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## PEASANT REVOLUTION 1902 - ?

**Introduction.** The article concerns the conception of peasant revolution (1902-1922) by V. Danylov and the analysis of its controversial chronological boundaries. Thus, the central problem immerses from a rather overgeneralized idea of peasant movement being a deeply-seated foundation for all the revolution transformations in "Peasant Russia". As a result, the triggers of such revolutionary processes were accounted for the trends of primary capitalization and further

industrialization. Besides the consequences of the revolution were portrayed in a rather ambiguous victorious light of bolsheviks' adopting a new Land Code, elimination of landlords and private land ownership, and finally granting peasants a right to farming their own lands which actually was not to be exercised. That is why the upper chronological boundary of the revolution seems to be a highly disputable problem, which is discussed further.

**Purpose.** The paper aims to provide the analysis and discussion of chronological boundaries of peasant revolution according to V. Danilov's conception in the framework of contemporary peasant studies.

**Results.** The transformation of peasantry into a new type found its manifestation in change of motifs, slogans and world-views and coincided with the beginning of the peasant revolution. As far as the convincing evidence suggest in the context of Ukrainian realia the year 1922 should be interpreted as another phase of revolution rather than its end. Firstly, the cessation of hostilities in Ukraine did not prevent the confrontation between village and town, proletariat and peasantry, soviet power and peasant social and political activity. Secondly, the so-called NEP (new economic policy) was nothing but another method of "military communism" with its high taxes, selective social benefits and guarantees. It was a purely economic concession before another spire of the offensive, a new Land Code, an ersatz solution of the land problem, declared the liquidation of private and establishment of state ownership. Peasants were allowed to use the land however, the deprivation of the ownership rights, a longstanding demand of folk, signified the beginning of the counterrevolution within the Soviet state. Fourthly, the ideological homogeneity of peasant as an active subject of history did not undergo significant changes from the end of XIX till the beginning of the XX centuries. It was a peasant-owner type. However, the untransformable idea of LAND as the only HOPE would not be actualized. Moreover starting from 1923 – 1924, the internal policy of the Soviet was aimed at forming a "superman" through proletarian community identification. Thus, the concept of Land acquired new essential connotations of belonging to the party and new values of labour peasants. Further process of collectivization, dispossession, state policy of grain-collections, as well as fiscal policy and finally famine of 1932-33 marked a victory of urban bolsheviks' ideology and a persistent and purposeful destruction of the peasant conception of Land through introducing communistic ideology of Power. A new type, peasant-collective-farmer, was formed.

**Conclusion.** On balance, we suggest that the upper boundary of the Peasant revolution should be considered 1933, which is in line with agrarian history of Ukraine and the criterion of forming a new peasant type introduced by V. Danylov.

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## WOMEN IN SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA IN THE BEGINNING OF XXTH CENTURY – SEARCH OF IDENTITIES

The question of women's role in historical development is not new but while looking for new guidelines in future, society often applies to the experience of the past. Social revolutions in Europe and in Russia particularly, brought woman to the political arena, not only as a labor resource or potential electorate but also as an individual, that demanded a niche in social life and ability to form some behavioral models.

**Key words:** revolution, social activity, women's movement, feminism, gender.

**Articulation of issue.** The questions of gender parity in modern Ukrainian society is more than just fancy social tendencies, but a challenge of time and need for social development, that were settled in far XIXth century. Russian Empire of the early XXth century looked like a testing site for optimal organization of social relations, on which each social group was looking for its way to live. Among the leaders of discussions on the rights of women and the possibility of their realization in society were representatives of various parties, social groups and genders.

**Analysis of the latest researches and publications.** Ideologists of proletarian women's movement – O.Kollontay, I.Armand, N.Krupska, K.Samoylova and others, were planning to start another revolution in the country – to change the way of living by totally liquidating the sphere of “private life” and its main unit – the family, as the source of social inequality and woman's unfreedom. Main credit for developing the new view on social relations between genders, which are to be established in socialistic society, belonged to acknowledged Bolshevik theoretic of this issue – Oleksandra Kollontay. Oleksandra Kolontay – is a significant figure not just in the history of soviet Marxism, but in the history of feminism. Modern western feminists consider her as one of their leaders by putting her in the same line with Olympe de Gouges and Simone de Beauvoir. At the same time, O. Kollontay throughout her whole life was fighting feminism, considering it a “bourgeois” phenomenon, in terms of social classes. Kollontay considered a “bourgeois feminist” everyone who tried to “bring the fight for equality of a woman” into the sphere of struggle between two genders, everyone who instead of putting forward “the demands common to all classes, through which the demands that would protect women's rights would come up in a natural way, brought up, where it is applicable and where it is not, exclusively women's appeals that declare equal rights” [1, 110]. Her works are the eclecticism of Marxist and feministic approaches, in which the tasks of reformation the social relations between genders are subordinated by the tasks of reforming the whole system of social relations. During the years of revolution, she comes up with a fantastic idea of complete transformation of society. From this point of view, special interest is drawn by one the latest works of O.Kollontay «Woman's work in evolution of national economy», which is a free course of lectures, read by her in 1921 for leading female workers in The Sverdlov University [1]. During those difficult times she started reading lectures in order to strengthen ideological influence of the Bolsheviks on women, enlighten women's asset, by bringing the Marxist view on the outlook of women's liberation and by opposing it to classic feminism that still had an influence in women's community.

Thus, the researchers of various periods addressed the question of woman's socialization, but it had the right to be considered because women's experience and activities were the subject of studies in every culture and society, in every historical period. The women's belonging to private sphere, to family activities and household was considered as “natural”, “primary” [2, 31].

According to the famous expert in women's history – Gisela Bock, women stayed unnoticed in the first place because it seemed that their experience, their activities,

their sphere of life and they themselves do not possess historical interest and value. However, “the history of women should be considered general to the same degree, as the history of men, because it does not only influence one half of mankind, but the mankind as a whole” [3, 276].

In the historical studies “women's question” became in tune with the so-called “new social history” that studied the occurrences of racial, class and religious oppression with the purpose of justifying changes in modern institutes of domination and emerged in the late 1960s [4, 55]. In this way, in Western Europe and USA, many young leftist historians started studying women's history with enthusiasm in order to make it recognizable and include in the history of mankind.

The **goal** of this article is an attempt to clarify the ways and motivation of transformation of woman from bourgeoisically (family) retarded element into active constructor of socialism, citizen. It is to show the readiness of society to appreciate women's new behavioral roles.

Presentment of the main material. Discussions regarding the necessity of establishing special women's organizations were conducted by various political forces way back during the first revolution of 1905-1907 [5]. Thus, in 1906, the Bolshevik party approved the work between women, as a course of political work, having understood that significant part of female workers may join liberal-democratic organizations. The main role in establishing first women's working clubs belongs to O.Kollontay, who started organizing female workers in St. Petersburg, having promoted the idea of relative autonomy of women's groups within labor movement, however, her ideas were not supported by other Bolshevik leaders. N. Krupskaya and I.Armand argued against establishment of special women's organizations. “There is absolutely no way women may be allocated in special women's organizations in Russia” – wrote N.K.Krupskaya in 1914 in the article “About the work among women”, - we have other traditions and, now, other political past. Female worker is considered a fully-righted member of society, as well as political, professional and other labor organizations. The goals of the movement demand cooperative discussion and organization”. She states that “female organizations are defined useful and necessary according to the interest of propaganda and agitation, but are considered as supplementary...” [6]. In the early 1917 women's organizations started establishing spontaneously, partly with the help of the Mensheviks.

However, main work in establishment of institutions that specialized in work among women, started after the revolution. The position of the Bolshevik party remained conservative: interest of male and female workers are equal and, therefore, there is no need in special organizations for socialistic women. I.Armand wrote that “any effort to organize female workers separately from male workers may only weaken proletarian party and worsen the circumstances of struggle ...” [7, 12], any women's professional unions or political organizations should not be established. In her article “Labor among proletarian women at the local level” she stated an opinion that “female worker is a Female proletarian of later appeal” [7, 13]. She underlined that the circumstances of women's position in exploitive society held back the political development of female workers, “certain psychological



peculiarities emerged, and those should not be underestimated if... we want to engage female worker in movement" [7, 15]. Exactly by this I. Armand explained the necessity of establishment of special commissions within party committees for conducting propaganda and agitations among them. She clearly defines the direction of activities for these commissions that should provide political education of female workers, engage them into work in The Russian communist party of the Bolsheviks, in Soviets, in factory committees, in administration of professional unions... "Especially female workers should be involved in those divisions of soviets, the activities of which they mostly face in their lives: divisions of human services, labor, food and education" [8]. In unison to her, the speeches of O. Kollontay that stressed that "It is necessary to develop special forms of work among women in order to make them understand and evaluate what their position should be, and which political power protects women's interests – the proletarian dictatorship or the return to the rule of bourgeoisie" [9, 164].

The rural electorate was not left unnoticed. Stating that the period of capturing moral and political power in the rural areas has passed, the Bolsheviks move forward to establishing economic dictatorship. Having understood the role of countrywomen in economic life of the village, back in 1921 it was decided to involve this demographic group into implementation of resolutions, directives and plans of Bolsheviks: "... to quickly start organizing authorized representatives of countrywomen from every five or ten households. Consider the significant political and economic value that involvement of countrywoman in labor may have, which would specially benefit successful collecting those products that are a part of direct activities of rural female household keeper". Speaking of propaganda work it was stated: "... it is necessary to send female workers for agitation of organizations. Also, consider that everything that matters for women and children in the countryside should be distributed through the network of authorized representatives for country women. It is extremely important to send presents to countryside, by laying levies in cities, for this important organizational base" [10, 8]. Here it was stated that the increase of political activities of women should significantly ease the procurement goals set by authorities. It means that the necessity of accomplishing economic goals by government pushed it to providing women with formerly unknown to them functions and roles related to social and political activities.

Spheres of agitation among female workers and countrywomen in the first half of 1920th is described in the Report that was presented during Party conference in January 1925. According to the Report the activities in the printing sphere appeared in systematic description of main issues concerning female labor in periodicals. The materials from All-Ukrainian Soviet Female Department and The Second All-Ukrainian Meeting of Female Workers and Countrywomen were published as separate books. "Zhinocha Volia" (5 magazine issues in an edition of 17 thousand copies were published up to the Party conference in 1925) and "Komunarka Ukrainy" (edition – 25 thousand) were published and magazines for countrywomen. Moreover, clubs for proletarian and countrywomen writers, female workers and countrywomen correspondents were organized at the local level [11, 3]. The abovementioned Report included

recommendations regarding the celebration of the 8th of March and called for distribution of leaflets with the following statement: "... Lenin said that the State may not be free until the half of female proletarians are undereducated... and scullery maid must learn how to rule a country". Another Lenin's statement should have become popular: "Exemption of female from double oppression – capital and daily grind" [11, 38].

Agitation statements about women touched almost all spheres of life. The celebration of the March 8, 1926 was held by the following motto: popularization of Communist Party – "Female workers and countrywomen of Ukraine join Communist Party. Prepare the best for the enrollment to the Party!", "Communist Party leads to the freedom of female workers and countrywomen. Spread the knowledge about the female's freedom"; economics – "Countrywomen of Ukraine, develop agriculture, use better crops and machine work on soil. Spread collective organizations!", "Cooperation and collectivization – the fastest way to tackle poverty in villages and to the freedom of countrywomen!", "Female workers and countrywomen, build and strengthen the cooperation. Countrywomen - organize cooperative distribution and processing of agricultural products, start primitive arts. Cooperation is the fastest way for economic revival of a village"; culture – "Darkness – is the main foe of the workers. Liquidate you illiteracy, female workers and countrywomen of Ukraine. Only literate person can be conscious, thus for the education, for the knowledge!" etc. [12, 8]. Taking into consideration the abovementioned it should be noted that the holiday of the 8th of March was a very convenient to propagate communist ideas.

Inclusion of females to Councils and voting process was one of the methods to attract women to the socialism building. There were 13,4% and 9,2% of females in village council in 1925 and 1926 respectively, thus the deterioration of countrywomen's activity is observed. In periodicals of that time there was an idea to change the work of local soviet organizations in order to attract women to practical soviet building, as women work, in some cases, better than men – "because she does not drink and is more responsible" [13, 15]. In the following year the number of women in village council added up by 0,4% and constituted 9,6%. While, in 1928, the share of women increased further and reached 17,4% [14, 6].

Women took part in agricultural cooperation. In 1925, 189 females took part in cooperation management, while in 1926 – 341 females; in Review Commissions: 804 in 1925 and 914 in 1926; representatives: 47 in 1925 and 327 in 1926. Females took part in other public organization as well. As of 1927, there were 140 000 females in "MODR", 250 000 in "Druzi Ditei", 36 000 in "UChKh", 30 000 in "Kultzmychka". In 1925 in Committee of Poor Countryman there were 77 000 females in comparison to 97 000 in 1926 [15, 67].

All-Union Meeting of League of Militant Atheists dedicated separate Resolution to the work among women. The abovementioned organization pointed out the danger of propagation of religion through women, stating "... As a short-term goal, the number of women in the League should increase to 40%...; add a special chapter about religion and female to a schedule of the League's atheistic clubs and courses; it is very important to add atheistic material to the curriculum of all courses that is organized for women in party, cooperative, labor union etc. It is very important to increase the religious

propaganda and agitation through the radio and female's press: magazines – “Komunistka”, “Rabotnitsa”, “Krestianka”, “Batrachka”, “Zhenskii Zhurnak”; magazines that serve members of labor unions with high percentage of females – “Holos tekstylei”, “Uchitelskaia Hazeta”, “Nasha Hazeta” etc., and through wall magazines, connecting anti-religious propaganda and propagation with literacy, hygiene and questions of science and technology” [16,55]. Thus, anti-religious work among females was an important part of the League's activities as the regulation out of the attention of the half of population would lead to the fail of combating the religion.

One of the main problem of that time was the disbelief in female's organization skills. The article of H. Liakhta, that was published in “Bezvirnyk” describes the situations when female is being offended due to hers public work: “...She (Ivga Zemfirova) was chosen only by women's votes. When she was elected, men organized a real boycott...” What have we come to – men were shouting – Female will rule us!” During the whole week no man, even the members of village council, except of watchman had not entered the building of the Council... and still some dumb religious villagers, when they see the daughter of Zemfirova say: “If you had a decent mother, she would not work among men”. The child asked to quit the job very often because she was made fun of everyday” [17,48]. In “Chervone selo” magazine there were the following examples of the rude attitude towards female-activists: in Sotnikovska Village Council in Shevshinkivshina – “The Secretary of Council Mr. Berliuta, has the greatest satisfaction to offend and interrupt women, especially members of village council, when they appear on the meetings. In Biriukivtsi village, when poor woman asked village Councilor for wagon to get to the Meeting of Women Activists, he called her “barynia” (madam) and told her to go on foot” [18,11]. At that time there were a lot of such examples: not only male-managers were not satisfied with the female's new role, but also the society at the mundane level.

The situation that occurred was dangerous for the control over females that is why the Government decided to increase the status of women, starting with representative institutes. Women occupying the following positions: head, deputy head, secretary of council and members of revision committee had to attend courses that took place not less than once per quarter. Females that occupied managerial positions in districts gathered for informational meetings and once per half a year for conferences. During these events, women shared theirs experience in tackling negative attitude towards them from male colleagues. The other questions that were discussed during the events included: overcoming the illiteracy among women, nominating female council members for more responsible positions, attracting females to inspecting etc. [14,10]. The abovementioned, helped women to understand theirs role and increased the desire to assert themselves through activities in representative institutes. Similar trends were observed all around the world, at that time some of the international women's organization were established. For example, The Associated Country Women of the World (ACWW) – organization of countrywomen that aimed at increasing of living standards for countrywomen and theirs families, providing them with practical assistance in generating profit and protecting individual rights through

cooperation with UN and its institutes. The roots of organization traces back to 19th Century. In April, 1929, in London, the first international Conference of countrywomen took place with representatives from 24 countries. During 1930 The International Council of Women (ICW) created Countrywomen Organization Affairs Committee (in 1933 it was reorganized into The Associated Country Women of the World). Starting from 1936, the Association organized 23 annual conferences with additional regional meetings. In 2010, the Association comprised of 365 related organizations in more than 70 Countries [19].

Conclusions. The processes of female's socialization, that were actively announced by Soviet Government were appropriate and reflected international trends concerning individual rights, in particular women's rights. Women comprised half of the world's population and it was impossible to overlook such a labor force and potential electorate. Once again, social development took a path of double usage of a female (social and household work). After winning the right to be a person, a woman has been fighting for the right to be an individual for more than a century. Lost family values leads to the destruction of social ideals. As a result, we have a moral-values collapse that is hard to overcome with ideology that exhausted itself. Modern society is in need of new social model that will place the question of gender identity as the key one.

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## ЖІНКИ В СОЦІАЛЬНІЙ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ В РОСІЇ ПОЧАТКУ ХХСТ.: ПОШУК ІДЕНТИЧНОСТЕЙ

*Питання ролі жінок в історичному розвитку не нове, але суспільство, традиційно шукаючи орієнтири на майбутнє, звертається до досвіду минулих періодів. Соціальні революції в Європі і Росії безпосередньо винесли на політичну арену жінку не лише як трудовий ресурс і потенційний електорат, а й особистість, яка вимагала своєї ніші в суспільному бутті й можливості формувати певні поведінкові моделі.*

**Ключові слова:** революція, соціальна активність, жіночий рух, фемінізм, гендер.

Дослідники різних періодів зверталися до питання соціалізації жінки, але воно й сьогодні залишається дискусійним: досвід і діяльність останньої в усіх культурах і суспільствах, в усі історичні періоди не була предметом реального вивчення, бо розглядалася крізь призму владної домінанти. Приналежність жінок до приватної сфери, до сімейних справ, домогосподарства вважалася «природною», «початковою». Ідеологи пролетарського жіночого руху О. Коллонтай, І. Арманд, Н. Крупська, К. Самойлова та інші, розраховували здійснити в країні ще одну революцію. Вони прагнули змінити побут людини, остаточно ліквідувавши сферу «приватного життя» і її головну нішу сім'ю як джерело соціальної нерівності і несвободи жінки.

Автор статті ставить за мету дослідити шляхи та мотивацію перетворення жінки з буржуазного (сім'я) відсталого елемента в активного будівника соціалізму, громадянина. Показати готовність суспільства сприймати нові поведінкові жіночі ролі.

На думку відомого фахівця з історії жінок Гізели Бок, жінки залишалися непоміченими головним чином тому, що, здавалося ніби вони, їх досвід, їх діяльність, їх сфера життя не являють історичного інтересу і значення. Проте «історія жінок повинна вважатися загальною тією ж мірою, як й історія чоловіків, бо вона зачіпає не тільки половину, але все людство в цілому».

Дискусії про доцільність створення спеціальних жіночих організацій велися різними політичними

силами ще в період першої революції 1905-1907 років. Так, у 1906 році партія більшовиків санкціонувала роботу серед жінок як напрям партійної роботи, зрозумівши, що значна частина працівниць може піти до лав ліберально-демократичних організацій.

Розуміючи роль жінок в економічному житті держави, у 1921 році було вирішено долучити цю демографічну групу до виконання постанов, директив та планів більшовиків особливо на селі: «...почати негайно організацію вповноважених від селянок на кожні п'ять або десять дворів. Врахуйте те велике політичне та економічне значення, яке може мати активне втягнення селянки в продроботу, що особливо відобразиться на успішній заготівлі тих продуктів, які складають безпосереднє коло діяльності сільської господині». Щодо пропагандистської роботи зазначалося: «...потрібно надіслати жінок-робітниць для агітації організації». Одним із способів залучення жінки до будівництва соціалізму стало включення жінок до рад, взагалі їх участь у виборчому процесі. У сільрадах у 1925 році було 13,4 % жінок, у 1926 році – 9,2 %, тобто спостерігається зниження активності серед селянок. У періодиці того часу пропонується переглянути роботу низових радянських органів, щоб скерувати їх на притягнення жінок до практичного завдання радянського будівництва, адже жінка працює не гірше чоловіка, а іноді й краще, «бо не п'є і сумлінніше ставиться до своїх обов'язків».

Отже, соціалізація жінок, що активно анонсувалася радянською владою була закономірною та віддзеркалювала світові тенденції з формування прав людини і жінки безпосередньо. Жінки склали половину населення планети і не враховувати такий трудовий ресурс та потенційний електорат було просто неможливо. У черговий раз суспільний розвиток пішов шляхом подвійної експлуатації жінки (суспільна та домашня праця), надбавши права бути людиною, жінка вже понад століття бореться за те, щоб бути особистістю. Втрачені сімейні цінності ведуть до руйнації суспільних ідеалів. Як наслідок, маємо морально-ціннісний колапс, який складно заповнити ідеологіями, що себе вичерпали. Сучасний соціум потребує якісно нової суспільної моделі, де питання гендерної ідентичності будуть відігравати ключову роль.

