



різноманітних господарсько-економічних та громадсько-культурних організацій. Завдяки цьому, незважаючи на протидію з боку міцніючої тоталітарної системи, у роки нової економічної політики спостерігається активний розвиток традиційних самоврядних організацій, які відігравали дедалі помітнішу роль в усіх сферах життя села. Так, селянською альтернативою пробільшовицьким громадським інституціям стали земельні громади, сільські сходи, сільськогосподарські та споживчі кооперативні товариства, просвіти.

**Висновки.** Таким чином, аналіз доволі широкого, різного за походженням фактологічного та інформаційно-аналітичного матеріалу свідчить, що ідея консолідації заради захисту своїх прав та інтересів знайшла підтримку серед представників всіх прошарків сільського населення. Варто підкреслити, що серед найактивніших агітаторів за створення селянських союзів вступали учасники політичних, економічних та громадських організацій періоду Української революції 1917–1921 років. Громадська активність цих осіб пояснюється їх значним політичним досвідом, знанням справи, а отже авторитетом серед селян, здатністю побачити, сформулювати та спробувати виконати нагальні селянські вимоги.

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### O. Abrazumova, A. Morozov PUBLIC INITIATIVE BY UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION DURING THE PERIOD OF NEP

Agricultural history remains relevant field of scientific studies. The increased attention caused by domestic researchers' specific role of Ukrainian peasant in the history of our state. Revolutionary upheavals 1917–

1921, bitter armed conflict, profound changes in the socio-political and socio-economic structure led to significant transformation of the basic principles of the peasant world. In these particular circumstances the majority of the Ukrainian population – farmers – has not only witnessed the breakdown of civilization, but also an active participant in these events.

The purpose of the article is that on the basis of critical analysis of historical sources and explores the achievements of historiography manifestations of public activity participants during the Ukrainian revolution to the period of NEP.

The authors emphasize that the most active agitators for the creation of peasant unions were members of political, economic and social organizations of the Ukrainian revolution period 1917–1921. Public activity of these persons due, above all, their significant political experience gained in the pre-October involving organizations, skills, and therefore credibility among farmers, the ability to see formulate and attempt an immediate peasant demands.

In first time in the article in an attempt to trace the continuity of the revolutionary activity of Ukrainian peasants during the period of national liberation 1917–1921 years and NEP period.

Delineated issues yet to be weighed, and most importantly comprehensive coverage, refinement and detail of many important aspects of the abovementioned problems.

**Key words:** Ukrainian Revolution, consolidation, peasant activist, public initiative, ODPU.

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**N.I. Zemzulina**

*Doctor of historical sciences, professor of the Department of World History and International Relations, Director of the Institute of History and Philosophy in The Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy*

### INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE FIRST THIRD OF THE XX CENTURY (REGIONAL SPECIFICS)

*This article deals with the development of women's sector in international cooperative movement in the first third of the XX century, with national aspects of women's cooperation under conditions of civilization indignations being highlighted. The effort to analyze the transformation of cooperation's constituents and its values under the influence of economic interests and political ambitions of governments of European countries is made. The main factor of changes of gender part of the world's cooperative movement is seen in the initiative of women to assert their civil and economic rights and in the desire to become an active member of civilization processes.*

**Key words:** International Women's Cooperative Guild, cooperation principles, suffragist organizations

The modern women's movement is becoming more and more dominant, women's questions are in the field of interest of, not only, scientists and society but also of governmental institutions [1]. Nevertheless, the growing interest to the women's questions faces the lack of historical experience, knowledge and researches that would objectively present role and place of women in social history. Theoretical and historical comprehension of the women's problem felt behind the practical needs of modern time.



The **relevance** of the scientific research of the chosen theme is established by the social actuality of cooperative movement learning. Under the modern circumstances, the interest towards the potential of cooperation, as a tool for solving complex of social and economic problems that are caused by market transformations of the last years, has been growing lately. Taking into consideration the demographic situation in Europe and the changing roles of genders, that were caused by active socialization of females, cooperative movement is getting more and more popular.

The **goal** of this research is actualization of attention to the role of woman in economic and social life of society. The historic experience of female cooperators and possible modern forms of cooperative work in the context of economy's privatization are to be highlighted and picked up.

According to the modern calculations, there are around 1 million cooperative organizations and more than 120 types that include approximately 760 million people in the world. More than one and a half century of experience of cooperation in different countries and nations, demonstrate that cooperation is an essential component of market relations. Cooperation emerges when more and more segments of population enter the market, and the majority is in need of alliance of its efforts in order to strengthen its market position (both as a manufacturer and consumer).

The gender aspect of European cooperative movement was fully presented in the activities of Women's Cooperative Guild (1883) that was created in the Great Britain and was lately transformed in the International Women's Cooperative Guild in 1920<sup>th</sup>. Today, it's a powerful world economic center, that is operating as the International Women's Cooperative Committee, which successfully works as a part of International Women's Alliance. Thus, it is important to learn and analyze historical experience of foreign countries.

It should be noted that despite the actuality of comparative examination of historical background of interaction of different political powers and social groups with such social society institute as cooperative movement, Ukrainian historiography lacked special researches on the theme until nowadays. Researches of the role of Communist Party in the development of Soviet cooperation are exceptions.

Studying the gender-cooperative aspect of women's question, we cannot but mention the works of the following modern female scientists who studied collectivization and industrialization in which women took the primary role as an active members: O. Kryvuli[2], O. Sapytska[3], T. Sharova[4], K. Yakuba[5]. The last one, presented the role of women in the development of agricultural sphere in USSR rather deep. Female citizens that dreamed of social equality - got social slavery. The presented statistical materials amaze, both on a wider and deeper scale. The author processed documents and materials, in particular economic reports of 1920-1930<sup>th</sup> and conclusions of the "well known" commission under the management of O. Shlikhter etc. Speaking about the development of women's history in Ukraine, we should mention the generalized research of women history by T. Orlova. The author tries to collect all works about women in chronological and thematical order[6].

Within the framework, researches that were published on the edge of economic and social policies give us ability to discover specifics of formation of women's conscious during the transition from capitalistic stereotypes to absolutely new - socially equitable. The monography of R. Stites "The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930" was published in the series "Gender collection"[7]. The work deals with history of XIX – beginning of XX century but the author states that it should be viewed as a general research that helps in further investigation of women's question. The abovementioned book was the first serious work on women's movement in SIC region. Western scientists wrote several biographical essays on activists of Soviet women's movement. The fate of A.M. Kolontai was analyzed in works of R. Stites[8] and B.E. Clements[9]. The fullest biography of Inessa Armand was written by R.S. Elwood[10]. The first full biography L. Reisner was presented by C. Porter[11].

Taking into consideration the fact that the separation of women's role in cooperative movement has not been a subject of a research yet, we will try to find them in other forms of social activities. Researches of direct participants of women's cooperative movement of the period, their partners and opponents would be rather demonstrative. The work of J. Worley[12] describes principles that were used for creation of the first Britain women's guild as well as obstacles of the creation and perception of contemporary people. Later, the anti-war campaign and economic initiatives of women are inscribed in the work of D. Anon "The Women's Cooperative Guild"[13]. The development and popularization of cooperative idea among women in Europe are highlighted in C. Webb's work "The woman with the basket"[14] (the name origins from the logo of women's guild that illustrates a woman with a basket). M. Davies[15], who examined the work of world's women's cooperation and was its Head for many years, actively popularize activities of International Women's Cooperation. In 1915 M. Davies published a very sentimental book "Maternity: letters from working women", as well as from 400 members of English Women's Cooperative Guild who described their experience of giving a birth to a child and parenting kids in tough realities of the beginning of the XX century. In 1931, a similar book was published – "Life as we have known it"[16]. It was some kind of conclusion, in which she described, in details, the way from founding an International Women's Cooperative Guild and its perception to the plans for future. Dedicated to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of International Women's Cooperative Guild, E. Sharp[17] published a work, that was describing the development of cooperation by women not only in Europe. The book contained stories about women in Americas and Asia and showed their pacifistic movements and famine relief. That was one of the last works about the Guild, before the arrest of M. Davies and actually collapse of the Guild as an international women's cooperative center. Several books about the history of women's cooperation and its leaders[18] were published after the renewal of the status in the International Cooperative Alliance. As some kind of conclusion, the work of International Cooperative Alliance's chairman, Mr. Watkins[19], that was dedicated to the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ICA, described the role of



women in the world's cooperative movement, their initiatives, actions and claims.

In the beginning of the XX century, women's social organization started to evolve actively in Europe. This process was called "emancipation movement" that was being developed at the same time as the movements that were based on the ideas of spirit emancipation and integration of interests of individual and society. In the framework of emancipation movement, the following ideas were popular in different times: the movement for equal education, the movement for using female force for society benefit, the movement for equality in marriage etc. In 1904, suffrage organizations from the USA, Canada, the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden united into International Union for Women's Equality. In 1911 the Union consisted of 24 national associations. All-Russian Union of Women's Equality was invited to join the International Union in 1905. Women worked on: the ways to obtain a university degree (e.g. International Federation of Women with University Degree, 1919); expansion of the working women's spheres (e.g. International federation of working women, 1919); creating organizations for mutual assistance; creating organizations for working women protection. Leaders of the European countries has different opinions on women's organizations: from interest and potential usage of the originations for society good to the open enmity with the willingness to fully control the organizations.

European cooperative movement of the period was marked by some serious changes in ideology. As it was mentioned, ideologies of cooperative capitalism and cooperative socialism started to evolve actively, moreover first sings of cooperation nationalization were shown. The specific feature of the period was active participation of women in several social organizations simultaneously. At that time, cooperation was viewed as a tool of economic protection, while suffrage organizations acted as fighters for human rights. Analyzing the work that female cooperators did in different countries in Europe, the one might see that all of them are battling for theirs economic, social and human rights. Cooperation became an institute that provided a base for self-emancipation. Women of that time lacked education, work experience but they were moving forward rapidly.

The question about women's cooperation movement was discussed for the first time in Glasgow in 1913 during International Cooperation Meeting. The World War stopped the activities of the International Cooperative Alliance, but not cooperation. Only in 1920, E. Freundlich, the representative of Austrian cooperation, was able to raise the question about the creation of the International Women's Cooperative Guild[20] again, during her visit to London. At the time, women's cooperative guilds were created and actively worked across all Europe: in Scotland and Ireland that were a part of the Great Britain, women's cooperative movement was less developed, because the population lived mainly in villages and was not concentrated. Scottish Women's Guild that was founded in 1892, had 29 thousand cooperative members by 1920. It agitated for the members of labor party during elections, against intervention and for governmental support for widows etc. Irish women's cooperative guild was founded in 1906. In 1920, the Guild comprised of 1 200 members. The main activities of the Guild were culture-educational work among women, housekeeping

courses, patronage of single mothers and kids, agitation for new laws on the marriage and for better community policy[21].

Austrian Guild was founded in the beginning of the XX century and was rather notable for its activities not only in the field of development of cooperative organization, but also in promoting women to the cooperation management. In January 1928, women of Vienna cooperation held the following places: 5 women in Supervisory Council; 4 – members of the board; 5 – members of district boards; 37 – head deputies; 89 – assistant of head deputies; 99 – secretaries of branches and several hundreds of women working in the stores. Separate (national) women cooperatives (Lviv and others cities of the modern Ukraine) that set up stores, manufactories, housekeeping courses situated across all Austro-Hungary. That was a heritage of the democratic reforms that took place in the country. According to the statute, these cooperatives strived to economic and political development of women (Ukrainian) and were created to improve economic and cultural life of a female householder etc [22].

Analyzing the status of women's cooperation in other European countries, it should be noted that then there were few women's guilds but there were commissions, like a Serbia one, where there was no guild but 4 women cooperative commission were functioned with more than 1 200 members. In Sweden there were even separate women's labor unions and women's cooperative commission included 122 units with 4 thousand members. As of 1928 there were no guilds in Germany, but women's cooperative commissions included 27 units with 1 342 members. In Norway, there were 38 units with 2 thousand members [23]. All of this indicates national peculiarities of European women's cooperative movement and its elements. With the help of cooperatives, women were trying to solve their material, social and educational problems.

After the War, due to the economic downturns and active attack of monopolies, relations between women's and men's cooperation in Britain aggravated. During 1918-1920, The Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives of England offered the management of English Women's Cooperative Guild to weaken the fight for social rights of working women as its causes damage to the capital and oblige additional payments from cooperatives and moreover sour relations of neutral towards politics cooperation with the main political parties. Nevertheless, the Guild, in the person of M. Davies and her mates kept ground[24]. On the regular congress of the Union, M. Davie held a speech, in which she criticized the policy of male cooperators: "... Woman is the main factor of cooperation, in particular in the sphere of consumption, movement, but the relation towards a woman in cooperation has been awful lately, she was given the right to participate in cooperation only to the extend that is granted by the Head of the cooperation system, that is mainly filled with men. Thus, women's guilds were created only because of the awful attitude towards women in cooperation, as a reaction to such treatment..." [25]. When guilds started to operate actively, male part of cooperative management system was trying to take over them, by limiting their actions, but was met with a rebuff [26]. Some women were outraged and wanted to stop any cooperation with male part of the Union and create something like feministic organization, while other



thought that a compromise should be found – all that forced sharp debates between members of the Guild.

In 1921, in Basel (Switzerland) before International Cooperative Congress, the First International Women's Cooperative Conference took place. Women from English, Scottish, Irish, Swedish, Norwegian and Holland guilds and Austrian and Switzerland cooperative commissions participated in the Conference [27]. During that event, the Head of English cooperation, Emma Freundlich spoke out with the analyses of the main factors that restrain women from development and work. Highlighting the huge interest of women in cooperation she informed: "There are several obstacles on the way of the International Women's Cooperation Guild's development: 1) in many countries, leaders of cooperation are against the creation of women's guilds and women that work there have no contacts with female cooperators in other countries; 2) depending on the country, cooperation and participation of women in cooperation move with different pace; 3) the lack of funds for cultural-educational and agitation work; 4) guilds separated themselves from a general labour movement and political parties, and opposed the latest [28]. Despite those negative factors, IWCG was created and its activities were based on the standard principles of cooperative organizations:

1. Voluntariness of membership (join and leave cooperative);
2. Material (through monetary or share donations and contributions) or labor participation of members in establishment and development of their cooperative;
3. All immovable assets of cooperative (land, buildings) are public property and compose a single and indivisible fund;
4. Joint labor of members that work according to their will, skills and experience;
5. Cooperative's incomes are divided proportionally in accordance with the members' participation in its economic activities (taking into consideration labor, material participation in the form of monetary contributions, the amount of purchases in cooperative's shop, etc.);
6. Members have equal rights in all cooperative's activities and in its management, as well as equal obligations;
7. The cooperative's management is conducted on democratic basis in form of direct members' participation (general meetings) or through collegiate electoral and executive bodies that are changed periodically;
8. Members that fail to carry out their duties, violate the Statute and established order are excluded from cooperative [29].

The Executive Committee of International Women's Cooperative Guild consisted of representatives of every national cooperative organization (Resolution of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of IWCG in Ghent in 1924). The budget of the Guild is formed by members' contributions in the amount of 1 shilling (50 kopecks) for each thousand members of guild and 1 shilling for each 50 thousand members of national organizations where guilds have not been established. [30]. Members of IWCG were 11 countries and members of 4 countries (Japan, USA, Germany and Soviet Union) have been cooperated with deliberative vote, while IWCG maintained relations with 11 countries.

The establishment of women's organization with economic direction was a significant step in the process

of women's self-validation, and demanded great effort to ensure its operation. All meetings were conducted in a very responsible and festive manner; during the opening ceremony of each meeting Mothers' International had been sung in Esperanto. This International had been translated in English and German [31].

Occasionally the Guild advanced the initiative on peaceful conflicts resolution, search of compromise between members of the Alliance. The Resolution of Congress of IWCG from June 17-18, 1922 on disarmament serves as indicative: "... The real congress that consists of over 50 000 organized women-workers, with the feeling of deep indignation states that nations' resources continue to be unproductively utilized on weapons of destruction, which endangers global development and existence of nations, which may lead to global financial crisis. Congress appeals government to take certain side on the question of global armament and use all of its influence to achieve nations' disarmament" [32].

Cooperative political actions.

"... Congress states that difficulties which other labor organizations face on their way to cooperation origin from the race for profits and greedy aspirations of capitalistic governments that have thrown Europe into economic chaos. Therefore, Congress recommends the cooperative movement to double its effort in order to achieve cooperative-labor government".

*Cooperative women's International.*

"... Congress welcomes the establishment of international cooperative women's Committee and hopes that this will lead to creation of powerful organizations among women-cooperators in every country of the world with the purpose of conducting cooperative trade between nations through intermediate of international cooperative society of wholesale buying and creation of global cooperative union of nations through combining efforts"

On question of role of cooperation in politics

"...The Guild has systematically pushed for establishment of close relationship between international cooperation, labor party and congress of trade-unions with the purpose of developing general program for all labor elements organized simultaneously as consumers, manufacturers and citizens for fair cooperation of all branches of general democratic labor movement in the sphere of politics and for support of common candidates on parliament and municipal elections. The Guild supports close connection with cooperative party directing its efforts to organization of women as voters. The plan of practical measures, which has been developed during the conference includes propaganda among women voters and organization of local political units-divisions of cooperative parties" [33].

Thus, the women part of European cooperative movement was extremely efficient. Besides pure cooperative questions, major part of which belonged to economic sphere, there existed social questions related to offensive of large monopolies and trusts on cooperative sphere. This led to women's unemployment and, therefore, to impoverishment of families.

In 1927 the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Cooperative Women's Conference took place in Stockholm, on the eve of XII International Cooperative Congress with the following agenda: 1) high premiums for purchases or low prices; 2) doing laundry and help of cooperation for a woman



with this; 3) struggle against adulterated food products; 4) fight against war; 5) appeal against murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. The latter resolution of point 5 was has not been approved by the Executive Committee of the Alliance, while the resolution against war resulted in proclamation to the League of Nations for it to take corresponding measures against war [34].

Therefore, women have taken a rather active part in every sphere of public and private life and tried to not just be helpful, but to make decisions and put forward propositions to solve them independently [35].

Besides traditional economic organizations, the Guild has actively cooperated with the League of Nations, recognizing it as a guide of its initiatives. In archives we have found an interesting correspondence between IWCG and the Central Women's Cooperative Committee of USSR, which is very indicative in the context of politization of cooperative movement. The correspondence was quite intense and concerned a number of questions, one of which was a proposal to discuss the directions of measures for attracting women to cooperative production. The answer was given by the Women's Section of Communist International: "To international Women's Guild. Dear Ms. Enfield, I confirm the reception of your letter from 24/VI regarding the organization of women's committee of the II International, which should be, according to presumption of II International, responsible for providing the possibility for wives of proletarians to become familiar with the conditions of household economy. I have forwarded the content of Your letter, as well as the suggestions of II International to the women's committee, which entrusted me to inform you the following: II International and Amsterdam Professional International are trying disorient common working people by organizing special political and economic authorities (labor office, labor conferences). The organization of women's committee on Vienna Congress of II International follows the similar purpose. The Central Women's Cooperative Committee of USSR is strongly against any form of participation of the International Women's Cooperative Guild in authorities, institutions or any decisions of the II International or Amsterdam Professional International. Therefore, we suggest rejecting the invitation to participate in the Women's Committee organized by II International. We consider necessary that the Women's Guild on its part should initiate a conference of working women for organizing the fight against the tight situation of the working people, and

specifically of the working women" [36]. This document is indicative for the political situation in Europe when basically all public organizations duplicated its activities, one defended interests of workers, the others interest of rural people, while others – interests of intellectuals, while having actually losing their potential and caused adversarial position inside the organizations themselves. Actually this happened to cooperation as well. It was split into soviet(eastern) and bourgeois(western) and each one, having understood the benefits of collaboration, could accept cooperative principles, but refused to accept its ideological arrangement.

While comparing the work, which women-cooperators have been doing in different European countries, one may say that during the analyzed period all of them struggled for their economic, social and civil rights. In particular cooperation became the institute that provided them space for self-emancipation, they might have lacked education, working experience, but the fact that it was a rapid forward movement is indisputable. As an example, the information regarding the activities of cooperating women, which had been provided for the meeting of IWCG in 1927 in Stockholm, is stated below

USA	In 1925 in St. Louis, Illinois, 12 women from 8 sections organized in cooperatives have taken part in cooperative congress. The proposition on organization of women's bureaus in cooperatives had been approved.
Canada	Women helped striking mountain dwellers, having organized fund raising among cooperative members.
Japan	In November 1926 in Kobi on the anniversary of women's guild establishment, the exhibition of domestic appliances has been organized, on which international cooperative magazines and newspapers, statistic tables, posters on the ways of running households were placed.
England	There are 1164 women sections which account for 53 700 members. Sections meet 2-4 times per month and more members' contributions receive subsidy from cooperatives.
Sweden	Women cooperative sections exist from 1906 and are independent from cooperation organizations. There are 103 sections, which account for 3 588 members. Sections meet monthly. They allocate a part of members' contributions to the Central Bureau, while the last 50% of their funds are transferred to the fund for women's participation in congresses. In 50 sections the courses on the following program have been organized: elocution, contributing to distribution of cooperative newspaper, role of woman in prevention of war.
Scotland	341 sections account for 28 138 members. Several sections have not been functioning due to absence of means and accommodation. Women take part in governing boards, cultural commissions and meetings of authorized persons.
Netherlands	Sections organize fundraising for helping sick women, exchange of rural and city children during holidays, sewing courses.
France	Women cooperative sections are called "cooperative friendship". They organize courses on the following program: reform of households, widening the network of cooperative shops, cooperative enlightenment.
Switzerland	In number of cooperatives there are women sections. They organize courses where reports are being prepared: rights and obligations of cooperative member, international cooperation day and woman-householder. Women's watches for serving elderly members are organized in Lozano.
Czechoslovakia	German cooperatives engage women-householders into cooperatives in Prague. There is the Central Bureau for cooperative work among women.
Germany	Among a number of cooperatives there are women's sections that organize reports on cooperatives with photo pictures and movies that illustrate German purchasing society and its own manufacturing. The free distribution of goods is held during women's meeting on Nordemey Island. It has been approved in Thuringia to provide each family with 2 votes: 1 for a husband, and 2 <sup>nd</sup> – for a wife. The special women's cooperative day was organized in Graudenberg, during which an exhibition had been held.
Belgium	Women delegates have initiated the question on organizing cooperative laundry during a cooperative congress in Tournai. The resolution that gave wife of a member a right to vote if she contributed 1/4 share of contribution has been adopted.
Austria-Hungary	The following questions have been put up during the courses organized in Vienna: on prices on articles of daily necessity, on electricity and gas prices. Women's bureaus have been organized at a great number of cooperatives.



Composed on the basis of: Report of the Proceedings Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance held at Ghent 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> September [37].

IWCG actively maintained relationships with various global organizations and attempted to unite them in struggle for better future for women, as an example – proclamation to Women’s Committee of Communist International: “Dear comrades workers! We desire to listen to the opinion of your organization on the offer to your collaboration, establishment of which is strongly expected. It seems that it has been determined that the League of Nations is to organize international conference on disarmament in early 1932. It is clear that the outcomes of the conference will largely depend on the strength of public pressure during the months before the conference and in particular during the conference, and we are sure that you will agree with the necessity to put global pressure of all kinds in order to achieve truly significant and obvious results on the issue of disarmament. We will be very pleased if your organization informs us its opinion on this offer as soon as possible” [38], which had a negative reply. Therefore, the absence of unity even on such questions like peace, disarmament, general social questions had only a weakening effect on women’s movement as a whole and on cooperative movement directly.

With the participation of women’s delegation from IWCG the following articles were added to the Statute of the League of Nations: the possibility of women to occupy places in any body of the League of Nations; countries that enter the League are obliged to fight women and children trafficking, ban houses of prostitution; recognition of equal voting rights for women, as well as equal participation of women and men in referendums, that refer to the most important questions of state activities (only second part has been approved); establishment of the International Education Bureau; establishment of the International Bureau of Public Health; control and reduction of armament.

Thus, international women’s cooperative movement that was established in Europe in late XIXth century has developed and transformed into powerful economic and public institution in XXth century, contributed to intensive processes of socialization and emancipation of the major part of region’s population. The activities of women in these organizations, as usual were not directly connected with specifically feministic tasks, but objectively contributed to modern psychological perception of woman in society. The most characteristic features of movement in Europe were: domination of conception of liberal feminism, which was closely related to the objectives of national-liberation struggle, as well as forming of organization structure, which was typologically close to cooperative analogs of that time. The situation has significantly worsened due to internal break inside the women organizations: growth of nationalist tendencies has split cooperative organizations into two camps – “patriots” and “pacifists-internationalists”. Cooperated women were closer to socialistic ideas, and therefore united with various international women’s organizations more frequently with the purpose of implementing global projects: fight against poverty, human trafficking, resisting militarization of economics, health issues, etc. Leaders of IWCG supported the idea and principles of cooperation by personal example, even in prison after establishment of

totalitarian regimes. They managed to unite struggle for economic rights with the fight for human rights and processes of self-emancipation. In Eastern Europe the state conducted the policy of nationalization of cooperation, while utilizing its professional, educational and economic potential to the maximum extent. Cooperative institutes were considered as an instrument of solving social issues and the possibility to conduct ideological experiments on the basis of extremely large public base. Having drawn women to cooperation, government has in various ways utilized their potential, desire to change their status, their views on social roles, pushed them to self-emancipation. International relationships of cooperation have been utilized only during celebration of the International Cooperation Day that resulted in overworking and ideological mottos. Women’s movement in USSR was destroyed, as socially harmful, woman become a citizen, received the whole spectrum of rights presented by the state, and has not demanded anything else, thus, cooperation transformed from public organization into state economic sector.

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**Н.І. Земзюліна**

### **МІЖНАРОДНИЙ ЖІНОЧИЙ КООПЕРАТИВНИЙ РУХ У ПЕРШІЙ ТРЕТИНІ ХХ СТ. (РЕГІОНАЛЬНІ ОСОБЛИВОСТІ)**

Сучасний жіночий рух набирає дедалі домінуючого характеру, жіночі питання стають предметом уваги не тільки науковців, громадськості, але і державних органів влади та управління. Однак, зростаючий інтерес до потреб жінок спроби їх вирішення наштовкують на відсутність історичного досвіду, певних знань, цілісних досліджень, які б об'єктивно відтворювали роль та значення жінки в суспільній історії. Теоретичні та історичні обґрунтування жіночої проблематики відстали від практичних потреб часу. Метою даного дослідження є актуалізація уваги до ролі жінки в економічному та громадському житті суспільства. Виокремити

історичний досвід кооператорок та вказати на можливі сучасні форми кооперативної роботи в умовах роздрядження економіки.

Гендерний аспект європейського кооперативного руху повною мірою виявляв себе у діяльності Кооперативної жіночої гільдії (1883 р.), що виникла у Великобританії та трансформувалась у Міжнародну кооперативну жіночу гільдію (МЖКГ) в 1920-х рр. На сучасному етапі – це потужний світовий економічний центр, що представлений Міжнародним жіночим кооперативним комітетом, який успішно функціонує як підрозділ Міжнародного кооперативного альянсу. У зв'язку з цим актуальним є вивчення та критичне осмислення історичного досвіду зарубіжних країн.

У контексті можуть бути репрезентовані дослідження написані на зрізі економіки та соціальної політики, що дають змогу відкрити нам особливості формування жіночої свідомості при переході від капіталістичних стереотипів до абсолютно нових – соціально справедливих. У серії «Гендерна колекція» було випущено монографію Р. Стайтса «Жіночий визвольний рух в Росії: фемінізм, нігілізм, більшовизм, 1860-1930». Вона стосується історії ХІХ – початку ХХ ст., проте сам автор вважає, що її потрібно розглядати як дослідження загального характеру, що сприяє подальшому вивченню жіночого питання.

Європейський кооперативний рух цього періоду визначався значними змінами як в ідеології, як вже зазначалось, почали активно формуватись ідеології кооперативного капіталізму та кооперативного соціалізму, намітилися тенденції до одержавлення кооперації тощо. Характерною рисою періоду стала активна участь жінок в декількох громадських організаціях одночасно. Якщо кооперацію розглядали як засіб економічного захисту то суфражистські організації виконували функції поборників прав людини. Порівнюючи роботу, яку жінки-кооператори виконували у різних країнах Європи, можна сказати, що в досліджуваній період всі вони борються за свої економічні та соціальні та громадянські права. Саме кооперація стала тим інститутом, що давав їм простір для самоемансипації, можливо їм не вистачало освіти, певного досвіду роботи, але те що це був стрімкий рух вперед – безперечно.

**Ключові слова:** міжнародна жіноча кооперативна гільдія, принципи співробітництва, виборчі організації.

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**Г. Т. Капустян**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри теорії та історії держави та права Кременчуцького національного політехнічного університету імені Михайла Остроградського*

### **БІЛЬШОВИЦЬКИЙ ВАРІАНТ ПОЛІТИКИ «РИМСЬКИХ ЦЕЗАРІВ», АБО: КОМНЕЗАМИ ЯК ВИЯВ ЛЮМПЕНСЬКОЇ ПСИХОЛОГІЇ**

У статті досліджено політику радянського режиму в українському селі на початку 1920-х років, спрямовану на його розкол. Для цього створено комітети незаможних селян. Особливості люмпенізованої психології незаможників були використані радянською владою для її утвердження в українському селі. Звернено увагу на запотребованість КНС у період згорання НЕПу, запровадження надзвичайних заходів, утвердження командно-репресивної системи управління.