on the agenda: means and ways for the practical attainment of general suffrage for women.

The first International Women's Day was celebrated in Germany in 1911. During this campaign Clara Zetkin laid special stress on the fact that the winning of bourgeois rights for women form only a part of the proletarian class struggle for complete political democracy, and is not an object in itself, but a stage of the struggle for the complete emancipation of humanity by the social revolution; that freedom and right are never given, but must be won. Thanks to the energetic activities of the women socialists, the celebration was eminently successful. The "Gleichheit" published a special number. One million leaflets advocating women's suffrage were distributed. In Berlin the mass meetings and demonstrations led to collisions with the police.

1912. In spite of the favourable results of the first Women's Day, and the increase of membership, the Party Conference of the German Social Democrats decided to postpone the celebration, for technical reasons, until the 12th May.

In 1913 the International Women's Day was held in March again, but on the 2nd, for the reason that 14th March was a confirmation day, and in the opinion of the Social Democratic Party this "might hamper the celebration". The Women's Day celebrations were confined to the large towns. The women members of the party were commissioned to make all preparations, the men members of the party and trade unions being occupied with other tasks, and a tendency prevailed to make this Day an exclusively women's demonstration.

1914. Arrest of Rosa Luxemburg. The Women's Day (9th March), under Clara Zetkin's influence, became a protest against the arrest of Rosa Luxemburg and against war. In spite of the efforts of large forces of police, demonstrations were held almost everywhere. The movement among the proletarian women increased in all the large and small towns.

From 1914/16 the opposition of the social traitors prevented the organisation of the International Women's Day.

In 1920 the Women's Day was organised for the first time by the Communist Party of Germany. At the meeting in Berlin Comrade Clara Zetkin delivered an address. The resolution passed declared that the "Red International" of Communism is the only power which can overthrow the capitalist international.

A socialist women's day organised by the Independent Socialist Party was held simultaneously.

In 1921 the C. P. G. utilised the opportunity given by the Women's Day (in April) to call mass meetings under the slogan of class war and preparation for fresh struggles, and in spite of the prohibition of the celebrations carried on this agitation in almost every part of Germany. A mass meeting, at which Clara Zetkin was the speaker, was held in the Great Theatre in Berlin. The International Women's Day celebrations in Saxony were also worthy of note, especially in Chemnitz, although in the Halle-Merseburg district and Magdeburg meetings were only permitted in exceptional cases. The resolution proposed by the Women's secretariat of the C. P. G. was passed unanimously everywhere.

In 1922 the preparations were made with special care. The International Week of the Communist Women's Day was held from 5th to 12th March. It was characterised by joint demonstrations of the working men and women against the rising prices and the growing poverty of the proletariat. Special mention must be made of the demonstrations and meetings in Hamburg, Gotha, and Wiesbaden. The excellent preparatory work done in the wholesale distribution of leaflets and pamphlets and by the issue of an illustrated special number contributed greatly to the success of the campaign. Many working women joined the C. P. G.

1923 brought an increased mass character to the Women's Day. Meetings attended by many thousands took place in Königsberg, Danzig, and Hamburg. In Chemnitz the Women's Day was conspicuously successful, thanks to the propaganda demonstrations organised by the works and factories on the day before 8th March. The result was many new members for the Party.

In 1924 the International Women's Day had to be celebrated in illegality, and only communists took part in the preparations. The main slogan was: fight for the eight-hour day. During the Women's Day itself great masses of unorganised women attended the meetings. In the waterside district the women declared their solidarity with the workers striking in defence of the eight-hour day.

In 1925 the campaign was conducted under the slogan of the direct participation of the masses in the struggle and close contact with the U. S. S. R. In Düsseldorf a resolution was passed in support of the Soviet Union. In Gera the first delegates' meeting of the women was held, at which a red flag sent by the Russian working women was presented. The campaign was equally successful in Wurtemberg and on the Lower Rhine.

In 1926 the slogan of the campaign was: "Go to the masses", this being combined with the slogans of: War danger, work for the unemployed, protection for mothers and children, etc. Propaganda was carried on in the factories and trade unions.

Nucleus newspapers were distributed everywhere. In Bavaria public meetings could be held for the first time after many years.

In 1927 hundreds of meetings were organised in and before the works and factories and in the trade unions, and in Berlin also in all sub-districts. A public mass meeting was held in one of the greatest halls in Berlin, under the slogan of "Down with war" and "Protect the Soviet Union". This meeting was followed by a demonstration, at which it came to collisions with the police.

In 1928 the preliminary work was conducted simultaneously with the election campaign. Special commissions were formed for celebrating the Women's Day in the works and factories; pamphlets describing the impressions of workers' delegations in the Soviet Union were published, and meetings of works delegates held (in Berlin in four factories). The revolutionary press published women's supplements, and devoted special leaders to the 8th March. The Red Front Fighters League took part in the campaign.

In Austria the first celebration of the International Women's Day was held in all towns in 1911. The celebration was especially successful in Vienna, where a meeting took place followed by a demonstration for "equal rights and human treatment, and against militarism and exploitation". Conflicts with the police resulted.

In 1912 the Women's Day was celebrated on 12th March.

In 1913 the organisers refrained from a street demonstration, stating that the celebration had lost the attraction of novelty, and that therefore the mass participation of the women workers was not to be anticipated.

In 1914 the Austrian opportunists did nothing to stress the character of the Women's Day as a demonstration of international solidarity. The resolution passed called attention to the strained political situation, but made no mention whatever of a substantiation of the demand for women's franchise as a necessity in the interests of the proletarian class — struggle.

In 1921 the Women's Day was organised by the Communist Party. The campaign was carried on under the slogans proposed by the Secretariat of the C. P. of Germany.

In 1922 the Women's Day did not take the form of a fighting demonstration, but of a celebration.

In 1923 the C. P. of Austria only succeeded in organising an evening meeting in Vienna.

In 1924 a comprehensive campaign was organised.

In 1925 the campaign was characterised by the protest against the Geneva proposals, and the slogan demanding the eight-hour day, for labour legislation, measures against unemployment and lockouts, against bread profiteering and starvation, against reduced maternity relief, against the abortion paragraphs, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the united front and the unity of the trade unions, for the Soviet Union and the Third International. Numerous meetings were held and a special newspaper published.

In 1927 the central point of the campaign was the question of pensions for the old and disabled. Besides the general meetings, one was held by the Young Communists, who sent a message of greeting to the Chinese and Russian workers. One of the proposals made at the meetings was to send a delegation to the U. S. S. R.

1928. The importance of the 8th March was emphasised by the press. Articles appeared describing the life of the Russian working women.

Denmark. First International Women's Day 1911. Organisation of great meetings and adoption of a resolution greeting the social democratic party.

Switzerland. First International Women's Day 1911. At the socialist meetings the international importance of the simultaneous celebration of the Day was emphasised.

1912. International Women's Day on 17th March.

1913. International Women's Day on 9th March.

1914. Numerous women's meetings protested against class justice in Germany.

1915. International Women's Day under the slogan of "War against war".

1920. Campaign under the banner of the Third International, combined with the plebiscite on votes for women. The result of the plebiscite was negative.

1921. In this year especially comprehensive preparations were made. As in the years before, a special newspaper was issued, "Die Kämpferin". Stress on the importance of international revolutionary struggle. Numerous meetings. The

meetings in Zurich sent an appeal to the German women workers.

1922. 5000 copies of the "Kommunist" were printed. Meetings in all large towns and even in the villages. Cinema performances showing life in the Soviet Union. In one village 18 peasant women joined the Party under influence of the campaign.

1923. Work for the campaign undertaken early. Appeals to the working women, distribution of 5000 copies of a women's newspaper, numerous meetings, films shown at some meetings, illustrating life in the Soviet Union.

1924. Owing to external circumstances, the International Women's Day had little success to record.

1925. Press campaign and meetings. One of the demands, abolition of abortion paragraphs. A discussion held at the meeting in Zurich was followed by many letters to the editors of the "Werkstätige Frau" from working women.

1926. Campaign in connection with the new plebiscite on women's suffrage.

Holland. First International Women's Day 1912.

1913. International Women's Day held on 9th March.

1914. Campaign with mass meetings.

1921. First International Women's Day under the leadership of the revolutionary women workers. Women's meetings in 11 towns: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Arnhem, the Hague, Leiden, Gröningen, etc. Addresses by women communists and anarcho-communists. The central slogan was: "Through the world revolution to the emancipation of woman". The organisers of the meetings was the revolutionary socialist women's league. The social democratic women's association (affiliated to the Second International) declined to take part in the Day.

1922. Public meetings with lectures on the importance of the Russian proletarian revolution. Collections for the starving in the Soviet Union. Main slogans: Votes for women, protection for mothers and children, equal pay for equal work.

1923. Women's meetings in 11 towns.

1925. International Women's Day a campaign against high prices, against the new taxes, against wage reductions, for relief for the unemployed, introduction of mothers' and children's protection, against the deprivation of rights of illegitimate children, against the worsening of legislation and the Terror in India, for the united front. Publication of a special number of the women's paper.

Sweden. 1912. International Women's Day celebrated by numerous meetings.

1915. Women's Day celebrated.

1925. The 8th March was celebrated during the lockout of 130,000 women workers. Slogans: fight against Fascism, organise public meetings. Special number published.

Czechoslovakia. First International Women's Day 9th March 1913.

1914. Numerous meetings stressed the international importance of the Day. Greetings to Rosa Luxemburg and to the working women of Russia.

1921. Participation of German comrades in the meeting of the Women's Day. All meetings adopt a resolution closing with a message of greeting to the Communist International.

1922. International Women's Day marked by the merging of the Left wings of the Czech and German social democrats into the new Section of the Third International. Fraternisation of the Czech and German proletarian women. Mass meetings against capitalism and militarism, for the socialisation of industry and of the land, for protection of mothers and all women for the revolutionary united front, for aid for the starving in the Soviet Union. The campaign lasted a month.

1923. Comprehensive campaign, publication of leaflets and special numbers. Crowded meetings in Prague, Kladno, Aussig, etc. New members join the Party. Slogans: Against unequal laws, protect the Soviet Union, protection of mothers and children, equal pay for equal work, against imperialist war, against the occupation of the Ruhr, etc.

1924. Feeble campaign in consequence of insufficient contact between the Party and the masses in the works and factories.

1925. A total of 168 public meetings organised, attended by 35,993 persons, including 25,350 women. Distribution of leaflets on following questions: high prices and wages, unemployment and discharge of employees, protection for mothers and children.

1926. Organisation of meetings of women workers from the works and factories, followed by demonstrations.

1927. Preparations by the factory nuclei, by means of factory gate meetings and the factory newspapers. In Prague an improvised meeting was held in the market place. The same at Brünn, where the meeting was swelled to 500 persons by the stream of women leaving the factories. Conflicts with the police. Working peasant women and women agricultural workers also took part in the celebration.

1928. Press campaign in the form of special supplements, issue of women's papers. Numerous meetings.

France. In 1914 a meeting was held in Paris, ending with a demonstration for Rosa Luxemburg and a revolutionary appeal for the fight for socialism.

1921. First Communist International Women's Day on 3rd April. Great public meeting in Paris. The newspaper "Woman's Voice" publishes an extra number. "Humanité" and the "Communist Bulletin" publish special articles. Slogans: "The dictatorship of the proletariat will emancipate women; struggle of the French proletariat against the threatening imperialist war of the Entente bourgeoisie against Germany."

1922. Linking up of the Women's Day with the campaign against the prevailing nationalist sentiment in France. Numerous meetings. Appearance of the first number of the communist women's paper: "The Woman Worker".

1923. The International Women's Day celebration coincides with the struggle of the French and German proletariats against the occupation of the Ruhr district. Slogans: Down with high prices the scourge of the workers of all countries; down with war; payment of war debts by the propertied classes; formation of fighting committees against imperialism and war danger. Publication of huge quantities of leaflets. Great meeting on 11th March in Paris.

1924. Appeal to working women, unemployed, and housewives. Central questions: Depreciation of the franc and high prices, the scourge of the workers of all countries; down with women's secretariat of the C. P. of France. In Rennes meetings attended by unemployed and by men and women from the surrounding villages.

1925. 10 meetings in Paris and 12 in the Seine Department. Meetings in the provinces. Slogan: "Women's suffrage". 3000 copies of special number of the "Woman worker" issued. Publication of an edition of 7000 copies of a pamphlet. Illustrated leaflets. Comparison of the position of the workers in France with that of the workers in the U. S. S. R.

1926. Women's Day celebrated with the same slogans as in the year before.

1927. Campaign from the 3rd to 15th March. Besides the international slogans of "Hands off China" and "Down with the new war", other slogans dealing with the general campaign against unemployment. On 8th March the Party press and factory newspapers published articles devoted to the Women's Day. Participation of the "friends of the newspaper: "The Woman Worker" in the preparations.

1928. The campaign in connection with the Women's Day was concentrated in the works and factories for the purpose of strengthening the influence of the C. P. among the masses of the working women. The working women took part in mass meetings. Publication of special numbers of wall and factory newspapers. Organisation of women's secretariats in the provinces. Works meetings in places. Distribution of a pamphlet issued by the delegation to Soviet Russia.

Norway. 1915. Demonstration participated in by Swedish and Russian women representatives. Slogan: "War against war".

1922. Wherever there were communists, meetings were called. In Oslo more than 1000 persons took part in the meeting. The 8th March helped to induce the women to take part in the Party campaign on 20th April and 1st May. Slogans of the demonstrations: Against unemployment, high prices, house shortage, etc.

1923. Party and women's league organise jointly the International Day. Campaign carried out chiefly in Party and sympathising circles. Many successful meetings. New members for Party.

1925. Publication of the first number of the newspaper "Guisten", with Lenin's portrait on cover and workers' correspondence contributions.

Bulgaria. 1922. Organisation of the campaign with the support of the working and peasant women. Slogans: political rights for women, legislation regulating women's and children's work, protection for mothers and children, against high prices, unemployment, oppressive taxation, and war. Publication of 10,000 copies of an appeal to all working women. Publication of following pamphlets: "Woman and revolution" by Bystryansky, "Theses on work among women", "The Communist Women's Movement" by Clara Zetkin, "The famine in Russia" by D. Blagoyev. 15,000 copies of the newspaper "Gleichheit" distributed. Well attended group meetings in the works and factories, mass meetings in the villages. On 8th March communist motion proposed in Parliament on the granting of political rights to women. Women's meetings pass resolutions in support of the communist demands. Total number of meetings organised 200. Published: 17,000 pamphlets, 8000 postcards, 20,000 leaflets. New members join women's groups and Party. Recruiting of new readers for the communist press.

England. First International Women's Day 1921. The meeting held in a proletarian quarter of London attended chiefly by women communists. At this sole meeting the unity of the revolutionary labour movement of England with the Soviet Union, under the flag of the Third International, was especially emphasised.

1922. A more successful Women's Day. The Party paper issues a supplement. Campaign under slogan of propaganda for the class solidarity of the working women.

1923. Chief point of interest the economic struggle of the proletariat against the offensive of English capital. Agitation amongst unemployed women. Meetings outside the labour exchanges. Outdoor meetings in many places.

1924. Main slogan: Fight against housing shortage. In Sheffield campaign among out-of-work young women workers, against the fraudulent methods employed in recruiting labour for the colonies and dominions.

1925. Numerous public meetings.

1926. Campaign under the slogan of united front with the masses of women under the influence of the I. L. P., and with the female members of the co-operatives (guilds). The meetings organised by the Communist Party addressed by speakers from the Left wings of these organisations.

1927. Organisation of a Woman's Week. House to house and factory propaganda, demonstrations before the shops where the women make their purchases, delegates' meetings, concerts and cinema performances, and agitation for the Sunday meeting as close of campaign. Slogans: Organise "Hands off China" committees, protest against the sending of troops and munitions to China, the Labour Party must sever all connection with the government which is reducing wages, down with the reactionary government. Party newspaper and trade union organ publish supplements. In three districts factory newspapers published devoted to the Women's Day. In Birmingham and another district the miners issue local women's newspapers. 19,000 copies of a leaflet in defence of the Chinese revolution distributed.

1928. Comprehensive campaign. Numerous conferences and meetings followed by a great demonstration in London, at which women from all parts of England gather together. Adoption of a proposal for the election of a special working women's delegation to the U. S. S. R. Passing of a resolution against war. Collection of means enabling the delegation to be sent.

Italy. 1922. Campaign opened by special leaflet and publication of the "Woman Comrade". Appeal of the C. P. to the peasant and working women. Meetings and demonstrations in almost every part of the country, participated in actively by the proletarian women, against the Fascist bandits. Energetic measures against the Fascists demanded.

1923. Only one semi-legal meeting in Piedmont. The women's newspaper prohibited before the campaign. The Party paper publishes a supplement.

1925. A comprehensive campaign for the first time since Mussolini's dictatorship. Organisation of factory gate meetings. Semi-legal meetings in the rural districts. The Party press and the Red Aid periodical publishes articles devoted to 8th March celebration.

Lithuania. 1925. In spite of the illegality of the Party, leaflets are distributed. Slogan: Fight against the White Terror. The women demand insurance against sickness, old age, and unemployment, at the expense of the employers.

1927. The press publishes special articles in connection with the Women's Day. Distribution of leaflets.

Estonia. 1924. Women's Day in spite of the destruction of the workers' organisations and arrest of 200 women trade union functionaries. Great meeting at Reval.

Finland. 1925. Meetings at which greetings were sent to the Russian workers.

1926/27/28. Women's Day acquires a more lively character thanks to the holding of delegates' meetings.

Poland. 1924. In this year semi-legal and legal meetings are held for the first time in connection with the International Women's Day. 6000 persons take part in meetings followed by demonstration in Warsaw. Result: new women's secretariats in two districts, new members for Party, trade unions, and other proletarian organisations, establishment of close contact with works and factories.

1925. International Women's Day under the reign of Terror. Public meetings prohibited. Numerous trade unions, which had organised lectures on the meaning of the 8th March, were closed. In spite of the persecution, six meetings held in the environs of Warsaw. Slogans: Fight against high prices, for the eight-hour day, against militarism, against White Terror, for the international solidarity of the proletariat.

1927. Factory gate meetings and semi-legal meetings participated in actively by the peasant women of White Russia. Party and trade union press publishes special articles and leaflets. Appeal in defence of China and the Soviet Union.

Yugoslavia. 1923. Illegal conference of communist women.

Roumania. 1925. Organisation of a meeting participated in by Party members and Young Communists.

China. 1923. Meeting held by women socialists and communist women students.

1924. Participation of working women from shops and factories in the International Women's Day. Organisation of a women's meeting at Canton.

1925. Celebrations in Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin, etc. Slogans: down with Fascism and bourgeois philanthropy, long live the revolutionary women's movement, equal pay for equal work, protection for mothers and children, etc.

1926. Demonstrations in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hunan, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Hupeh, Shantung, Peking, Canton, Tientsin, etc. Greatest demonstration in Canton. At the meeting addresses are given by women representatives from Germany and the U. S. S. R. adoption of a resolution on the founding of a women's league in China.

1927. International Women's Day solemnly celebrated over the whole territory of the so-called National Government. Demonstrations in Wuhan. Work ceases everywhere. Slogans: Equal rights for woman, equal pay for equal work.

1928. Reaction. In Shanghai the preparations for 8th March are interrupted by the arrest of the Party leaders and the trades council. Distribution of leaflets and of the special number of the "Bolshevik". Meeting in Hongkong. Demonstrations and meetings in Hailofyn, Soviet district. The whole campaign in the atmosphere of combat against the reactionary Kuomintang government, against the White Terror and for the Communist Party. The Kuomintang publishes a special edition of its paper, slandering the U. S. S. R.

Japan. 1923. Meetings disbanded by the police. Meeting in Tokio broken up at the moment when Kaneka, the woman leader of the socialist women's movement in Japan, begins to speak on the working conditions of women in the Soviet Union and in Japan. Numerous arrests. In only one town is the celebration carried through undisturbed, this being contrived by making the police believe it was to be held on 9th March.

Mongolia. 1924. Women's meetings with speeches on the meaning of 8th March.

1926. Mass participation in meetings and gatherings. Opening of creches, advice centres for mothers and children, exhibition on behalf of protection of mothers and children, and school for the illiterate. Publication of a special number of the paper: "The Mongolian Woman."

U. S. S. R. In tsarist Russia the International Women's Day was celebrated for the first time in May 1913. Meetings in Leningrad. Special numbers of labour newspapers, with letters and articles from foreign comrades.

1914. Special numbers of workers' newspapers. Workers' meetings. Meetings prohibited by police. Arrest of organisers Samoilova, Nikolayeva, etc. Slogan: Overthrow of tsarism.

1916. Reaction prevented the organisation of 8th March.

1917. Historical "Women's Day" in Russia. Demonstrations of working women and soldiers' wives in Leningrad on 23rd February. Commencement of the February revolution.

1918/19. International Women's Day a campaign for the support of the Red Front and self-defence against the international bourgeoisie. During the march of Yudenitch on Leningrad the working women take an active part in the struggle, dig trenches, etc.

1920. The 8th March celebrated under the slogan: Working women of all countries, rally round the Third International! "Overthrow of the bourgeoisie and capital". The working women actively participate in the work of restoring the transport service and producing bread and coal. On free Saturdays volunteer work is organised for alleviating the needs of the poorest. In Moscow alone up to 20,000 working women take part in this volunteer work.

1921. Slogan: Self-discipline, self-activity, active participation of the women in the economic reconstruction of the U. S. S. R. Opening of schools for illiterates, clubs and libraries. Organisation of 100 creches, maternity hospitals, etc. Conferences in town and country, 82 conferences in Moscow gubernia.

1922. Fight against the famine, the unemployment. Closer contact with the Party and the trade unions.

1923. Raising of political and cultural level, vocational training of working and peasant women. Organisation of children's creches, children's homes, kindergartens, playgrounds, consulting centres for mothers and children, juvenile homes, children's sanatoria and hospitals, dining halls (in Moscow 15 such institutions for 10,000 persons), homes for the unemployed, etc.

1924. Women's Day under the slogan "Remember Lenin's bequest to the working and peasant women". Thousands of new members join the Party. Organisation of the League in aid of the workers of Germany and their children as token of international solidarity. In numerous towns opening of new children's homes, welfare centres for mothers and children, public canteens, distribution of seed to the relations of fallen Red Army soldiers, organisation of 110 collective farms for the poorest peasantry.

1925. Slogan: "Closer contact between the masses of the women and the Party and Soviet Government. Mass admission into the Party; in 27 gubernias a total of 8876 working and peasant women admitted into the Party and 2227 into the Young Communist League. Meetings, conferences, and theatrical performances. Collection of means for the organisation of creches, maternity and infants' welfare centres, dining halls, etc.

1926. Campaign for inducing the women to participate directly in the work of building up Socialism, and for improving the social conditions of women. Opening of new children's homes and creches, etc. libraries, and clubs, especially in the eastern districts. Organisations of courses of instruction, etc. In Moscow 140,000 persons attended the meetings and gatherings. In Leningrad (2 districts) 28,428, in Ivanov-Vosnesensk 49,000, etc.

In 1927 the Women's Day set itself the special task of getting the working women to participate in the Soviet elections. In many works and factories the working women were transferred to skilled work. As in previous years, the 8th March was made the occasion for establishing various homes for mothers and children, etc. The co-operatives set aside certain sums for the improvement of the social conditions of women. The separate gubernias participated extensively in raising the necessary means.

1928. Campaign for the active participation of women in the rationalisation in the interests of the building up of Socialism. Slogans: Women, join the Party of Lenin, which leads you to Socialism and to liberty; help to realise the seven-hour day, help to reduce the costs of production; strengthen the ties between you and the working women abroad; take part in the work of the Soviets; peasant women, help to organise collective farms, etc.