



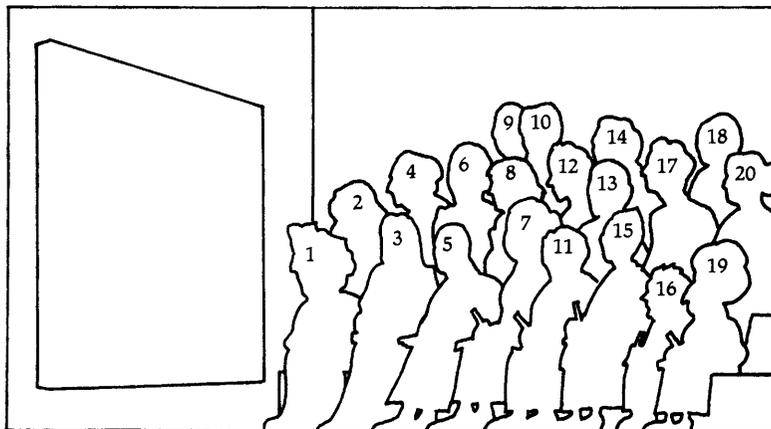
RESOURCES IN THE HISTORY OF WOMEN

Women and Communism in Advanced Capitalist Societies: Readings and Resources

Victoria de Grazia*

The works listed in this bibliography range from political tracts and historical analyses to autobiographies, novels, films, and periodical literature. They were selected with several criteria in mind: first, because of their relative accessibility to readers in the United States; second, to indicate the kinds of sources available to study the policies and practice of communist movements toward what the Third International characterized as the "Women Question"; finally, to identify for study groups and beginning students the kinds of materials that might be used to study the participation of women in communist politics. These works are categorized sometimes loosely, by topic and theme, as well as by country, in order to suggest the possibilities for monographic research on the single national parties and movements and for cross-national inquiries into specific aspects of ideology and practice shared by the communist tradition as a whole.

*With the assistance of Lindsey Hicks; and many thanks for advice to Atina Grossman, Renate Bridenthal, and Meredith Tax.



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|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Mary Harris (Mother) Jones | 11 Emma Goldman |
| 2 Vera Zasulich | 12 Camilla Ravera |
| 3 Eleanor Marx | 13 Simone de Beauvoir |
| 4 Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria) | 14 Teresa Noce |
| 5 Nguyen Thi Binh | 15 Sojourner Truth |
| 6 N. K. Krupskaya | 16 Ella Reeve (Mother) Bloor |
| 7 Angelica Balabanoff | 17 Beatrice Webb |
| 8 Alexandra Kollontai | 18 Felicità Ferrero |
| 9 Clara Zetkin | 19 Rosa Luxemburg |
| 10 Anna Kuliscioff | 20 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn |

I. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Most of the analyses of the condition of women under capitalism quoted or written in the context of Third International communist movements might best be described as "adjunct" or "occasional" theory. With a very few exceptions—the writings of Frederick Engels, August Bebel and Clara Zetkin come immediately to mind—the positions of political leaders on the Women Question were developed under the pressure of events, the result at best of lucid strategic thinking rather than any innovative or systematic study. Nevertheless, this body of literature as a whole constitutes a tradition of analysis that bears careful study. For it represents the most sustained effort by a political movement in western societies to incorporate women's issues into a theory and practice of radical social change. Moreover, it was appropriated and to some extent reinterpreted by successive generations of movement leaders, cadres, and party members to frame questions of strategy and legitimate organizational tactics regarding

women and women's issues. To understand the significance of these works for building a mass socialist movement, as well as to assess their import for women's liberation, they should be read at several levels: to assess their internal coherence: to consider their validity as an account of the oppression of women under advanced capitalism; finally, to weigh their strategic consequences for the struggle of women for socialism and liberation. Both the contribution of these analyses and their limits are much better understood in light of more recent marxist-feminist studies. Accordingly, the works listed below include studies from a marxist-feminist and radical-feminist perspective, in addition to those conceived in the context of the Second and Third Internationals.

Socialist and Communist Analyses

Bebel, August, *Women under Socialism* (New York, 1971). First published in 1883, the Second International socialists' major contribution to analyzing the Women Question may fruitfully be compared to the work of Lenin and Togliatti in its language, political analysis and vision of the place of women after the revolution.

Engels, Frederick, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* (New York, 1942). Tracing the origins of women's oppression in the property relations of pre-history, Engel's study, published in 1884, firmly established the Women Question as an issue in socialist theorizing and practice. For feminist comments and critiques, see in addition to Eleanor Burke Leacock's introduction to the New York, 1975 edition, Kathleen Gough, "The Origins of Family," in Rayna Reiter, ed., *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York, 1975); also Ann J. Lane, "Women and Society: a Critique of Frederick Engels," in Berenice A. Carroll, ed., *Liberating Women's History* (Urbana, 1976).

Gramsci, Antonio, "Americanism and Fordism," *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds. and trans. (New York and London, 1971), 279-318. Intriguing, quirky reflections by the Italian communist from 1930-1934 on the centrality of the new definitions of female identity and sexuality to understanding forms of domination and struggle under advanced capitalism.

Inman, Mary, *In Woman's Defense* (Los Angeles, 1940). Militant assertion of the specificity of women's oppression by a "premature" American marxist-feminist who, briefly in the 1930s, was in the CPUSA.

Kollontai, Alexandra, *Women and Socialism* (London, 1977); also *Selected Writings*, Alix Holt, ed. (Westport, Conn., 1978). On the development of the Bolshevik leader's ideas in the context of the Soviet Revolution, see Beatrice Brodsky Farnsworth, "Bolshevism, the Woman Question and Aleksandra Kollontai," *American Historical Review*, 81 (1976), 292-316; Jacqueline Heinen, "Kollontai and the History of Women's Oppression," *New Left Review*, 110 (July-August 1978) 43-64; Anne Bobroff, "Alexandra Kollontai: Feminism, Workers' Democracy and Internationalism," *Radical America*, 13 (November-December 1979), 51-76; finally, Barbara Evans Clement, *Bolshevik Feminist: the Life of Aleksandra Kollontai* (Bloomington, 1979).

Landy, Alf, *Marxism and the Woman Question* (New York, 1943). The CPUSA's rebuttal of Mary Inman's work.

Lenin, V.I., *The Emancipation of Women* (New York, 1966). Selections from his

- speeches, writing, and correspondence from 1896 to 1922, with an appendix by Clara Zetkin on "Lenin and the Women Question."
- Reed, Evelyn, *Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach* (New York, 1970). An American Trotskyist's approach.
- Reich, Wilhelm, *Sex-Pol Essays, 1929-1934*, Lee Baxandall, ed. (New York, 1972). Includes articles written while head of the KPD's Sex-Pol Organization (1930-1932) and contemporaneous with his work on the *Mass Psychology of Fascism* (1933).
- Togliatti, Palmiro, *L'emanipazione femminile* (Rome, 1965). Speeches and writings of the PCI leader, dating from 1945; interesting for their emphasis on the need for women to build an autonomous organization to develop a political understanding of the specific nature of their oppression.
- Trotsky, Leon, *Women and the Family* (New York, 1970). Occasional pieces, lively, but without conceptual or strategic novelties.
- Women and Communism: Selections from the Writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin* (Westport, Conn., 1973). The Socialist-Communist classics, organized by topic, beginning with the enslavement of women (by Engels) and including chapters on the "double" oppression of women under capitalism and the contribution of socialism to women's emancipation.
- Zetkin, Clara, *Zur Geschichte der proletarischen Frauenbewegung Deutschlands* (Frankfurt am Main, 1971). History of the nineteenth century German women's movement, both bourgeois and socialist, originally published in 1928 by the former socialist and then leader of the German Communist women's movement. See also her "Surrender of the Second International in the Emancipation of Women," *The Communist International*, 6 (April 1929), 371-382; also "Some Critical Remarks on the Draft Programme," *The Communist International*, 5 (August 1928), 371-374, which is a critique of the Third International's women's platform.

Feminist and Marxist-Feminist Analyses

- Bridenthal, Renate, "The Dialectics of Production and Reproduction in History," *Radical America*, 10 (March-April 1976), 3-14. Conceptualization based on the study of contemporary European political economy and reproductive politics.
- de Beauvoir, Simone, *The Second Sex* (New York, 1953). Written amidst the growing disillusionment of European left intellectuals with the Soviet Communist experience this first 'total' perspective on women's existence, was first published in 1949.
- Eisenstein, Zillah R., ed., *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (New York, 1979). Selections on history, theory, and current political practice devoted to achieving a synthesis between traditions of marxist analysis and feminist theory.
- Kelly-Gadol, Joan, "The Double Vision of Feminist Theory," *Feminist Studies*, 1 (Spring 1979) 216-227. Stresses that feminist theory has to hold in dialectical perspective both personal, sexual and family life, and public-political life.
- Kuhn Annette and Ann Marie Wolpe, eds., *Feminism and Materialism* (London, 1978). Essays analyzing the historical and theoretical relations between patriarchy and mode of production; especially good on the role of the place of women under the welfare state and in recent political movements.
- Marks, Elaine and Isabelle de Courtivon, eds., *New French Feminism: An Anthology* (Amherst, 1980). Interviews, manifestos and essays on contemporary communist-, trotskyist-, and neo-feminist politics in France.

- Mitchell, Juliet, *Women's Estate* (New York, 1971). The first major revision of classical marxist theorizing on the women question.
- Rowbotham, Sheila, "The Women's Movement and Organizing for Socialism," *Radical America*, 13 (September-October 1979), 9-28. A marxist-feminist argues that the Leninist political tradition is fundamentally incompatible with the experience and insights of the women's liberation movement. For the terms of the debate in the United States, see Allen Hunter and Linda Gordon, "Feminism, Leninism and the U.S.: A Comment," *Radical America*, 13 (September-October 1979), 29-36.
- Slaughter, M. Jane, "Feminism and Socialism: Theoretical Debates and Historical Perspectives," *Marxist Perspectives*, 2 (Fall, 1979), 32-49. A sketch of the historical context of the socialist debates on issues of class and gender.
- Vogel, Lisa, "Questions on the Women Question," *Monthly Review*, 31 (June 1979), 36-39. Underscores the shortcomings of its treatment in marxist-socialist theorizing.
- Weinbaum, Batya, *The Curious Courtship of Women's Liberation and Socialism* (Boston, 1978). Idiosyncrastic attempt to distinguish how marxist and feminist traditions differ in their concepts of radical change.

II. COMPARATIVE APPROACHES

Communist attempts to organize women and to address women's issues can best be understood if compared to similar efforts by other political movements under western parliamentary regimes, and in light of the participation of women in politics generally. The selection of studies below calls attention to the varieties of socialist, anarchist, and syndicalist organizing traditions pre-dating or coexisting with communist practice. For purposes of comparison, it also includes works on the experience of women in countries where communist movements have taken power. Finally, it lists works aimed at placing women's political action in the context of general political development. For additional references, see: Joan Kelly, Barbara Alpern Engel, and Kathleen Casey, *Bibliography in the History of European Women* (Bronxville, N.Y., 1976); Albert Krichmar, *The Women's Movement in the Seventies: An International English-Language Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J., and London, 1977); Gerda Lerner, *Bibliography in the History of American Women* (Bronxville, N.Y., 1978); Elizabeth Oakes and Kathleen E. Sheldon, *A Guide to Social Science Resources in Women's Studies* (Santa Barbara and Oxford, 1978); Marie B. Rosenberg and Len V. Bergstrom, *Women and Society: a critical review of the literature with a selected annotated bibliography* (Beverly Hills, 1975); Sheila Rowbotham, *Women's Liberation and Revolution: a Bibliography* (Bristol, 1973); Martha Jane Soltow and Mary K. Wery, *American Women and the Labor Movement 1825-1974: An Annotated Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J., 1976).

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"Everyone to Berlin for the Reichs Congress of working women!" Cover of KPD journal for women party cadre, Die Kaempferin (1929).

Socialism, anarchism, and reform movements

- Boxer, Marilyn J. and Jean H. Quataert, eds., *Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the 19th and early 20th centuries* (New York, 1978). Essays on socialist policies and the participation of women in socialist parties in various European countries.
- Buhle, Mari Jo, "Women and the Socialist Party, 1910-1914," *Radical America*, 4 (February 1970), 37-57. Discusses socialist mass work among women and the importance of this experience for their future political activity.
- Dancis, Bruce, "Socialism and Women in the United States, 1900-1917," *Socialist Revolution*, 6 (January-March 1976) 81-144. Overview of the socialist approach to the woman question at the peak of socialist strength in the United States.
- Kaplan, Temma, "Other Scenarios: Women and Spanish Anarchism," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz, eds. (Boston, 1977). Shows how even under anarchist leadership, women were most radical and unified when they formed their own sexually separate organizations.
- Pieroni Bortolotti, Franca, *Socialismo e questione femminile in Italia, 1892-1922* (Milan, 1974). Political history of Italian socialism and its response to the woman question.
- Quataert, Jean, *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917* (Princeton, 1979). Underscores the conflicts between feminist and socialist positions in the largest of the European socialist parties.
- Rowbotham, Sheila, *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1973). General re-evaluation of the relationship between women's liberation movements and the revolutionary left.
- _____, *Women's Consciousness, Man's World* (Harmondsworth, 1973). Analyzes the formation of feminist consciousness as a response to recent social changes and the part women play generally in maintaining commodity production.
- Somerwine, Charles, "The Organization of French Socialist Women, 1880-1914: A European Perspective for Women's Movements," *Historical Reflections*, 3 (Winter 1976), 3-23. Explores the forces shaping the socialist women's movement in France and the similarities with other social-democratic movements, especially in Germany.
- Tax, Meredith, *The Rising of Women: Feminist Alliances and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York, 1980). The intersections of socialist, feminist and trade union organizing at a time when women were entering industry for the first time.
- Thoennessen, Werner, *The Emancipation of Women: The Rise and Decline of the Women's Movement in German Social-democracy, 1863-1933* (Glasgow, 1976). The first full ranging analysis of social-democratic women, stressing that feminist socialists tended to be radical on other party issues.
- Zylberberg-Hocquard, Marie-Helene, *Feminisme et syndicalisme en France* (Paris, 1978). Overview of relations between feminist and trade union and syndicalist movements in France.

Communist movements in power

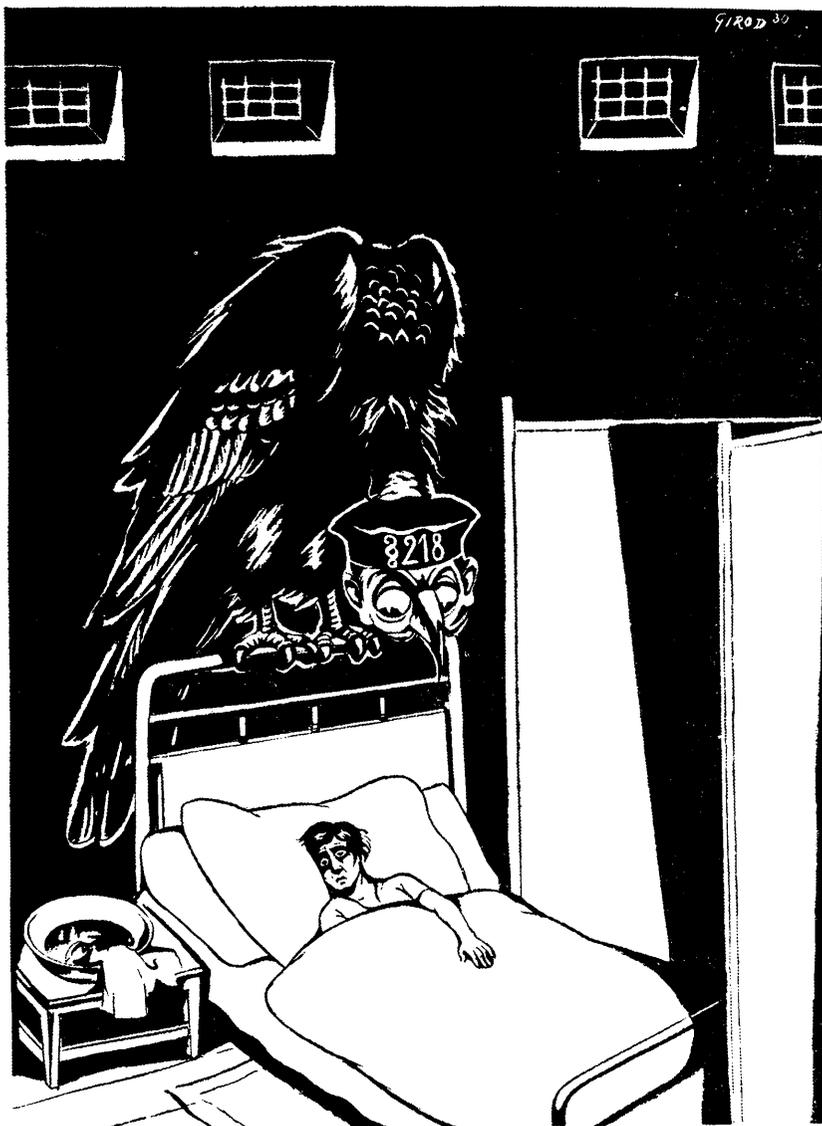
- Croll, Elizabeth, ed., *The Women's Movement in China: a selection of readings, 1949-1973* (Nottingham, 1974). Good on structure, goals, and day-to-day struggles of the women's movement in China since the foundation of the People's Republic.
- Davin, Delia, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford,

- 1976). Analysis of party's policies toward women, consequences, implications, and problems, with a fine selection of documents.
- Randall, Margaret, *Cuban Women Now* (Toronto, 1974). Interviews with Cuban women, illustrating transformations in their condition following the revolution.
- Scott, Hilda, *Does Socialism Liberate Women? Experiences from Eastern Europe* (Boston, 1974). Lucid analysis of the problem of women's emancipation set in the context of socialist economic priorities in industrializing areas.
- Stites, Richard, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia; Feminism, Nihilism and Bolshevism, 1860-1930* (Princeton, 1978). Explores three distinct strands of women's movement—legal feminism, proletarian women's movements and political participation in revolutionary movements—and how each contributed to shaping Bolshevik reforms after 1917.
- Young, Marilyn, B., ed., *Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism*. (Ann Arbor, 1973). Collection of studies exploring questions of women's economic, political, cultural, and sexual liberation in revolutionary China.

Women in contemporary politics

- Buttafuoco, Annarita, "Italy: The Feminist Challenge," in C. Boggs and D. Plotke, eds., *The Politics of Eurocommunism: Socialism in Transition* (Boston, 1980). Analyses the feminist ideological and political challenge to traditional mass party politics of the PCI.
- Carden, Maren Lockwood, *The New Feminist Movement* (New York, 1974). A social-political analysis, presenting women's liberation as an outgrowth of the contradictions between traditionalist expectations of women and the actual diversity of their lives.
- La Condition feminine. Centre d'etudes et de recherches marxistes* (Paris, 1978). Proceedings of conference of marxist intellectuals addressed to revising orthodox positions on women's issues.
- Ergas, Jasmine, "Feminism and the Italian Party System," Unpublished paper, American Political Science Association, Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., 1979. Discusses the possible political outlets for women's liberation movements in the contemporary Italian political system.
- Evans, Sara M., *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York, 1979). History of the New Left through the perspective of a fine study of the neo-feminist movement.
- Freeman, Jo, *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (New York, 1975). Analyzes the organization and mobilization around women's issues in the American political system.
- Jacquette, Jane, ed., *Women in Politics* (New York, 1974). Essays mainly by political scientists on women's political participation under a variety of national situations.
- Nuova DWF, donnawomanfemme*. Special issue. "Come si costruisce il socialismo" (Rome, 1980). Contributions from left, new left, and feminist perspectives focusing on Rowbotham's *Beyond the Fragments*.
- Rowbotham, Sheila, Lynne Segal, and Hilary Wainwright, *Beyond the Fragments: Feminism and the Making of Socialism* (London, 1979). Explores central issues of neo-feminism, with implications far beyond the specific context of British socialist and Labourist politics.
- Saraceno, Chiara, *Dalla parte delle donne: la questione femminile nelle societa' in-*

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sind Tod, Siechtum oder Zuchthaus das Schicksal von tausenden deutscher Arbeiterfrauen

"Under the claws of Paragraph 218, death, disease and the penitentiary are the fate of thousands of German working-class women." From the KPD satirical magazine, Eulenspiegel (1930).

dustriali avanzate (Rome, 1977). A marxist sociologist's explorations of the shared characteristics of women's oppression and liberation movements in advanced capitalist societies.

III. HISTORICAL STUDIES

The quantity and quality of the historical studies on the role of women in western communist movements vary significantly from country to country. This unevenness is only partly a function of the strength of the parties themselves or of their success in the past in engaging the support of women. In Germany, for example, where there was a strong communist movement until the Nazi seizure of power and the number of women who voted communist or otherwise supported KPD initiatives numbered in the scores of thousands, research on the role of women in the party is relatively recent. Only in the last decade have scholars in the German Democratic Republic, mainly associated with the Leipzig Paedagogische Hochschule "Clara Zetkin," begun to utilize the party archives; more recently still, feminist researchers in the Federal Republic have made innovative contributions to this inquiry. In Italy, by contrast, there has been an extraordinary proliferation of studies, the combined result of the strength of the left and the impressive intellectual vigor of the old-guard communist women, the vitality of feminist scholarship, and the editorial support of communist and other left publishing houses. In Great Britain, in the United States, and in Spain, where the PCE was only recently legalized, oral history projects and recent dissertations have been promoted by feminist scholars rather than by a specifically communist historiography. In France, notwithstanding the large numbers of communist women in the past and at present, research has just commenced, reflecting the sharp division between the Communist party and feminist groups there, as well as the still prevalent "workerist" orientation within the party itself.

Third International

Camparini, Aurelia, *Questione femminile e terza internazionale* (Bari, 1978). Studies the development of Comintern policy on women in the context of the changing strategies from the 1919 foundation of the Third International and the evolution of United Front tactics in the early 1920s through the growth of Popular Front alliances in the mid-1930s.

Claudin, Fernando, *The Communist Movement: From Comintern to Cominform 2 vols.* (New York and London, 1975). Indispensable for its general perspective on the Third International, although, in over seven hundred pages, there is not one reference to the "women question."

Browning, Hilda, *Women under Fascism and Communism* (London, 1934). A brief

period piece, useful for its comparison of communist and fascist movements and regimes.

France

Albistur, Maite and Daniel Armogathe, *Histoire du feminisme francais* (Paris, 1977). An overview of feminism in France, with only sketchy reference to the policies of the left.

Jenson, Jane, "The Women's Movement and the French Communist Party," in R. Miliband and J. Saville, eds., *The Socialist Register, 1980* (London, 1980). Relations in the last decade, based on interviews with women in the Parisian party sections.

Macciocchi, Maria Antonietta, *Les Femmes et ses Maitres* (Paris, 1979). The collected papers of the former Italian communist's seminars at Vincennes on women and power.

About, Jean, *Histoire des feminismes francais* (Paris, 1978). The various strands of French feminism—bourgeois, working-class, political from their nineteenth-century origins to the present.

Germany

Arendt, Hans-Juergen, "Der Kampf der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands um die Einbeziehung der weretaetigen Frauen in die revolutionaere deutsche Arbeiterbewegung in der Periode der Weltwirtschaftskrise (1929 bis 1932)." Dissertation, Leipzig, GDR, 1970

_____, "Eine demokratische Massenbewegung unter Fruherung der KPD im Fruhejahr 1931. Die Volksaktion gegen den Paragraph 218 und gegen paepstliche Enzyklika 'casti cunnubi'." *Zeitschrift feur Geschichtswissenschaft*, 19, No. 1 (1971), 213-223. KPD campaign against Papal Encyclical on Christian Marriage and against the Weimar Paragraph 218 criminalizing abortion.

_____, with Ingrid Arendt, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte de Karemptes der deutschen Arbeiterklasse* (Leipzig, 1974).

Auerswald, Leopoldine, "Zum Kampf der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands um die Einbeziehung der proletarischen Frauen in die revolutionaere deutsche Arbeiterbewegung in der Zeit der revolutionaeren Nackkriegskrise (1919-1923)." Dissertation, Leipzig, GDR, 1976.

Foelster, Elfiede, "Vorkaempferin und Mitgetalterin eines Lebens in Frieden und sozialer Sicherheit. Martha Arendsee," *Beitraege zur Geschichte*, 4 (1976), 701-709. Biographical sketch of KPD Reichstag deputy and head of KPD organization for social policy.

Freigang, Werner, "Die Frauenpolitik der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in den Jahren der relativen Stabilisierung des Kapitalismus," Dissertation, Leipzig, GDR, 1971.

Grossman, Atina, "Abortion and Economic Crisis: The 1931 Campaign Paragraph 218 in Germany," *New German Critique*, 14 (Spring 1978), 119-138. Analysis of the KPD's engagement in multi-class "reproductive" politics to decriminalize abortion and the difficulties it had sustaining a coalition around women's issues.

Kontos, Sylvia, *Die Partei Kaempft wie ein Mann* (Basel-Frankfurt am Main, 1979). First new book length summary of KPD women's politics until 1933.

Peterson, Brian, "The Politics of Working-Class Women in the Weimar Republic," *Central European History*, 10 (June 1977), 86-112. Statistical analysis of female

working-class vote, with excellent references.

Wheeler, Robert F., "German Women and Communist International. The case of the Independent Social Democrats," *Central European History*, 8 (June 1975), 113-139. Women's political influence on the German communist movement between the wars.

Great Britain

Bruley, Susan, "Socialism and Feminism in the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1920-1939," Dissertation, London School of Economics, 1980. Distinguishes the variety of social and political functions played by women in the party as flankers, supporters, and in the 1930s, as full-fledged feminist cadres.

Rowbotham, Sheila, *A New World for Women: Stella Brown—Socialist Feminist* (London, 1977). Studies one of the few British socialist women to deal openly with sexual and reproductive reform, the founder of the Abortion Law Reform Association and a member of the Communist party in its first two years.

Italy

Ascoli, Giuliana, "L'UDI tra emancipazione e liberazione," *Problemi del socialismo*, 17 (October-December 1976), 109-159. Study of the major Italian left women's organization.

Caldwell, Lesley, "Church, State and Family: the women's movement in Italy," in A. Kuhn and A. M. Wolpe, eds., *Feminism and Materialism* (London, 1978), 68-95. Analyzes how in the 1970s in Italy, mobilization around women's issues such as divorce and abortion led to a fundamental questioning of hegemonic social institutions.

Cammett, John M. "Communist Women and the Prison Experience in Fascist Italy." Unpublished paper, IV Berkshire Conference on Women's History, August 1978. Part of a larger project of study on women in the PCI.

Pieroni Bortolotti, Franca, *Femminismo e partiti politici in Italia, 1919-1926* (Rome, 1978). Examines the deep split between bourgeois nationalist feminism and left-oriented mobilization of working-class women during the crisis of the liberal state and the rise to power of fascism.

_____, "Movimento femminista e movimento operaio. Appunti di storia," *Critica marxista* 16, No. 5 (1978), 79-101. Italy's leading communist historian of political feminism outlines the relations between working-class and women's movements since the 1920s.

Ravera, Camilla, *Breve storia del movimento femminile in Italia* (Rome, 1978). Overview of the progress toward women's emancipation in Italy by one of the PCI's founders.

Spain

Di Febo, Giuliana, *Resistencia y Movimiento de Mujeres en Espana, 1936-1976* (Madrid, 1979). Italian scholar using interviews and archival documents, explores the role of communist and non-communist women in the armed and underground resistance to Franco.

Scanlon, Geraldine M., *La Polemica feminista en la Espana contemporanea, 1868-1974* (Madrid, 1976). Overview of women's participation in Spanish reformist, revolutionary, and feminist politics since the 19th century with sections on the Com-

munist party in the 1930s.

United States

- Dennis, Peggy, "A Response to Ellen Kay Trimberger's Essay, 'Women in the Old and New Left,'" *Feminist Studies*, 5 (Fall 1979), 451-462. Raises interesting questions about how feminists today misunderstand the experience of Communist women.
- Dixler, Elsa Jane, "The Woman Question: Women and the American Communist Party, 1929-1941," Dissertation, Yale University, 1974.
- Gluck, Sherna, "Socialist Feminism between the Two World Wars: Insights from Oral History," Unpublished paper, IV Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, August, 1979. The beginnings of a major study drawing on the Feminist History Research Project of Southern California.
- Klehr, Harvey, "Female Leadership in the Communist Party of the United States," *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 10 (Winter 1977), 394-402. Study of party elites sponsored by the Hoover Institute.
- Shaffer, Robert, "Women and the Communist Party, USA, 1930-1940," *Socialist Review*, 45 (May 1975), 73-118. Analysis of its policies on women, taking account of the perceptions of those policies by the women involved in the party.
- Trimberger, Ellen Kay, "Women in the Old and New Left: The Evolution of a Politics of Personal Life," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (Fall 1979), 432-450. Provocative comparison of the relations between politics and personal life among old—and new—left women.

IV. AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, MEMOIRS, DIARIES, INTERVIEWS

The words of communist women are indispensable for reconstructing the meaning of a political participation of which so little trace exists in party records. In recent years, many of these women have recounted their experiences in autobiographies, memoirs, and oral histories. Nonetheless, it is still difficult to draw conclusions from these works, not only because the motives of their writing were so mixed, but also because they reflect the experiences of three very different generations, active at very different phases in the history of the communist movement. In Italy, to take the clearest example, there is the old guard—the contemporaries of Spain's *La Pasionaria*—born in the late nineteenth or very early twentieth century, founding members of their party and formed during the "heroic" phase of the movement's history; a middle generation, born under fascism and entering politics during the armed struggle against the fascist regime, which achieved political maturity as activists in the mass party bureaucracy of the 1950s-1960s; finally, there is a post-war generation, whose political and personal experiences as communists and feminists have occurred at a time of stalemate in the communist movement. Each generation has had a particular purpose in writing, ranging from the didactic to the confessional; each a peculiar style of presentation—from the

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EULENSPIEGEL



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"Women in need!" Eulenspiegel (1931)

romantic realism of the novel of adventure to the sociological and psychologizing; each its special mode of expression, from the impersonal tale of exemplary sacrifice to the ahistorical and deeply subjective. The reasons for and meaning of this variety of experience must certainly be taken into account when using these texts as a basis for analyzing the meaning of the communist tradition for these women and for exploring their very significant contributions to its development.

France

Bidouze, Henriette ed., *Les Femmes dans la Resistance: actes du colloque*, La Sorbonne, Paris, November 22-23, 1975, (Monaco, 1977). Interviews and discussions on the activity of French women in the Resistance. Organized by the Union of French Women.

Chatel, Nicole ed., *Des Femmes dans la Resistance* (Paris, 1972). Accounts of French women of varying backgrounds who were active in the Resistance, including several PCF members.

Francos, Ania, *Il etait des femmes dans la Resistance* (Paris 1978). The first reassessment of the role of women, especially communist women, in the French Resistance.

"Maria Rabate, une femme communiste," Interview by Claude Willard, *Cahiers d'histoire de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, 29-30 (1939), 171-193. French communist delegate to the Women's World Committee against War and Fascism, resistance leader, married to the communist leader Octave Rabate, and deputy in post-war parliaments. More interesting on internal party struggles than on women's issues.

Great Britain

Haldane, Charlotte, *Truth will Out* (London 1949). Upper class intellectual who while a party member in the mid-1930s was influential in work on 'women's issues.'

McCarthy, Margaret, *Generation in Revolt* (London 1953). Although deeply tinged by the cold war atmosphere in which it was written, this autobiography of a Lancashire cotton worker who became involved in the Young Communist League in the 1920s and was very active through the 1930s, gives fine insights into party life.

Utley, Freda, *Lost Illusions* (London 1949). The story of a textile economist, who went to work in the USSR, married a Soviet citizen who was purged, and escaped back to England with her son. Introduced by Bertrand Russell.

Germany

Buber Neumann, Margaret, *Von Potsdam nach Moskau, Stationen eines Irreweges* (Stuttgart, 1957). Highly critical and disillusioned memoirs of the wife of a German leader purged by Stalin.

Ettinger, Elzbieta, ed., "Comrade and Lover: Rosa Luxemburg's Letters to Leo Jogisches," *New German Critique*, 6 (Fall 1979), 129-143. A selection of the correspondence of the Spartacist leader and major left social democratic theoretician with her long-time comrade and lover.

Fuerst, Max, *Talisman Scherzade, Die Schwierigen Zwanziger Jahre* (Vienna-Munich,

- 1976). Memoirs of the leftist youth movement in Berlin in the 1920s, with emphasis on the relations between the sexes and sexual reform.
- Heymann, Lida Gustava, with Anita Augspurg, *Erlebtes-Erschautes, Deutsche Frauen Kaempfen fuer Freiheit, Recht und Frieden 1850-1940* (Messenheim am Glan, 1977). Memoirs of the leaders of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom which worked together with KPD women on many campaigns.
- Kienle, Dr. Else, *Frauen, Aus dem Tagebuch einer Aerztin* (Berlin, 1932) Prison diary of woman doctor arrested for performing illegal abortions and defendant together with Dr. Friedrich Wolf in the abortion trial publicized by the KPD in 1931.
- Levine-Meyer, Rosa, *Inside German Communism. Memoirs of Party Life in the Weimar Republic*, edited and with introduced by D.Z. Maiowitz (Bondon, 1977). Written by the wife of a sometime member of the KPD Central Committee and widow of Eugen Levine, hero of the Munich Revolt.
- Zetkin, Clara, *My Recollections of Lenin* (Moscow, 1956) Self-effacing memoirs of the ex-social-democrat, founder of the women's organization within the III International.

Italy

- Ascoli, Giulietta, ed., *La parola elettorale: viaggio nell'universo politico maschile* (Rome, 1976). Interviewees express ambivalence about working within what is perceived as male-dominated party structure and electoral system.
- Balabonoff, Angelica, *My Life as a Rebel* (Bloomington, 1973). A Russian socialist exiled in Italy with enormous influence in the lives of leading Italian socialist, including the ex-socialist Mussolini.
- Bruzzo, Anna Maria and Rachele Farina, *La Resistenza taciuta: Dodici vite di partigiane piemontesi* (Milan, 1976). The personal and political experiences of twelve Piedmontese women who took part in the armed war against the Nazi-fascists, reconstructed through interviews.
- Faraggiana, Adele, *Garofoni rossi* (Rome 1978). Autobiography of the indefatigably militant socialist school teacher, born in 1880, who broke from the Socialist party to join the PCI in 1969.
- Ferrero, Felicita, *Un nocciolo de verita* (Milan, 1978). Member of the PCI old-guard, one of the very few that discusses her experiences as a woman in the party organization.
- Gerosa, Guido, *Le Compagne* (Milan, 1979). Interviews of three generations of Italian women communists, underscoring their very different conceptions of the Communist Party.
- Guidetti Serra, Bianca, *Compagne: testimonianze di partecipazione politica femminile*, 2 vols (Turin, 1977). A remarkable collection of oral histories of Piedmontese women who fought in the anti-fascist resistance.
- Lilli, Laura and Chiara Valentini, *Care Compagne: il femminismo nel PCI e nelle organizzazioni di massa* (Rome, 1979). Journalistic interviews with communist women, mainly focusing on how they have lived their "double militancy" as feminists and communists.
- Mafai, Miriam, *L'apprendistato della politica: le donne italiane nel dopoguerra* (Rome, 1979). Memoir-history on the difficulties of organizing women in the party by a leading communist of the "middle" generation.
- Leonetti, Pia Carena, *Una donna del nostro tempo*, C. Pillon ed. (Florence, 1969).

Gemeinsames Leben —
Gemeinsamer Kampf!

31 Tage

Januar 5./6. Woche

29 **30** **31**
Freitag Sonnabend Sonntag

1930: Erwerbslosendemonstration in den Rathäusern von Berlin. — 1919: Franz Meisinger in Berlin-Grünwald gestorben (geboren 27. Februar 1846 in Schlawe). — 1864: Verhaftung Lassalle's in Berlin.

1927: Arbeitermord in Sdattendorf (Burgenland). — 1925: Mithilfe der S.P.D. an der „700-Millionen-Liebesgabe“ für die Schwerindustrie festgestellt. — 1923: Sturz der sächsischen Regierung. Verhandlungen üb. Bildung einer Arbeiterregierung. — 1649: Hinrichtung Karls I. von Engl.

1931: 4.894 Millionen Arbeitslose in Deutschland amtlich festgestellt. — 1923: Billigung des Horthy-Paktes der ungarischen Sozialdemokratie durch die II. Internationale. — 1918: Berliner Generalstreik durch Militär unterdrückt.

Im 15. Jahr der proletarischen Diktatur! 21

“Living together—struggling together!” From a KPD calendar commemorating important events in working-class history, Arbeiter Kalender (1932).

Political memoir of a founding member of the PCI, sister and wife of prominent party leaders.

Noce, Teresa, *Rivoluzionaria professionale: la storia del PCI nella vita appassionata di una donna* (Milan, 1977). The autobiography of the Turinese working class woman, a leading party activist from the founding of the PCI and the former wife of the PCI President Luigi Longo.

Ravera, Camilla, *Diario di trent'anni, 1913-1943* (Rome, 1973). Political memoirs of a founding member of the PCI and a national director of the Italian Union of Women.

_____, *Vita in carcere e al confino* Ada Gobetti ed., (Parma 1968). Letters to friends and comrades, written while Ravera was in prison and exile for her anti-fascist activities.

Rossanda, Rossana, *La altre* (Milan, 1979). Radio interviews exploring the relationship of women to politics and political institutions.

Sesso amaro: Trentamila donne rispondono su maternità, sessualità, aborto (Rome, 1977). Interviews conducted under PCI auspices with a cross-section of working- and middle-class women, indicating the rapidly changing attitudes of Italian women on motherhood and sexuality.

Scropo, Erica, *Donna, privato e politico: storie personali di 21 donne del PCI* (Milan, 1979). More interviews with PCI women, underscoring the love-hate relationship with their party.

Turchi, Emma, *La felicità e la lotta* (Venice, 1978). Memoirs of a communist militant of the first generation.

Portugal

"Women in the Portuguese Class Struggle," The Case of Sogantal. *Radical America*, 9 (November-December 1975), 55-61. Document from the *Sogantal Journal*, of workers at a tracksuit factory, describing the struggle from the moment when the bosses announced the intended lock-out. Written in September 1974.

Soviet Union

Kollantai, Alexandra, *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman* (New York, 1973). The Bolshevik classic, written in 1926.

Spain

Ibarruri, Dolores, *They Shall Not Pass* (New York, 1966). La Pasionaria's life, passionately identified with the history of the Spanish Communists and the struggle against Franco and fascism.

_____, *Speeches and Articles, 1936-1938* (Moscow, 1938). The inimitable style and rhetorical power of the Comintern's most brilliant speaker.

_____, *Intimas conversaciones con la Pasionaria*, Jaime Camino, ed. (Barcelona, 1977?). Interviews conducted by a documentary filmmaker, mainly valuable for its eloquent pictures.

Ibarruri, Dolores, A. Arbaiz, T. Medrano, and E. Kahn, *Lina Odena: heroína del pueblo* (Madrid, 1936). Testimonials in memory of the secretary of the Communist Youth Organization of Catalonia, killed in battle by Franchist forces in 1936.

United States

- Bloor, Ella Reeve, *We Are Many* (New York, 1940). The history of the American labor movement as told by "Mother" Bloor, a leader of the Communist Party in America.
- Davis, Angela, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (New York, 1974). Account of the racial and sexual discrimination Davis encountered during her 18 months in jail awaiting trial.
- Dennis, Peggy, *The Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life, 1933-1975* (Westport, Conn., 1977). A former communist functionary pays unusual attention both to political issues and the effects on personal and family life of a totalizing political engagement.
- Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, *I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of the 'Rebel Girl'* (New York, 1955). An account of the author's early youth, activism in the socialist movement and as a "wobbly," and her role in the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union. See also: "Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: The Early Years" by Rosalyn Baxandall, *Radical America*, 8 (January-February 1975), 97-115. A sketch of Flynn's personal and political development based on material in her unpublished writings.
- Gornick, Vivian, *The Romance of American Communism* (New York, 1977). Accounts, based on interviews, of the personal experience of women and men in the CPUSA.
- The Autobiography of Mother Jones* (Chicago, 1972). Mary Feld Parton ed. Conveys the zealous and dedicated single-mindedness with which the early labor organizer pursued her fight for workers.
- Mitford, Jessica, *A Fine Old Conflict* (New York, 1977). Family-neighborhood side of party life recounted by a former communist—and child of the British ruling class—who has had no regrets.
- Strong, Anna Louise, *I Change Worlds: The Remaking of an American* (Garden City, N.Y., 1937). The life story of the American journalist who lived and worked in the Soviet Union and China.
- Weiner, Jon, "The Communist Party: An Interview with Dorothy Healy," *Radical America*, 11 (May-June 1977) 25-47. Interview with the West Coast Communist Party leader.
- Wiesbord, Vera Buch, *A Radical Life* (Bloomington, 1977). Reflections on the conflicts in her roles as activist and woman, by the wife of the Passaic strike leader Arnold Wiesbord.

V. DOCUMENT COLLECTIONS, OFFICIAL STATEMENTS, AND STUDIES

France

- Dumont, Yvonne, ed., *Les Communistes et la condition de la femme* (Paris, 1971). The single most complete set of analyses representing the pre-Eurocommunist French thinking about women's issues. This is a revised edition of Jean Freville, ed., *La Femme et le communisme* (Paris, 1951).
- Tartakowsky, Daniel, "Le PCF et les femmes," *Cahiers d'histoire de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, 9 (October-December 1975), 194-225. Documents drawn up in 1926 on the

occasion of the party congress at Lille, proposing organizational innovations to boost the number of women members.

Vincent, Madeleine, *Femme, quelle liberation?* (Paris, 1976). Member of the steering committee of the French Communist party who was involved in the Resistance movement and is now the party's expert on defending the interests of women workers.

Germany

Arbeiterbewegung und Frauenemanzipation, 1889 bis 1933 (Frankfurt am Main, 1973). Documents of the KPD women's movement, including party policy, trade union actions, campaign against Paragraph 218, and the anti-fascist resistance.

Italy

Archivio storico dell'UDI Torinese. *Inventario* (Turin, 1979). List of holdings of the Turin section of the major left women's organization.

Ravaioli, Carla, *La questione femminile: intervista col PCI* (Milan, 1976). Interviews by a left journalist with leading party men, including Napolitano, Berlinguer, and Chiaromonte.

Spano, Nadia and Fiamma Camarlinghi, *La questione femminile nella politica del PCI, 1921-1963* (Rome, 1972) Excerpts with comments from conference proceedings, speeches, and legislation pertaining to women's issues.

Seroni, Adriana, *La questione femminile in Italia, 1970-1977*. Enzo Rava ed. (Rome, 1977). Semi-official defense of the PCI's positions on women's rights and reform issues by the head of the Women's Section of the party.

Tiso, Aida, *I comunisti e la questione femminile* (Rome, 1976). Handbook reviewing PCI positions on women's emancipation.

_____, ed., *I comunisti e la famiglia, 1945-1974* (Rome, 1974). PCI positions on the reform of family legislation, drawn up for presentation to party cadres.

Atti del Seminario del PCI, Sesso e società (Rome, 1976). Proceedings of conference devoted to neo-feminism and related issues.

Atti delle conferenze delle donne comuniste, Published proceedings of regular conferences sponsored by the Women's Section of the PCI.

VI. PERIODICALS

The periodicals listed below are those mainly directed to women. The many newspapers, journals, and occasional pamphlets of communist parties, nationally and internationally, as well as at the local level, contain much material—under all sorts of categories and title—that is perhaps at least as significant for the study of party policies and practice.

Third International

Die Kommunistische fraueninternationale, 1921-1923, monthly.

Great Britain

The Woman Worker, later *Working Woman*, 1926-1929, monthly.

Woman Today, 1936-1939. Monthly paper of the Women's Committee against War and Fascism, edited by Charlotte Haldane.

Woman Today, 1941- Woman's paper of the CPGB.

France

Femmes dans l'actoin mondiale, 1934-1936. Monthly of the French Section of the Women's World Committee against War and Fascism.

Cahiers de l'Union des Femmes Francaises, 1945-1952. Monthly review of the leading left French women's organization, a flanking organization of the PCF and PSF.

Femmes francaises, 1946-1957. Monthly published by the UFF.

Heures Claires des Femmes francaises, 1945-1973. Monthly published by the UFF.

Germany

Die Kaempferin, 1919-1921, 1927-1932. KPD bulletin for cadres.

Die Kommunistin, 1919-1926.

Proletarische Sozialpolitik, 1928-1932. KPD journal dealing with social reform issues.

Der Weg der Frau, 1931-1933. KPD journal for women.

Italy

Compagna, 1922-1925. Irregular byweekly.

Donna e politica, 1969- . Monthly published by the Woman's Section of the PCI.

Noi Donne, 1945- . Weekly of the Unione donne italiane.

Spain

Mujeres, 1936-1938? Women's journal of the Communist party of Spain.

United States

Loaden, Jane, "Women on the Left, 1906-1941. A Bibliography of Primary Sources," *Papers in Women's Studies*, 2 (September 1975), 29-65.

VII. FILMS, FICTION, AND PICTORIAL RESOURCES

France

Benedetto, Andre, *Alexandre K* (Paris, 1975). Play about the life of the Bolshevik activist by the communist director of the Compagnie des Carmes.

Germany

- Braune, Rudolf, *Das Maedchen an der Orga Privat* (Berlin, 1975). First published by the KPD author during the Weimar Republic, this novel tells the story of a young white-collar girl in Berlin gaining class consciousness through her work experiences as a typist and as a result of the efforts of her worker hero lover.
- Brecht, Bertolt, *Kuhle Wampe, Protokoll des Filmes und Materialien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1969). Screenplay of 1932 film about communist youth and unemployment movement.
- Freund, Rudolf and Michael Hanisch, *Mutter Krausens Faehrt ins Glueck. Filmprotokoll und Materialien* (East Berlin, 1976). Screenplay about working class woman during the Depression.
- Krey, Franz, *Maria und der Paragraph* (Berlin, n.d.). KPD novel, first published in 1931, serialized in Muenzenberg's *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* about women on trial for illegal abortions and the campaign organized to defend them against Paragraph 218.
- Lask, Berta, *Stille und Sturm* (Munich, 1975). Written 1938-1952 and first published in 1955, an autobiographical novel by a KPD woman militant.
- Neukrantz, Klaus, *Barrikaden am Wedding. Der Roman einer Berliner Strasse aus den Berliner Maitagen 1929* (Berlin, 1970). KPD novel about Communist street cell in working class district of Berlin during the bloody Mayday demonstrations of 1929.

Italy

- Curra, Agata et al., *Canti della protesta femminile* (Rome, 1970?). Anthology of women's protest songs from the turn of the century to the present.
- Noce, Teresa, *Gioventu senza sole* (Rome, 1973). Autobiographical novel of a working-class girl in Turin at the beginning of the century, written by the Communist leader while in exile in France in 1937.
- Sartogo, Adriana, *Le donne al muro: l'immagine femminile nel manifesto politico italiano, 1945-1977* (Rome, 1977). A collection of political posters directed to and portraying Italian women.

United States

- Union Maids* (1976) by Julia Reichert, James Klein, and Miles Mogulescu. Life stories of three Chicago area women, now in their sixties, who rose from the rank and file to become union organizers in the 1930s. Interspersed with newsreel footage and union songs of the 1930s. The oral history on which the movie was based (*Rank and File* by Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd) makes clear how many of the women were Communist Party members.
- With Babies and Banners* (1978) by Lorraine Grey. Description of the role of women in the General Motors sit-down strike in 1936-37, especially the formation, success, and subsequent disbanding of the Women's Emergency Brigade. Includes interviews and newsreel sequences. □

The editors apologize for the fact that diacritical marks have been omitted from this article. This is a technical problem that we hope to correct in future issues.