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THE IDEAL OF PROLETARIAT FAMILY AND MOTHERHOOD IN THE FEMININE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN SLOVAKIA IN THE 20S 1920s

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Abstract
Ever since its establishment in 1921 and throughout the 20´s, the Czechoslovak Communist Party had aspired, to be a mass-scale political party which had mainly been both addressing and mobilizing working classes as well as a number of intellectuals. One could observe a good deal of politically engaged women among both its members as well as supporters. Through their agitation, Communist women actively contributed to social issues, balancing paid works and family care, to name just the most crucial features. Furthermore, as other women's associations and women activists, they addressed motherhood protection as well as its social support and protection. Moreover, according to key female Communist figures, women should have played a decisive role in the revolutionary fight for the proletariat. Communism should have brought women their human dignity back, tearing them out of serfdom to men, thus making them thoroughly equal. The respective image of an ideal proletarian life and motherhood among Slovak Communist women had been shaped by the Communist party's programme, both Marxist and socialist theoreticians' works, and by a particular model of the Soviet regime's political programme. This study attempts to examine this very image as well as the respective resources which helped to form it. I aim to put emphasis on the very nuances that resided in the Slovakia's party membership base while at the same time scrutinizing its peculiar cits peculiar and embedded cultural, social and political traditions.
Key words: *proletarian family, motherhood, Communism, Slovakia*

Introduction

Thousands of women had to overtake the responsibility for family livelihood and farmstead management in the period of the First World War. The women who had previously mostly worked in housekeeping and in agriculture were collectively mobilized to work in industry. At the same time, they had to struggle with the issue of balancing work in a factory, at a farmstead or in the services with taking care of their households and children. The existing social roles were disrupted and the traditional bonds between genders gradually became weakened as a result of the diversification of female work (Bocková, 2007, p. 230). Despite the fact that most women returned back to their homes after the war, the problem of balancing a paid job with taking care of households and children remained acutely present. Feminine socialist and Communist politicians and intellectuals laid great worth on this issue being solved, attempting to reflect on the long-term experience of feminine factory workers who were trying to manage earning money and family care-taking, as well as on new visions and social system measures taken in Bolshevik Russia. Their ambition was to define a new image of family co-existence of a man and a woman and the upbringing of children. The same effort to set a new ideal of a working woman and mother appears also in the space of Czechoslovak and Slovak feminine Communist movement in the interwar period.

The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 granted women civil and political rights which enabled them to actively participate in political, economic and social life of the country. The newly founded state was a democratic republic which guaranteed women the same rights as men. The constitution safeguarded civil liberties and equality in the eyes of law for all Czechoslovak women, and granted them general, equal, direct and secret active and passive right of vote.[1] While liberal and democratic feminine clubs of the middle class stressed the importance of the intellectual empowerment of women, as well as employment of women in state and public service, representatives of the lower class turned their attention mainly to the social issues of the industry and agriculture working inhabitants, the problems of balancing paid jobs and family care, and to the social system policies of the republic. All feminine clubs and politically active women were predominantly united in the topics of motherhood protection and support, however, their ideas of its practical implication and what role should the state have in it, differed. Feminine Communist representatives could voice their opinions about the issue and political struggle around it due to the foundation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

[1] Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic, Act No. 121/1920 Sb. z. a n. Article V. §106 "Výsady pohlaví, rodu a povolání se neuznávají" [The benefits of gender, birth and profession are not conceded].

Feminine members of the party, as radical Socialists, found the inspiration in forming their own ideas of the new ideal of marriage and motherhood in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, specifically in the Russian Bolshevism.[2] The Bolshevik revision of the orthodox Marxist doctrine partly reflected the character and the state of the Russian society on the verge of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Lenin solved the dispute between the Marxist theory and the social and political reality by significantly revisiting the theory itself. The result was a definition of the working class as a passive mass which was supposed to be intentionally, systematically and permanently formed and shaped by the leading group – the political party. It had only been under its leadership that the revolution could have taken place (Benko, 2005, p. 22; Benko, 2012, pp. 39-40). Bolshevism can be characterized as Lenin's radical and complex interpretation of the essential works of Marxism, which was in line with the revolutionary political orientation of the Bolsheviks (Benko, 2012, p. 74). Marxism-Leninism is more or less a summary of the elementary classical works of the Marxists in a form of an authoritarian digest of the basic ideas, their compilation and simplified interpretation that puts the thoughts of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin into a different context and connection than in which they were originally formed. (Brown, 2004, p. 1). The goal of this ideology was to stabilize the Soviet regime in Russia after 1917 and to secure its survival and function in the following periods (Benko, 2014, p. 17).

In their works, the classic representatives of Marxism-Leninism did not convey a deep analysis of the woman's role in society and of her abolishment from oppression and exploitation in the societal distribution of work in the family. However, Marxists considered women a crucial target group of political activity and mobilization (Brown, 2012). It was Fridrich Engels who focused on the role of women in the society and their emancipation in his works. In his opinion the basic condition of freeing women was incorporating them into the public work life (productive work for the society) and liberalizing them from housework. Such circumstances could only arise, though, if when women were employed massively and when the private housework changed into public industry (generally available service) (Engels, 1962, p. 164). German Marxist August Bebel linked the oppression of women to the rise of private property and, therefore, their liberation was supposed to be connected with the destruction of exploitation and social oppression, in short, a Socialist revolution. Harmonization of employment and taking care of the family and household via collective boarding, upbringing and housekeeping was seen as inevitable (Bebel, 1977). Marxist-Leninist

[2] Marxism-Leninism was codified as the official ideology of the regime and introduced into political practice after Lenin's death by the leading Soviet regime representative J. V. Stalin (Brown, 2004, p.1).

ideology took also a stand in the issue of the role of a woman in the society, and the meaning and role of a family (Marx, Engels, & Lenin, 1973; Slušná, 1988). Karl Marx considered family a form of exclusive private property (Marx, 1961, p. 90). Friedrich Engels elaborated further, labelling a monogamous marriage a servitude of one gender to another, a class oppression of the feminine gender by the masculine one. A monogamous marriage would, he thought, lose all its negative traits which stem in relations of property. The dominance of men and inseparability of spouses would eventually cease to exist. In certain situations, Engels therefore considered divorce a "benediction" for the spouses as well as the society (Engels, 1962, p. 83).[3] Lenin supported a complete freedom of divorce, too. He regarded it a democratic right which could hardly ever be enabled in capitalism (Lenin, 1973a, p. 201). At the same time, he required an unconditional abolishment of such laws which punished abortion or distribution and promotion of contraceptives (Lenin, 1984, p. 321-324). In his talks with a leading feminine representative of the German Communist and feminist movement, Clara Zetkin, Lenin unambiguously encouraged complete equality for women. Nonetheless, he chastised Clara Zetkin and other woman party members for their debates on sex related topics, and past, present and future forms of marriage. He demanded to focus on the issues of the class fight and on distancing themselves visibly from the emancipation movement of the bourgeoisie (Zetkinová, 1973, pp. 207, 211, 219). When Lenin spoke on behalf of the liberation of women and their free development, he only had in mind the rise of the women's participation in building the socialist society in industrial production, political campaigning, etc. He was advocating a bigger portion of feminine representatives in public life, and their direct participation in the Socialist coup, since women made up at least one half of the Russian population (Nečasová, 2013). The published opinions on woman's role in the society, her being freed from ineffective and non-economic housework as well as the demand for divorce were all possible in the Bolshevik Russia environment. After the takeover of power, the regime started putting their ideas on feminine issue solution into motion. In December 1917, the Bolsheviks issued a decree where birthing children was identified as the social role of women (Bocková, 2007, p. 250). Simultaneously, they permitted divorce and, in 1918, they also legalized abortion (Ashwin, 2000). Women-mothers were supposed to join the production outside of their household, were given a so-called maternity leave (eight weeks before and after giving birth) including a financial compensation and a six-hour working day with breaks for nursing their child. The Bolshevik regime, in line with Lenin's views on housework, tried to free women

[3] An important factor of dissolving a marriage was the existence of individual sexual love.

from the "household slavery" by creating collective upbringing and collective housekeeping organization via public service (Bocková, 2007, p. 250-251).

The seeming success of the Soviet regime inspired Communist movements and parties across Europe, including the interwar Czechoslovakia. The success and experience promoted by the Soviet regime as well as an idealized image of the functioning of the Soviet society, without knowledge and personal experience with the real state of things, were presented as role models and inspiration for the expected transformation of the Czechoslovak, respectively Slovak society according to the Communist ideal.

The ambition of the presented study is to cover the qualitative content of the period discourse of ideal proletarian family and motherhood, which was introduced in the Slovak feminine Communist movement circles in the 20s of the 20th century in written works, speeches and reactions of its representatives, and published on the pages of the bi-weekly magazine *Proletárka*, aimed at and campaigning among women readers.

The research of family is represented mostly in the Slovak ethnology and sociology background (Botíková, Švecová, & Jakubíková, 1997; Botíková, Herzánová, & Bobáková, 2007; Možný 1990; Možný & Jiránek 2008). In this context, the historians' interest is focused on the issue of the population development and social structures (Šprocha & Tišliar, 2018; Šprocha, Tišliar, & Čeplő, 2009). The cultural and historical approach and analysis of the period press enables us to enrich this research in an idealized image of a new Communist family as presented by the press at the time when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia still did not have a monopoly of political power and fought for attention and votes of the Slovak voters, both men and women. In this ideal the Soviet role model and fascination with the Soviet reality was reflected, moreover, with a very superficial and simplified reference to the thoughts of Carl Marx, Friedrich Engels, but mostly, of V. I. Lenin.[4] I consider this new ideal a social construct and a system of symbols, detached from everyday experience, yet having a far-reaching meaning for the real life of people (Berger & Luckmann, 1999, p. 44-45). A question arises here to what extent was this Communist ideal and role model of a new Communist woman, marriage and motherhood potentially activating in the Slovak environment. When it comes to constructing the ideal in Slovak reality, its confrontation with Christian perception of marriage as an inseparable and monogamous bond with bigger or smaller number of descendants in the shape of a so-called nuclear family, seems of interest. (Botíková, Švecová, & Jakubíková, 1997, p. 10).

[4] In her works, the inspiring Czech historian Denisa Nečasová (2011; 2018) analyses the construct of a new socialist man in Czechoslovakia (in the Czech part of the republic) after 1948.

Communist women in Czechoslovakia

Constitution of the 1920s granted women in Czechoslovakia the right to vote and the declared equality of genders. The social and political activity of women was on the rise, since due to the sheer numbers of votes they started playing an important role in the political life of the country (Burešová, 1999, p. 394). Communist women were very active in the political struggle of individual parties. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, established in 1921 by splitting from the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, was a massive political party from the very beginning, mostly appealing to and encouraging activity of the labour population (in industry and agriculture) and partly to intellectuals. There were many feminine sympathizers among its members. The party went through a complicated evolution process in the 20s, being intervened by Moscow via Comintern[5] (Kárník, 2000, pp. 374-376). They were triumphant in the in the 1925 parliamentary elections, getting the second biggest (943 thousand) win of votes in the Czechoslovak Republic after the Agrarian Party (Kárník, 2000, p. 377). This success of votes was a result of a widespread and expensive electoral campaign and political promotion (Osyková, 2012, pp. 92-96). Following the Bolshevization of the party (since 1924–1925), peaking in 1929 when a group of pro-Stalin and pro-Moscow young generation of Communists took over, the member and voter headcount dropped (Rákosník, 2015, pp. 90-91; Rupnik, 2002, pp. 57-88). In some ways the member base in Slovakia was different than the Czech one, resulting from the general cultural, social and political quality of life of labourers and poor countryside inhabitants.[6] The Communist movement in Slovakia was more radical, hugely supported predominantly among the poor agricultural population (Rákosník, 2015, pp. 93, 97). It is interesting that a big number of the party members were Catholics (70%), with only few proclaiming to be atheists. Almost 52% of the party members did not regularly subscribe to the Party press and up 40% of the member base had not been politically organized or active prior to being a member of the party (Plevza[7], 1971,

[5] In March 1919 the 3rd Comintern, an international organization of socialist parties, was founded, initiated by the Russian Bolsheviks in Moscow, with the aim of uniting various radical socialist organizations (Marxists, anarchists and socialists). Comintern demanded strict discipline and subordination to the Muscovite leadership (Benko, 2005, p. 26).

[6] According to the interwar population census (in 1921 and 1930) economically active percentage of inhabitants in Slovakia was approximately 44-46%. Low inclusion of women in work market was characteristic (in 1930 the share of women had not reached 29%). In Slovakia, people were predominantly working in the primary sector (more than 56%), industry employed approximately 16-17% of inhabitants (Šprocha & Tišliar, 2018, pp. 320, 329).

[7] PhDr. Viliam Plevza, DrSc. (* 1934) historian and university professor. In his works he was focusing on the history of the revolutionary labour movement and the Communist Party. From 1969 he was the head of the History Institute of the Slovak Communist Party (renamed to Institute

pp. 135-136). The age stratification of the party is also particular, much younger in Slovakia, the average member being 20-25 years old (Plevza, 1971, pp. 136).

Internal Communist Party campaigning committees were created to enable political work among women (with the positions of trustee, treasurer and three supervisors), changing into educational and campaigning feminine units in 1924 called "ženodely" (respectively ženoddely) after the Bolshevization of the party in 1924.[8] They were subjected to supervision of the International Secretariat of the Communist Women in Moscow via the Party Headquarters. The campaigning and educational activity of the "ženodely" was based on personal initiative of the individual committee representatives appointed from above (Uhrová, 2013, p. 29). Following the requirements of Moscow, the "ženodely" were supposed to try to boost the share of feminine factory workers which was relatively low. According to the statistics, up to 73% of the feminine members of the party were at stay-at-home women (Uhrová, 2013, p. 29). Besides everyday work for the party, in the framework of campaigning and educational activities, Communist women focused on setting themselves apart from other feminine clubs and charity organization which were aiming for various educational and informational activities and social work during the whole interwar period. To the Communists the fight of the proletariat for power was more important than establishing feminine agenda in the party, against which feminine Communists actively protested. Active, intellectual and independently speaking women – Communists were expected to become only campaigners for the common class fights of the proletariat. Those who had opposed the newly emerged situation were removed from the party.[9]

Communist women affiliated with the program of the party, the goal of which was to remove the existing political system. At the same time, they realized they could not eliminate the democratic and liberal system in Czechoslovakia in the foreseeable future, they could not replace it with a socialist or Communist regime and, therefore, they temporarily accepted parliament as a space where they could be politically active, campaign and speak in the name of the labourers. Communists actively participated in the workload of the parliament, they came up with drafts of laws, took seats in committees and interpellated the members of parliament[10]. Socialist left wing feminine members spoke in favour of legal drafts, adjusting the

of Marxism-Leninism of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee in 1971).

[8] The word "*ženodely (ženoddely)*" has come to life via strange overtake from the Russian language (ženskije otdeli – ženotdeli) (Uhrová, 2013, p. 29).

[9] For example, one of them was Anna Malá, theoretician of the Communist movement (Báhenská, Heczková, & Musilová, 2013, p. 209).

[10] More about the active role of women in the parliaments of the Czechoslovak Republic in Dana Musilová (2007).

position of women – mothers, and their children (on forbidding nursing for pay, on legal conditions of motherhood and pregnancy in the healthcare system, on state care of mother and child, on the obligatory state upbringing courses of taking care of toddlers and children) (Musilová, 2007, pp. 63-68; Proletárka 3 (11), 1924, p. 5). Overall, in between 1920 and 1939, there were 29 active women[11] working at the National Assembly of the members of parliament and 16 feminine senators in the Senate[12]. In the interwar period the biggest number of seats in Parliament and Senate were taken by the feminine representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (together 15) (Musilová, 2007, pp. 156-157).

Feminine Communist press in Slovakia

Depending on their financial situation, Slovak women in the interwar Czechoslovakia had free access to a variety of daily newspapers and magazines. The Živena organization continued publishing its artistic club magazine *Živena*. In 1920–1923 a politically educative magazine *Slovenská žena*[13] was being published in Banská Bystrica. Both magazines appealed mainly to women in towns with a corresponding education, cultural and artistic overview. Pages dedicated to the household, home crafts, social and health-related education were inseparably present there. There were also Czech magazines distributed in Slovakia (for example *Hvězda*, *List paní a dívek*), dealing with current social topics and recent fashion trends. Charity organizations and Christian organizations had their own magazines as well. From the very beginning, the Communist feminine press was being published with the sole aim to campaign among ordinary working women or stay-at-home women. Except for the campaigning committees, the press was their only means of mass information and propaganda. Communist feminine press was edited by women themselves and was aimed at the feminine audience, with its content appealing to working women and the economically weakest groups

[11] There were 10 women in the 256 members of the National Revolutionary Assembly, in the first elected period (1920-1925) out of 284 members of the Parliament there were 15 women, in the second period (1925-1929) there were 10 women of 300 MPs. During the third period (1939-1935) 13 women out of 303 MPs and in the fourth electoral period (1935-1939) out of 301 MPs there were 9 women (Musilová, 2007, p. 154).

[12] In the first electoral period (1920-1925) 4 women – senators were active (out of 143), in the second period (1925-1929) there were 4 (out of 150), in the third period (1929-1935) 7 women (out of 153 members of Senate) and in the fourth (1935-1939) out of 150 there were 5 women – senators (Musilová, 2007, p. 154).

[13] The magazine was published by Terézia Vansová with the ambition to raise awareness of the Slovak women about the current political, economic and social development in Czechoslovakia.

of the feminine Czechoslovak society. Apart from direct criticism of the political and social situation in Czechoslovakia, the Communist feminine press focused on positive description of the economic, political and social development in the Soviet Union, especially dwelling on issues connected with the life of the Soviet women (work of women, children care-taking, collective education and upbringing, new legislation regarding marital and family law). As soon as in December 1920, a magazine of the Marxist left wing called *Ženský list* started being published in Czech part of the republic, renamed to *Komunistka* in 1922 (Moravian and Silesian version was called *Žena*).[14] In November 1922, the first political magazine of Communist women called *Proletárka*[15] was published in Vrútky (Plevza, 1971, p. 137), with ideologically defined and revolutionary views on working women and their issues. Regarding Communist propaganda and its content, the magazine was published as a sort of compromise between the Marxist view on women issues and the opinions of V. I. Lenin (Kučma, 1990, p. 117). The bi-weekly *Proletárka* was meant for women, especially working women (labourers, little-scale farmers, servants, clerks), in line with the programme and the goals of the Communist Party. The editor in years 1922-1925 was Barbora Rezlerová-Švarcová.[16] It was edited by Gizela Kolláriková[17] until 1926, followed by Zuzana Holánová, and Irena Káňová[18], an active initiator of protest marches and strikes, who belonged to its most significant editors. The publishing of the magazine came to an end in 1927 due to financial problems. The women – editors of *Proletárka* were active members of the Communist Party, they participated in political activities,

[14] *Žena* was a weekly of the Communist women in Moravia and Silesia with the print of 7000 copies. Czech weekly *Komunistka* was published in 9000 copies. Initially, they were published in bigger amount (12-13 thousand copies). In 1923, the content of both magazines was unified, though the names remained the same (Burešová, 2004, p. 42; Uhrová, 2004, p. 28). In April 1926, the Communist feminine weekly *Komunistka* was renamed to *Rozsévačka* (Uhrová, 2004, p. 28).

[15] *Proletárka* was published in 1922 and 1923 as a supplement to the magazine called *Hlas ľudu*. From 1924 until it was stopped in 1927 it existed as an individual magazine. The research has yet not been able to account for the overall number of its copies.

[16] Barbora Rezlerová-Švarcová (* 1890 - † 1941) – feminist and Communist journalist of Czech origin. In her articles she mainly focused on the situation of working women (labourers and small farmers) in Slovakia (Švarcová, 1925, p. 13-14).

[17] Gizela Kolláriková (* 1892 - † 1960) – originally a textile factory worker, born in Budatín nearby Žilina, a social democrat who entered the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1921, member of the National Assembly of parliament in 1925-1929, editor of the *Proletárka* magazine, active in the feminine movement, the only feminine political representative of Hungarian nationality in the Czechoslovak parliament.

[18] Irena Káňová (* 1893 - † 1965) – member of parliament of the National Revolutionary Assembly in 1919-1920, she had been a member of the social-democratic party and after its foundation decided to change for the Czechoslovak Communist Party (1921). She was the only feminine political representative of the Slovak nationality in the interwar Czechoslovak parliament (Musilová, 2007, p. 102).

they educated and campaigned among Slovak women. Their reports, opinions and speeches, published on the pages of the afore mentioned magazine form an interesting, and due to insufficient research, also unique view on the Communist feminine discourse in the Slovak environment in the 20s of the 20th century when the opinion conceptions of the communist movement in Czechoslovakia were trying to prove themselves in tough Competition of other democratic and socialist parties in the context of liberal democratic regime.[19]

In accordance with the spirit of the party ideology the newspapers declared a joint fight of the proletariat, thus men and women, and common class struggle for a socially just society. The leaders of the Communist Party accepted the process of feminine emancipation; however, the fight of the proletariat diminished the specific feminine topics and demands, their activities remaining political campaigning and class struggle.[20] The content of the magazine was subjected to the joint class fight as well. Campaigning and mobilization articles prevailed, presenting the need to fight for a new society which would remove social problems and solve the suffering of the economically weakest women, who had to balance work life with care-taking of children and housekeeping. The magazine editors sharply protested against the temporary promotion of an ideal woman – married, having children and taking care of them and the household. They argued that labourer women had to make sure they managed essential needs and that was their reason for hard work to earn the necessary wages. At the same time, they were supposed to take care of children, small farmsteads, household and family. The role of a labourer woman was therefore seen as being side by side with men – labourers (Proletárka 2 (17), 1923, pp. 2-3). Campaigning articles were directed against priests, politicians of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party and the influence of the Catholic Church in Slovak environment in general, yet also against liberal and Christian feminine clubs (Kolláriková, 1925a, pp. 2-3; 1925b, pp. 3-4; 1926, pp. 3-4). *Proletárka* blamed feminine movement in Slovakia for being apolitical and the feminine press for succumbing to bourgeois sentimentality and romanticism (Braunová, 1924, p. 2). The Communist women single-mindedly agreed to fight the babbitry of women, among other issues also when it came to opinions on earning money, family life, love between man and women, children and their education and upbringing (Malá, 1924c, pp. 4-5). Their pivotal interest was a working woman, her social and personal suffering, degradation of human dignity. Apart from this dominant issue they dedicated their attention also to everyday "women" problems – articles with

[19] Shortly about Communist feminine movement in Slovakia in Mária Rusková (2006).

[20] Similar in character was also the Czech Communist magazine for women *Rozsévačka* (Jahodářová, 2015).

health-educational and didactic focus, practical housekeeping, baby, child and pupil care-taking tips and anti-alcoholism campaign. The existence of double workload, earning money and housekeeping, was greatly stressed. Equality and liberation of women was to be a "*simplification of household work*" (Švarcová-Rezlerová, 1923, pp. 10-11). The authors presented the problem of a huge workload of the working women who then did not have enough time and energy to bring-up and properly take care of children. Besides, they noted that housekeeping was not a paid job and men did not even consider it work (Pfeilmajerová, 1924a, pp. 2-3; Švarcová-Rezlerová, 1924, p. 4; Proletárka 5 (9), 1926, pp. 3-4). Huge criticism was addressed to their masculine party colleagues for showing no interest in "*class upbringing*" of women and for not supporting political activities of women inside the party (Proletárka 3 (5) 1924, p. 1; Proletárka 4 (19) 1925, pp. 3-4). The function of a proletariat marriage and family was also one of the topics the feminine journalists analysed.

"New working woman" and the Communist ideal of marriage

In the eyes of the leading Communist activists, women were supposed to be the decisive actors in the revolutionary fight of the proletariat. A Communist woman was expected to be spirited, active, engaged, and supporting her husband in political work as well. She was to educate herself constantly so that she had no need to be subordinated to her man and could freely build a strong labour movement by his side and, at the same time, bring-up new generations in the Communist ideal (Šímová, 1922, pp. 6-7; Habanová, 1923, p. 1). Communism was supposed to give women their human dignity back, uproot them from the oppression of men by making them fully equal. The programme of Communist women should have basically been the same as the programme of men, only "amended by special feminine demands, arising from their different position in the state, family and profession" (Malá & Křenová, 1921, p. 11).

Communist women tried to clearly distance themselves from the temporary ideal of the so-called new woman. According to them, as a result of the complicated economic and social situation, millions of women had to come to terms with other issues than happy or tragic love, loyalty and cheating in relationships. A new (both physically and mentally) working woman was still not a "stable type" but an economically independent woman prevailed over "stupidity and feminine morale inherited from the past" (Malá & Křenová, 1921, p. 12). The ideal new woman – communist, should have realized that "*household was a burden of a working woman, a cage of soul, a prison of heart able to fly, a dependence on man, degradation and degrading of a woman as a human being*" (Malá & Křenová,

1921, p. 13). The representatives of feminine Communist movement considered household a transition mode without future and therefore did not desire to go back to the household and the family. Equality of women should have emerged from simplification of housekeeping or its complete abandonment, because, according to Soviet experience, women enclosed only in households were the least politically conscious (Švarcová-Rezlerová, 1923, pp. 4-5). At their meetings, the editors of *Proletárka* presented Slovak working women with a concept of so-called housing communes: extensive houses with rooms to live in, with a big and modern kitchen, laundry room, clothesline room and ironing room at their disposal downstairs, as well as a shared room for children where they were supposed to be placed day and night together. Inhabitants of such a housing commune would dine together in a big dining room. Women were expected to work only a certain number of hours (at their work, cooking, taking care of children) and spend the rest of the time on their hobbies and entertainment (such as reading) (Proletárka 2 (4), 1923, pp. 1-2). The housing commune concept of living and sharing work was a too distant, unreal and unimaginable vision of a far future for the Slovak women. The editor of *Proletárka* considered it doable, thought, since it was already being introduced in Soviet Russia at that time (Proletárka 2 (4), 1923, pp. 1-2).

An important role model that the feminine Slovak Communists used was undoubtedly V. I. Lenin. Quoting his works, they presented the thought "Leninism as a way to women liberation" also in Slovak environment (Proletárka 5 (3), 1926, pp. 1-2). According to Lenin, the first step to free a woman labourer was to dispose of private property, the second step was banishing of legal inequality between men and women in marital, family and motherhood law and, finally, liberalizing women from small-scale farming (Proletárka 5 (3), 1926, pp. 1-2). In terms of the bond between men and women, excited about the situation in Soviet Russia, Communist women started to speak about the marriage as "an institution of voluntary love" (Malá & Křenová, 1921, p. 8). Discussing marriage and voluntary or free love took place mostly among Communist women and women in general not only at party meetings but in the public, too. Although such topics are mentioned on the pages of *Proletárka* only occasionally, they still show interest and fascination with the topic. The issue of the free love interpretation was a decisive factor for some women when sympathizing with, or considering membership in the Communist Party. In the future, love was to be freed from class denominators and should have become a free community of free people, not dependant on each other in any way (Proletárka 5 (2), 1926, p. 7). That is why they had predicted the "*dying out*" of family in the future, supposed to be replaced by a healthy, joyful and free relation between a man and a woman (Proletárka 3 (8), 1923, pp. 7-8). Marriage was deemed an economic bond or a form of prostitution, therefore, in Communist regime it was to become an institution based on mutual love and agreement of two

independent sexes (Proletárka 6 (12), 1927, pp. 7-8). Thus Communist women refused the inseparability of marriage and welcomed the validation of the so-called "separation law".[21] They viewed the possibility of separation "*a true benediction for women*" but they demanded acceptation of an improved law to make sure the marriage between men and women was a free choice and as an institution, to run only on principles of mutual love and agreement (Proletárka 3 (7), 1924, pp. 2-4). A free possibility to choose a partner for life was expected to enable both men and women to have a happier life. In this case women also required "setting women free" and a state guaranteed protection of motherhood (Proletárka 3 (7), 1924, pp. 2-4). Marriage arranged for financial reasons was seen as oppression, enslavement and a form of prostitution by the feminine Communists. Life of a man and woman was deemed to stem from physical and mental harmony, respect and love (Proletárka 5 (7) 1926, pp. 1-2).

Women and marriage in Soviet Union were depicted idealistically in the *Proletárka* magazine. Women – labourers were supposedly completely free and equal. Due to their earning potential they were utterly independent and able to live alone. Therefore, they were not forced to "be sold the way our women are by getting married to any man who could provide basic essentials". Russian women were entitled to a fully compensated two-month holiday before and after giving birth, receiving allowance for nursing and having the possibility of using children daycare centres, as well as being freed from heavy work during the time of having their period (Pezlár, 1926, pp. 2-3). In 1926, *Proletárka* informed its readers about the new act which had reformed marital law in Soviet Union. Pursuant to this act the officially declared marriages (probably administered by the clerks of state) were equalized with inofficially declared marriages (co-habitation of a man and a woman), whereby the status of a child born outside of marriage had completely disappeared from the soviet legal system (Proletárka 5 (23-24), 1926, pp. 7).

"Happy motherhood" as the goal of the Communist movement

An important place was reserved for the issues connected with motherhood and birth control in the Communist feminine campaigning and political work. In line with the generalized views of V. I. Lenin the Communist women stressed that motherhood was a voluntary, responsible and important social role of women

[21] Act No. 320/1919 Sb. z. a n. from the 22nd of May 1919 changed the disposition of the civil right on ceremonies of entering a marriage, on separation and on obstructions of marriage. Marriage had thus arisen facultatively in both ways (religious and state) and ceased to exist due to death, declaration of being dead or divorce (Vojáček, Kolárik, & Gábriš, 2011, pp. 129-130).

and, therefore, must be protected by the state. The state was expected to take responsibility for the nutrition and upbringing of children (Proletárka 5 (20), 1926, pp. 3). Communist women in the *Proletárka* magazine presented the opinion that "*motherhood cannot remain a private affair of a woman because it is a responsible and demanding role*" (Malá, 1922, pp. 2-3). Women thus unambiguously rejected a private character of motherhood. Communist member of parliament Anna Malá[22] noticed that poor mothers pay dearly for the ideal of motherhood praised by the society because there was nobody helping them bear the burden of motherhood and earning wages (Malá, 1926a, pp. 2-3; 1926b, pp. 3-4). They could neither be perfect mothers, nor could they be role models of social progress. Glorifying motherhood was seen by Malá only as a "social ruse". She had criticized celebratory songs on the holiness of motherhood, she refused motherhood as the only way to measure a woman's worth. State, like a good father, was supposed to be playing a decisive role of taking care of a child. Russia was again considered an ideal where "*they no longer spoke of empty hearts, wasted life without love or of motherhood as the last safe haven for women*" (Malá, 1922, pp. 2-3). Anna Malá passionately protested against "middle-class" sentimentality, praising of perfect motherhood, as well as "*bitter-sweet*" lessons for mothers. Inside of the party, she was trying to lead women campaigners and representatives to reject a "middle-class" set of views on women earning wages, on family life, on love between men and women and on child (Malá, 1924c, pp. 4-5). In Communist propaganda a terminology, which was taken over from Soviet Union in Russia, appeared: happy motherhood (the right of one's body, abolishing the law that prevented abortion) and liberated work (the state takes care of the children and the housekeeping) (Uhrová, 2004, p. 32). Happy motherhood was declared as a programme of feminine Communists – motherhood was a prized institution and deserving of the state's support (Malá, & Křenová, 1921, pp. 19-20). Anna Malá expressed her view on fatherhood in her talks on motherhood, as well. She demanded that fathers also fulfilled their parental roles sufficiently. Still it was the state that was seen as the partner of a woman when taking care of the child (Malá, 1922, pp. 2-3). Another father of the child was thus not only an individualized and specific male but also state as a collective. This idea was attractive especially when considering the social support of single mothers. That is also why a collective upbringing and care-taking of children was seen as ideal, including common sharing of housekeeping and dining (Proletárka 5 (14), 1926, pp. 4-5). Labourers represented a huge number of women who had to balance their time between earning money and taking care of the family and household.

[22] Anna Malá (* 1886 - † 1948) – member of the National Assembly in 1920-1925, originally the member of social democratic party, after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Communist Party she participated in creating a Communist parliamentary club in 1921. She worked as an office clerk.

Their experience with the double workload needed a solution – dealing with the problem of housekeeping. Feminine Communist housekeeping and family care-taking was supposed to be done outside of home, in common kitchens, laundry rooms, daycares and kinder-gardens. Common management (chores, dining rooms, laundry rooms) became a synonym of "*liberalizing unity*" because it freed women, and simultaneously, raised humankind to a higher level of culture. Preparing food together was less time-consuming, using good ingredients, improving the quality of food, reducing waste of leftover food, and, common dining reinforced collective experiencing of a new life (M.H-á, 1926, pp. 2-3; Ml, 1926, pp. 2). Feminine journalists showed the Slovak labourer women "positive" examples of women support in Soviet Russia, especially when it came to management of household chores and care of children (Holanová, 1924, p. 4; Pfeilmajerová, 1924b, p. 3; Pfeilmajerová, 1924c, pp. 3-4; Proletárka 4 (8), 1925, pp. 5-6). Soviet Russia was thus an ideal of taking care of employed women's children in common factory daycare with nurses and medical assistance. Every child had a regular doctor's check-up with medical help and medicine-prescription and baby nutrition formula at hand. Daycares for children existed also at "labourers' clubs" so that women – mothers could participate in political, social and cultural life and did not only have to stay at home with the children. Older children could have been put into children homes (probably kinder-gardens) with medical care, education and dining (Proletárka 5 (14), 1926, pp. 4-5).

A crucial problem that the journalists of *Proletárka* identified in their articles, was *the* poverty of the labour class, double workload of Communist women and the inability of the Czechoslovak state to protect and socially support mostly poor mothers with their children. Labour mothers suffering in poverty, bodily exhaustion due to the hard work, insufficient nutrition and education ("*run out by work, hungry, bodily and mentally deprived*") gave birth to children who were weak, sickly, and, due to the lack of care, often died after birth (Holánová, 1923b, p. 7). The feminine authors strictly criticized charity and social club work dedicated to support and protection of motherhood. In their opinion, mothers and children should have been taken care of by the state (Holánová, 1923a, p. 6). That is why they demanded state protection and support of motherhood because only the state could ensure adequate care of mother after giving birth and baby care. Insufficient care of children in Czechoslovakia was demonstrated by the absence of daycares, shelters, kinder-gardens, boarding for the youth (Malá, 1924a, p. 7). Married women - mothers, had nowhere to put their children while at work. They could leave them with their older siblings, grandparents or other people, yet they had to pay for such service and thus lose a part of their wages. Besides, many children were neglected when taken care of by strangers. In agriculture worker population organized taking care of babies and small children was non-existent.

It was also problematic that there were not enough educational help centres for mothers with children and labour workers did not even visit regularly (either due to the lack of time or money, or because of shame). According to the Communist programme, the only cure to poverty and premature death was the common fight for the dictatorship of proletariat, and only then a better protection of mothers and children was possible (Malá, 1924b, p. 7). Big families with numerous children have struggled greatly, children growing in horrific conditions, in poverty and suffering (Proletárka 2 (10), 1923, pp. 2-3). Considerable attention was paid to single mothers, trying to battle taking care of children without a father and breadwinner. The journalists repeatedly advocated for the poor single mothers who killed their newborns in desperation, or mothers of many children who had rather aborted a new baby with the assistance of an untrained charlatan nurse than to give birth yet to another hungry mouth (Proletárka 5 (23), 1926, pp. 8-9). The state was therefore expected to help poor women (Pitelková, 1927, pp. 6-7). Capitalist society, according to the Communist women, could not provide a woman with the right for a voluntary motherhood and support labour mothers, it was only possible in socialist society ("*labourer state*"), and so women - labourers had to fight for a new social order. The motif of a poor mother not able to sustain her children, forced by the capitalist society to have more children – other slaves, worked as a tool for activating into a common fight for a new, fair society (Proletárka 6 (11), 1927, pp. 3-4).

The *Proletárka* journalists often shared their views on abortion and birth control from the ideological standpoint. Abortion was illegal during the interwar period. In Slovak lands the Hungarian Act on crimes and offences from 1878 was still valid,[23] pursuant to which a woman intentionally aborting a foetus could be punished to 2-3 years of imprisonment.[24] The democratic Czechoslovak state was open for discussion about birth control, contraception, sexual education. Improvement of the social support of pregnant women, especially single ones, was required in the public debate. Those who advocated a complete abolishment of punishing abortion argued that women had the right for self-defining when it came to pregnancy and giving birth. They refused to accept the punishment of women who had abortion based on a bad social situation. The so-called social indication – abortion because of an unfavourable social situation of the woman, was the spark to set the political debate between politicians, doctors and sociologists on fire. It was mostly the

[23] Act of Law V/1878 on crimes and criminal offences.

[24] In the Czech and Moravian territory, the General Criminal Codex from the 27th of May 1852 was valid (§ 144- 148). After the establishing of the Czechoslovak Republic criminal acts and codex were kept valid due to the Act of No. 11 from the 28th October 1918 and there was a legal dualism existing in the lands of the republic, with legal amendments, until 1950 (Nikšová, 1971, p. 73).

left-wing feminine members of parliament Louisa Landová-Štychová[25], Irene Kirpal[26], Franziska Blatny[27], Maria Deutsch[28] and a member of parliament who later became a senator Betty Karpíšková[29] who spoke for accepting a more liberal legal option on abortions, as well as including sexual education at schools, making contraception widely accessible and enabling a thorough care-taking of mothers and newborns (Musilová, 2007, p. 77). The feminine representatives of socialist parties introduced a few novel proposals to change the legal status of abortion without success (Škorvanková, 2017). During the existence of the bi-weekly *Proletárka,* its journalists were constantly calling for attention to birth control among working women and unanimously stated that a woman is fit to decide on her number of pregnancies and children born (B.R.Š., 1924, p. 3). They viewed it through the lens of Communist ideology, superficially inspired by the development of population politics and opinions on motherhood in the Soviet Union, of which they knew very little. If they had the opportunity to travel there, they only saw the version of Soviet Bolshevik regime facade which it intentionally offered. The journalists of *Proletárka* excitedly informed their readers on the validity of the act on abortion in Soviet Union (interruption). Issuing of this legal act meant liberation of motherhood for the journalists: "*They gave women a freedom of motherhood and they put foundation under it via real deeds. Neither will our mother ever be free until she gives birth only according to paragraphs and until she breaks free of the oppression that exploits and degrades her*" (Proletárka 5 (15), 1926, pp. 3-4).

Many viewpoints and opinions on the pages of *Proletárka* in connection with birth control were, regarding the period, shocking. Allow me to mention a series of articles promoting contraception and presenting education on sex life and

[25] Louisa Landová-Štychová (* 1885 - † 1969) – an activist in the Anarchy-Communist and feminine movement, member of the National Assembly (for Czechoslovak National Socialist Party and later Czechoslovak Communist Party), she proposed a few changes of laws connected with the protection of motherhood, feminine education, social politics and family law, since 1925 she was a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

[26] Irene Kirpal (* 1886 - † 1977) – member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, elected a member of the National Assembly in 1920, re-elected three consecutive times, later also active in London emigration.

[27] Franziska Blatny (* 1873 - † 1949) – member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, elected a member of the National Assembly in 1920, re-elected in 1925 and 1929, focused on political and public work, active in the feminine movement

[28] Maria Deutsch (* 1882 - † 1969) – member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, elected a member of the National Assembly in 1920, active in the German social democracy and feminine movement.

[29] Betty Karpíšková (* 1881 - † 1942) – a member of parliament and senator, she was one of the most important personages of the socialist democratic politics in Czechoslovakia, active in feminine movement and international organizations (International Women Committee at the Socialist Labour International, International Work Office).

protection against conception (Stopesová, 1925a, pp. 5-6; 1925b, p. 5; Proletárka 4 (4), 1925, p. 4; Proletárka 4 (5), 1925, pp. 7-8). *Proletárka* copied some articles on contraception from the well-known British palaeobotanist, feminine activist and contraception and birth control campaigner Marie Stopes.[30] Thus could *Proletárka* spread the new awareness about health and hygiene among Slovak women (the biology of feminine sex organs, regular monthly cycle of women, the need for better hygiene and care-taking of one's body also in case of labourer women, description and use of suitable contraception means and methods). The texts of M. Stops were amended by the editor of *Proletárka*, offering a more detailed and explanatory commentary so that the women would learn how to use contraception, in order to make its application a routine. She added: "*children without responsibility and second thought are being born only t such parents who do not care how to provide for them*" (Stopesová, 1925b, p. 5) In this case the journalist expressed a negative view on abortions. She stated that rich women can afford to pay for this "surgery" but the poor women lack the means. Therefore, she recommended prevention of pregnancies, being careful and "*using means to hinder getting pregnant*" (Proletárka 4 (5), 1925, pp. 7-8). Her argumentation also included the fact that those contraceptive means sold at pharmacies and drug-stores were not prohibited, while abortion was forbidden and strictly punishable by law. The journalists of this magazine advised women where to get some practical information on how to prevent pregnancies. They recommended a brochure by Dr. H. Rossen (1922) *Protection Against Motherhood*, distributed by the editor's board of *Proletárka*. In September 1925, the magazine started publishing a brochure *Blessed Family, Prevention of Impregnation, Expelling a Foetus* by Fritz Brupbacher.[31] The author presented the birth regulation problem via the view of social conflict. Referring to Marx's Capital *Das Kapital* very critically pointed to the fact that birth regulation was a privilege of the "middle-class", something of their monopoly. The labour class was considered a tool and should grow in numbers, have many children so that the labour force could always be replaced by another. Being a doctor, the author predominantly paid attention to the medical view of labour worker's pregnancy (workload, insufficient nutrition, missing vitamins and minerals, overall exhaustion of the body) and the consequences of the birthweight and health condition of their newborns (problems with high

[30] Marie Charlotte Carmichael Stopes (* 1880 - † 1958) – British palaeobotanist, supporter of eugenics, promoter of contraception and planned parenthood. She published the *Birth Control News* magazine, had written works on sexual education (*Married Love*), founded the first clinic for birth control in Britain. She rejected abortion and promoted prevention in the form of contraception and conception control.

[31] The brochure was being published in 1925 and 1926 as a press supplement.

child mortality in this social group and the factors influencing it). He demanded a removal of the "*monopoly of the rich*" to get contraception and the legal possibility of having an "*expulsion of the foetus*" in a medical facility. He also called for state support and care of pregnant women and mothers, free help centres supplying information and means preventing conception. In conclusion, he briefly mentioned the topic of abortions (interruption of pregnancy) which he opposed yet required laws that punished them to be abolished. He pointed fingers at the number of non-qualified abortions with social indication. They had serious medical consequences; therefore, the role of doctors was to prevent unwanted pregnancies and replace non-qualified abortions with professional interventions. His role model of choice was the situation in Soviet Union where one could have an abortion in a state hospital in a form of surgery, free and professional, performed by a doctor. The opinion that anti-abortion laws were aimed at the labour class and poor women was constantly being brought up in the magazine. Labour women could not check with a doctor, nor did they have access to effective and safe contraception, they could not evade problems connected with unwanted pregnancy and so, they were forced to undergo abortion (Proletárka 5 (19), 1926, p. 3; 5 (20) 1926, p. 3).

The aim of the Communist movement was to reach for human dignity and create a functioning family which would be the ideal of the Communist society (B.B.Š., 1924, pp. 4-5). In the lecturing stories of the magazine, positive models of ideal Communist family were introduced, at the same time being examples of successful birth control. A presented role model was a family with a single a healthy and well-kept child that the mother and father were able to provide for, and even as labourers, they could ensure a decent life quality for him/her. The goal of using such positive examples was not to give birth to children into poverty "*Women should protect themselves against unwanted number of births but also painful abortions and so they must prevent conception. – A politically conscious labourer would not allow even nature to subdue her*" (Proletárka 1 (2), 1922, p. 8).

The magazine's journalists were trying to motivate readers to a responsible motherhood. Barbora Rezlerová-Švarcová appealed to labour women not to let the nature enslave them and "*give birth to a too big number of children in vain*". Poor mothers of numerous children, as many as 14, she regarded with: "*What a wasteful suffering! What an enormous spreading of poverty, sickness, old age, ugliness, cripple-hood, death! What a stolen happiness, beauty, content not only from oneself but from the children! Comrades, women, take off your chains that not only man but nature had bound you with! Let a doctor advise you, buy a good book, look for the solution from the curse which was brought upon you by a reactionary upbringing! Free yourselves from capitalism as the source of poverty – it would bring us the fight of all he poor*" (B.R.Š., 1924, p. 3). Her lecturing and education automatically changed into campaigning and political struggle. The purpose of this common

political fight side by side men should have been a socially just, socialist society. Only in a socialist society could the goal of feminine effort for equality and "*happy motherhood*" be made real - "*We desire motherhood to be a joy and happiness, so that children can live a real childhood, a happy age*" (Proletárka 2 (5), 1923, p. 2).

Conclusion

In their campaigns, the feminine Communist movement appealed mostly to women with lower education, labour and small-farming proletariat, servants and stay-at-home women. Active feminine members of the party could not really get to the leadership positions of the party or influence the inner development, but they were ready to fight for a new socialist society which would ensure employment, higher wages, quality healthcare, and for women, freeing them from housekeeping and enabling individual childcare. Communist women intensely participated in political work, campaigned and tried to appeal especially to labourer women by showcasing the ideals of a socially just society. They perused a very simplified argumentation base inspired by classical Marxist authors and of the works of V. I. Lenin. An important source of inspiration proved to be the excited glorification and imitation of Communist role models and ideals, without a deeper knowledge of the state of the Soviet society. Marriage and motherhood belonged to the Communist political propaganda and educational activities. Interesting, and undoubtedly controversial, topic was definition of the new ideal marriage and mutual relation between a man and a woman. Communist women dealt with the term of free love which, after a future successful revolution, was supposed to become a new idealized image of the relation of men and women. Love was to be washed out of its class character, thus becoming a free expression of both man and woman. That is the reason why Communist women foretold a "*dying out*" of family, which was expected to be replaced by a voluntary and loose relation between man and woman, which could easily be separated and terminated by divorce. The possibility of divorce was considered "*a true benediction for women*". Traditional marriage was, in line with the Marxist teaching, considered an economic bond and a form of prostitution. A free choice of a partner for life and his/her abandonment or exchange was supposed to ensure a happier life for both men and women.

The temporary ideal of motherhood was questioned to pieces and its private character was rejected. In line with the general views of V. I. Lenin, Communist women stressed that motherhood is a voluntary, responsible and important social role of a woman and thus should be protected by the state. They ostentatiously distanced themselves from the temporary sentimental middle-class ideal of a woman – mother and a housewife who patiently and selflessly serves the family

and impeccably fulfils her housekeeping tasks. Communist women in leading positions dreamed of a career of women for whom motherhood and housekeeping would not pose a threat of further social and economic self-development, because they would not have to deal with the children care and housekeeping alone, but the responsibility would be shifted to the society as a collective unit. Household chores should have been performed by the state services (laundry rooms, dining facilities) and children were expected to grow up among their peers in daycare, kinder-gardens and school clubs. In the context of idealized views about the new forms of motherhood and children care the absence of a specific biological father and breadwinner was presented, in line with the effort to make individuals a collective part of the social reality. Communist women unanimously turned to the state to take care of the future members of its society with requirements of social support for mothers in the political practice. In social support, it was the state that represented the breadwinner of children and took over responsibility for socialization and future useful placement of the next generations via education and upbringing. While campaigning, the feminine Communists presented Slovak women with an idealized image of a commune housing with a shared kitchen, dining room, laundry room and children playroom, which was supposed to be inhabited by several families. Women were not expected to do housework in their joint house or take individual care of the children, they were to relax and educate themselves after the time appointed for work. The ideal and programme was the collective, shared living, joint dining and common education and upbringing. Family was to be replaced by the collective which was sharing a common household – a house equipped for a shared life. This ideal seemed to be a distant future. The reality of working women - mothers was complicated. Motherhood was a huge burden for physically hard-working women, it endangered their paid jobs and the birth of another child lead to deterioration of an already complicated social situation of bigger families. Leading representatives of the feminine Communist movement, campaigning for birth control on the pages of their magazines, motivated Slovak women to pay closer attention to responsible and planned parenthood and they led them to use birth control. Apart from active propaganda campaign, they also offered tips and methods of controlling the number of pregnancies also in case of very ordinary, poor women via accessible and effective contraception. They tried to appeal to women to prevent pregnancies instead of abortions which were illegal in the interwar Czechoslovakia. Poor women did not have the means to pay for a quality healthcare, so they often had illegal abortion. This problem was presented by the Communist women through the lens of a class fight. While the rich could access good healthcare and had the privilege of abortion in a medical facility without punishment or public disrespect, poor women had to take the risks of social resistance and life-threatening surgeries. Among poor women the Communist

campaigners promoted a recommendation (an ideal of sorts) that via responsible parenting approach they should have one or two children only in order for the family to be able to financially support them. From long-term perspective, family was expected to dissolve and create into a collective of free people. Thanks to the provided service replacing housekeeping, common education, and upbringing of children, the material support of all family members was to be managed under the auspices of the state. Birth control could only become a free expression of woman's will and would not be a consequence of social reality.

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