MAD MARGINAL

Cahier #5

Edited by **Dora García**

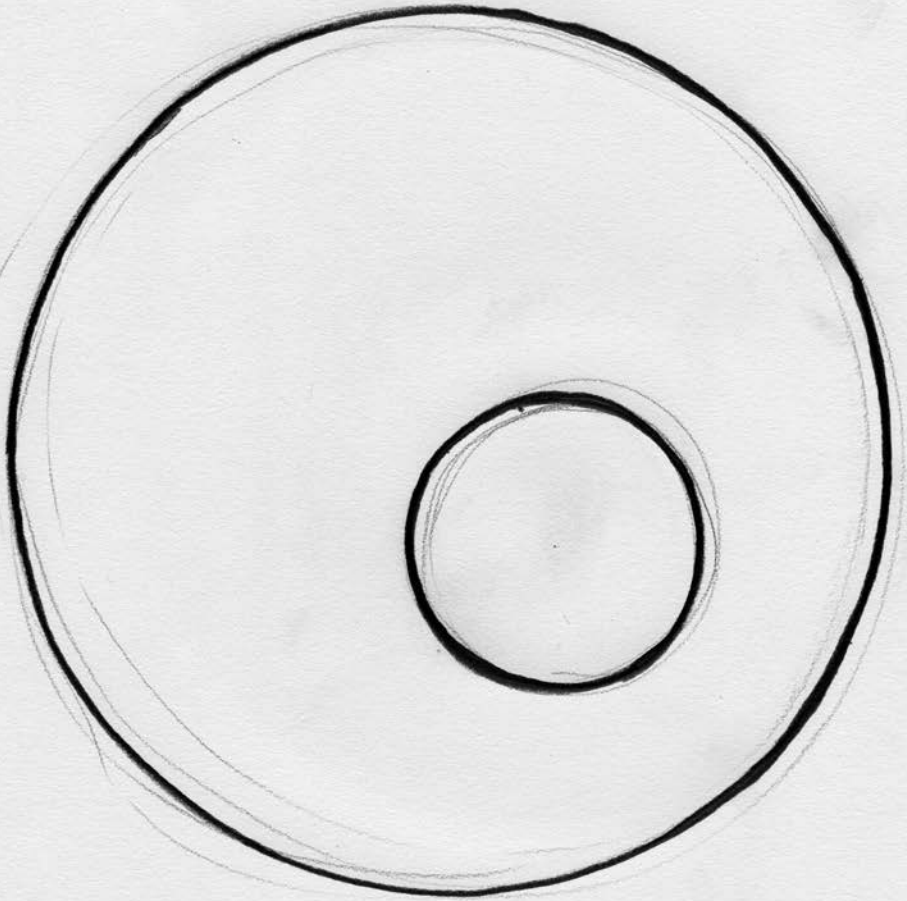
With texts by **Anna Akhmatova, Paloma Contreras Lomas, Ruth Estévez, Dora García, Alexandra Kollontai, Carla Lamoyi, Maria Lind, Rina Ortiz, Ana Sofía Rodríguez Everaert & Álvaro Ruiz Rodilla**

With translations by **Joan Brooks** and **Christopher Winks**

Design by **Alex Gifreu**

AMOR ROJO

MAD MARGINAL is a series of publications (Cahiers) initiated by Dora García in 2010 that were conceived as "readers": that is, as reading companions to her artistic research and work. Since 2010 there have been four *MAD MARGINAL* Cahiers: *From Basaglia to Brazil* (#1, 2010), on the legacy of Italian psychiatrist Franco Basaglia; *The Inadequate* (#2, 2011), on marginality as an artistic position; *Klau Mich* (#3, 2012), on recent German history, radicalism, and TV experimentation; *I see words, I hear voices* (#4, 2015), on extra-sensory perception and deviant literature. *Love with Obstacles (Amor Rojo)* is Cahier #5.



CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Ruth Estévez

> It's time to recognize openly that love is not only a powerful natural factor, a biological force, but also a social factor. Essentially, love is a profoundly social emotion. At all stages of human development love has (in different forms, it is true) been an integral part of culture.
>
> — Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for Winged Eros" (1923)[1]

The different meanings of love, its strategies and forms of manifestation, intimacies, and forms of public production, as well as the codes present in conventions and personal and collective relationships, form the backdrop of Dora García's works. Debate, continual dialogue, collective reading aloud, scripted performances that dissolve the gap between performer and audience, are the methodologies of interaction that start from the collision or deflection of gazes, desire safeguarded in a correspondence from the distant past, or in the nervous closeness of a group-therapy session. Her concern for micro-histories—parasites on and protagonists of the great human themes—enable life's domestic and ominous aspects alike to blend with the social and political arguments of the public sphere, forming the bases for an analysis, from the perspective of art, literature, history, and philosophy, that is, the emotional capital that shapes us.

Love with Obstacles (Amor Rojo) is a publication that accompanies—and at the same time functions independently of—the exhibition of the same name in Boston's Rose Museum. It is a new chapter in what is anticipated to be a serendipitous succession of projects and subsequent publications around the radical writings, letters, and literature of some of the twentieth century's most eminent revolutionary intellectual women. Accordingly, this book gives us a detailed introduction to the biography and writings of the Russian feminist and activist Alexandra Kollontai (1872–1952), a diplomat and, as the People's Commissar for Social Welfare, the only woman in the first Bolshevik government. She was a key figure in the gestation of the October Revolution and the author of much of the early social legislation passed by the Soviet republic. *Love with Obstacles* analyzes, through different perspectives, her political and social ideas on women's emancipation, in particular her invention and definition of the concept

of "love-comradeship," a collective impulse firmly rooted in the equality of classes and the strength of the workers' collectivity, in contrast to the traditionalist and individualist morality of couple relations and the sexual roles of the existing bourgeoisie.

Love with Obstacles brings together a series of essays by contemporary female authors who address Kollontai's legacy in a dialectical manner, building bridges while at the same time creating a critical distance between the current historical situation and the one in which she lived and wrote.

"Love," Kollontai said, "is a profoundly social emotion. Love is not in the least a 'private' matter concerning only the two loving persons: love possesses a uniting element which is valuable to the collective"[2]—in short, an exponentially liberatory conception of love with an important function of social cohesion, opposed to normative and dependent love, which according to Kollontai is essentially anti-political. Her ideas on the foundations of egalitarian labor and women's access to education conjoin with her thoughts on sexuality, marriage, divorce, the right to abortion, and in general, women's roles in the family and in public life; in this respect, her thought resonates with some of her contemporaries, such as the Marxist thinkers Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin.

Marxist thought itself, at its foundations, was critical of the sexual relationships and protocols of bourgeois society, where marriage was considered as a kind of contract based on "private property."[3] Bourgeois men used women with the same harshness as their workers, namely, as mere instruments of production, whether as unpaid domestic laborers or as reproductive machines to sustain the closed family nucleus. Kollontai expanded Marx and Engels's concepts, problematizing the idea of monogamy in traditional marriage in contrast to a free and solidary love that would strengthen the ties between equals and permit other types of relationships and "ways of loving." These ideas were often misinterpreted, and she was branded as promiscuous and uninterested in emotional politics. "The ideal of love in marriage only begins to appear when, with the emergence of the bourgeoisie, the family loses its productive functions and remains a consumer unit also serving as a vehicle for the preservation of accumulated capital."[4] In her controversial article "Make Way for Winged Eros" (1923), written in the form of a letter to proletarian youth, Kollontai called for imagining a love-comradeship rooted in the shared emotional enthusiasm of revolution:

"The more such threads connecting soul to soul, heart to heart, and mind to mind, the more strongly will the spirit of solidarity be inculcated and the easier it will be to attain the ideals of the working class—comradeship and unity,"[5] a love linking to and with others, as opposed to the sentiment of "competition and self-love found in the bourgeois system."[6]

In her declarations, Kollontai maintained as a backdrop the intersubjective functioning of the economy and the nation-state in harmony with affective and personal relationships. Because of this, it is relevant to interiorize her legacy at the present moment, where theories of sexuality have been sharply separated from the question of class, and "love" has been converted into an exclusive panacea of the emotional and psychological realms, relegated to the paradigms of the individual desire of the capitalist machine. Having said this, reading Kollontai today means recognizing how sexuality has been codified in every moment and space, and in this way to be able to find the forms that will help us shake up the contemporary sexual order.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Kollontai attacked a normativized society, constructing an imaginary for a possible post-patriarchal structure. While it is true that in her writings, she spoke of a sexual revolution of a binary nature, her concept of a free love capable of bringing together diverse forms of union and cohabitation, present an a priori model for a future post-heterosexual society, prepared to dispense with the notion of gender.

* * *

Following her death in Moscow in 1952, Alexandra Kollontai's texts have been taken up again more recently with definite force, although, like many women authors of her generation, she continues to be marginalized not only from the historical position within the Bolshevik party that she deserves, but also as an author and a universal Marxist thinker. Beginning with the emergence of the feminism of the 1960s and 1970s and subsequently with the so-called feminist "third way," in which concepts of race, religion, nationality, culture, and sexual preference were incorporated and legitimized, Kollontai's writings retain their complete validity.

It's Kollontai's personal letters—many of them love letters, which interfere with, shed light on, and sometimes contradict her own way of understanding this "love-comradeship" latent in her writings—that bring us closer to the author's intimate thoughts, a voice that comes through somewhat distantly in her writings and public speeches.[7] *Love with Obstacles*, however, includes one intimate essay by Kollontai, translated into English especially for this publication by Joan Brooks; the text, "On the 'Dragon' and the 'White Bird'" belongs to the "Letters to Working Youth" (1923). Its reproduction here is accompanied by a series of poems by one of Russia's greatest poets, Anna Akhmatova (1889–1966). In the text, Kollontai explains why Akhmatova's poems were so popular among the proletarian youth, despite Akhmatova never embracing the Russian Revolution. Kollontai argues that while revolutionary women were prepared for a real change in matters of love relationships, their male companions were still embedded in patriarchal family traditions inherited from the bourgeois society. "Conflict is inevitable," said Kollontai.

> A conflict that you and your comrades have already stumbled upon to one degree or another, a conflict which weighs heavily on every working-class woman trying to cross the Rubicon of bourgeois culture. ... Every page of Akhmatova is an entire book of the female soul. One line of her verse—precise, vividly exact—gives you more than the multi-volume psychological novels of many contemporary writers.[8]

Her personal voice thus intermingles with some of her most significant essays, and the numerous quotes from these in the texts by the various authors in this volume move imperceptibly between the terrain of the personal and the political in the author's life and trajectory. In her two essays written for *Love with Obstacles*, "Women: A Life's Commitment" and "Traces and Glimmers," the Mexican historian Rina Ortiz, a specialist in Kollontai's essayistic and literary legacy, develops a biography of the Russian politician and activist through a genealogy of her texts, articles, and novels. From the essays written in order to establish the foundations of the Revolution and the Party, to the works written during her exile in Germany, where she had the opportunity to join her ideas to those of authors like Ottilie Baader, Emma Ihrer, and Clara Zetkin. Her writings following the devastating impact of World War I

(1914–18), and her subsequent appointment as People's Commissar for Social Welfare following the triumph of the Russian Revolution (1917), as well as the texts and letters she wrote from the different bureaucratic postings she was assigned, first in Norway as attaché to the Soviet mission (1922–24), then subsequently as Ambassador to Mexico (1926–27), and once again to Norway and Sweden from 1927 to 1945. Ortiz also contributes to the book the first extensive bibliography of Kollontai, which brings together the bulk of her written productions as well as the publications analyzing her work, from 1908 until the present.

In Dora García's editorial essay, "Amor revolucionario," the emancipation of working-class women in relation to bourgeois feminism sets the tone, connecting with present-day topics. Kollontai and other Marxist women writers rejected bourgeois feminism precisely for evading the class question, anchored as they were in a privileged situation. García translates the "woman question" of left-wing feminisms of the first half of the twentieth century to non-white feminist movements of the last several decades, attending to the different debates that have emerged, not only in class and gender relationships, but also around racism, lesbophobia, the effects of colonialism, and the subsequent transnational migrations: "If Kollontai spoke of double oppression—class and gender—chicana feminists speak of a triple oppression: class, gender, and race. Or quadruple: class, gender, race, and sexual orientation."[9]

Even as Ortiz and García's texts envelop us in Kollontai's genuine enthusiasm for radical social change, both essays, like the others in this book, are marked by the aura of frustration and incomprehension that surrounded Kollontai's entire trajectory: intellectually, when her ideas were indefinitely postponed from the Party's political agenda, and physically, when she was exiled to different diplomatic postings that kept her away from her Russian birthplace and from any possible decision-making position in the Party.

A large portion of the book focuses on the short but essential period Kollontai spent in Mexico as the Russian ambassador (1926–27). In fact, the majority of the essays commissioned for this publication were originally written in Spanish by Mexican scholars and translated by Christopher Winks. In a two-part essay, subtitled "Kollontai in Mexico," literary scholars, Ana Sofía Rodríguez and Álvaro Ruiz Rodilla, give a detailed description of the post-revolutionary political panorama Kollontai found upon arriving in

Mexico City, as well as the proximity of her ideas to those of the feminists of the time: a panorama where the debate around women's emancipation was in the air and in full effervescence. Rodríguez and Ruiz Rodilla mention the work of women like Herminia Galindo, one of the Mexican Revolution's most prominent and distinguished feminists and the private secretary of President Venustiano Carranza from 1914 onward; or the teacher and writer Esperanza Velázquez Bringas, who was interested in emancipation by means of socialism and in the development and integration of women through education.

The text by Swedish curator and scholar Maria Lind, "Radical Imaginations in Motion: Researching with Dora García & Alexandra Kollontai," brings us another chapter in Kollontai's diplomatic career: Stockholm. The text is written on the basis of Lind's notes and personal experiences, partially shared with Dora García and CuratorLab (a Master's degree program in curatorial studies at the Konstfack school in Stockholm). From this collaboration, centered on the Tensta Konsthall space (directed by Maria Lind from 2010 to 2017), a publication resulted detailing this collaborative research between artists and curators around Kollontai's figure.[10] From this investigation, Lind rescued for *Love with Obstacles* the passage of the Russian ambassador through the Scandinavian landscapes: first as a political refugee before the 1917 Revolution, then years later when she was named the Soviet Union's representative to Sweden in 1930, during her third and final diplomatic exile engineered by Stalin: a period that would last fifteen years, in which her interest in culture and education would take priority, before her definitive return to Russia in 1945, seven years before her death.

Kollontai's resonance in the present moment is conveyed through the texts by the artist Paloma Contreras Lomas, who recognizes in Kollontai one of the anchors for understanding feminism in Latin America and Mexico, and by the Mexican artist Carla Lamoyi, developed from a series of interviews and visits to feminist archives. In Contreras Lomas's essay, "The Mexican Beyond," the artist supplements Kollontai's class discourse with the eco-feminist perspective of the Indigenous Zapatista women in Mexico and their commitment to creating an egalitarian situation among men, women, and the ecosystem, along with a definite statute of autonomy for their own bodies, in clear opposition to the desires and mandates

of capital and the Mexican state. Lamoyi, in her text, "Si tocan a una, respondemos todas" [If they touch one, we will all respond], identifies Kollontai's ideas, which appeared in texts translated into Spanish during the 1970s, through two exemplary cases: the experiences documented in the [Mexican] Archive of the Feminist Movement from 1964 to 1990, created by the editor, activist, and photographer, Ana Victoria Jiménez, and the Historical Archive of the Lesbian Feminist Movement in Mexico (1976–present), founded by the lesbian feminist activist Yan María Yaoyólotl. With the kind permission of both archives, the book also presents rarely seen images from these two collections, portraying decades of documentation on women's struggles in Mexico.

It is obvious that the society in which Kollontai lived, though enthusiastic about the possibilities of a change in the social and economic paradigm, was unprepared for a radical transformation of personal relationships, whether in the public sphere or in the refuge offered by the private realm. For many Party members, as well as the generations to follow, sexual protocols were a "secondary matter" within the heroic path of proletarian revolution. Thus, Kollontai was "relegated to a secondary status," along with the premises of her struggle, compelling her to resign herself to a life that was not free from logistical, political, and above all emotional obstacles. From the beginning, she understood the importance of a materialist analysis of the varied forms of love and sexuality in history, the value of the collective in the construction of a new society, and beyond all else, the firm belief that real political change can only occur with a radical change in emotional and personal relationships. Love is at the center of the revolution.

1. Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for Winged Eros," (1923) in Alix Holt, ed. and trans., *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai* (New York: Norton, 1977), 278.

2. Teresa L. Ebert, "Alexandra Kollontai and Red Love," *Against the Current*, no. 81 (July–August 1999); marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/atc/1724.html.

3. Karl Marx, *Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, trans. Martin Milligan (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1959), 43; marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Economic-Philosophic-Manuscripts-1844.pdf.

4. Alexandra Kollontai, "Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle," in *Selected Writings*, 284; marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1921/sex-class-struggle.htm.

5. Ibid., "Make Way for Winged Eros," in *Selected Writings*, 281.

6. Ibid., 5.

7. Particularly evocative letters and personal writings by Kollontai include her love letters ("Kärleksbrev"), 1945; letter to Ivan Mikhailovich Maisky, 1952; letter to Pavel Dybenko, 7–8 February 1922; and, diary draft, 12 March 1922. Today archival matters, these texts are featured in Dora García's 2020 film, *Love with Obstacles*, see also pp. 146–83 in this volume.

8. Alexandra Kollontai, "On the 'Dragon' and the 'White Bird'," first published in 1923 in the Russian magazine *Molodaia Gvardiia* as part of Kollontai's series, *Pisma k trudiashcheisia molodezhi* [Letters to Working Youth]; it was the "Third Letter" in this series (original title: "O 'Drakone' i 'Beloi ptitse'"), and found to be controversial by many. The quote here is from the new English translation made especially for *Love with Obstacles (Amor Rojo)* by Joan Brooks. See also pp. 32–49 in this volume.

9. Dora García, "Amor revolucionario," see pp. 16–30 in this volume.

10. Maria Lind, Joanna Warzsa, and Michele Masucci, eds., *Red Love: A Reader on Alexandra Kollontai / Kollontai, A Play by Agneta Pleijel* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2020).

AMOR REVOLUCIONARIO

Dora García

– Is that what you wanted to point out in your story "Red Love"?

– Please—interrupted Madame Kollontai—don't use this undignified, stupid name "Red Love" in connection with my novel. "Seven Arts" did not act fair against me. You know Russia has no literary convention with the United States, so anyone can translate and publish our books and we neither get a penny for it, nor have the right to stop a publication. "Seven Arts" took out of my book called in Russian "Love of the Working Bees" (it was published three years ago) a novel called "Wassilissa Malyguina," gave that story a name of vulgar taste, "Red Love." What does that mean? And, besides, they published this novel in a very poor and often incorrect translation without signing any contract with me. "Red Love" has nothing to do with the problems put in my book. What I wanted to point out is that the type of the modern woman, who is going to win the battle of life, is neither only the housewife, nor the "flappertype" girl.[1]

Thus spoke Alexandra Kollontai to an American interviewer for *The World* newspaper in 1930; today, we can read a typewritten transcript of the interview in Folder 134 1 169 of the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI). The history of ideas is also at times the history of print, reprint, misprint, translation, mistranslation, and authorized and non-authorized editions, and it seems Kollontai found both dread and joy in how her "bees" were spreading around the globe: "Pedrueza, the local [Mexican] theorist, has read my books. My *Worker Bees* have been published in Argentina."[2]

Indeed, the same year Kollontai arrived in Mexico (1926), *Liubov' pchel trudovikh* [Love of Worker Bees] had been published in Buenos Aires as *Abejas proletarias*, containing the three short stories from the original published in Petrograd in 1923: "Amor de tres generaciones" [Love of Three Generations], "Hermanas" [Sisters], and "Basilisa Maliguina."[3] The texts were translated from Russian by Leon Rudnitzky and published in the book series of *Crítica*—a mythical evening paper referred to as a "horsefly against power" that employed some of the best writers of the time, including Roberto Arlt and Jorge Luis Borges.

Kollontai did not have the same contextual luck in New York, where the text received a new title, *Red Love*, which she disliked, and a translation that was hopelessly inaccurate.[4] However displeased she was with the new publication, she nevertheless wrote an introduction to this 1927 edition while she was in Mexico. In her introduction, we read:

> Our criteria in sex morals are always changing. There is never a standstill. There are merely periods in human history when the evolution of morals goes on more rapidly; other periods (with a general stagnation in all fields of life) when change seems to relax. Only half a century ago [Alexandre] Dumas-fils wrote of a "divorcee" as of a "fallen" creature, while today France openly discusses the question of equalizing the rights of non-legal mothers with those of legally married women. There remains less and less of the old bourgeois hypocrisy in our way of thinking and judging of sex morals. I do hope that this book will aid in combating the old, bourgeois hypocrisy in moral values and show once more that we are beginning to respect woman, not for her "good morals," but for her efficiency, for her ingenuity with respect to her duties toward her class, her country and humanity as a whole.[5]

Red Love was translated into many languages and it created a stir wherever it was published. It was reissued as *Free Love* by C.J. Hogarth in London; according to Eric Naiman, this title came from a Latvian edition which changed the title—of course, without Kollontai's permission—to entice a male, capitalist audience. The *Red Love* version also reached Japan, where it was translated and published in 1927, followed by a Korean edition in 1928, and a Chinese translation in 1929. According to Kollontai scholars,

> After the book was released, a *Red Love* vogue swept North America and the Asia-Pacific. *Red Love* emerged as a way of naming the various possibilities beyond or provocations to bourgeois sexual morality, and it took on a life of its own.[6]

Her other novel, *Bol'shaia' ljubov'* [A Great Love] was published in Mexico in 1926, also under the title *Amor rojo* [Red Love]. This Spanish translation had

an unpleasant trajectory that disappointed Kollontai; in Mexico, the book was being marketed as a sexually explicit romantic novel, emptying it of all political militancy. Kollontai tried to do some damage control, and although Carleton Beals helped her "improve the most vulgar alterations of her original text … the book nonetheless ended up as a cheap sensationalist romance."[7]

Meanwhile, in the declining Primo de Rivera dictatorship of Spain, Kollontai's texts were having an extraordinary impact. They were part of a climate of curiosity regarding the cultural landscape following the 1917 Russian Revolution, especially regarding changing morals and issues such as free love, divorce, and abortion, which was depenalized in Russia in 1920 thanks to the work of, among other women, Kollontai herself. Many travel writers, such as Álvarez del Vayo and Manuel Chaves Nogales, wrote about these changes, sometimes with praise for Kollontai and other revolutionary authors, and at other times—as with Nogales—displaying anxieties that the institution of the family was under direct threat. Following Rudnitzky's initial 1926 Spanish translation, "Vasilisa Malygina" was re-published in 1928 by Ediciones Oriente with a new title as *La bolchevique enamorada* [The Bolshevik in Love].[8] Ediciones Oriente (1927–32) was a bulwark of "Literatura de Avanzada," a type of literature that, after the "dehumanized" formal experiments of the 1920s, wanted to engage with social questions, mainly by following the example of Russian authors. The objective was to put art and politics back together; the audience for this new literature were meant to be literally everyone: art had to be a collective endeavor. Over 200 Russian works appeared in translation in Spain between 1920 and 1936; among others, authors included Feodor Gladkov, Ilya Ehrenburg, Leon Trotsky, Maxim Gorky, Boris Pilnyak, Konstantin Fedin, and Alexandra Kollontai.

The Spanish context was optimal. Kollontai's fiction was commented on by writers and influenced the work of María Teresa León and Luisa Carnés, although not all female writers were equally enthusiastic about the new morals: Rosa Arciniega, for example, preferred more traditional female roles. The impact had been prepared, however, by other works by Spanish feminists: Margarita Nelken's *La condición social de la mujer* [The Social Condition of the Woman] (1919) and Carmen de Burgos's *La mujer moderna y sus derechos* [The Modern Woman and Her Rights] (1927). However, the "New Spanish Woman" of the twenties was largely

apolitical; it was only in the thirties that feminism in Spain became identified once and forever with the political left. In this regard, the Soviet Union was certainly a model of what a feminist state could be, with the "most progressive family legislation the world had ever seen."[9]

This new morality produced alarm among both the reactionaries and many of the well-educated progressives. Spaniards were uncomfortable with the idea of the destruction of the nuclear family; they did not embrace gender equality; and, female writers were treated with condescendence and superiority, as if they were merely producing "female literature"—just one step away from "romantic novels."

Kollontai was no stranger to this type of treatment by colleagues; this was the destiny of sensational writers like Luisa Carnés. But even many of Kollontai's admirers felt she had gone too far with her anarchist approach to free love; in most cases, this was a significant misunderstanding of her concept of "Winged Eros."[10] One of the most surprising reactions to the publication of Kollontai's *La bolchevique enamorada* was the novelette of the same title by Manuel Chaves Nogales, published in 1930 by Editorial Asther. Nogales's book was subtitled *El amor en la Rusia roja* [Love in Red Russia] and opens with the following sentence: "El amor es un prejuicio burgués." [Love is a bourgeois prejudice]. Throughout the book, there is no reference whatsoever to Kollontai's novel, but "the editors" sign a text wherein they stress that Chaves Nogales is a "realist writer" and that he writes about what "he had experienced firsthand in his travels to the USSR." They continue,

> Being a vigorous realist, Chaves never descends to pornography, never takes pleasure, *like so many others*, in repugnant obscene descriptions. He describes faithfully what he saw in Russia. Far from exaggerating and accentuating the colourful, he smoothens out the crudity of it with his characteristic discretion and the elegance of first-class natures. ... The impression that this novel leaves in the soul is bitter, pessimist. ... The spirit is filled with infinite sorrow when confronted with the painful reality of the human being abandoning itself *to the lowest instincts*, exceeding even the beasts in abjection.[11]

In the novel, Chaves Nogales describes an amorous triangle. The protagonists are María, an aging Bolshevik female leader, who spends considerable

time in health spas with her equally aging friend Alejandra; her lover, the young, strong Basilio; and, the sexually liberated teenager, Xenia. Xenia was educated as a communist since early childhood, had her first venereal disease when she was twelve, and aborted her first child at age thirteen; María feels the distance between the generations regarding love, art, and sex: they do not speak the same language anymore. María is also aware that Basilio is interested in Xenia, but hopes to somehow maintain the polyamorous triangle. After encountering the French-speaking prostitute, Natalia—despised by both María and Xenia—Xenia confronts Basilio with her relation to María, claiming that he is with her because he is expecting to progress and thrive in the party hierarchy. The triangle breaks, Basilio and Xenia become lovers, and María—who is referred to throughout the text with epithets such as "gargoyle," "cracked and pitiful," "cracked snout," "decrepit coquetry"—is abandoned by her young lover, and with no family to fall back on, becomes lonely and isolated. She tries to regain Basilio by claiming that she gave her youth, her beauty, and her life to the revolution, and that she expects him to pay her back with some affection. But she only receives as an answer threats and ridicule and begins to think of suicide.

The book exudes misogyny through and through, but it also displays a threatened masculinity. The plot has elements of Kollontai's *Wassilissa Malyguina* (the female communist leader whose lover wants to thrive in the party thanks to their sexual relation), *Three Generations* (the cruel gap between old and young communists), and *Sisters* (the prostitute character). I have no doubt that Chaves traveled to the Soviet Republics, but there is even less doubt that he had read Kollontai's novels, used her title, and tried to create a counternarrative to discourage young Spanish women from enjoying their newfound sexual freedom free from guilt and doubt.

Clearly, the awakening of Spanish feminism in those years welcomed Kollontai. *La Nueva Mujer y La Moral Sexual* [The New Woman and Sexual Morality] was published by Ediciones Hoy in 1931. Ediciones Hoy was a new publishing venture from Ediciones Oriente. The red thread uniting Ediciones Oriente, Ediciones Cénit, and Ediciones Hoy was Juan Andrade, a seasoned publisher who was also one of the founders of the Spanish Communist Party and later The Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (POUM). Andrade married María Teresa García Banús, who started her feminist political activity within the women's department of the POUM, and who was the translator

into Spanish of *La nueva mujer y la moral sexual* [Novaia moral' i rabochii klass]. As a founding member of the women's department of the POUM, Banús developed intense campaigns for women's literacy, and defended the right to work and to abortion. Ediciones Hoy published the works of authors such as John Reed, Arnold Zweig, Boris Pilniak, Victor Serge, and Leon Trotsky, until its closure in 1933.

The publication of the works of Kollontai and the feminist awakening in Spain ended completely in 1939 with the victory of the Franco Regime. *La bolchevique enamorada* would only be republished in 1978, after the death of the dictator, by LaSal, Edicions de Les Dones, a Catalan feminist publishing house which functioned as a cooperative. In a 1979 article published by the newspaper *El País* about the activities of the new publishing house, Kollontai's novel is described as a "novela rosa"—a romantic novel.[12]

* * *

> No matter what further tasks I shall be carrying out, it is perfectly clear to me that the complete liberation of the working woman and the creation of the foundation of a new sexual morality will always remain the highest aim of my activity, and of my life.
>
> — Alexandra Kollontai, *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman* (1926)[13]

Isabel Oyarzábal, also known as Isabel de Palencia—an actress, singer, journalist, feminist, suffragist, and pacifist—was appointed as the Spanish Republic Ambassador to Stockholm in 1936, where she met and became a close friend of Alexandra Kollontai, then Russian Ambassador to Sweden. In 1939, after the Republic's defeat, de Palencia went into exile with her family to Mexico. Kollontai and her continued corresponding for years (the last letter in the RGASPI archives is from 1948), and she wrote the first biography of Kollontai in English, published in 1947 by Longmans, Green and Co., in New York, under the title *Alexandra Kollontay: Ambassadress from Russia*. Several American newspapers promoted the biography at the time, but it would only be translated into Spanish in 2015 by Ediciones del Genal, Málaga.

The first book by Kollontai to be officially published in Mexico was *La bolchevique enamorada*, edited by Juan Pablos, in 1972. In the mythic Mexican feminist magazine *Fem*, Graciela Hierro's article, "Alexandra Kollontay: La nueva moral" [Alexandra Kollontai: The New Moral], contended,

> In all her lines of thought, Kollontai establishes two currents: the socialist revolution and the sexual revolution. A classless society and the abolition of the patriarchal family are equally important goals of her struggle."[14]

The article underlined the puritanism of Stalinism, Kollontai's "party exile" since 1922, and her subsequent revival in the Soviet Union, as a historical Bolshevik, at the expense of her sexual activism and feminist legacy. Hierro quotes from Kollontai:

> To be really free, women must shake off the chains of the current version of the family, annoying and archaic. ... Only economic interests sustain the myths of "eternal love," "the selfless mother," and "the treasure of children."[15]

Hierro paraphrases that for Kollontai, "the only way to achieve a transformation of the traditional family structure is by transforming the capitalist structure of the economy." She also analyzes Kollontai's theoretical contribution: only economic change will bring a real sexual revolution, and this sexual revolution is centered on free love. But this will not be enough: social relations must also change, moral changes must occur, and human psychology must evolve. Jealousy—private property applied to love—must evolve as well. Proletarian women are the only people who can bring these changes to their proper conclusion: collective love will replace individual, selfish love, thereby allowing free love between free individuals. Hierro goes on to explain the problem that, in the country where the proletarian revolution has triumphed, monogamous, traditional families are still the encouraged norm. Women have access to all professions, but the managers are always male, and, as is the case everywhere else in the world, domestic tasks are performed overwhelmingly by women. Could it be, the author asks rhetorically, that the reforms proposed by Kollontai never took place in the USSR?[16]

Indeed, Kollontai's vision has not yet happened. An interview conducted in Mexico City in April 2019 by two of the authors included in this book, Carla Lamoyi and Paloma Contreras Lomas, with the lesbian-feminist activist Yan Maria Yaoyólotl, includes the following exchange, which I find especially significant:

> Carla Lamoyi & Paloma Contreras Lomas: The first texts you read by Kollontai were in Spanish or in English?
>
> Yan Maria Yaoyólotl: In Spanish, and we read photocopies. Do you really think we had the money to buy books? We didn't have money and there weren't many translations. They brought us photocopies of translations from Spain or made by American Chicanas. From there we got a lot of information to Mexico, since we were very supportive of the Chicano movement.
>
> CLPC: Were the Chicanas also reading Kollontai?
>
> YMY: Yes, the ones we had contact with, yes. The Chicanas were very political; they were supporting Palestine and North Korea.
>
> CLPC: Did you discuss the texts in a group?
>
> YMY: Yes. There were three lesbian women's organizations in the seventies: OIKABETH (1978), ÁCRATAS (1976) and LESBOS (1977). ÁCRATAS was radical, LESBOS was liberal, and OIKABETH was socialist. In OIKABETH, the militants had an obligation to read. I was a co-founder of the three groups. To enter OIKABETH you had to read five books: Marx's *Capital*, which nobody read, of course; Rosa Luxemburg's *Reform or Revolution*; Wilhelm Reich, *The Sexual Revolution*, and other socialist readings, including Kollontai. We also read *Patriarchal Attitudes* by Eva Figes and other books I don't remember. I wasn't reading Simone de Beauvoir; for me, Simone de Beauvoir is not to important for me; instead, Kollontai is a thousand times more important.

If Kollontai and other Marxist feminists had dismissed bourgeois feminism because it did not take into account the class question,[17] Chicana feminists,

and other non-European feminisms, dismissed white feminism because it did not take into account questions of race and racism. If Kollontai spoke of double oppression—class and gender—Chicana feminists speak of a triple oppression: class, gender, and race. Or, indeed, quadruple: class, gender, race, and sexual orientation. In "A Letter to Third World Women Writers," Gloria Anzaldúa says:

> My dear hermanas, the dangers we face as women writers of color are not the same as those of white women, though we have many in common. We don't have as much to lose—we never had any privileges. I wanted to call the dangers "obstacles" but that would be a kind of lying. We can't transcend the dangers, can't rise above them. We must go through them and hope we won't have to repeat the performance.[18]

Oppression is also related to the performance of writing—and it is hard to write more than Alexandra Kollontai, Rosa Luxemburg, or Gloria Anzaldúa, who declared:

> Writing is dangerous because we are afraid of what the writing reveals: the fears, the angers, the strengths of a woman under a triple or quadruple oppression. Yet in that very act lies our survival because a woman who writes has power, and a woman with power is feared.[19]

What is the legacy of Kollontai that continues to touch us so deeply today? The part of her thought that was most repressed: the potential of love (a term encompassing sex, care, community, collectivity, and comradeship) as a tool of change and social transformation. Of course, "Winged Eros" never meant promiscuity, as her enemies (and some of her friends) had misunderstood: it meant joyful, free, *evenly distributed jouissance* as a political weapon.[20] In the words of Michel Foucault, "To imagine a sexual act that doesn't conform to law or nature is not what disturbs people. But that individuals are beginning to love one another—there's the problem."[21]

Kollontai's *Letters to the Working Youth* from 1923 are especially interesting for us today.[22] Take, for example, the essay "Make Way for Winged Eros," which gives us paragraphs such as these:

> Modern love always sins, because it absorbs the thoughts and feelings of "loving hearts" and isolates the loving pair from the collective. In the future society, such a separation will not only become superfluous but also psychologically inconceivable. In the new world the accepted norm of sexual relations will probably be based on free, healthy and natural attraction (without distortions and excesses) and on "transformed Eros."
>
> ...
>
> The new, communist society is being built on the principle of comradeship and solidarity. Solidarity is not only an awareness of common interests; it depends also on the intellectual and emotional ties linking the members of the collective. For a social system to be built on solidarity and co-operation it is essential that people should be capable of love and warm emotions ... All these "warm emotions"—sensitivity, compassion, sympathy and responsiveness—derive from one source: they are aspects of love, not in the narrow, sexual sense but in the broad meaning of the word ... The proletariat should also take into account the psychological and social role that love, both in the broad sense and in the sense of relationships between the sexes, can and must play, not in the strengthening family-marriage ties, but in the development of collective solidarity.[23]

I previously described Gloria Anzaldúa's Chicana Feminism; I would add that Kollontai's notion of "Winged Eros" also brings us directly to the work of Chela Sandoval and her concept of "Revolutionary Love." Sandoval's Revolutionary Love is part of a method of oppositional consciousness, a methodology of the oppressed that transforms into a methodology of emancipation comprised of five main skills: semiotic, deconstruction, meta-ideologizing, democratics, differential consciousness, and finally, love as a technology for social transformation.[24] Sandoval writes, "Here, love is reinvented as a political technology, as a body of knowledges, arts, practices, and procedures for re-forming the self and the world."[25] She draws from Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Frantz Fanon, and Hayden White, among others, to come to a conception of love that resonates with

Kollontai's concept of "Winged Eros," freed from the binaries of the isolated lovers, charged with political power, capable of forming communities:

> This now dispersed lover, Barthes continues, this traveler, thus comes to drift "outside the fatal-couple which links life and death by opposing them to each other." Indeed, this trans-forming lover is no longer part of any couple—of any binary—but through some ingress created by love, the traveler ironically comes to lose its "structure as a lover" altogether, to instead enter another place of possibility, Barthes insists, signs all around no longer securely anchored.[26]

The contradictions and bitter chasms that have divided liberal, Marxist, supremacist, separatist, and non-white feminisms, can be overcome by the technology of love:

> The differential mode of oppositional social movement and consciousness can thus be understood as a *symptom* of transnational capitalism in its neocolonizing postmodern form (insofar as interest in this mode of resistance is arising out of pressures peculiar to this newest form of globalization) as well as a remedy for neocolonizing postmodernism.[27]

Sandoval concludes: "Love as a social movement is enacted by revolutionary, mobile, and global coalitions of citizen-activists who are allied through the apparatus of emancipation."[28]

The legacy of Kollontai has been discussed with energy and enthusiasm by various waves of feminism—in the 1910s, 1970s, 1990s—as can be deduced simply by observing the publication dates and the different translations of her texts. But, what does her legacy mean now, as we enter the third decade of the twenty-first century, when feminism is the only real transnational movement? Is this movement powerful enough to resist and oppose the increasing number of violent authoritarian patriarchs in politics? In the footsteps of Kollontai, on the *lleno-de-obstáculos* (full-of-obstacles) path of revolutionary politics, resistance to the capitalist patriarchy needs more radical, *red love—amor rojo*.

1. Quoted from an interview in the newspaper, *The World*. The typewritten document we consulted in the Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (RGASPI) is not dated. But Kollontai mentions in the same interview that the edition of *Red Love* by Seven Arts Publishing Co., New York, 1927 had happened "three years ago." Therefore, this interview must have taken place in 1930 or 1931.

2. Letter dated 1 January 1927, in Rina Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México: Diario y otros documentos* (Xalapa/Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2012), 60 (translated from Spanish by the author). Kollontai is referring to *Abejas proletarias*, trans. Leon Rudnitzky (Buenos Aires: *Crítica—Diario ilustrado de la noche impersonal e independiente,* 1926).

3. Alexandra Kollontai, *Abejas proletarias*, trans. Leon Rudnitzky (Buenos Aires: *Crítica*, 1926).

4. Ibid., *Red Love* (New York: Seven Arts Publishing Co., 1927); marxists.org/archive /kollonta/red-love/index.htm.

5. Ibid.

6. Ruth Barraclough, Heather Bowen-Struyk, and Paula Rabinowitz, eds., *Red Love Across the Pacific: Political and Sexual Revolutions of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 9.

7. Daniela Spenser, *El triángulo imposible: Mexico, Rusia Soviética y Estados Unidos en los en los años veinte* (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2004), 141.

8. Alexandra Kollontai, *La bolchevique enamorada* (Madrid: Ediciones Oriente, 1928); fifty years later, another Spanish translation was published with this same title by feminist publisher LaSal in Barcelona.

9. Wendy Z. Goldman, *The State and Revolution: The Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–36* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 51.

10. Kollontai develops the concept of the "Winged Eros" in opposition to the "Wingless Eros"—during the time of the revolution, when there was no time for deep attachments: with death waiting in every corner, the youth only allowed themselves fleeting and uncomplicated sexual encounters: "Wingless Eros"; but after the revolution, already in the construction of Socialism, the new Communist youth needed a new form of love, and this was the "Winged Eros": love between two equal and independent beings, united in their comradeship, able to transcend the selfishness of the couple to direct their affection to the community. See Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for Winged Eros," (1923) in Alix Holt, ed. and trans., *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai* (London: Allison and Busby, 1977), 276.

11. Manuel Chaves Nogales, *La bolchevique enamorada* (Barcelona: Editorial Asther, 1930), 7.

12. Bel Carrasco, "Una editorial feminista catalana se presenta en Madrid," *El País*, 28 June 1979.

13. Kollontai, *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman*, trans. Salvator Attansio (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971); marxists.org/archive /kollonta/1926/autobiography.htm.

14. Graciela Hierro, "Alexandra Kollontay: La nueva moral," *Fem: Publicación feminista trimestral*, vol. 1, no. 4 (July to September 1977), Mexico City: 43; archivos-feministas .cieg.unam.mx/ejemplares/fem/Volumen_1 _n_4_Julio_Septiembre_1977.pdf.

15. Ibid., 43, 44, with further references: "Para volverse realmente libre, la mujer debe deshacerse de las cadenas que hace pesar sobre ella la forma actual, caduca y fastidiosa de la familia. … El interés económico [s]e rompe así … el mito del "amor eterno", de la "abnegación de la madre" y del "tesoro de los hijos". Hierro paraphrases that for *K.*, "la unica forma de cambiar la estructura familiar … es a través del cambio de las estructuras económicas capitalistas."

16. In her book, *Alexandra Kollontai en México,* Rina Ortiz relays an anecdote (here paraphrased and translated by the author from p. 28): In 1929, the then Ambassador of Mexico in the USSR asked Kollontai: "Don't you think that what is going on right now in the USSR is very different from what Marx and Engels had in mind?"—To which she replied: "Not only is it very different from Marx and Engels's thoughts, it is very different also from what Lenin thought. For us, who did the revolution, the only thing left to do is write our memories..." See Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en Mexico*, 28.

17. In 1908, Kollontai wrote what would become a defining contribution to Marxist theory on women's liberation, "The Social Basis of the Woman Question," (published in 1909 as a pamphlet). Here, she spelled out why there could be no genuine alliance between working-class and ruling-class women. She wrote: "The women's world is divided, just as is the world of men, into two camps: the interests and aspirations of one group bring it close to the bourgeois class, while the other group has close connections to the proletariat, and its claims for liberation encompass a full solution to the woman question. Thus, although both camps follow the general slogan of the 'liberation of women,' their aims and interests are different. Each of the groups unconsciously takes its star ng point from the interests and aspirations of its own class, which gives a specific class coloring to the targets and tasks it sets for itself ... However apparently radical the demands of the feminists, one must not lose sight of the fact that the feminists cannot, on account of their class position, fight for that fundamental transformation of society, without which the liberation of women cannot be complete." See Alexandra Kollontai, "The Social Basis of the Woman Question," in *Selected Writings*; marxists.org/archive /kollonta/1909/social-basis.htm.

18. Gloria Anzaldúa, "A Letter to Third World Women Writers," in AnaLouise Keating, ed., *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 26.

19. Ibid., 33.

20. According to Valentina Upenskaia, "Family Life in the Emancipatory Project," in Aino Saarinen, Kirsti Ekonen, Valentina Uspenskaia, eds., *Women and Transformation in Russia* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 85, 86: "The harshest among Kollontai's contemporary critics was Polina Vinogradskaia, Kollontai's colleague from the *Zhenotdel* (the women's department of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party). In her article 'Kryla i Eros tovarishcha Kollontai' [The Winged Eros of Comrade Kollontai] (*Kransnaja Nov*, 6, 1923), she found Kollontai's writing anarchist, petty bourgeois, and supporting George Sand idea's. She called Kollontai a communist woman whose ideas were 'littered with feminism.'"

21. Michel Foucault, "Friendship as a Way of Life," interview with Foucault conducted by R. de Ceccaty, J. Danet, and J. Le Bitoux for the French magazine *Le Gai Pied* (April 1981), in Paul Rabinow, ed., *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, trans. John Johnston (New York: New Press, 1997), 135-140; caringlabor.wordpress .com/2010/11/18/michel-foucault-friendship -as-a-way-of-life.

22. According to Upenskaia's essay "Family Life in the Emancipatory Project" (p. 85), the *Letters to Working Youth* gave Kollontai a controversial reputation as feminist: "In 1923, the *Molodais Gvardiia* magazine published Kollontai's series 'Letters to Working Youth' [*Pisma k trudiashcheisia molodezhi*], and it was after this, in this popular magazine, and in another women's magazine, *Kommunistka*, that the first signs appeared of official opposition to Kollontai's ideas. The series, *Letters to Working Youth*, consisted of her essay 'The Winged Eros,' which was published in the Current Issues section, accompanied by huge question marks, and another essay, 'On the 'Dragon' and the 'White Bird'' (on the poet Anna Akhmatova and branded by the magazine's editor as disputable)."

23. These quoted paragraphs are from Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for Winged Eros," (1923) in *Selected Writings*, 290, 285.

24. Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

25. Ibid., 4.

26. Ibid., 142.

27. Ibid., 179.

28. Ibid., 184.

ON THE "DRAGON" AND THE "WHITE BIRD"

Alexandra Kollontai

You ask me, my young female comrade, why is Anna Akhmatova[1] dear and interesting to you and to many of the student girls and working women of Soviet Russia, "even though she's not a communist at all?" The question troubles you: is a real proletarian worldview compatible with an interest in writers, in whom lives a "spirit that is alien to us?"

Let's take a thorough look at this question. We will use your beloved writer as material to illustrate our thoughts.

In front of me lie Anna Akhmatova's three little white volumes: *Rosary*, *White Flock*, and *Anno Domini MCMXXI*.

First of all, turning the pages of these little volumes, I can answer you: Akhmatova is not at all as "alien" as it seems upon first glance. In her three little white volumes, there trembles and pulses the soul of a living woman who is close and familiar to us, a woman of today's transitional epoch, the epoch of a break in human psychology, the epoch of a fight to the death by two cultures, two ideologies—bourgeois and proletarian. Anna Akhmatova is not on the side of the ideology that is dying out but the one that is creative.

Akhmatova is not just a "poetess," of which there are many, repeating what the great writers of the departing culture said already more than once and said more strongly and brightly than their weak poetess-imitators. Akhmatova is herself a creator. And as a poet-creator, she brings to art, and thus to our knowledge of the human soul, what the biggest bourgeois poets before her couldn't say.

Akhmatova doesn't sing about "woman" in general but about the woman of a new type, who is beating out a path in life with her labor.

As an artist-creator, Akhmatova doesn't pass the feelings of the female soul through the prism of male psychology but speaks about what almost every independent working woman feels in her secret places, as she stands at the break between two epochs. And in this truth about the feelings and emotions of contemporary working women, born at the dawn of a new culture, there is the kernel of a new approach to life, which unites Akhmatova's work with the mindset of the rising class and makes her three little white volumes dear to you and your comrades.

In order to forge a new culture and its own ideology, working humanity cannot and should not approach the problems and phenomena of life with a one-sided male approach, as bourgeois society did. One must not evaluate

and analyze phenomena, relying only on male perception. Especially when we are talking about problems of sex, about the "mystery of love," which is as old as society itself, and to which, for the most part, Akhmatova's poems are dedicated, troubling you somewhat.[2]

In bourgeois society, a woman was not an independent, social, working unit, and so her evaluation of phenomena, her psychology, was not taken into account. She did not bring anything new, anything of her own, into culture and the understanding of the world.

The ideology of the rising working class, encompassing the demands, strivings, feelings, and perceptions of both sexes, requires something else; the art of the new culture cannot exclude a factor as important as women in the social life of the society of labor. At the same time, there is no doubt that the particularities of the spiritual make-up of women, instilled in them over centuries, force women to approach a whole range of phenomena in a different way—motherhood, the problem of love, art, the choice of labor. The ideology of the rising class must make room for spiritual-emotional values developed by both sexes.

But, in order to give women a place in the cause of creating the foundations of a new culture, we must first of all know what kind of internal work is happening in the soul of the working masses of women in this transitional moment, this moment of a break in concepts and views. In this sense, Akhmatova's three little white volumes present undoubted interest, and I am glad that your request, my young comrade, made me think more deeply about this writer. Yes, Anna Akhmatova is only able to illuminate one curve of the female soul for us; yes, she only unearths for you the feelings of women that are part of the "mystery of love." But now, at the break between epochs, this is also important. Don't forget: one of the greatest revolutions in the history of humanity is taking place precisely in relations between the sexes, and proletarian ideology contains an answer to this "mystery" that bourgeois culture could not solve.

Of course, Anna Akhmatova is not a communist, and, for this reason, the complete type of new woman is alien and unfamiliar to her—the woman-warrior, builder, leader, whom the working class is already forging in its depths, in bitter struggle. The kind of women who, in one way or another, have solved for themselves the problem of love, and who will always be able to defend the human self from the power of Eros, terrible for women

of the transitional period, without losing their ties to the collective. But are there many such complete types of "new women"? The majority, the huge majority of women is either under the power of the vestiges of bourgeois culture or, in the best case, "at the breaking point." Not only peasant women, the wives of workers, and petty public servants but also many wives of "party workers" live by the fundamentals of bourgeois ideology. They aren't even at the "breaking-point," yet.

They bring all the same baggage that our mothers were fed on into both life and love. Akhmatova's little white volumes cannot speak to their mind and heart.... But women workers (the broad masses, not individuals), student youth, women laboring in all walks of life—they are at the "breaking-point."

And only the thin layer of the proletarian avant-garde, closely tied to the communist worldview, has the new type of woman-comrade, personality, leader in its ranks. But who can confidently say that the traces of women's spiritual-emotional enslavement by the vestiges of bourgeois culture have completely disappeared in them as well?

There is no doubt that the feeling of one's link to the collective, the joy of participation in the struggle for the ideals of one's class, the fever of creative construction, pride in the success of a labor process, faith in one's own powers—all these experiences and feelings are to a much greater degree characteristic of the common proletarian man than they are to women of the working class. Women are still learning these feelings and strivings, as they join the active life of their class. For centuries, millennia, a woman was raised with the consciousness of being only the "shadow of a man," his supplement, his reflection. Is it a surprise that even now, after the trumpet call of the revolution has called woman, too, to the military post, she still doesn't believe in herself, in her "intrinsic value" to the collective, and she is still looking for support from a man and for affirmation of her ego through his love for her, through a declaration that she is his chosen one....

All the same, the revolution has not passed without leaving a trace on the spiritual make-up of women. In the years of the great revolution, women felt the possibility of a new "being" on their fingertips, one where she, woman, would be recognized as having equal rights as an independent unit in the social collective. The revolution raised women up to an unheard-

of height, placing her next to her male worker comrade, and it recognized the expedience of such equality. An unheard-of shift. All the foundations of the millennial existence of women have been shaken. The difficult work of understanding her "self," her place in the collective, and her interrelations with men, her recent rulers, is taking place in her soul. In order to keep up with life, to not get run down or trampled in the struggle for existence, women have to cast off quickly the worn-out values of bourgeois ideology. And foremost to reevaluate their relations with the opposite sex. Either submit to the dictates of bourgeois ideology and stay "with a man," that is, stand outside the active life of the collective, or cross the Rubicon and stand on the soil of proletarian ideology, bringing a new word to the relations between the sexes. There is no third way.

Consciousness of being needed not by a family, a husband, or children, but by the collective—a consciousness which the five years of the great revolution firmly instilled in women—makes a woman in this epoch of the break unexpectedly "incompliant" and demanding with regard to men. She is no longer satisfied with what satisfied women steeped in bourgeois ideology—to "reflect" the soul and mind of the beloved, to be his mirror, his shadow, his supplement. She demands that he, the chosen beloved, should also be able to reflect her inner, spiritual-emotional life. To love and be loved is not enough. She instinctively-spontaneously manages to establish in love the same comradeship, the same equality, and the same mutual recognition that lie at the basis of interrelations among all members of the collective, which is suffused with proletarian ideology. The great revolution is being completed in the souls of the broad masses of women, as they are drawn into the whirlpool of the labor process for the collective.

The same cannot be said about the broad masses of working-class men, yet. In the interrelation of the sexes, the break in the foundations of life touched women first. For now, men have been touched only externally, only insofar as a husband or "comrade in life" experiences discomfort because of the involvement of women in the life of the labor collective: the cold supper because his wife is at work, the button that hasn't been sown on, the need to "shepherd the children" while his wife is at a delegates' meeting.... All these are external factors, annoying and unusual, but they still don't create a revolution in the psychology and the concepts of the

average man. Men still haven't learned that they now have to deal with women of a new type, with different spiritual-emotional needs, and that the time has passed when a woman not only served her lord but also adapted to him internally.

Men still think that a woman is either a "pleasant encounter" for relieving the desires of the flesh or his faithful, legal shadow—a wife.

He can't imagine that there will come a time when he, too, will have to reckon with the needs of his girlfriend and comrade, when he, too, will have to adapt spiritually to her, if he doesn't want to lose her love, her attachment, her friendship. Men still carry all the baggage of decrepit feelings created by bourgeois culture into the amorous relations of the sexes. But women already draw their feelings and needs from the sphere of the new ideology. Conflict is inevitable.

And this conflict is the content of Akhmatova's three little white volumes. A conflict that you and your comrades have already stumbled upon to one degree or another, a conflict which weighs heavily on every working-class woman trying to cross the Rubicon of bourgeois culture.

And this, my young friend, is why Akhmatova's poems are dear to you, too, even though she "only sings about love." Every page of Akhmatova is an entire book of the female soul. One line of her verse—precise, vividly exact—gives you more than the multi-volume psychological novels of many contemporary writers.

Two main themes, two motifs repeatedly resound in her verse: conflict in love because a man doesn't recognize the woman's human self. Conflict in the soul of the woman herself because of an inability to combine love and participation in the art of life.

Recall Akhmatova's poem *Evening*. She, a woman in love, spends her first evening alone with her beloved. Her "beloved" has bestowed his attention upon her, her "beloved" is with her....

A poet who doesn't know about the complex work taking place in the soul of a woman of the new type would describe this first encounter with iridescent colors. "The woman's exultant eyes," "her lips breathless from happiness..." But can there be "exultant joy" when the woman senses that her beloved does not recognize her true human self? When her beloved lover doesn't see what's inside her, what is individual, distinct, and thus socially valuable, but sees only what in her is "species-specific,"

the general female? The curse of vestiges of bourgeois culture poisons amorous relations. It is a rare man, even if he stands in the front ranks of the fighting class, who has learned to listen with the now sensitive ear of his soul to the spiritual voice of his beloved girlfriend. For the majority of men, a woman is still only "Eve, created from Adam's rib...".

But the woman waits for her heart's chosen one to see and accept her completely, to recognize her as a person and a human being. Conflict is inevitable. In Akhmatova's *Evening*, it is strikingly, vividly conveyed.

Music is playing in the garden. It is a first date, but for her the music sounds full of "inexpressible grief." He—the chosen one—doesn't sense the work of her soul, he can't figure out her needs, he doesn't see her true, intrinsically valuable self... For him, she is only one of her "species"—a woman.

> As one might stroke a cat or a bird,
> Or watch slender equestriennes ride...

And, in the voice of the violins singing in the garden, she can hear the faint irony of the longed-for hour of the first date:

> Praise heaven above—for the first time
> You're alone with the man you love.

But the pain is even sharper when her beloved lover, blinded by his "male self-sufficiency," cannot and does not want to see an equal creative force in the woman, bringing as much spiritual or material value into the treasury of life as he does. In the poem *We met for the last time*, Akhmatova lays bare all the naïve egoism of the male lover, easily and carelessly inflicting the deepest wounds in his girlfriend without even noticing.

Both are poets, both are creators. For both, art is the basis of life.[3] But, while recognizing the right to be creative for himself, he, the beloved, loves and recognizes everything in her, only not the essence of her soul.

> Praise heaven above—for the first time
> You're alone with the man you love.

And, in this moment, a long, painful disharmony, clouding and tormenting the joy of love, suddenly becomes fully, dreadfully clear to the woman. If he doesn't see, doesn't recognize what is most "important" in her, the fact that she is a poet-creator, then what does he love in her? Her "species," the general female?

The sharpness of the pain increases her perception of external impressions. For her, the memory of "the tsar's tall palace and the Peter and Paul fortress" is forever tied to his wounding words.

Blind, not sensing the work of her soul, he gives her "the latest of all my mad songs." But for her the die is cast. One of many meetings becomes the "last" one for her.

The poem *I clenched my hands under a dark veil…* is full of the same torture of disharmony. The explanation is finished. She has now cast in his face everything that had become painful over days of disharmonious love, all the "bitter truths," all the times he pricked her, carelessly, loving her, but not hearing the true voice of her soul. There is only one way out—to plant a cross on their love, which only tortured and tormented, and on the unhealthy feeling, when there is no inner recognition of one another.

Insulted, understanding nothing, he reads in her words only: she doesn't love me anymore!

He staggered out,
His mouth twisted in agony …

She has been struck in the heart, whipped by the irrevocability of what was said. Stop him, hold him back! He didn't understand her, but she—she loved him and only required recognition of herself.

How can I forget? He staggered out,
His mouth twisted in agony …
I ran down not touching the bannister
And caught up with him at the gate.

Painting, I cried: "A joke!
That's all it was. If you leave, I'll die"

The woman's eyes are full of inescapable despair. But he, the beloved, hears only one thing in this call: recognition of his "male" power. And, in full consciousness of his superiority over the loving woman, he casts an offhand, sober, but painfully wounding phrase:

> He smiled calmly and grimly
> And told me: "Don't stand there in the wind."

Tomorrow, in this he is sure, when the "folly" of absurd female demands has fully passed, he will come back to her as the "master" he was.

What were all her wild, angry words for, if she shouts after him the usual "If you leave, I'll die." But she watches him go and thinks of one thing: again, he didn't understand!

A man who has not crossed over the border of bourgeois culture in the sphere of relations between the sexes can see and perceive the spiritual make-up of his beloved woman only during the short period of falling in love. But when the moment of falling in love has passed, and the man is again full only of himself, he again loses the ability to see the woman fully, at her full human height.

> Are you really going to hurt my feelings
> The same way you did last time—
> Saying that you don't see hands,
> My hands and eyes?

asks the woman in Akhmatova's poem: *Hello! Do you hear the light rustling ...*

She came to him, to her beloved, already on guard, clenched up inside. She is afraid of new pricks of incomprehension, new spiritual pain from his failure to accept her "spiritual self." But he is only full of himself. He needs her like a mirror for the reflection of himself. And the woman stands before him with outstretched arms and waits not for kisses but for sensitive perception of herself. And she waits in vain. He doesn't see "[her] hands and eyes."

He loves but does not see her.

The pain of disharmony is so sharp that the woman experiences an involuntary desire to find a way out, "under the stifling vault of the bridge." For ages, bourgeois culture instilled practices of self-sufficiency in man.

The general mass of working-class men is still far from overcoming these practices. But working youth must realize that these practices are not at all something "lawful," that they are only vestiges of the bourgeois worldview, and they are incompatible with proletarian ideology.

Proletarian ideology in the sphere of relations between the sexes is built on the recognition of equality among all members of the labor collective. The ideology of the proletariat cannot permit inequality and the subjugation of one by another even in amorous relations.

The entrenchment of proletarian ideology will not bring assertions of self-sufficient identity, not the growth of egotistical practices, but, on the contrary, the growth of *caring, sensitive relations to all co-members of the collective*, the ability to see the comrade and human being in each.

To increase his external or internal comforts, a man in whom the practices of bourgeois ideology are still strong often demands, without noticing it, that a woman sacrifice what is most valuable in her, her "white bird," her identity.

He can love her like the "God's sun" (to use Akhmatova's expression), and yet he will still try to get the woman to "adapt herself" to him, to deny her own self and only live for him, reflecting in herself his spiritual make-up.

This is how bourgeois culture raised men. But the revolution has awoken the "white bird" in the mass of working women. The "white bird" is trembling, thrashing; it demands recognition. This troubles the man with the practices of bourgeois culture; it's uncomfortable for him. Not every woman of the transitional epoch knows her value as a person and a worker.

Not every woman has grown up enough to become conscious that the first duty of a member of working society is *service to the collective* and only then to separate people, however dear and close these people are. A loving and beloved woman of the transitional epoch is not always able to defend her human rights firmly and decisively before the power of love.

Externally, at first glance, men are often victorious. But Akhmatova (and this is the most important and interesting thing) opens before us the secret place of the female soul and the work that the dawning of the new worldview is engendering in women. A woman in whose soul the "white bird" is already awake, a woman with needs that drive her to work for society, or one

conscious of her duty to the collective, will not find rest and happiness without her "white bird." A woman could only remain the reflection of a man, could not hold her "white bird" dear, until the powerful voice of the collective called on her to serve it. Now that voice has rung out.

A woman can still sometimes bury her "white bird," she can even promise her beloved not to "mourn," but she will always and everywhere hear its beckoning, familiar, calling voice.... Memory of her "white bird," thoughts about what the woman could be, what she might have brought into the life of the collective, if not for the power of bourgeois practices, will not only kill the joy of life but the joy of love:

> But my heart turned to stone,[4]

Amorous relations, built on the subjugation of one person by another, on the amputation of the self for the other, are the fruit of the hideous relations between the sexes created by bourgeois culture. Only *mutual recognition* guarantees full happiness and allows love to bloom fully....

The same idea is expressed in another poem of Akhmatova's:

> You are always novel and mysterious,
> I am more submissive with each day.

For the sake of her chosen one, a woman will endure the most incredible violence against the self, will accept a ban against "singing and smiling" (in other words, living by what is dear to her), but the woman's submission does not increase the "joy of love" and does not bring happiness. On the contrary, depersonalization gives rise in the woman to the inexpressible anguish of dissatisfaction, awareness of her "worthlessness" and superfluity in the world.

> Thus, a stranger to heaven and earth,
> I live and no longer sing,

Can there be a greater sorrow, greater anguish than the feeling of loneliness and alienation from the earth (the collective) and from heaven, art, and work?

Instead of bringing a winged joy, becoming a "festival of life," love turns into a trial by "iron and fire."

Love becomes captivity, "oppressive captivity."

With time, when the way of life of the new working society has become entrenched, and proletarian thought is victorious in all spheres, women will know firmly that there is no lord and master over them except the manager, the organizer of the life of the collective.

With time, when new collectivist practices and feelings have eroded the self-sufficient element in bourgeois male psychology, instilled in him by bourgeois culture, it will never occur to a man of organized working humanity to demand that his beloved woman "bury her white bird." He will love and value this white bird in her, not the general female, the species-specific. Then those agonizing conflicts in love, which Akhmatova's pen clearly reflects, and which force you, female communist, to weep over the little white volumes of non-communist Akhmatova—then they will disappear.

But I hear your dissatisfied question: All this is "going" to happen. Let it be so. But what about now? Right now? Where is the way out?

While remaining on the soil of a proletarian worldview, flip through Akhmatova's poems; in her little volumes, you will find an answer even to this question, which is painful for you and for many others.

In the majority of cases, love in the period of the struggle between two cultures and two worldviews becomes a "spiritual captivity" for women.

But what is love? It is a certain state of the soul, which, like all our feelings, is subject to specific, inescapable psychological laws. One must know these laws, and then the way out of "the captivity of love" will suggest itself on its own. And life itself will suggest it.

In the name of love, a woman suffused with bourgeois culture could fully accept the annihilation of her identity. Love for her husband, her children—this is the only sphere in which a woman could show her worth and be creative.

A woman of the past culture could crush and suffocate her little self, needed by no one but her family, and still be happy. A woman of the working class, who has realized her value, at least as a tiny cog in the mechanism of the collective construction of life, will *never forgive* her chosen one for the suffocation of the "white bird" in her.

Love will inevitably dwindle if a drop of the poison of dissatisfaction and inner, spiritual constriction is poured into it.

By killing the "white bird" in a woman, a man strives to attach the woman more firmly to himself. But, in fact, it is precisely this act that makes *her inner withdrawal from him* easier. When love is dwindling from dissatisfaction, it makes flight from the amorous plane easier.

Perhaps Akhmatova's best poems are devoted to the winged joy of a woman's liberation from the bonds of a love, in which there is no mutual recognition, no true spirit of comradeship.

> Weak is my voice, but my will isn't weakening,
> It's even become easier for me without love.

Her soul is still wounded from the torment of disharmony she experienced and the struggle for liberation from captivity; her voice is still "weak," but her will to live, to create, and to work has already returned. And this will is strong. The world is no longer shut off from her by the narrow circle of amorous feelings:

> Insomnia, my nightnurse, is visiting elsewhere,
> I'm not brooding by a cold hearth,
> And the crooked hand of the tower clock
> Doesn't look like the arrow of death.

It's as if the woman has come out of an airless dungeon into the fresh, free air, and she sees how great the world is, how wonderful and diverse the summoning voices of life are outside the closed circle of "amorous joys and torments."

In Akhmatova's poem, *I've learned to live simply, wisely*, the joy of perceiving being itself, beyond the narrow circle of love, is conveyed. Leaving her amorous captivity, the woman can again "compose poems," listen to life, create.

> And if you were to knock at my door,[5]
> It seems to me I wouldn't even hear.

The captivity of love has killed love. And, without love, the power of one person over the soul and identity of the other no longer exists.

How sweet to be
Beyond jealousy.[6]

A joyous stanza bursts forth from Akhmatova, as she speaks about completing the full circle of liberation from amorous captivity.

Now no one will burn
A candle till morning.[7]

Along with the worn-out love, all the bitterness of disharmony has also gone, all the anguish over the suffocated "white bird." And in place of the former rebellion against the "master of her heart," there remains for him only warm pity.

You're weeping—I'm not worth
A single one of your tears.[8]

The bonds of amorous captivity are broken (perhaps, not without pain), and the woman, bearing the "white bird" in herself, joyously greets life, in which, under the conditions of a society of labor, a place is prepared for her to prove herself creatively, to fuse her efforts with the creative efforts of the collective.

You are free, I am free,
Tomorrow will be better than yesterday—[9]

Bidding farewell to her beloved, the woman understands with a proud feeling of satisfaction:

But a miraculous garden I go to claim,
Where the grass rustles and the Muse exclaims.[10]

Not emptiness and loneliness but work in the "miraculous garden" of the collective creation of life awaits the woman, who has drunk from the cup of proletarian ideology's healing drink.

Under contemporary conditions of the transitional period, this is how one solves the problem of a love woven together from the woman's

still weak consciousness of her connection to the collective and the man's self-sufficiency, instilled in him by bourgeois culture.

The "dragon" in man, about which Akhmatova speaks in the poem *Dear traveler, you are far away* must be defeated by recognizing the value of the "white bird" in every woman member of the labor collective. We need our comrades, especially the young generation of working youth, to know and understand that, if a woman has already touched the life of the collective, you cannot kill the "white bird" in her without being punished. The "dragon," who destroys the "white bird," risks ending up alone.

"So, escape from the captivity of love or, in other words, a break with one's beloved is the only solution to the contemporary 'mystery of love'?" you ask with anguish. "But what can you do if the heart is stronger?"

The problem of love cannot be solved now, in the confused conditions of the break in culture, without pain, without cries of despair, without deep wounds of the heart. But escape from the captivity of love is not the only way out. There is another way, perhaps more difficult for the majority of women: *to teach one's comrade in life* not to wound the "white bird" but to kill the "dragon" in himself. If it is clear to the loving person that, besides the circle of love, the woman has another world that is also valuable to her, that the golden threads of her heart stretch not only to him alone, but that even more threads tie her spiritually to the life of the collective—then your comrade in life, my young friend and fellow warrior, will have to overcome his "self-sufficiency" and reconstruct, reeducate his psychology in the new key of the proletarian perception of the world and life. And if he does that, he will have to recognize the "white bird" in his girlfriend.

You write to me, my young friend, that Akhmatova is especially dear to you because she brings the subtleties of purely female feelings into relief. You recall how painfully the woman is wounded by the superficial tenderness and concern of a man who has fallen out of love with her.

> One would not mistake true tenderness
> For this. It is quiet.[11]

You delight in Akhmatova's poems that sing the soul's celebration in anticipation of a coming joy, not the accomplishment of happiness. Yes, you are right, Akhmatova's poem:

To wake at dawn
Breathless from joy,[12]

can be considered a classic in its expression of this emotion.

I won't argue with you that Akhmatova captures a purely female trait: love for beauty exists insofar as "beauty" mirrors delight in the eyes of the chosen one. Without him, the woman has no need for her beauty.

And, plaiting my braids tightly for the night,
As if I must wear them tomorrow,[13]

He, the chosen one of her heart, will not be here tomorrow, and "she won't need braids tomorrow..." These are all true traits of female psychology, which Akhmatova has subtly captured. But, my young friend, is it really the depiction of these circumstantial and non-essential traits of the female soul that makes Akhmatova dear to you?

Of course, not.

You love Akhmatova because she stands for the rights of the "white bird," and because the difficult quest for a path, leading women to the cathedral of a spiritually new humanity, is imprinted in her little volumes.

Notice that Akhmatova's brightest, most lively and joyful poems always depict the feelings of a woman when she is alone, outside the circle of amorous joys and torments, when she is simply working. Akhmatova's woman feels the full joy of life not when she is in the embraces of her beloved but when she is hard at work, adding her bit of energy to the treasure chest of collective creation. Labor—this is what brings happiness, as Akhmatova tells us in her poem "Having forsaken my homeland's sacred groves." With tenderness she remembers:

Oh, mysterious winter days,
And cherished work and gentle weariness

The lively joy of labor is complimented by relations with a spiritually harmonious comrade, not the chosen one of the heart, but precisely a comrade and friend; relations with him enrich and energize the soul, rather than impoverishing it through "adaptation" to the other.

> But I feel that our Muses are in harmony,
> With a lighthearted, charming friendship,
> Like girls who have not yet known love.[14]

Akhmatova is dear and close to you and your comrades precisely because the woman she sings of has already left the circle of familial, marital interests; the contents of her life are not confined to love, and she already bears the "white bird" in her breast, although she has not yet been sufficiently tempered by struggle to combine creativity, labor, fusion with the life of the collective, and the celebration of life with love. In love, the woman still cannot oppose the "dragon," no matter how much men have learned to value the "white bird" in women. But, standing as an equal beside her comrade in life, she shouts at her former master all the more often:

> Submissive to you? You're out of your mind![15]

The woman with a "white bird" in her soul is not looking for a husband but a c*omrade in life.* The deeper the ideology of the working class penetrates into the broad masses, the less room will remain for the love conflicts that Akhmatova sings about in her little white volumes. The place of "amorous captivity" will be occupied by the winged joy of love, built on mutual recognition, comradely care for one another, and the sensitive relations of harmonious souls.

Bourgeois culture instilled and entrenched the "dragon" in men, and in women it killed the "white bird." Along with the self-destruction of women, the culture of laboring humanity creates conditions under which the most ancient problem will disappear: the battle of the sexes.

The "dragon" will disappear. The "white bird" will triumph. The creativity of each person, male or female, lies in the depths of the collective.

On the occasion of *Love with Obstacles (Amor Rojo)*, this text was translated from Russian into English by the translator Joan Brooks. The essay was originally published in 1923, in the magazine *Molodaia Gvardiia* as part of Kollontai's series, *Pisma k trudiashcheisia molodezhi* [Letters to Working Youth]; it was the "Third Letter" in this series and found to be controversial by many.

1. Editor's note: Anna Andreyevna Gorenko (1889–1966), better known as Anna Akhmatova, was one of the most significant Russian poets of the twentieth century. She suffered censorship and prosecution by the Stalinist regime. Labeled by Trotsky as "anachronistic and bourgeois," she was effectively banned from publication between 1926 and 1958. Kollontai defended her work against all odds, as representing a new female subjectivity.

2. Kollontai's note: Of course, the fact that love is given pride of place in Akhmatova's little white volumes shows that Akhmatova herself is still on the crest of the break between epochs, and if she already senses a new truth in problems of love, in other questions she still hasn't grasped the content of the new culture.

3. Kollontai's note: The designation of poet is taken as a symbol; the same feelings can be found in all women who are involved in some sphere of work for the collective.

4. Editor's note: This is quoted from Akhmatova's poem *He was jealous, troubled and tender...*, published in the book *White Flock* (1917); here quoted from Roberta Reeder, ed., *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, trans. Judith Hemschemeyer (Boston: Zephyr Press, 2014), 176; see also p. 55 in this volume.

5. Editor's note: This is quoted from Akhmatova's poem, *I've learned to live simply, wisely...*, published in her book, *Rosary* (1914); here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 147; see also p. 58 in this volume.

6. Editor's note: This is quoted from Akhmatova's poem, *Cast-iron fence...*, published in her book, *Anno Domini MCMXXI* (1922); here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 286; see also p. 59 in this volume.

7. Editor's note: Ibid.

8. Editor's note: Ibid.

9. Editor's note: This is quoted from Akhmatova's poem, *My heart beats calmly, steadily...*, published in *Rosary*, here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 160; see also p. 60 in this volume.

10. Editor's note: This is quoted from the poem, *Let the voice of the organ again burst forth...*, included in *Anno Domini MCMXXI*, here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 285; see also p. 61 in this volume.

11. Editor's note: This is quoted from the poem, *One would not mistake true tenderness...* (1913), published in *Rosary*; here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 139, see also p. 63 in this volume.

12. Editor's note: This is quoted from the poem, *To wake at dawn...*, published in Akhmatova, *Plantain* (1921); here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 238; see also p. 64 in this volume.

13. Editor's note: This is a quote from the poem, *Evening hours at the desk...*, published in *Rosary*; here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 157; see also p. 65 in this volume.

14. Editor's note: This is quoted from the poem, *Having forsaken my homeland's sacred groves* (1914–16); here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 503; see also p. 66 in this volume.

15. Editor's note: This is quoted from the poem, *Dark Dream* 6, published in *Anno Domini MCMXXI*; here quoted from *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 266; see also p. 67 in this volume.

Selected Poems

(1911–21)

Anna Akhmatova

In the Evening

The music rang out in the garden
With such inexpressible grief.
Oysters in ice on the plate
Smelled fresh and sharp, of the sea.

He told me: “I am your true friend!”
And he touched my dress.
How unlike a caress,
The touch of those hands.

As one might stroke a cat or a bird,
Or watch slender equestriennes ride …
Under the light gold lashes
There is only laughter in his tranquil eyes.

And the voices of mournful violins
Sing through the drifting smoke:
“Praise heaven above—for the first time
You’re alone with the man you love.”

— March 1913

We met for the last time
On the embankment, where we had always met.
The Neva was high
And they were afraid the city would flood.

He spoke of the summer, and he also said
That for a woman to be a poet was—absurd.
I can still see the tsar's tall palace
And the Peter and Paul fortress!—

Because the air was not ours at all,
But like a gift from God—so miraculous.
And at that moment was given to me
The latest of all my mad songs.

— January 1914

Under her dark veil she wrung her hands …
“Why are you so pale today?”
“Because I made him drink of stinging grief
Until he got drunk on it.

How can we forget? He staggered out,
His mouth twisted in agony …
I ran down not touching the bannister
And caught up with him at the gate.

Panting, I cried: ‘A joke!
That’s all it was. If you leave, I’ll die.’
He smiled calmly and grimly
And told me: ‘Don’t stand there in the wind.’”

— Kiev, 8 January 1911

Hello! Do you hear the light rustling
To the right of your desk?
You won't finish writing these lines—
I've come to you.
Are you really going to hurt my feelings
The same way you did last time—
Saying that you don't see hands,
My hands and eyes?
Here in your room it is simple and bright.
Don't drive me there
Where under the stifling vault of the bridge
The dirty water is turning to ice.

— October 1913

He was jealous, troubled and tender,
He loved me as one loves God's sun,
But to keep it from singing about the past,
He killed my white bird.

Entering the front room at sunset, he murmured:
"Love me, laugh, write poetry!"
And I buried my merry bird
Beyond the round well, near the ancient alder tree.

I promised him I wouldn't mourn,
But my heart turned to stone,
And it seems to me that always and everywhere,
I hear the sweet voice of the bird.

— Autumn 1914

Dark Dream
2

You are always novel and mysterious,
I am more submissive with each day.
But your love, oh my exacting lover,
Is a trial by iron and fire.

You forbid singing and smiling,
And praying you forbade long ago.
As long as we don't separate,
Let everything else go!

Thus, a stranger to heaven and earth,
I live and no longer sing,
It's as if you cut off my wandering soul
From both paradise and hell.

— December 1917

Weak is my voice, but my will isn't weakening,
It's even become easier for me without love.
The sky is sublime, a mountain wind is blowing,
And my thoughts are pure.

Insomnia, my nightnurse, is visiting elsewhere,
I'm not brooding by a cold hearth,
And the crooked hand of the tower clock
Doesn't look like the arrow of death.

How the past loses power over the heart!
Liberation is at hand. I forgive everything.
I'm keeping track of a sunbeam running up and down
The first moist ivy of spring.

— Spring 1912

I've learned to live simply, wisely,
To look at the sky and pray to God,
And to take long walks before evening
To wear out this useless anxiety.

When the burdocks rustle in the ravine
And the yellow-red clusters of rowan nod,
I compose happy verses
About mortal life, mortal and beautiful life.

I return. The fluffy cat
Licks my pal, and sweetly purrs.
And on the turret of the sawmill by the lake
A bright flame flares.

The quiet is cut, occasionally,
By the cry of a stork landing on the roof.
And if you were to knock at my door,
It seems to me I wouldn't even hear.

— 1912

Cast-iron fence,
Pine bed.
How sweet to be
Beyond jealousy.

They made up this bed for me
With sobbing and prayers;
Now go anywhere in the world
You want, Godspeed!

Now your ears won't be wounded
By frenzied haranguing,
Now no one will burn
A candle till morning.

We've achieved peace
And immaculate days ...
You're weeping—I'm not worth
A single one of your tears.

— Tsarskoye Selo, 27 August 1912

My heart beats calmly, steadily,
What are the long years to me!
Under the Galernaya arch,
Our shadows, for eternity.

Through lowered eyelids
I see, I see, you with me,
And held forever in your hand,
My unopened fan.

Because we were standing side by side
In that blissful miraculous moment,
The moment of the resurrection of the rose-colored moon
Over the Summer Garden—

I don't need the waiting
At some hateful window,
Or the agonizing meetings—
All my love is satisfied.

You are free, I am free,
Tomorrow will be better than yesterday—
Over the Neva's dark waters,
Under the cold smile
Of Emperor Peter.

— 1913

Let the voice of the organ again burst forth,
Like the first spring thunderstorm;
From behind the shoulder of your bride glance
My half-closed eyes.

Seven days of love, seven terrible years of separation,
War, revolution, a devastated home,
Innocent blood on delicated hands,
Over the rosy temple a gray strand.

Good-bye, good-bye, be happy, handsome friend,
I'm returning your sweet vow,
But beware of revealing to your passionate one
My inimitable delirium—

Because that would spread burning venom
Through your blessed, your joyful union ...
But a miraculous garden I go to claim,
Where the grass rustles and the Muse exclaims.

— August 1921

Dear traveler, you are far away,
But I am talking to you,
Candles have been kindled
In the sky to guide you.

My traveler, quickly, to the right
Turn your bright gaze:
Here lives an evil dragon,
My longtime sovereign.

And in the dragon's cave,
Neither mercy, nor law,
And a lash hangs on the wall
To keep me from singing my songs.

And the winged dragon tortures,
He teaches me humility,
So that I may forget my daring laughter,
So that I may attain superiority.

Dear traveler, carry my words
To that far-off town,
So that he for whom I'm living still
Will become more sorrowful.

— Petersburg, 22 June 1921

One would not mistake true tenderness
For this. It is quiet.
In vain you solicitously wrap
My shoulders and my breast with furs.
And in vain you utter respectful words
About the first love.
How well I know those persistent,
Unsatisfied glances of yours!

— Tsarskoye Selo, December 1913

To wake at dawn
Breathless from joy,
And look through the cabin window
At the green waves,
Or on deck in rainy weather,
Wrapped in fluffy furs,
To listen to the engine throbbing
And not think of anything,
But, anticipating a meeting
With the one who became my star,
From the wind and salty spray
To grow younger every hour.

— Slepnyovo, July 1917

Evening hours at the desk,
The page is completely blank,
The mimosa smells of Nice and warmth,
A large bird flies in the moonlight.

And, plaiting my braids tightly for the night,
As if I must wear them tomorrow,
I look out of the window at the sea and the sandbars,
No longer feeling sorrow.

How much power has a man
Who doesn't even ask for tenderness!
I won't be able to raise my weary lids
When he pronounces my name.

— Summer 1913

Having forsaken my homeland's sacred groves
And the house where the Muse of Weeping languished,
Tranquil, contented, I lived
On that flat island moored like a raft
In the Neva's splendid delta.
Oh, mysterious winter days,
And cherished work and gentle weariness
And roses in my washstand pitcher!
There was a short and snowy street
And just opposite us they were building
The altar wall of the church of Ste. Catherine.
How early I left the house,
Searching the pristine snow in vain
For yesterday's footprints
On that pale, pure shroud,
And along the river, where the schooners, like doves,
One to the other, tenderly, tenderly pressed together,
Longing till spring for the gray seashore,
I came to the old bridge.
There was a room there, very like a cage,
Right under the roof of the noisy, dirty house,
Where he, like a pine finch, whistled before the easel,
Complaining cheerfully and mournfully
About a joy that never was.
As if into a mirror, I gazed uneasily
At the gray canvas, and with each week
My likeness, with my new expression,
Grew more bitter and more strange.
Now I don't know where he is, the dear painter
With whom I climbed through the blue
Mansard window
Out onto the roof and walked the ledge
Over the deadly abyss
To see the show, the Neva and the clouds ...
But I feel that our Muses are in harmony,
With a lighthearted, charming friendship,
Like girls who have not yet known love.

— 1914–16

Dark Dream
6

Submissive to you? You're out of your mind!
I submit only to the will of the Lord.
I want neither thrills not pain,
My husband—is a hangman, and his home—prison.

Well, look here! I came of my own accord ...
It was already December, the winds were abroad,
And it was so bright in your bondage,
But outside the window, darkness stood guard.

Thus in the wintry blast, a bird
Beats its whole body against the clear glass,
And blood stains its white wing.

Now I have peace and good fortune.
Good-bye, you are dear to me forever, gentle one,
Because you left this pilgrim into your home.

— August 1921

TRACES AND GLIMMERS: THE WRITINGS OF ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Rina Ortiz

Memory is neither a faithful mirror nor a neutral receptacle.

— Manuel Cruz

Repeatedly throughout her life, Alexandra Kollontai underscored the importance that writing held for her. "In reality, you're only alive when you work, when you put a piece of yourself on paper," she wrote to her friend Tatiana Shchepkina-Kupernik in 1914.[1] This vital need led her to reflect her passions, ideals, and concerns in various articles and books, published almost uninterruptedly between 1898 and the mid-1920s; they testify to the range of her interests and to her tireless activity on behalf of female emancipation and the search for a more equitable society. Some of these writings were also published in languages other than Russian.

However, Kollontai's legacy is not confined to her publications. Various Russian archives conserve other valuable handwritten testimonies of hers, such as her diaries, notes, and correspondences. From her early youth, she recorded her experiences and reflections in her notebooks, and kept other notes on her readings, as well as drafts of unpublished articles. She wrote ceaselessly throughout her life and intended to preserve her memoirs and other materials that bore witness to the diverse facets of her work. "For whom do I write?" she asked in one of her last notebooks. She answered that one of her aims was to teach future generations, to show them how her life had been spent: in constant struggle, overcoming obstacles, in continual rebellion: "I was never at peace, neither at work nor in love. Everything for me was insufficient. I wanted to teach that to others."[2]

Kollontai's wishes have now been partially realized. Important parts of her work were published posthumously; it suffices to mention the collection *Iz moei zhizni i raboty* [From My Life and Work], her selected correspondence *Revolutsia—Velikaya Miatezhnitsa* [Revolution: The Great Rebel], and her *Diplomaticheskie Dnievniki* [Diplomatic Diaries] *1922–1940*.[3] Even with these publications, however, a rich repository enabling deeper knowledge of this great rebel's thought remains untouched; the purpose of this essay is to open the door to some of these radical possibilities.

In Pursuit of the Traces

Archives exert a strange attraction: papers with distinct handwriting, outmoded words, and unknown names act as our guide when we attempt to depict historical scenes. In this documentary heritage, history *per se* is not encountered, and only fragments of individual lives and social collectivities are preserved; however, on the basis of these fractured human connections, one may attempt to reconstruct and interpret history and histories. In the archives, we find traces and catch glimpses of motives and explanations; we often share the concerns, joys, and sorrows of the various characters that we happen upon. Reading these documents can at times provoke the same impression that Shakespeare's work provoked in Goethe:

> Presentiments that I have had … about human beings and their destinies … I have found confirmed and enlarged … he seems to reveal all the mysteries without our being able to point to the magic word that unlocked the secret.[4]

The point of departure for my research on Alexandra Kollontai was her role as a diplomatic representative of the USSR in Mexico from 1926 to 1927. The first woman ambassador in the world had come to a country consolidating itself after the bloody revolution of 1910 to 1917, yet which was the first in the Americas to recognize the newborn Soviet republic. Kollontai left a testimony about her posting in Mexico as part of an extensive manuscript entitled *Diplomaticheskie dnievniki, 1922–1940* [Twenty-three Years of My Diplomatic Work].[5] The translation of her memoirs regarding her Mexican episode made it necessary to find related bibliographical, newspaper, and documentary materials that could provide context for the so-called "Mexican Diary."[6]

Two repositories preserve the greater part of these materials: fond 134 of the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) contains Kollontai's personal papers, which she donated herself, while an important portion of her correspondence can be found in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), both in Moscow. In addition, during my research I had the opportunity to establish contact with the famous rebel's descendants; her grandson Vladimir Mikhailovich Kollontai

and his wife Ritta Alexandrovna not only supported me in obtaining visual materials, but also gave me access to their personal archive. In these guarded spaces of historical memory, Kollontai's figure increased in richness and complexity.

The Harsh Desire to Endure

Alexandra Kollontai was born in St. Petersburg in 1872 into a well-off liberal family, which later allowed her to receive a refined education. From an early age, she displayed an interest in her social surroundings, along with a desire to become a writer. She married very young but soon separated from her husband, and with her parents' support left for Europe to study political economy, leaving her young son Mikhail in their care. From that moment on, her pen became one of the principal tools for her multifaceted political agitation and activity. As she writes:

> In reality, I lived not one, but many lives: each stage of my life was very different from the others. It was not an easy life; it was not a "stroll among roses" as the Swedes say. My life had it all: successes, hard work, recognition, popularity with the masses, persecutions, hatred, prison, failures, misunderstanding of my major idea (concerning the woman question and the issue of marriage); there were painful breaks with comrades, disagreements with them, but also many years of sincere and harmonious work within the Party.[7]

Approaching the breadth of Kollontai's interests and exploring the multiple facets of her life, requires examining her written legacy—not only her books, articles, lectures, and speeches, but also her diaries, notes, and correspondence. In what follows, I sketch out how these types of documentation await more in-depth examination.

The Russian State Archive of Social and Political History

As I have noted above, Kollontai was herself concerned with preserving her legacy—the greater part of which makes up RGASPI Fond 134. Immersing myself in these materials was a passionate task; reading her private

documents gave indications about her personality and the weight she gave the written word. Although she grew up in a country where censorship was constant—first under Czarist rule, then under the Soviet system—I believe she trusted in future generations to know how to read between the lines, perceiving the reasons that led her to preserve hurried notes, different versions of the same materials, single texts corrected over and over again, and other aspects of the archive that a meticulous reading and careful attention might bring back to life.

From an early age, Kollontai kept diaries and made loose annotations of the events and readings that left their mark. Also, in the years of her exile, her diary was, as she put it, "my confidant and consolation. Here I have no one with whom I can relieve my soul." At the same time, she emphasized:

> It always seems to me that one must not write only for oneself, but for others. For the unknown and distant women who will come after us. ... Let them see that we were not "heroes" or "heroines," but ordinary people. But we believed passionately and vehemently. We believed in our ideal and we persisted. ... Some of us are strong, but some are also weak...[8]

Perhaps, on this account, this energetic woman also jealously guarded her personal papers. After the outbreak of World War I, she, like many other Russian émigrés, had to leave German territory; police headquarters had warned that they were not allowed to take books, manuscripts, or letters with them. However, Kollontai was not willing to leave her notebooks behind: "How to be left without 'work tools'? In any case, I will take my beloved diaries. If I knew how to hide them here, in such a way that they would not fall into the hands of the police, it would be easier to smuggle them..."[9] Months later, living in exile in Norway, while reflecting on the difficulty of publishing her work *Society and Motherhood*, she also thought about the fate of her diaries: "If I die, I have nobody to leave my notes to for publication: notes, letters, everything of any sort of interest: psychological and perhaps historical. Who would be interested? Who among those now around me would consider this important?"[10]

In 1915, when Kollontai crossed the Atlantic for the first time in order to wage an anti-war campaign in the United States, Mrs. Dundas,

manager of the boarding-house in which she was lodging, offered to take care of the notebooks, returning them immediately after her return.[11] When she went back to Russia in April 1917, she took them with her. We know that on 2 January 1922, she turned over to what was then called the General Archive five sealed packages with the express instructions to open them only after twenty-five years, that is, not before 1 May 1946.[12] Some months later, in October 1922, Kollontai deposited another two packages with documents and an envelope with letters, indicating that nobody other than Kollontai herself should have access to them.[13] In other words, the first time she turned over her papers to the care of the General Archive was shortly before her departure for Norway in advance of assuming her first diplomatic position. It is possible that she took this precaution because having assumed a critical posture towards Lenin and being part of the "Workers' Opposition," the packages likely contained compromising information, or else she was keeping intimate papers concerning her relationship to her last husband, Pavel Dybenko.[14]

The following year, in August 1923, Kollontai transferred two more packages of documents, but in October 1924 she recovered her personal archive;[15] the document issued on that occasion allows one to infer the wealth of materials: unpublished work, rare photographs, her diaries from 1915 to 1916, and her correspondence, as well as the "P.E. Dybenko" affair and six folders.[16] It is difficult to know if all these documents survived and which of them form a part of her personal fond in RGASPI. This is because, as we shall see, the papers of the distinguished feminist were out of her reach for some time.

In October 1924, after recovering her papers, Kollontai went back to Oslo. At the time, she had already been named Ambassador and had obtained *de jure* recognition for the USSR, which was an important achievement at the time. In the following years, she kept her archive in a safe place, leaving it in the hands of friends when she had to temporarily leave the diplomatic missions where she was stationed.[17] However, the archive that was so closely guarded for years was also apparently lost for some time. The story of this episode is as follows: in 1942, Kollontai suffered a heart attack that brought her first to a hospital, then to a sanatorium to recover. During the time of her prolonged residence in Sweden, the trunk with her papers was located in the corridor of her apartment on the second

floor of the embassy building in Stockholm. On one occasion in 1943, she asked Emi Lorenson, her private secretary, to bring her to the sanatorium one of the files. The latter was deathly surprised to find the trunk empty. Boris Yartsev, an agent of the Soviet security and secret police apparatus (NKVD) assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Sweden, had sent its contents to Moscow.[18]

According to the testimony of Elisei Tikhonovich Sinitsyn, Yartsev's successor, the latter had decided to make off with Kollontai's archive before the Swedish spy service could do so in order to reveal the surely exceptional contents of a veteran Bolshevik's notes. Later, Sinitsyn himself informed Kollontai that he had been the one to receive the two suitcases containing the archive, with a note from Lavrentiy Beria—the chief of the NKVD and People's Commissar for Internal Affairs—requesting that he read it from first page to last:

> [S]peaking frankly, Beria's order implied that I had to study your archive with regard to your political loyalty. I confess I read your memoirs with great curiosity and found nothing that could interest Beria. Fitin, the Director of Intelligence, sent my written report to Beria and later told me that Stalin had read it. I quickly received instructions to put the materials back in the suitcases, just as they were before I had read them, seal the suitcases with the NKVD seal, and present them to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism for safekeeping.[19]

Having returned to Moscow in March 1945, Kollontai decided to recover her archive; she first went to V.M. Molotov, Commissar of Foreign Relations, who informed her that the archive had not been found and that possibly it had been lost. Later she went to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, also with no results. Then, in August 1945, she wrote Stalin directly, admitting that she had been informed that Yartsev sent her personal archive to the USSR, but claiming that it had apparently gone missing; on that account, she asked him to order the appropriate agencies to look for the archive and return it to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, where a Kollontai fond already existed. She argued that she was not only motivated by personal interest, but by the history of the Party.

Just over a year later, she received an answer and thanked Stalin through his private secretary: "Tell Joseph Vissarionovich that he has given me great happiness by returning to me materials I had thought lost ...."[20] We know that from that moment forward she began to work on her diaries for publication, especially those connected with her diplomatic work, leaving instructions for them to be published in 1972, on the centenary of her birth. However, we lack information about the completeness of the rest of her papers; Kollontai left no comments in that regard.

In any case, there is no doubt about the richness of Kollontai's personal archive and the perspectives it offers for research. It consists of four groups of various sizes that cover the years 1890 to 1952. It is worth pointing out that her books are not included, although there are some copies of leaflets; this is especially unfortunate, because the original editions have become bibliographic rarities.

Register 1 contains 555 files, with autobiographical materials and complementing biographical documents, along with unpublished manuscripts and typed versions of some of her most important works. It is interesting that the document opening this series is the mandate granted to her by the leadership of the Union of Textile Workers of the northern industrial region of St. Petersburg, dated 20 May 1910, to attend the International Conference of Socialist Women held in Copenhagen in August of that year. In other words, the archive begins precisely during her years of exile, pointing to the work she undertook in that period that marked her political education within German Social Democracy. Other documents testify to the positions bestowed on her, along with the extensive range of activities she developed: new mandates, the passport granted her as People's Commissar for Public Welfare in order to travel to Sweden, Norway, England, France, and the United States as representative of the Central Committee of the Soviet of Soldiers, Workers, and Peasants Deputies; and, invitations and tickets for the lectures she gave, posters, letters of credentials, among other ephemera.

I also found drafts, both typed and printed copies of texts published at different times, which enable us to know the parts that were self-censored or deleted by the publishers. As an unusual detail, I will mention that there is a copy of the introduction she wrote for the Mexican Rafael Ramos Pedrueza's book on the Soviet Union.[21] Another large grouping is formed by the texts on the condition of women, the problems that

beset working women, and prostitution as a social phenomenon. Also noteworthy are documents about her activity during the first years of the 1917 Russian Revolution: her agitation work among the soldiers, peasants, and workers, along with her efforts to organize women and extend their political participation. In themselves, these materials are illustrative of the immense work she had developed in a few months: flyers, announcements, and other materials prepared by Kollontai, in the name of the Section of Agitation and Propaganda of the Executive Committee of Ukraine, directed to the soldiers of the Red Army and exhorting them to struggle against the enemy; as well as working plans and other materials put together for the meetings of the Committee of Social Security, for the purpose of guiding the measures taken in the struggle against prostitution and begging.

In addition, there are letters, interviews, reflections on the condition of women and human behavior, notes on various readings, and annotations made during her travels. For example, during her stay in Mexico, she noted the names of fruits, streets, volcanos, and the sites she frequented. Many of these materials were used in the writing of her memoirs, which were published in fragmentary form throughout her life. However, there still remain many unexplored opportunities; it is beyond a doubt that all these materials Kollontai treasured shed new light on a careful examination of her life's mission and thought.

Register 2 is made up of sixty-one files with cuttings from newspapers and magazines reporting on Kollontai's activity, primarily on her diplomatic work. The major problem with these materials is that their source is not always indicated, but they nevertheless illustrate the polemics aroused by her interventions, opinions, and even her behavior and dress. Both laudatory and critical opinions are included, which shows that, at least to some extent, she took even unfavorable opinions into account.

Her diplomatic work and political activity can be found in Register 3, with a total of seventy-nine files covering the period 1918 to 1950. Preserved here are different transcriptions and several typewritten copies of the aforementioned work *23 Years of My Diplomatic Work*. It is worth noting that, albeit fragmentarily, some of her diaries or notes corresponding to the years 1920 to 1922 have been preserved; these contain critical reflections on the development of the USSR, with impressions of its leaders, meetings of the Communist International, and discussions concerning the "Workers'

Opposition" in the 10th and 11th Congresses of the Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik). Equally noteworthy are letters with precise indications of the way some tasks assigned to her had to be carried out, which reveal that she was forced to adhere to the line laid down by the CPSU; however, we find other missives in which she expressed her dissent in no uncertain terms. For example, an 18 April 1924 letter regarding the expulsion of Angelica Balabanoff indicates that the party had the right to expel those members in disagreement with its line, but that Kollontai considered it inadmissible for the party press to publish articles that essentially distorted the historical truth and did not contribute to boosting either the prestige or the strength of the party, but on the contrary were capable of provoking the disapproval of many conscious comrades, both Russians and foreigners. She also argued that the party should not have recourse to "clumsy" methods of attacking dissidents, since when all was said and done, and as history shows, these mechanisms would turn against those using them.[22]

Finally, the thirty-one files of Register 4 preserve fragments of some diaries, along with correspondence with family and friends. In contrast to the materials in the first register, those from this group reveal a more personal and intimate side of the great rebel. We find letters to her best friend, Zoya Shadurskaya; though few in number, some missives from her first husband Vladimir Kollontai and from Piotr Pavlovich Maslov, Alexander Gavrilovich Shliapnikov, and Pavel Efimovich Dybenko, with each of whom she had long-term emotional relationships. It is precisely these letters, along with the reflections on amorous relationships that can be read here, which refute the image of Kollontai as an excessively liberal-minded woman for whom sexual relations were like "drinking a glass of water," that is, unworthy of attention. On the contrary, these documents reveal the depth of the ties she established and the difficulties in overcoming learned, deep-rooted patterns in the behavior of men and women.

The Russian State Archive of Literature and Art

This repository of the RGASPI enables us to take a closer look at one of the least-studied aspects of Kollontai's literary legacy: its epistolary form.[23] These letters show her extraordinary expressive capacity and idiomatic

richness: each of them is capable of depicting not only a landscape of changing circumstances, but her state of mind. They also allow us to follow the trajectory of her various sojourns outside Russia and to know the flow of her thought and interests. In these letters, the written word, to which she accorded such importance, is clearly evident and carefully gauged.

While Kollontai's letters can be tracked down in several fonds in this archive, most of them are to be found in two fonds. The first, numbered 571, belongs to Tatiana Lvovna Schepkina-Kupernik, a writer and translator with whom Kollontai had a long friendship, and includes 777 letters from the period 1907 to 1952.

Fond 2371 of Vera Leonidovna Yureneva houses the letters Kollontai wrote to Zoya Shadurskaya, her friend and confidante from childhood until the latter's death in 1938.[24] Some manuscripts are also preserved, along with articles about Kollontai in various languages, photographs, and letters Shadurskaya sent her between 1920 and 1938.

Meanwhile, I will note that some other material relevant to her life and work are scattered in archives belonging to other artists and writers. For example, we find a theatrical work based on her novel *The Love of Worker Bees* and a photograph taken by Nikolai Svischov-Paola in the 1920s.

The Private Archive of the Kollontai Family

Although the bulk of Kollontai's archive was donated to institutions in charge of maintaining the historical patrimony, her grandson Vladimir Kollontai and his wife Ritta continue to be fundamental to the preservation of her memory. It is to them that we owe a new edition of her autobiography, including unpublished material; recently, her grandson's personal reminiscence of his relationship with her was also published.[25] Furthermore, they have kindly and generously encouraged and supported researchers from different countries interested in unearthing lesser-known aspects of the illustrious feminist's activity.

The family archive includes documents of a personal nature, such as her correspondence with different family members and friends—these are intimate texts that bring us closer to a different side of her from what has previously been studied. Likewise, these papers reveal other elements

of her daily life: the telephone bill and other services, her visiting cards, invitations to attend different events, and so on; they also include an extensive collection of photographs and some audio recordings.

The labors of her descendants have helped to support publications of Kollontai's works as well as those studying the life and work of this tireless fighter; when it has not been possible to obtain the originals, they made copies of books, articles, and newspaper pieces devoted to her. The materials are in several languages and span a period from the first decade of the twentieth century to recent times.

Conclusion: Work to be Done

Alexandra Kollontai transmitted her experiences and her political thought through a large quantity of written documents now mostly kept in the Moscow State Archives. She took great care in preserving these documents, very much aware they might be of interest for future generations. And she kept nothing from us, all the hesitations, contradictions, and mistakes, are there for us to see, a faithful portrait of the incessant activity of this great rebel. The present changes the past, gives it its final meaning. And the past gives us a base to formulate our own expectations for the future. There is work to be done.

1. Alexandra Kollontai, "Letter to Tatiana Lvovna Shepkiná-Kupernik" (1914), in *Revolutsia—velikaya miatezhnitsa. Izbranie pis'ma 1901–1952* (Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1989), 108.

2. Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), fond 134, op. 4., exp. 27.

3. Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty* (Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1974), 413. The edition was prepared by I.M. Dazhina, M.M. Mujamedzhanov, and R.I. Tsivlina; *Revolutsia—velikaya miatezhnitsa. Izbranie pis'ma 1901–1952*, 608; ibid., *Diplomaticheskie dnievniki, 1922–1940,* vols. 1–2., introduction and notes by M.M. Mujadmezhanov (Moscow: Academia, 2001).

4. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, edited and translated by Eric A. Blackall with Victor Lange (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 112.

5. The manuscript, with slight variants from the original, was published in Russian in 2001 under the title *Diplomaticheskie dnievniki, 1922–1940*.

6. Rina Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México: Diario y otros documentos* (Xalapa/Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2012), 174.

7. Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, 367.

8. Ibid., 175–6.

9. Ibid., 170.

10. Ibid. 178.

11. Ibid. 196.

12. Gosudarstevennii Arjiv Rossiskoi Federatsii (GARF: National Archive of the Russian Federation), reg. 1, f. 7, Note 49, 2 January 1922; GARF, fond R-5142, reg. 1, f. 5, 8.

13. Ibid, f. 12, 204.

14. The so-called "Workers' Opposition" was a group headed by Alexander Shliapnikov and Alexandra Kollontai that criticized the increasing bureaucratization of the Soviet state and the gradual disappearance of workers' representation in the Communist Party and their substitution with party functionaries that were already far apart of the workers as a class.

15. At this time, Kollontai spent thirteen days in Moscow. Certificate of receipt of documents from 9 August 1923, GARF, fond R5142, opis 1, f. 23, 186.; certificate of return of Kollontai's personal archive, 9 October 1924, GARF, fond R-5142, opis 1, f. 5, 2.

16. List of materials of Kollontai's personal archive, GARF, fond P-5142, opis 1, f. 5, 3–4.

17. For example, it was left in the care of Marcel Body, her secretary in the Norwegian Embassy; subsequently, in Stockholm in 1937, Ada Nilsson, her personal physician, took charge of them.

18. The initials of the Narodnii Komisariat Vnutrenij Del [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs], on which the secret police depended.

19. Quoted by O.V. Chernishova, V.V. Roguinskii, "Sud'ba 'Diplomaticheskij dnevnikov' A.M. Kollontai" [The Fate of Alexandra Kollontai's Diplomatic Diaries], in *Novaya i Novieishaya Istoria* 5 (September 2002), 174.

20. Ibid., 175.

21. RGASPI, fond 134, reg. 1, f. 232.

22. RGASPI, fond 134, reg. 3, f. 42.

23. Her correspondence has been partially published, including materials held in other archives. See *Revolutsia—velikaya miatezhnitsa.*

24. V.L. Yureneva was a famous actress and the sister of Alexandra Kollontai's intimate friend Zoya Shadurskaya.

25. Kollontai, *Letopis moei zhizni* edited by R.A. Popovkina (Moscow: Academia, 2004), 332; Vladimir M. Kollontai, *Moia chrezvychainaya babushka. Vospominania vnuka ob Aleksandre Mijailovne Kollontai* [My Extraordinary Grandmother: Reminiscences of the Grandson of Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontai] (Moscow: Aspekt Press, 2019), 192.

INTELLECTUAL & ARTISTIC ENCOUNTERS: KOLLONTAI IN MEXICO (PART 1)

Ana Sofía Rodríguez Everaert & Álvaro Ruiz Rodilla

Alexandra Kollontai disembarked in Mexico in December 1926 with a very clear diplomatic mandate: to promote commercial and cultural interchange with the Soviet Union. Stalin had forbidden her from making any gesture that could be interpreted as interference in local political matters; the USSR had decided to limit its influence in political affairs in Mexico since the resignation of the first Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, Stanislav Pestkovsky, was suggested by Plutarco Elías Calles in 1926 due to his excessive intervention in the affairs of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM). With this precedent, and according to Stalin's warnings, Kollontai had sufficient reason not to militantly advocate for the Bolshevik cause in Latin America; this limit was in place despite her sharp and quick observation that Mexico, in effect, had yet to see a revolution that would "shatter class and economic obstacles," but instead had witnessed mere revolts.[1]

Kollontai was an independent thinker who had often been uncomfortable with the Soviet regime and its leaders, and although in Mexico she acted discreetly, her fame often preceded her: the Calles government viewed her with suspicion; the US American press spoke of her as irrefutable proof of the Marxist threat to America; and the Mexican Communists, with whom, unlike Pestkovsky, she avoided contact, were eager for her advice and assistance to strengthen the proletarian cause. Eluding all of these distractions, she concentrated on her diplomatic work, where her major interest, based on her own writing, consisted of doing business with Mexico, despite the many obstacles she encountered. In this regard, perhaps her most considerable contribution to the cultural dialogue between Mexico and the Soviet Union was her role as the intermediary who introduced avant-garde Russian cinema to Mexico, which generated long-term dialogues and interchanges through many artists.

Accounts of her sojourn tend to emphasize and romanticize her relationship to the most outstanding Mexican artists of the moment, including Tina Modotti, Diego Rivera, and Frida Kahlo,[2] and often leave out many important nuances, such as the diplomatic inheritance she received and the cultural ambience in which these Communist-leaning artists participated. Such neglected details could nourish new interpretations of the dynamics of cultural interaction between Mexico and the Soviet Union during those years. Thus, the intention of this essay is to provide a new perspective capable of shedding light on the ambassador's role in the development

of the socialist artistic avant-garde, emphasizing her interest in other aspects of Mexican reality that have not yet been fully studied. Our goal is to question historical constructions that tend to idealize periods and individual actors, insisting on the complexity of personal circumstances within the framework of international politics, where personal intimacies and public debates are locked in fierce, unresolvable battles.

Forced Diplomacy & Hostile Relations

Kollontai was in Mexico City for a little under a year. During the first weeks, she could not leave her bed in Colonia Juárez because her body could not adapt to the altitude of the country's capital. One of her biographers, Cathy Porter, interprets the whole Mexican diplomatic mission as a deliberate strategy by Stalin to condemn her to a premature death in the heights of Mexico City, since he knew of her heart problems.[3] The ambassador had previously been a part of the Party Central Committee and was the first People's Commissar for Public Welfare in the Communist government, established in 1917; she also participated in the failed Workers' Opposition of 1921, which fought against the bureaucratization of the Party and aimed to bring a greater unity between the state and the workers. Her arguments, summarized in an article published in *Pravda* [Truth] on 25 January 1921, as well as the considerable support she gained for the cause, gained her the enmity of both Lenin and the Central Committee of the Party. Her first diplomatic mission in Norway was also a response to these tensions.

The mission to Oslo lasted only three years, but Kollontai took advantage of the period to write her first works of fiction: *Love of Worker Bees and Women at the Threshold*, dedicated to the dilemmas and pressures confronting women in contemporary Russia. According to Porter, as Ambassador to Norway, Kollontai was also warned not to interfere in local politics. Her principal task was to gain recognition of the USSR in the Scandinavian country, although she did not restrict herself to that objective; she also established a series of trade agreements between both nations—such as the transport of Norwegian wood to European countries in Soviet ships—and resolved certain territorial matters with the Treaty of Alesund. In addition, she met informally with people of "radical" inclinations.[4] It was important for her to surround

herself with well-known, interesting people: she had demonstrated as much in her successive periods of exile before the triumph of the Revolution, and she continued to do so in her diplomatic missions for the USSR.

Kollontai visited Moscow in the summer of 1923 to receive government instructions regarding the conflict of the Spitzbergen Archipelago; the trip proved to her that neither she nor her ideas were welcome any longer by the Communist leadership. Although she wanted to return to work in Russia, the Party announced that she would leave for Mexico. Kollontai endeavored to make her time in Mexico productive, although the ambassador's second mission was marked by multiple political and health-related obstacles.

Following her success in Norway, as the first trade representative to Mexico—a position she held jointly with her ambassadorship—Kollontai had substantial plans regarding the trade relations that she could establish in Mexico. In the diary she kept during her sojourn, she describes windows of economic opportunity with attention to materials such as lead, cotton, coffee, and henequen. She wanted to import the latter, but she did not succeed in awakening her country's interest in the business.[5] What was roundly celebrated—even in the national press, which always viewed her severely—was the USSR's purchase of the equivalent of 100,000 dollars of Mexican lead. Kollontai was cordially received by Calles and her indications of the problems Mexican tariffs signified for importing products were taken into account.

However, the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM; Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation), and its leader, Luis N. Morones, Secretary of Industry, Commerce, and Labor during the Calles administration, represented an insuperable obstacle. The deployment of this organization in the national territory, along with its relationship to the government, set the pace for the Mexican workers' movement throughout the 1920s, leaving little space for other union or worker organizations, including PCM, which had only been founded in 1919. Kollontai soon paid the price for the categorical rejection of any Russian interference, and because of Morones's intervention, her attempts at trade negotiations were frustrated.

No less crucial for her diplomatic work was the pressure Mexico received from the United States in a moment of high tension with the oil companies. The declarations of Frank Kellogg, the United States Secretary of State, regarding "Bolshevik policy" in Latin America, made

any commercial links with the Soviets impossible. A few days after her disembarkation, Kollontai was already aware of the US government's rejection of her presence in Mexico. On 15 December, she wrote in her diary: "I can say that, unfortunately, the United States pay too much attention to me. They are trying to demonstrate that our embassy is a 'nest of Communist propaganda' and that the Soviet government sent a cruel and amoral person with the mission of impanting Communism in Mexico. And not only in Mexico but in the entire American continent."[6]

Both her diary and her biographies reveal that the ambassador made great efforts to read Spanish (or as she labeled it, "Mexican") and investigated the history and culture of Mexico. The journalist and writer Carleton Beals had shared with her some knowledge of Mexico prior to her disembarkation. Likewise, Kollontai herself told a reporter from *Excélsior* that "a year ago she read an interesting book by her compatriot Konstantin Balmont, who was in Mexico during the Porfirista administration,"[7] through which she learned, among other things, about the interventionist events during the two United States invasions of the Mexican port of Veracruz. In another interview with *Excélsior*, the ambassador specified that her initial knowledge of Mexico was acquired in the German language, reading Goldschmidt and "Baron von Humboldt";[8] and along the way she sought to inform herself by reading another book by Mario d'Arpi.[9]

The major intellectual event immediately prior to her arrival was the visit of the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky in July 1925. The Soviet poet devoted a lengthy chapter to Mexico in *My Discovery of America* (1926), and several journalistic texts and essays appeared in January 1926 in *Red Virgin Soil* (albeit riddled with errors and written in haste).[10] William Richardson gives us an indication of Kollontai's proximity when he declares that, "Mayakovsky's narrative [...] was *made use of* by Aleksandra Kollontai" before her voyage.[11] We do not know with any certainty what this use refers to, since she does not mention this reading in any of the hitherto available documents of her Mexican sojourn. In any case, the Russian poet's writings constitute an essential point of departure for shaping the image of Mexico—of its daily reality, customs, and culture, as well as of the political situation, with its leaders and multiple factions—in the USSR of those years.[12] What is clear is that the multilingual and cultured Kollontai had a bookish, humanist knowledge of Mexico.

With this general context in mind, a more sustained look at the ambassador's concrete efforts, as well as the cultural and intellectual ambience of the period, can reveal interesting clues regarding her passage through and influence in Mexico. To begin with, an apparently simple fact—the screening of several Soviet films in Mexico—takes on singular importance.

The Turbulent Arrival of Russian Cinema in Mexico

On 28 January 1927, the ambassador received via diplomatic pouch the first film from Sovkino studios: *Death Bay*. Out of discretion, and in the face of the rumors circulating in the Mexican and US American press, she decided to organize, with great success, a private function in the embassy. Distribution of the subsequent films would occur in a very hostile diplomatic atmosphere, with a crossfire encouraged by US Secretary of State, Kellogg.

Despite the ambassador's restraint, the screenings aggravated tensions. It is worth pointing out that the aim of these screenings was not really the cultural dissemination of the new Russian cinema, nor the ideas of the "new man" conveyed by the proletarian revolution. On the contrary, for Kollontai it was good business: selling the films meant the accomplishment of a "peaceful labor" of exchange. It was necessary to seek out commercial distribution agreements in order "to sell the productions in the country or negotiate a contract for renting these films on the basis of an equal share of the ticket sales, but only one movie theater showed any interest."[13]

At first, the only movie theater to screen the films was the Imperial Cinema. The first was *Death Bay* on 21 March 1927, a date which can be considered as the inaugural moment of Soviet cinema's arrival in Mexico.[14] There was a repeat screening of *Death Bay* on 22 March; on both days, the ad of this "first Russian super-production," accompanied by Russian choruses, took up more than half a page in two large-circulation newspapers: *El Universal* and *Excélsior* (notably, the same publicity was achieved for the subsequent screening of Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*, whose poster is even more spacious and graphic).[15]

Several days after the first screening of *Death Bay*, advertisements appeared "on streetcorners throughout the city," textually announcing "a series of Russian films of Bolchevik [*sic*] propaganda," which concluded

with the claim: "authorized by the Mexican government." Within a few hours, Juan Bustillo Bridat, owner of the Imperial Cinema, was accused of publicizing the screenings with the posters, which were then suspended in that theater and in all others, although he swore that he had not printed the ads. However, the owner of the responsible print shop blamed him and both were arrested; both were later freed thanks to Kollontai's intervention. The screenings then continued in the Imperial with full knowledge of the political risks involved.[16]

Other than this strange episode, the initial reception of Soviet film did not take place in a completely negative atmosphere. In his column "Notas fílmicas," the journalist Rafael Bermúdez praised *Death Bay* as "an exceptional work" and perceived the crudeness of the avant-garde's realism, without yet noticing the revolutionary techniques of montage.[17] He wrote:

> The compact multitude that flooded the Imperial Cinema yesterday remained in suspense throughout the film's screening; only in the frames where a man gets his throat slit and where an already-dead boy is photographed did one feel a catching of breath, and when the film ended, there was solid, unanimous applause. That is, the audience that has so far seen the film has been perfectly neutral; they didn't go to applaud the invasion of Soviet ideas, but they were there to watch a real picture, so real as to be true-to-life and which in many of its concepts is similar to what we have seen in our revolutions and what the French saw and felt in 1793; and by virtue of this very fact, in making an artistic impression of real events, the artists' admirable inspiration was applauded.[18]

It is odd that the "invasion of Soviet ideas" is separated from avant-garde realism here, when the latter was one of its obvious formal expressions.[19] In any case, it is worth noting the praise and the public's positive reception, which would have opened the way for a sheaf of profits had it not been for the subsequent scandal.

In February of 1927, Kollontai had signed a contract with the producer Sovkino to distribute a total of twenty-two films in Mexico through California Films. That year alone, the Imperial Cinema screened Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* (23 April); Abrayev's *Zaur, Son of the*

Caucasus (6 May); Anatoly Lunacharsky's *The Marriage of the Bear* (20 May); Yakov Protazanov's *Aelita* (16 June); Vsevolod Pudovkin's *Mother* (29 July); and, Yakov Protazanov's *The Imperial Guard* (12 August). In the Embassy, Kollontai also screened *Abrek Zaur, or, The Son of the Mountains* by Boris Mikhin (2 February).

The screenings continued even after Kollontai's resignation from her position in June 1927, and extended until 1929 in different theaters.[20] Kollontai opened the way for Russian cinema in Mexico in an atmosphere of great difficulties: many interpreted the posters *affaire* as a veiled but direct reprimand by some governmental sectors or the CROM for the international aid that Soviet railway workers extended to the Mexican railway strike of 1927.[21] The distribution of Russian film faced rejection and censorship, although it also caused sensations, and permeated the milieu of international avant-garde artists and creators who worked in Mexico in the 1920s, such as Tina Modotti.

The Influence of the Russian Avant-Garde: Tina Modotti

From various sources, we may surmise the mutual admiration of the Red Ambassador and the young Italian photographer, who had arrived in Mexico in 1924, where she would live intermittently for long stretches and where she would die in 1942. Modotti's closeness to the Mexican Communist Party and the activities of its previous ambassador are displayed in photographs—there is a portrait of the latter from 1925, as well as one of the poet Mayakovsky in his Mexican visit of the same year. The photographer frequently attended the Soviet Embassy's activities, and as Elena Poniatowska states in her monumental, novelized biography *Tinísima*, she had adopted it as her own embassy (contrary to her partner Edward Weston, who usually sought refuge in the United States Embassy).[22]

Although the historical record is extremely limited, evidence indicates that there were several meetings between Modotti and Kollontai. Thanks to Italian communist Vittorio Vidali, we have proof that during the Spanish Civil War in 1937, Modotti—at the time an International Red Aid organizer—was invited to a supper by the Soviet Embassy in the city of Almería. There, she met Jaikis, and Modotti remembered Kollontai as follows:

> She was an amazing woman, a personality impossible to forget. She always treated me with great cordiality, and laughed when she told me how some of her Mexican friends had let her know that in the well-heeled circles of Mexico City and in neighborhoods where foreigners lived, I didn't have a very good reputation because I had posed nude for Weston and because my figure was on that famous mural by Diego Rivera in Chapingo. She told me what they had said about her when she was young. She added that she had always done what she considered just, caring not at all for gossip and other people's opinion. She had always been an honest revolutionary, a good Communist, she had loyally served her country; with regard to her personal life, she had considered it a problem that was hers alone. I enjoyed this conversation because her conceptions were also mine.[23]

On the basis of this testimony, Kollontai's Bolshevik fervor, her liberatory ideas about women and eroticism, and her complete devotion to the revolutionary cause, appear to have had a lasting effect on Modotti.

Another clear indication of their closeness is a photograph in the possession of Sinovi Scheinis, one of Kollontai's biographers: in it, Kollontai appears outside the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, and on the reverse, there is a dedication: "For my lifelong friend, my unmistakable, treasurable, and beloved Tinotchka, Aleks."[24] A second photograph, a portrait of the ambassador, has also been attributed to Modotti. According to María de las Nieves Rodríguez, this emotional rapport was also translated into Modotti's intellectual adoption of the Soviet Ambassador's ideas: "[Modotti] had kept up with her publications in favor of women's emancipation and was in agreement with the ideological precepts of women's professionalization and independence. From this, she internalized the notion that 'Party work, mass agitation, writing articles, leaflets, etc. [is] necessary work. [It] enriches the spirit. Besides [being what] the party needs now'."[25]

But, beyond friendly closeness, both Rodríguez and Poniatowska seem to assume that meeting Kollontai led to the reinforcement of Modotti's ideological and aesthetic convictions. Rodríguez's main thesis is to highlight the impression made by Soviet avant-garde cinema on Modotti's work, specifically Eisenstein's and Vertov's films. Aside from the fact that Modotti attended one of the screenings of *October*—after the meeting she chaired

on 10 January 1929, organized by International Red Aid as a demonstration against the killing of her companion Julio Antonio Mella—her contact with the work of these two filmmakers came earlier and is already manifested in the photographs she had been publishing in *El Machete* since 1928.

In Vertov's images, Modotti recognized the value of rhythmic composition according to the coordinates of the image: a clear method, utterly purified of artifice, that sought to embody Soviet modernity and the "new man." In her study of photomontage, the Italian likely found the correct expressions of a visual language in support of the cause of proletarian revolution.[26] But, it was Eisenstein in whom she found greater resonance with the power of the "artistic" work (Modotti rejected that adjective in favor of "good" photography, honest and in the service of social production), the duty of the artist and his or her pedagogical influence on the masses, and photography's immense potential to document objective history. Her portraits of the working and peasant masses of Mexico lead in this direction, aiming at the denunciation, conscientization, and documentation of the present. The photographs Modotti published in *El Machete*, including one of Kollontai herself, along with her famous series in which the objects of the revolutionary struggle, appear united in sober compositions as icons of the revolution.

The influence of Vertov and Eisenstein becomes even more interesting when we understand the latter's fascination with Mexico, its revolutionary process, its artists, and the images emerging from its culture and everyday life. Influence was soon transformed into dialogue as a round trip voyage. Eisenstein disembarked in Mexico in 1931, only a year after Modotti's deportation, in order to film *¡Que viva México!*. The filmmaker was profoundly inspired by the Italian photographer's work, which he already knew about through copies of the magazine *Mexican Folkways* and publications in the German press.[27]

Other Left-Wing Intellectuals

Beyond the art world and meeting with Mexican government functionaries, it is worth emphasizing a less-studied aspect of Kollontai's stay in Mexico: the ties she forged with specific members of the PCM, as well as with the left-wing Mexican intelligentsia who did not belong to the Party.

Her relationship with the members of the PCM was apparently very sporadic, not only because she avoided any excessive contact with them—in order to distinguish herself from her predecessor and leave nothing subject to adverse political interpretations—but also because she had certain ideological reservations: she saw them as a disorderly body, without leadership or practical program, with heterogeneous members with "petty-bourgeois and anarcho-syndicalist deviations."[28] Still, Kollontai saw some hope in the Party's links to several unions, in particular the Liga Nacional Campesina (LNC; National Peasant League), an organization founded the same year of her arrival in Mexico, which was distinguished by the participation of some members of PCM: the Veracruz militant Úrsulo Galván (its principal organizer), as well as Antonio Soto y Gama, Luis G. Monzón, and Rafael Ramos Pedrueza, among others.[29] The goal of the LNC was the unity of Mexican peasants to press for agrarian demands unmet by the government since the Revolution.

In her diary, Kollontai recounts meeting Monzón and Ramos Pedrueza, whom she describes as "the most notable comrades here." With the latter, she established a relationship that endured beyond her short time in Mexico: according to Rina Ortiz, they maintained a correspondence and, most importantly, the ambassador wrote a preface to the Russian translation of Pedrueza's narrative of his six months' travel in the Soviet Union: *Estrella roja: Doce años de vida soviética* [1928; Red Star: Twelve Years of Soviet Life].[30] He knew the Russian woman's work, and in a section of his book, devoted to the biographies of several revolutionary women, his opinions of Kollontai stand out:

> She lovingly descended from wealth to the hungry people, defying calumnies, exiles, and prison terms; her entire life has been, and is, one of activity and sacrifice on behalf of the exploited; generous, intelligent, and cultured, she is at the same time simple and modest, and spiritually enchanting.[31]

Kollontai's interest in education was also demonstrated by her "amazingly agreeable" meetings with Manuel Puig Casauranc, "with whom she engaged in long conversations about rural education and the obstacles the Cristero conflict represented to educational progress."[32] In fact, education may be counted among the ambassador's most fundamental interests because it

represented an important step on the path of women's liberation. Along with her actions during her period of activism before the Revolution, during her work as commissioner of Social Welfare in the USSR, she was concerned to offer educational options for women, creating agencies for supporting women in the care and upbringing of children—an essential part of the socialization of such work, which until then had been considered as the exclusive responsibility of mothers.[33]

Finally, we must mention her relationship with Herón Proal, leader of the Veracruz tenants' movement, described as the "most important social movement of the 1920s" in Mexico.[34] According to Ortiz, Kollontai kept up a correspondence with Proal; it would be very interesting to study these letters, not least because Proal was characterized by his leadership and autonomy, and also because he was a very controversial figure for the post-revolutionary regime. Indeed, Puig Casauranc dedicates an entire chapter to him in his book *De nuestro México: Cosas sociales y aspectos políticos* [From Our Mexico: Social Issues and Political Aspects], published in 1926, where he describes him as a "cynic," a "fake leader," and "bourgeoisified," among other criticisms. In his opinion, the tenants' movement began justifiably and ended up going astray because of Proal's individual interests.[35]

The falling out between these two highly influential politicians of the Calles regime are indication of the fragmentation of the Mexican intellectual and political scene in the months Kollontai was in the capital. Likewise, the encounters we describe here are merely a handful of those Kollontai would have had with the Mexican intelligentsia. They serve to problematize the interpretations that reduce her contacts to Mexican artists and her stay in Mexico to a superficial episode in a life filled with far more effervescent intellectual relationships.

Farewell to Mexico

The period which Kollontai spent in Mexico was particularly complex: the Cristero War, the interference of the CROM in all trade and party matters, the attacks from the United States, the Embassy's scanty resources, and the problematic trail left behind by her predecessor. If we add to this her

personal circumstances—a fragile state of health, which Mexico City aggravated, her complete distance from the masses and from speeches ("without contact with the masses, life is dull," she wrote), her distress at having been separated from Soviet public life, and her distance from her son Misha and her family and friends—it is not strange that she should have repeated her request to leave her Mexican diplomatic post, as she had already done in 1925, when she was Ambassador to Norway.

Historiography insists that Kollontai probably wanted to be in Moscow at a moment in which Stalin's control was increasing and the first purges had begun.[36] However, when she received the news that she could take a vacation, travel to Berlin, and not return to Mexico, she felt "almost anguished … now I have already given myself over to work and I'm getting used to the climate and the height. Work is becoming more and more interesting. But I cannot change my decision."[37]

The brief but fruitful legacy of Kollontai in Mexico is continuing to gain academic and public recognition. Thanks to her cosmopolitanism and versatility, the so-called "Red Ambassador," in a short time, deepened the rapprochement between two countries that were contiguous despite the distance between them. Where the Soviet Union was concerned, her sojourn enabled her to have a much more nuanced idea of what was happening in post-revolutionary Mexico; along with Pestkovsky and Mayakovsky, Kollontai provided colorful, sincere, and sensitive personal testimony so that the Russians could have a more secularized idea of the Latin American country. This period of empathy and interchange ended with the arrival of Kollontai's successor Alexandr Makar, "a Stalinist apparatchik interested in espionage and who never demonstrated the enthusiasm for Mexico that both Pestkovsky and Kollontai genuinely felt."[38]

Upon leaving the country, Kollontai remained only a short time in Russia and was then again posted to the Soviet embassy in Oslo. She had become too challenging a person to return to Russian politics and no longer had any of her original Party comrades on the scene. When Mexico's presence again materialized in her life, in the form of national recognition—she received the decoration of the Aztec Eagle in April 1946—the theorist of Marxist feminism appeared resigned to Stalin's deep-freeze; the dictator had decided to let her live, only to witness the disappearance of the radical transformation of the society she had advocated.

1. Rina Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México: Diario y otros documentos* (Xalapa/Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2012), 44.

2. Some authors mention that Kollontai knew and even influenced Frida Kahlo. For example, Emma Dexler, et al., *Frida Kahlo* (London: Tate Publishing, 2005), 191. This assertion is difficult to prove conclusively, given that in 1927 Kahlo was bedridden most of the year following a terrible streetcar accident. Not until the following year did she begin to frequent the capital's artistic circles. See also Hayden Herrera, *Frida: The Biography of Frida Kahlo* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

3. Cathy Porter, *Alexandra Kollontai: A Biography* (London: Virago, 1980), 435. The biographer says, however, that Mexico City is 5,452 meters above sea level instead of 2,240 meters, perhaps confusing it with the height of the Popocatépetl volcano, which is 5,426 meters.

4. Ibid., 409.

5. Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México*, 40.

6. Ibid., 53.

7. "Mme. Kollontay arribó anoche a esta ciudad," *Excélsior*, 9 December 1926, 1 and 8.

8. "Mme. Kollontay habló ayer con los periodistas," *Excélsior*, 10 December 1926, 3.

9. The book in question was *Messico* (Bergamo: Editore Bergamo, 1924).

10. William Richardson, "Maiakovskii en México," *Historia mexicana*, vol. 29, no. 4 (April–June 1980): 629.

11. Ibid.: 637; italics by the authors.

12. According to Richardson, the book *My Discovery of America* "would be important to the formation of a Russian vision of Mexico for the mere fact of being a work by Mayakovsky and having access to a broad, interested public," in ibid.: 630.

13. María de las Nieves Rodríguez y Méndez de Lozada, "Imágenes colaterales: La influencia de la vanguardia soviética en la obra de Tina Modotti," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (May 2015): 160.

14. Tracking down the private or limited screenings of Russian film before Kollontai is not the purpose of this investigation. However, we know that, among other sessions, the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) showed *The Burial of Lenin*—a collection of documentary excerpts—during the farewell homage to Stanislav Pestkovsky on 5 October 1926 in the facilities of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria. See León Rojo, "La despedida al camarada Pestkovsky," *El Machete*, 15 October 1926, 3.

15. On page 8 of *El Universal*, the success of the 21 March screening was hailed. The Sovkino logo appeared along with the participation of California Films, through which the distributor's work was made official.

16. See: "Pérfida maniobra contra México por medio de propaganda cinematográfica," *Excélsior*, 27 March 1927, 7.

17. Bermúdez stated that "although in principle *Death Bay* uses American technique, it goes a bit further: it develops faster and more concise procedures, whose result is a stronger impression on the spectator's mood. What's more, the film's plot is remarkably daring: however crude it may seem, the truth is not held back, and there is a moment where the lens reflects the cadaverous face of a little child who has just died and is portrayed exactly as he was in the moment of his death. Is this a morbid effect or does it merely reflect an urge to be scrupulously realistic?", in Rafael Bermúdez Zataraín, "Notas fílmicas: La bahía de la muerte," *El Universal*, 23 March 1927, 8.

18. Ibid.

19. The influence of Soviet cinema should not be confused with the advent of "socialist realism," which was established beginning in 1928 and was consolidated with Stalin's ascent; this doctrine in fact deprived Soviet cinema of its commercial releases, attacked formalism and experimentation, and thus implied greater State censorship and control in all areas. The state company Sovkino was also liquidated in 1930, leaving everything in the hands of the sole alternative, the Mezhrabpom company.

20. In other theaters and in the following months and years, the following films were also shown: Yuri Zheliabuzhki and Ivan Moskvin's *Troika,* in the Cine Palacio (June 29); Yuri Tarich's *Ivan the Terrible*, and *The Harem of Bukhara*, both in the Teatro Imperial (December 1929); *The Demon of the Steppes*, in the Teatro Imperial (26 January 1928); Eisenstein's *October*, in the Teatro Nacional (16 June 1929); *From the Palace to the Prison*, in the Teatro Nacional (12 July 1929); *The Avenging Angel*, in the Teatro Nacional (26 July 1929); and Vladimir Gardin's *The Poet and the Tsar*, in the Cine Venecia (3 August 1929).

21. This is Richardson's position, in "Maiakovskii en México," 149.

22. Elena Poniatowska, *Tinísima* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 2013), 226.

23. Vittorio Vidali, *Retrato de mujer: Una vida con Tina Modotti* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1984), 42; quoted in María de las Nieves Rodríguez y Méndez de Lozada, "Imágenes colaterales," 159, 160.

24. Christiane Barckhausen-Canalle, *Verdad y leyenda de Tina Modotti* (Cuba: Casa de las Américas, 1989), 129, quoted in de las Nieves Rodríguez y Méndez de Lozada, "Imágenes colaterales," 159.

25. Ibid., 160.

26. Ibid., 167.

27. One of these German publications is the *Illustrierte Arbeiterzeitung*, in which Eisenstein would have seen Tina Modotti's Mexican images from 1928, according to Mariana Figarella, quoted in de las Nieves Rodríguez y Méndez de Lozada, 165, note 39. Masha Salazkina argues that despite this influence, Eisenstein later decided to make use of Diego Rivera's more stereotypical images, especially in his representation of the "Mexican woman." See Salaskina, *In Excess: Sergei Eisenstein's Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 84.

28. Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México*, 123.

29. José Rivera Castro explains that the PCM maintained its influence in the Liga Nacional Campesina until the beginning of 1929, when it went through a major split. See, *La clase obrera en la historia de México. En la presidencia de Plutarco Elías Calles (1924–28)* (Mexico City, Siglo XXI/UNAM, 1996).

30. Ramos Pedrueza, Rafael, *Estrella roja: Doce años de vida soviética* (1928). See also, Rina Ortiz, "La embajadora roja: Alexandra Kollontai y México," *Relaciones: Estudios de historia y sociedad*, vol. 38, no. 149 (March 2017), scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0185-39292017000100013.

31. Rafael Ramos Pedrueza, *La estrella roja: Doce años de vida soviética* (Mexico City: Personal edition, 1929), 35.

32. Ortiz, "La embajadora roja."

33. Beatrice Brodsky Farnsworth, "Bolshevism, the Woman Question, and Aleksandra Kollontai," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 2 (April 1976): 292–316.

34. Carlos Illades, *El futuro es nuestro: Historia de la izquierda en México* (Mexico City: Océano, 2018).

35. José Manuel Puig Casauranc, *De nuestro México: Cosas sociales y aspectos políticos* (Mexico City: Maxtor, 1926), 61–8.

36. See, Alix Holt (ed.), *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai* (London: Allison & Busby, 1977), 293, and Ortiz, "La embajadora roja." Most probably, one of the motives leading Kollontai to request her return was her heart condition. More importantly still, she knew about the changes going on in the USSR and she did not want to remain on the sidelines.

37. Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México,* 123–4.

38. Daniela Spenser, *El triángulo imposible: México, Rusia Soviética y Estados Unidos en los años veinte* (Mexico City: CIESAS, 2004), 9.

WOMEN: A LIFE'S COMMITMENT

Rina Ortiz

"Today I turn 65," wrote Alexandra Kollontai to her friend Zoya Shadurskaya from the Mösseberg sanatorium on 1 April 1937. "I look back and I see that my life was precious and lovely .... I left a trace and results, I did something for women, I brought my grain of sand to the construction of socialism and the strengthening of the power and prestige of our great Union. I did something, but less, much less than what I dreamed of and intended to do."[1] Years later, she would ask herself what her most valuable contribution had been, and responded, without any doubt, that it was what she had done for working women's emancipation and the affirmation of their equal rights in all spheres.[2] In a concise summary, she then pointed out the most important milestones of that work. She placed at the forefront her political activity and the promotion of women's organizations, always situating them in the framework of Party activity. From her written work, which derived from these activities, she chose three titles: *The Social Basis of the Woman Question* (1909), *Society and Motherhood* (1916), and the pamphlet *The New Morality and the Working Class* (1918).[3] Kollontai remarked that although the texts contained in *The New Morality* had been written during the years of her emigration, they contained "correct ideas and Marxist positions" developed in subsequent works.[4] In her summary, she also included her literary ventures: "My novels pursued the same idea: to struggle against bourgeois morality through female emancipation," emphasizing that women's moral qualities were not determined by sexual relationships, but that their value was conferred by their participation in social labor.

The choice and sequence of titles that Kollontai made is not accidental; rather, they describe a line by which to follow the evolution of her ideas concerning the so-called "woman question." The aim of this essay is to trace this evolution; the text is set up in three parts, with the first one focusing on the year of Kollontai's exile from 1908 to 1917, the period she spent both studying and maturing her principal ideas. The second part revisits her efforts in seeing the emancipation of women taking hold during the dawn of socialist society, as well as the obstacles she had to face. The third part argues concisely for the necessity of examining her literary work in a new light.

Initially, I want to emphasize that her written legacy is only partially known, and thanks to individual efforts, some texts have been rescued

and re-published over the years.[5] Both *The Social Basis of the Woman Question* and *Society and Motherhood* went through only one Russian edition and only fragments of them have appeared in other languages. The pamphlets have met the same fate; in their day, they had print runs of more than 50,000, but they are now rarities; similarly, with the articles scattered in newspapers and hard-to-find journals. Her stories were only recently republished in Russian, and only a few of them are known to have been translated into other languages.

1

The women's demonstrations that followed the 1905 Revolution impelled Kollontai to propose that the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party carry out agitational work among women workers in order to attract them to socialism, providing answers to their gendered problems from a class perspective. Utilizing this same perspective, she also began research on the women's movement. In September 1908, Kollontai wrote Maxim Gorky requesting that he publish the results of this endeavor, initially titled, "The Women's Movement and Class Struggle." She pointed out that this was the first attempt to present the history of the women's movement in Russian. "My only condition," she stated,

> is that the book appear at the beginning of November at the latest, since 10 December will mark the opening of the First Pan-Russian Women's Congress. Faced with the new onslaughts of feminism, it is indispensable for S[ocial] [Dem]ocracy to establish its position towards the bourgeois women's movement and that we in Russia separate ourselves from bourgeois feminism. This is what my work proposes.[6]

The book appeared under the title *Sotsialnye osnovy zhenskogo voprosa* [The Social Basis of the Woman Question].

The Women's Congress was an important event in which more than a thousand representatives of various women's organizations participated. At the outset, the organizers defined topics of discussion that did not

consider economic and social problems; however, under pressure of women workers' organizations, it was decided to include these as well. Thus, the Congress accepted four focal points: 1) women's activity in Russia, in different fields; 2) women's economic situation, ethical questions in family and society; 3) women's political and civil situation; and 4) women's education in Russia and abroad.

In preparation for the Congress, Kollontai wrote a text "The Woman Worker in Modern Society,"[7] which she could not personally read; it was presented by Varvara Volkova, a worker with whom she collaborated on projects prior to the Women's Congress. The text begins forcefully: "The 'woman question,'—say feminists—is a question of 'rights and justice.' The 'woman question,'—reply the proletarian women—is a question of 'our daily bread.'"[8] and goes on to compare the demands of both groups, emphasizing what she sees as an unbridgeable abyss between them.

In a lengthy letter to Georgi Plekhanov, Kollontai narrates the circumstances that made her participation impossible in this event, for which she had long worked:

> I was facing a [judicial] proceeding for an old pamphlet from the time of "liberties" and a possible two- or three-year prison sentence. The Women's Congress speeded my departure, since I had spent more than a month in clandestinity and there [in the Congress] I would have had to make a speech ... my name was mentioned in the newspapers, which caught the police's attention, and I had to leave, even before the Congress had ended ....[9]

Doubtless the presence of working women in the Women's Congress was a great achievement, but no less important was the publication of *The Social Basis of the Woman Question*, where the ideas of women's emancipation were inserted into a broader movement aiming at socialist revolution. This book was the result of solid research, the broadest to be carried out in Russia at the time. As I mentioned above, only a few fragments of its original 438 pages are known. In the foreword, she analyzes the gains and limitations of the feminist movement in Russia and, while indicating points of convergence, emphasizes the differences between the goals of the women's organization proposed by Social Democracy and those

pursued by "bourgeois feminism," stressing that up until 1905 the demands of women and their framework of action had been limited to "education and welfare."

Kollontai also criticizes feminists for not recognizing that the Russian Social Democratic Party addressed the question of women's emancipation in its platform, and also chastises them for not explicitly declaring themselves in favor of a radical transformation of the then-prevailing capitalist structure. On this point, she writes:

> The feminists seek equality in the framework of the existing class society, in no way do they attack the basis of this society. They fight for prerogatives for themselves, without challenging the existing prerogatives and privileges. We do not accuse the representatives of the bourgeois women's movement of failure to understand the matter; their view of things flows inevitably from their class position... .[10]

In addition, she notes that while some feminists settle for obtaining equal rights with men, proletarian women understand that juridical equality is merely a step in the wider-ranging struggle for the economic liberation of the working class. Feminists see men as their primary oppressor, when in reality, "The woman and her male comrade are enslaved by the same social conditions; the same hated chains of capitalism oppress their will and deprive them of the joys and charms of life."[11] She then shows the limited options women have: a measly salary, the conjugal yoke, or else the stifling constraints of prostitution.[12]

Although the book concentrates on the economic aspects of women's subjection and subordination, in her analysis of the problem of the family, which is indissolubly linked to the ruling morality, Kollontai finds points of convergence with the feminists:

> Is it necessary to emphasize the dark sides of contemporary married life and the sufferings women experience in connection with their position in the present family structure? ... Here, it is only important for us to note that the modern family structure, to a lesser or greater extent, oppresses women of all classes and all layers of the population. Customs and traditions persecute the single mother

> whatever the stratum of the population to which she belongs; the laws place bourgeois women, proletarian women and peasant women all under the guardianship of their husbands.[13]

She also notes:

> See how rich feminist literature is in the search for new forms of relationships and in enthusiastic demands for the "moral equality" of the sexes. ... while in the sphere of economic liberation the bourgeois women lag behind ... in the fight for the solution, of the family question the laurels go to the feminists."[14]

These were the major ideas regarding the various components of female emancipation which Kollontai worked on during her years of exile, which lasted until 1917. Her correspondence allows us to follow the trails of her tireless activity. Welcomed by German Social Democracy, she found a new outlet for her work, learning from that party's experience: "For now I am staying in Berlin—I am studying the organizational and agitational work of the female wing of Social Democracy," she confided to her friend Tatiana Shchepkina-Kupernik.[15] She enthusiastically noticed the achievements in organizing working women thanks to the efforts of women like Ottilie Baader, Emma Ihrer, Rosa Luxemburg, and Clara Zetkin.

In August 1910, Kollontai intervened in the International Conference of Socialist Women held in Copenhagen, where more than a hundred delegates met to discuss the problems of maternity care, the obtaining of universal suffrage, and the strengthening of organizations of socialist women. At the end of that month, the 8th International Congress of the Second International was also held in Copenhagen. In this congress were discussed problems of the cooperative movement, workers' and social legislation, as well as the position to adopt in the face of war and militarism.

The 1910s were years of nomadism,[16] during which time her pen was never at rest. She gained experience as an orator, and maintained constant ties with the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), which assigned her various tasks.[17] She also taught classes in districts for Russian workers.[18]

The experience and knowledge Kollontai acquired crystallized in 1913 with the publication of one of the major works in her intellectual

trajectory: "New Woman."[19] Perhaps the most important contribution of this essay is her demonstration that women's emancipation cannot be achieved solely by obtaining equal political and civil rights, but instead that it involves a profound social change stemming from the revision and transformation of the relationship between the sexes, as well as the examination and alteration of the hitherto regnant moral values. In her opinion, in order to achieve true equality, woman herself must change herself; in other words, Kollontai incorporates the psychological aspect of female emancipation.

Kollontai makes use of literature to present a profile of the modern woman, distanced from her traditional role. She contrasts what had up to then been considered indispensable feminine "virtues" with those of the new woman who refuses to play a secondary role and demands her own space, with full rights and opportunities. These new women are single and economically independent; for them, love no longer forms the center of life, they do not fear being alone, they are prepared to renounce love for anyone who does not value them, or who wants them to sacrifice their own being, although the road is not easy:

> How difficult it is for today's woman to cast aside this capacity, internalized in the course of centuries, of millennia, with which she tried to assimilate herself to the man whom fate seemed to have singled out to be her lord and master. How difficult she will find it to convince herself that woman must reckon self-renunciation as a sin, even a renunciation for the sake of the beloved and for the sake of the power of love.[20]

Kollontai then shows that the new woman forges her own path, learning to overcome her emotions: "self-discipline instead of emotional rapture." Thanks to this intense inner work, the new woman learns to:

> Value her own freedom and independence rather than impersonal submissiveness, the assertion of her own individuality instead of the naive effort to internalize and reflect the alien image of the "beloved." The display of the right to family happiness instead of the hypocritical mask of virginity, finally the assignation of love-experiences to a

> subordinate place in life. Before us no longer stands the "wifie," the shadow of the husband—before us stands the personality, the woman as human being.[21]

What also stands out is the topic of the necessary reconsideration and elimination of the double standard of morality regulating sexual relationships. She writes:

> For centuries, the dignity of the heroine was not measured according to her general human characteristics, not according to her intellectual abilities, nor even according to psychological characteristics, but rather exclusively according to her store of feminine virtues which the property-based bourgeois morality demanded of her. "Sexual purity," sexual virtuousness, were the moral physiognomies of the woman. One who had sinned against the sexual moral code was never forgiven.[22]

However, in the new circumstances, "The gradual accumulation of woman's valuable and general human characteristics teaches us to appreciate in her not the representative of sex, but the human being, the personality."[23] In this way, a completely new picture emerges:

> The new type of woman, inwardly self-reliant, independent, and free, corresponds with the morality which the working class is elaborating precisely in the interests of its class. For the working class the accomplishment of its mission does not require that she be a handmaid of the husband, an impersonal domestic creature, endowed with passive, feminine traits. Rather, it requires a personality rising and rebelling against every kind of slavery, an active, conscious, equal member of the community, of the class.[24]

Some years later, Kollontai would return to this matter, developing it in greater depth and, as we will see below, it would be precisely these ideas about the new morality that would attract strong criticism and sarcastic ripostes from her Party comrades.[25]

In 1913, Kollontai began to analyze and organize materials on the protection of motherhood and childhood,[26] which would culminate two

years later with the publication of *Obshchestvo i materinstvo* [Society and Motherhood].[27] The book examines the problems that led to these subjects: population decrease, a lower birth rate, and the increase in child illness and mortality; it also addresses the means of protection attempted so far in different countries. Against those who proposed banning women from the workplace because it was considered incompatible with motherhood, Kollontai declared that work was an indispensable element in women's emancipation, and that the solution to the problem of motherhood resided in the improvement of women's working conditions, additionally recognizing the protection of motherhood as a social obligation. In other words, the state had to guarantee pregnant women that their jobs would be preserved, that they would be paid for a leave previous to and after birth, that they would be granted free hours for breastfeeding, that daycare centers and kindergartens would be provided, and so on. Thus, the question of motherhood was inserted into a program of large-scale reforms to which the working class aspired, "it is precisely because the issue of maternity insurance constitutes an integral part of the socialist program and is inseparable from it, it is precisely because this problem affects as no other the interests of the working class, that one cannot be but surprised that socialist thought has done so little as regards to the theoretical elaboration of the question of provision for mothers and protection for young children."[28]

2

The outbreak of World War I changed the direction of Kollontai's activities, temporarily distancing her from examining the woman question and drawing her into the antiwar campaign. This work placed her definitively on the side of the Bolsheviks, and circumstances brought her in direct relation with Vladimir Lenin and Nadezhda Krupskaya. In addition, her tour of the United States, where she carried out agitation in changing settings and auditoriums, strengthened this aspect of her personality. Both these elements were essential when she returned to Russia, after Tsarism had been defeated by the February Revolution of 1917.

Kollontai returned to St. Petersburg in March 1917 and immediately took up political activity in the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers as a

representative of the military sector.[29] She was deeply affected by the situation in a country already devastated by war, as well as by the Bolshevik leadership's lack of a long-term vision. One week after her return, she wrote to Lenin:

> The people are living the intoxication of the great action that has been carried out. I say "the people," because at this moment the working class is not to be found at the forefront, but rather the diffuse, heterogeneous mass, wrapped in soldiers' cloaks. Presently, it is the soldier who marks out the state of mind; the soldier also creates a specific atmosphere in which are combined the grandeur of democratic freedoms, the awakening of a consciousness of civil rights, and an utter incomprehension of the complexity of the moment we are living through... Not only the internal, hidden but undefeated, enemy is unappreciated, but beyond a doubt, what our people, especially the Soviet Workers and Soldiers Deputies (Executive Committee), lack is the decisiveness and *political intuition* to continue what has begun, in order to secure power towards democracy.[30]

She was subsequently appointed a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) (RSDLP [b]) in Petrograd. In April 1917, her first article for *Pravda* [Truth] appeared: "The Worker Women and the Constituent Assembly," which was also published as a pamphlet. In the piece, she analyzed the causes of the grave situation of scarcity and hunger Russia was enduring as a result of the war, and she showed the scant efficiency of the new government, which continued to be in the capitalists' hands: "Not they, the lords, the rich, but we, the workers and peasants, should be the masters of the new Russia without Tsars!"[31] To achieve this, she exhorted the workers to win the Constituent Assembly by voting for the Bolsheviks, the authentic representatives of the proletariat.

When the Bolsheviks triumphed in October 1917, she was appointed People's Commissar of Social Welfare; she was the only woman in Lenin's first cabinet. In her new position, the possibilities of putting her ideas into practice seemed to open up. Weeks of intense work followed, in which she obtained the approval of laws establishing civil marriage and

divorce and suppressed the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. Some authors state that she was the first to have a civil wedding, formalizing her relationship with Pavel Dybenko, a young naval officer she had met during her agitational work some months before. I mention this fact because at the time her ideas about the new morality were pointed out as justifications for her own amorous behavior.[32]

Kollontai had to confront innumerable obstacles in these first months: the hostility of the employees who received her in her office located in the former seat of Public Welfare; a lack of money; the campaign against her, fomented by the church; the irony of her own comrades when she insisted on the creation of women's organizations. And, while her revolutionary enthusiasm seemed to mitigate the hindrances, in March 1918, during the congress of the RSDLP (b), her first significant dispute with Lenin occurred. Kollontai was vehemently opposed to the signing of the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which took Russia out of the war under onerous conditions. After the defeat of the Oppositionist fraction, she resigned her commissariat, but she did not abandon the party; rather, she requested to continue working for the socialist cause.

From the spring to the autumn of 1918, she traveled through the Russian interior and was able to appreciate the full magnitude of the problems faced by the Bolshevik government: the ruined countryside, persistent hunger, the ignorance of the largely illiterate people, and the enduring weight of tradition. There was no doubt that the Soviet government, if it were to sustain itself, would have to raise the consciousness of the masses and win them over to its cause; because of this, Kollontai persevered in her idea of organizing women workers and peasants, since they not only represented half the population, but could potentially extend their influence to their children and spouses. The end of that year saw the publication of *Communism and the Family*, one of her emblematic texts, in which she sets out the future of marital relationships and children's upbringing. She posits the inevitable disappearance of the family once it loses its meaning as a basic socio-economic unit. Accordingly, in the new society, relationships between men and women would be established on the basis of freedom and equality, and therefore marriage would no longer be a yoke, nor would domestic labor and child-rearing fall exclusively upon women, but would be a collective endeavor:

> The playgrounds, gardens, homes, and other amenities where the child will spend the greater part of the day under the supervision of qualified educators will offer an environment in which the child can grow up a conscious communist who recognizes the need for solidarity, comradeship, mutual help, and loyalty to the collective.[33]

These ideas (which were quite subversive at the time), in addition to her repeated references to free love, which she associated with *free choice* but which many others believed was overly casual relationships, won her the sympathy of many women; however, they were not well received by the majority of her Party comrades.

In March 1919, the First Congress of the Communist International resolved to integrate women workers into the Communist movement, creating a specific section for this purpose. A similar resolution was adopted a few days later in the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), in which Kollontai participated with a document on work among women. In her notes, she states:

> Before leaving for Ukraine, I wanted to consolidate in the Party Congress what we had achieved after a year of working with women. The most important and fundamental thing was for the Congress to support what the Women's Congress in December 1918 had decided on. Otherwise, you collide with many people's difficulties, obstacles, and misunderstandings ... When a fundamental and essential part of the new Party program was debated, I wanted to introduce a modification to Article 28, on the relationship of the Party to the woman question in general and to the family in particular.[34]

The issue had to do with the disappearance of the family. Faced with Kamenev's refusal to present her proposal for discussion, Kollontai approached Lenin, showing him the text, and received the following response:

> What do you mean by this expression, "disappearance of the closed form of the family"? Besides, where do you get this bit about "in Communism"? Where does it say what kind of family there will be when Communism becomes a reality? The program is a matter of

> the present; we must act on the basis of practical needs. We must avoid the dismantling of the family, especially now, we have to protect children. And you're going much too far! There will be time to resolve these questions, after we finish off the Whites. Hold onto your resolution, and when the time comes, write an article. Then we'll analyze your proposal.[35]

Similar episodes repeated with other Party comrades. This is not extraordinary if we consider the opinions of their supreme leader. Recall what Lenin expressed in a 1915 letter to Inessa Armand in relation to a pamphlet about free love:

> I advise you to completely eliminate the phrase 'the female demand for amorous freedom.' In truth, this is a bourgeois, not a proletarian demand. Really, what do you mean by this [free love]?[36]

Kollontai feverish activity undermined her health; she contracted typhus and suffered a kidney infection. Illness forced her into seclusion for several months. Even when bedridden, Kollontai followed attentively the debates and disagreements within the RSDLP (b) and maintained constant dialogue with Alexander Shliapnikov, leader of the Workers Opposition, to which she still belonged. In the second half of 1920, she received permission to spend some time in the Caucasus in order to recover from her illness. This sojourn reinforced her critical position toward the New Economic Policy, which appeared to reify the role traditionally assigned to women. She contributed assiduously to the pages of the journal *Kommunistka*, with texts on work and the participation of women in the collective task of social transformation.[37]

A subject to which she repeatedly returned in this period is the new relationship between the sexes and the elaboration of a new moral code. In her reflections on this matter, she starts from the consideration that, "In the eyes of society the personality of a man can be more easily separated from his actions in the sexual sphere. The personality of a woman is judged almost exclusively in terms of her sexual life."[38] Kollontai considered that the sexual morality of the bourgeoisie, based on individualism, competition, private property, and inequality, had already proved its debility, and it

must therefore be substituted by the new morality of the working class, founded on the principles of collectivism, cooperation among comrades, and equity.

With respect to this new morality, she noted:

> The three basic circumstances distorting the modern psyche—extreme egoism, the idea that married partners possess each other, and the acceptance of the inequality of the sexes in terms of physical and emotional experience—must be faced if the sexual problem is to be settled. People will find the "magic key" with which they can break out of their situation only when their psyche has a sufficient store of "feelings of consideration," when their ability to love is greater, when the idea of freedom in personal relationships becomes fact, and when the principle of "comradeship" triumphs over the traditional idea of "inequality" and submission. The sexual problems cannot be solved without this radical re-education of our psyche.[39]

In 1921, Kollontai delivered a series of lectures at the University of Sverdlovsk, under the title, "The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy."[40] In these talks, she summarized her major ideas on the social role of women and the gains achieved in three years of Soviet power, as well as the obstacles facing the construction of a new society and the emergence of the "new man." As already mentioned, circumstances were not propitious: the difficulties engendered by an international blockade, the Civil War, and the ruination of the economy prevented the implementation of her ideas on the creation of collective dining halls, communes, laundries, and so on.

Meanwhile, within the Russian Communist Party the tendency to centralize and concentrate power predominated. With the New Economic Policy (NEP), private producers were given concessions to relieve hunger and incentivize production, but these measures appeared to be a backward step and were harshly criticized by the so-called Workers' Opposition [Rabochaia oppozitsiia]. This group stated its position in two congresses of the Bolshevik Party and made it public in 1921 in the daily *Pravda*. The Workers' Opposition was definitively defeated at the Third Congress of the Communist International held on July 1921, during which Kollontai gave a speech that found no support among the other delegates. She noted in her diary:

> The interventions have finished. I cross the hall toward the exit. Nobody pays any attention to me. I knew this would happen, but it hurts. My heart is somber and filled with pain. There is nothing more painful than to be in disagreement with the Party.[41]

Shortly afterwards, in November 1921, she resigned all her positions and commitments to organizing women, both in the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International, and traveled to reunite with Pavel Dybenko.[42] However, this meeting with her husband gave rise to a serious personal conflict that months later would lead her to write Stalin a personal letter: "I request the party to assign me new work, as far away as possible. It can be in the Far East or as an employee in one of the Soviet foreign delegations."[43] She knew what that would mean and she made note of the consequences:

> It is sad to recognize that I will never return to my favorite kind of work: among women, from the working class and other categories of working women; I know that in my new destiny ties that are very dear to me will be broken, ties with thousands of female Soviet citizens who enthusiastically received me with "Here's our Kollontai!". No longer will I be "our Kollontai."[44]

3

Kollontai's disagreements and personal disenchantment mentioned above have only been known for a relatively short time. The opening of her archives and the publication of her diplomatic diaries[45] have revived the impulse to research her life and work, allowing the re-evaluation of some aspects of her trajectory, among them the links to literature of her feminist thought.[46]

Her first diplomatic destination was Norway, for which she left at the end of 1922; from there, Kollontai worked to spread her ideas and convictions through literature. In her letters and memoirs, Kollontai recognized that since her early youth she wanted to become a writer, not of "entertaining stories" but of "ideas."[47] Between 1895 and 1897, she wrote a story whose

original has not been preserved and sent it to the journal Russkoe bogastvo. In its letter of rejection, the journal editor told her: "If you were to dedicate yourself to writing propagandistic pages, you would have more success. You are less gifted at *belles-lettres*."[48] The judgment appeared prophetic. Indeed, her political writings, as well as her oratory, are impeccable; in them we find, "rigorous logic, clarity, precise sentences, a correct choice of strategy, strict adherence to the rules of the art of rhetoric."[49] However, Kollontai's literary texts have remained in near oblivion, and it has been gender studies scholars who have recently called attention to them. Beyond the quality of their prose I am interested in emphasizing Kollontai's recourse to literature as a means of continuing her reflection on topics that seemed essential to her and reaching the public she hoped to influence: women and youth.

In 1923, Kollontai wrote a series of texts about love and "new morality" entitled *Letters to Working Youth* that where published in the journal *Molodaya Gvardia* [The Young Guard]; the essay "Make Way to Winged Eros" appeared in this series in the journal's third issue.[50] In this text, Kollontai refers to the characteristics that relations between the sexes would possess in the Communist future. The text found a wide distribution in the USSR and was rapidly translated into several languages, losing its original title, and with it the subtlety and lyricism of its author. Yet, despite its rhythm, it is not merely a literary essay, but an indispensable testament to the importance accorded by Kollontai to female emancipation and the necessary revolution of consciousness as a necessary condition for genuine social transformation. It is therefore not by chance that Kollontai aimed to have an impact on those groups which, in her opinion, were the seed of the Communist future.

Some months before, in the same journal and under the same rubric, was published her "Third Letter," entitled "O 'drakone' i 'beloi ptitse'" [On the 'Dragon' and the 'White Bird'] about Anna Akhmatova's poetry.[51] In it, she seeks to explain to young women why this poet captivates them: not only because Akhmatova is able to capture certain elements of feminine psychology, but because they identify with the aspiration to gain emotional independence from men. This will become one of the central theses in Kollontai's own prose.

Kollontai published two collections of stories: *Zhenschina na perelome. Psijologuicheskie etudy* [Women in Changing Times: Psychological Sketches][52]

and *Liubov' pchel trudovikh* [Love of Worker Bees].[53] Each title includes three stories of varying length; in most of them, the autobiographical element is prominent. In a certain sense, these texts aim to present the new woman to whose first reflection in literature she had referred years earlier, emphasizing the obstacles that still confronted the new Soviet woman who had yet to destroy the old moral schemas. Beyond their possible literary value, the narratives present the concerns, contradictions—evidently still present—in the relations between the sexes, in the new society. Also the collectivist utopia is revealed; that is, Kollontai proposes to find in the collective the answer to the solitude her protagonists confront as a result of her male companions' lack of understanding.

Although her heroines possess the desirable characteristics of independence and intelligence, in none of the stories do we encounter happy amorous relationships. Her woman characters are always alone, although they find great satisfaction in work, in science, and in the collective. Perhaps the reason for this may be found in Kollontai's remark: "[The new woman] not only rejects the outer fetters, she protests 'against love's prison itself,' she is fearful of the fetters that love, with the stunted psychology peculiar to our time, lays upon lovers."[54]

The theme of the sexual relations between women and men traverses all of Kollontai's stories, establishing the need to subvert established patterns. She cedes an enormous value to the word, not merely as a vehicle of expression but also as a weapon in the struggle to transform consciousness. Her stories do not strive for literary excellence, rather she aimed at reaching an audience as wide as possible, women with little instruction, for whom love continued to be the center of their existence. Within the limitations of this essay, I simply try to point out the need to explore new perspectives when approaching the literary work by Kollontai.

I would like to point out that when her possibilities for action and direct influence were being shut down one by one, Kollontai returned to literary narrative, this time so that her own pen would sketch the traits of the new woman, but also the obstacles she would have to clear away in order to stand fully upright: "I believe that Communism, in the fullest sense of the word, is inevitable and closer than ever. But it will come by other paths, inscrutable to ourselves."[55]

1. State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), fond 134, opis 1, file 311, 111.

2. "Reflections on My Life Experiences" is the translated title of the closing chapter of Kollontai's book *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, a selection of her autobiographical notes assembled under the same title as she had used in 1921 to publish a first version of her life story. See, Alexandra Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, prepared by I.M. Dazhina et al. (Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1974), 364.

3. Ibid., 365–6.

4. Among these, Kollontai mentions her text, "Brak i byt" [Marriage and Everyday Life], *Rabochii sud'*, no. 5 (1926), 363–78.

5. In this regard, it is worth pointing out the work of Valentina Uspenskaya at the Center for Women's History and Gender Research at the State University of Tver in Russia, who has published a collection of Alexandra Kollontai's texts and organized academic meetings that have reassessed and analyzed her work from a variety of positions. See the bibliography included in this volume, p. 240–71.

6. Alexandra Kollontai, *Revolutsia—velikaya myatezhniysa. Izbranie pis'ma, 1901–1952*, ed. V.N. Kolechenkova (Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1989), 45–6.

7. Kollontai's original title of "The Woman Worker in Modern Society" was "Zhenshchina—rabotnitsa v sovremennom obschestve." Published in S.G. Ayvazova, *Russkie zhenschiny v labirinte ravnopravia (Ocherkii politicheskoi teorii i istorii. Dokumentalnie materialy)* (Moscow: Rik Russakova, 1998), 239–47.

8. Ibid., 129.

9. Kollontai, *Revolutsia*, 45–6.

10. Available in Spanish translation in Tamara Ruiz, ed., *Los fundamentos sociales de la cuestión femenina y otros escritos* (Spain: En Lucha, 2001); rebelion.org/los-fundamentos-sociales-de-la-cuestion-femenina-y-otros-escritos.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Kollontai, "The Social Basis of the Woman Question," 113 (of the Russian edition); for Alix Holt's English translation of the text in *Selected Writings*, see marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1909/social-basis.htm.

14. Ibid.

15. Kollontai, *Revolutsia*, 54.

16. Ibid., 56, 63.

17. For example, in June 1909 Kollontai was invited to work on a project for a children's and women's labor law, to be discussed in the Duma. RGASPI, fond 134, opis 1, file 402.

18. Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, 116.

19. Regarding Kollontai's "New Woman": Originally published as "Novaia zhenshchina," in *Sovremennyi mir*, no. 9 (1913): 151–85. Then, in 1918, this text was republished along two other texts (entitled "Love and the New Morality" and "Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle," respectively) in the book *Novaia moral' I' rabochii klass* (Moscow: VTsIK, 1919), 3–35. In 1931, the "New Woman" text was published for the first time in Spanish (as *La mujer nueva y la moral sexual*) in a translation by Spanish communist activist, Teresa Andrade (Teresa García Banús, 1895–1989), and there also exists a later re-publication under the title *La mujer nueva y la moral sexual y otros escritos* (Madrid: Edicion Ayuso, 1976; several editions, the most recent in 2009, which were published by Ediciones Juan Pablos).

20. Kollontai, "New Woman," trans. Alix Holt, marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1918/new-morality.htm.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Kollontai, "Polovaya moral i sotsialischeskaya borba," *Novaya Zhizn*, no. 9 (1911).

26. The RSDLP tasked her with preparing a project on the law of protection of motherhood, which was to be discussed in the Duma.

27. Kollontai, *Obshestvo i materinstvo,* 641; "Society and Motherhood," *Alexandra Kollontai: Selected Articles and Speeches* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1984).

28. Kollontai, *Izbrannie stati rechi* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1984), 102.

29. Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, 248. [Ed. note: "Soviet" here is a term for an elected governmental council.]

30. Kollontai, *Revolutsia*, 165.

31. Kollontai, *Rabotnitsi I Ucherediteln*oe *sobranie* (St. Petersburg: Isdatelstvo Priboy, 1917), 4.

32. It seems incredible, but even today articles and books are being published that emphasize Kollontai's "flightiness" or immorality. For example: Boris Sokolov, *Kollontai. Valkiria i bludnitsa revolutsii* (Moscow: Veche, 2015); or Andrei R. "Alexandra Kollontai: diplomat i sex-simbol revoliutsii," *Moiarussia*, 17 March 2016.

33. Kollontai, "Communism and the Family," in *Selected Writings*; marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1920/communism-family.htm.

34. RGASPI, fond 134, opis 4, file 24, 28.

35. Ibid.

36. Vladimir I. Lenin, Letter to Inessa Armand, 17 January 1915, in *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, vol. 49 (Moscow, Izd. Politicheskoi Literatury, 1970), 51–52.

37. The majority of these texts have not been included in the anthologies published so far. See the bibliography in this volume, pp. 240–71.

38. Kollontai, "Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle," *Selected Writings*; marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1921/sex-class-struggle.htm.

39. Ibid.

40. The manuscripts of these lectures were published in Russian in 1923; Kollontai's "The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy" is available at marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1921/evolution.htm (see also note 4 above).

41. Quoted in Mijail Trush, *Ot politiki revoliutsionoi bor'by k pobedam na diploma cheskom fronte. Zhisnenii put' Aleksandry Kollontai* (Moscow: Librokom, 2010), 158.

42. RGASPI, fond 134, opis 1, file 335. Letter by Kollontai from 8 November 1921, requesting a permit to devote herself to writing.

43. Kollontai, *Diplomaticheskie dnevniki, 1922–1940*, vols. 1–2., with introduction and notes by M.M. Mujadmezhanov (Moscow: Academia, 2001), vol. 1, 45.

44. Ibid., 45.

45. RGASPI, fond 134, opis 1 to 4, with more than 700 files, Kollontai, *Diploma cheskie dnievniki*.

46. The articles, books, and investigations taking place in Russia have multiplied in recent years, including the republication of her literary work.

47. Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, 61.

48. Ibid., 74.

49. E.N. Stroganova, "O pisatel'skoi drame Aleksandry Kollontai," V.I. Uspenskoi, ed., *Aleksandra Kollontai. Teoría zhenskoi emansipatsi v kontekste rosilskoi genernoi politiki* (Tver/Russia: Zolotaya bukva, 2003), 159–171.

50. Kollontai wrote all the texts in the series *Letters to Working Youth* in 1923 but in a way, they also mark the beginning of a long silence which is a subject for another study. In Spanish, they were published under the title "La juventud y la moral sexual" in Alexandra Kollontai, *Autobiografía de una mujer emancipada y otros textos* (Barcelona: Editorial Fontamara, 1980).

51. Kollontai, "O 'drakone' i 'beloi ptitse'," in *Molodaia gvardiia*, no. 2 (February to March 1923), 162–174; this essay has been translated into English for this book by Joan Brooks, see pp. 32–49.

52. Kollontai, *Zhenshchina na perelome* (Moscow-Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1923).

53. Kollontai, *Love of Worker Bees*, trans. Cathy Porter (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1978); originally published as *Liubov' pchel trudovikh* (Moscow and Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1923).

54. Kollontai, "New Woman," marxists.org /archive/kollonta/1918/new-morality.htm.

55. RGASPI, fond 134, opis 1, file 311, file 60.

THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN: KOLLONTAI IN MEXICO (PART 2)

Ana Sofía Rodríguez Everaert & Álvaro Ruiz Rodilla

Before heading up the Russian Embassy in Mexico, Alexandra Kollontai published a premature autobiography. Many years of life and tireless work remained ahead of her; her brief but busy mission to Mexico was followed by two more diplomatic postings on the Scandinavian peninsula and representation of the Soviet Union's delegation at the League of Nations. It seems likely that, in the summer of 1926, the first female Ambassador in history had the intuition that her greatest contributions to the construction of the new socialist society had come to an end: she had proposed theories and public policies in order to achieve the effective emancipation of women, and had been an agitator and leader in the organizations and institutions dedicated to these goals.

The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman (1926) is a memoir of a life devoted to her convictions regarding the equality of men and women, which along with political results, had as its consequence the construction of "my personal, intimate life as a woman according to my own will and according to the given laws of my nature."[1] In the book, Kollontai critically reviews the suffragist movement in Russia and her decision to pursue the liberation of women from a Marxist perspective "as the result of the victory of a new social order and a different economic system,"[2] often confronting the defects of the Communist Party itself and the judgments of her comrades with respect to her theses on morality and sexuality. The autobiography shows the common threads linking some of her most enduring writings—such as the lengthy comparative text *Society and Motherhood*—and the first laws that inspired and regulated the institutionalization of Social Security in 1917.

Salvator Attanasio's English-language translation of her autobiography, published by Herder and Herder in 1971, is the original version of the text, prior to some innocuous nuances introduced by editors and proofreaders during the editorial process; it also restores everything Kollontai had self-censored from the book's galleys. Among these are details about her work with Russian women and the precarious conditions that sometimes shaped it, her clashes with other Party members, her authorship of certain legislations and policies, clarifications that completely change the meaning of her ideas—which is the case with her critique of the inadequacy of the laws related to illegitimate children—and the promise of writing in greater detail about painful moments in her political life.[3] Towards the end of the

book, Kollontai asked that it be added that she was about to leave for Mexico as an ambassador and, almost in premonition, that a fundamental declaration be deleted: "No matter what further tasks I shall be carrying out, it is perfectly clear to me that the complete liberation of the working woman and the creation of the foundation of a new sexual morality will always remain the highest aim of my activity, and of my life."[4]

Kollontai's activities and ideas regarding the liberation of women found echoes in reflections, written works, and even public gender politics in several countries from the beginning of the twentieth century. Her presence in the socialist ideological sphere is often compared to that of Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg; in particular, she learned from Zetkin the possibility of making Marxist theory compatible with an ideology of women's emancipation. And, all three shared what several scholars have called a "Communist culture" which, for women activists, owing to their very condition as women, presumed a certain number of risks, tensions, and vital conflicts with the Communist governmental and party organs, which were generally controlled by men.[5]

While Kollontai's work has undergone different moments of re-evaluation, and her life is only now beginning to be studied more systematically—unlike Zetkin and Luxemburg, who received much greater attention in the twentieth century—considerable historiographic gaps still remain concerning the arrival, reception, and adaptation of her ideas in foreign countries; these gaps persist despite her extensive diplomatic work outside of the USSR. The propagation of ideas and policies on behalf of the liberation of working women was the most significant activity of her life. She came to admit that it was more important to her than ambassadorial work, and despite carrying out her mandate of non-interference in matters of local politics during her diplomatic missions, she always sought out meetings and interchanges with feminists. However, the deletion of her autobiography's final sentence is tragically premonitory: following her return from Mexico in 1927, she never again wrote about either feminism or emancipation, and her level of involvement was practically nonexistent. Pressure and encirclement by Stalin and the rest of the Politburo had been imposed.

Kollontai's Feminism: The "Woman Question" & Emancipation

At the moment of her arrival in Mexico, Kollontai's ideas about the "woman question" could already be classified under two different rubrics: one involved the policies that improved the living conditions of mothers and working women, and the other sought to trace the path of individual female emancipation. Kollontai's feminist education is above all the product of the readings and relationships she undertook during her stay in Europe prior to the triumph of the revolution. Among her important influences were the Swede Ellen Key, the English Dora Montefiore, and the Germans Helen Stöcker, Minna Cauer, and Clara Zetkin. The influence of the latter was fundamental, since in their shared conversations, travels, and political activities, Kollontai became convinced that the liberation of women within the capitalist system was impossible and that, in the struggle to achieve it, it was important to create institutions and political spaces that would help women exclusively.[6] Both positions directly confronted the discussions and challenges of the period: the first directly challenged the European suffragist movement, which socialists like Zetkin and Kollontai considered bourgeois—the dispute between both camps in Germany went back to the First Congress of the Social Democratic Party in 1896, which Kollontai witnessed—and the second faced the resistance of the socialists themselves to think about women's exceptionality within the class struggle.[7] Upon her return to Russia, and after having joined the German Social Democratic Party, Kollontai confronted a third obstacle: Soviet feminists saw this German influence in a negative light.[8]

Notable among the women-only groups she founded was the Mutual Aid Society for Working Women (1907), whose goal was the education of proletarian women. Kollontai was aware that women suffered from their gender according to the social class to which they belonged. In the First Congress of Women, in December 1908, she declared:

> The "woman question,"—say feminists—is a question of "rights and justice." The "woman question,"—reply the proletarian women—is a question of "our daily bread." The awakening of woman, the development of her special needs and demands, will come only as

> she joins the army of the independent laboring population. And this army is growing ceaselessly... At the same time that the bourgeois woman is still huddled in her domestic shell, prospering at the expense of her husband and father, the proletarian woman already bears the heavy cross of wage labor.[9]

"The Social Basis of the Woman Question" (1909) and "Working Woman and Mother" (1916) are two of her most significant texts dedicated to the diffusion of this idea. The second displays her pedagogical interest in approaching the masses—even if one accepts that the majority of proletarian women in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century did not know how to read or write. It is a pamphlet that reflects the experience of maternity of different Russian women and tells the stories of four hypothetical pregnancies.[10] The life perspective of each, and of their children, is radically different, hence the importance of collectivizing maternity:

> The working class is trying to see that society takes upon itself the difficulties of childbirth. The working class wants to ensure that the law and the state shoulder the most pressing worries of the working woman—her material and financial worries.[11]

Since emancipation does not strictly depend on political and social reform, but on a genuine economic independence, this State support must relieve domestic and familial situations from oppression. For the revolution's bourgeois transition period, Kollontai had already thought of certain reforms necessary for the working woman, as Barbara E. Clements reminds us:

> (1) the prohibition of night work for women and adolescents, (2) an eight-hour work for women workers, (3) no work for children under sixteen, a half day for those sixteen to eighteen, and (4) the elimination of working conditions harmful to women's health.[12]

Particular emphasis was given to the care of working mothers, whose needs had to be covered by the State's provision of the following:

> (1) factory nurseries, with time off during the day for nursing mothers to feed their babies, (2) maternity hospitals, (3) homes for singles or unemployed mothers from pregnancy to weaning, (4) free medical care, (5) kindergartens, and (6) free food for pregnant and nursing mothers to afford their own.[13]

However, in 1921 Kollontai was very critical of the Party and had to face the impossibility of including women in organs of Communist power and decision-making. In addition, from 1919 to 1922, her work as director of Zhenotdel, the organization dedicated to women within the Party's Central Committee—whose goals were more propagandistic and pedagogical than practical[14]—had succeeded only in reaping hostility, indifference, and obstacles, which were sharpened with the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921.[15]

In Kollontai's Marxism, economic determinism as the dominant force of social transformation seems to have been gradually displaced, after the revolution, by a non-deterministic element: a change of attitude and mentality in social relations could effectively coincide with—never precede—economic change.[16] In this regard, the gradual dissolution of the bourgeois family as a social and relational nucleus and its substitution with a new "morality" is one of the central points of her theory. She herself challenged conventions on several occasions: marrying her cousin Vladimir Kollontai for love; going off to study political economy in Zurich and leaving her son behind; separating from her second husband Pavel Dybenko in 1922 and telling him that she "was a person first and a woman second."[17]

Her historical-materialist reflections on the oppression of women and the harmful aspect of the traditional family had historical support, but concentrated more on the problems of the present under modern capitalism, as Clements summarizes:

> In bourgeois society marriage and the family structure were based on monetary considerations, the economic dependence of woman on man, and the need for a unit to rear children. Among the proletariat the economic function of marriage had disintegrated, with the family following it into oblivion.[18]

Under these conditions, marriage, and therefore "the family," can only generate dependency, objectification, possession, and denigration of the other's integrity. Among the principal reasons for this, it is worth pointing out the individualism or egocentrism of bourgeois society:

We all live and think under the heavy burden of ... spiritual solitude. This "solitude" among the masses of the people, of the pressing-raging, crying-noisy cities, this solitude in a crowd of even close "friends and comrades-in-arms" forces contemporary man with sick greed to snatch at the illusion of a "near soul."[19]

If egoism and the escape into solitude necessarily lead to amorous defeat, the social solution of female emancipation can only emerge from collective proletarian consciousness, from "solidary comradeship," from equality, and from the liberating impulse and revolutionary work that dignifies women as no other activity can. In summary, the family structure dissolves towards a "solidarity of comrades" and a genuine interest in the collective. The State must therefore take charge of this collectivization through resources, infrastructure, organization, etc. The result then would be, as Clements notes, the ideal society where women have been emancipated thanks to Communism: "a communist society would be a network of communal organizations of people who worked and lived together, unified by platonic and erotic love for one another and their cause."[20]

The most profound development of these aspects emerges above all in Kollontai's fiction, which, for feminist scholar, Christine Sypnowich, is more revealing than her theory because it transforms the relationships to which she aspired into narrative material.[21] According to Sypnowich, the idea of "Winged Eros" is her most innovative contribution to both feminist and socialist thought. The ensemble of her stories display a prose packed with psychological description and the emotional states of the protagonists, in plots traversed by the social movement of the Russian Revolution and the subsequent bureaucratization of the state. For example, in the novella *Vasilisa Malygina*, Vasilisa Demenyevna, the protagonist, is constantly caught in relationship conflicts with her husband, Volodya; she has to sacrifice her working time and her political participation to do domestic tasks; she has to endure deception and the evidence of another woman; she suffers solitude and incomprehension when she moves in with him and discovers his hypocrisy and embourgeoisement; she feels

herself judged and belittled; and, she does not recognize herself in his new social world as a factory director.[22] All these conflicts pass judgment on the construction of "bourgeois love," namely, a relationship in which the couple prevents the full development of the individuals that compose it: because capitalist relationships turn the other into a possession and create a hindering form of dependency for the amorous object. As Demenyevna says: "No matter how nice it was to be together, it's better to be alone. The presence of our love distracts us from our thoughts and our work does not progress."[23] Indeed, Demenyevna's words are a true reflection of Kollontai's theory of emancipation. This complementary literary development of her theories earned her criticism and unjustified censure both within and outside Russia, especially after 1930, including from the women in some of the organizations which Kollontai had helped to create, who accused her of spreading libertine ideas that promoted disorder among women.[24]

Kollontai's Influence in Mexico: Pathways & Ideological Importation

In 1925, Basilio Badillo, the head of Mexico's delegation in Moscow, sent a report to the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs in which he detailed the major events and traits of Soviet society. Among these are included the topics of feminism and equal political rights. In Badillo's commentary, he observes a civilizational advance because peasant women, particularly those in the Eastern Soviet countries, work on an equal footing with men. In fact, women cultivate (because the fields are more easily worked and not as rough as in Mexico), they fish, and they are less prone to alcoholism: "therefore, Russian feminism, in this conception, is not only a doctrinal humanitarian liberation, but the political rights extended to women are properly won in the labor process."[25] However, Badillo does not view the recourse to divorce, abortion, and prostitution in a similarly positive light. In a way, he gives us an initial idea about the suspicious image the Mexican government may have had of the feminist politics promoted, in part, by Kollontai one year before her arrival in Mexico.

Because of her importance in the canon of Marxist theory, the direct or indirect influence that Kollontai had in Mexico, the adoption of

her feminist ideas there, and the networks that were created around her, open many paths for scholarship. The scarce specialized historiography concurs that Kollontai did participate in Mexico's feminist circles during her brief stay in that country, although she does not say this in the diaries and letters that have been collected and translated by Rina Ortiz. In Mexican historian Daniela Spenser's book on US-Mexico-USSR diplomatic relations, contributor Friedrich Katz affirms that the Russian diplomat became an "icon of the feminists in Mexico."[26] The testimony that has been used to justify this assertion is that of the *corrido* singer and Communist Concha Michel, which is very brief: "many of us went to see La Kollontai, and we left a conversation with her with a clear sense of what to do."[27] Victoria Rodríguez bases her position on this same testimony in order to say that Kollontai's presence "motivated feminist organizations, and Mexican feminists frequently debated and interchanged ideas with her."[28] This is clearly an exaggeration; yet, what is beyond any doubt is that many Mexican feminists shared Kollontai's ideas.

In order for Kollontai to have had such an important influence in that decade of particularly local feminist effervescence, her ideas would have had to arrive in Mexico well before she did. The routes these ideas could have taken are multiple: some lead us to the translations of her multifaceted work, to the news about the policies she promoted in the USSR, the debates she participated in, the theoretical and political influences she would have shared with other feminists, or to a possible "transnational" feminism of which she would have been one of the principal spokeswomen. This transnational dimension of her ideas stems from all her work that sought to broaden political horizons beyond laws, national civic codes, and specific contexts, like that of the Bolshevik revolution.[29] Many of Kollontai's theses were, therefore, directly exportable owing to their universal character.

Knowing which of these ideas were resonant and how exactly they were interpreted in the Mexico of the 1920s requires more investigation, since the majority of historical studies have concentrated on the following decade due to the united forces of the feminist vanguard in the Frente Único Pro Derechos de la Mujer [United Front for Women's Rights] and the prominence of suffragism.[30] The notions of women's emancipation that circulated among militants, functionaries, and artists during and after the

Mexican Revolution, the actions of the Mexican Communist Party, and the role played by institutions like the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP; the Secretariat of Public Education) are key elements to consider when investigating the presence and scope of Kollontai's feminism in Mexico.[31]

By the end of the 1920s, the debates and arguments over Mexican women's emancipation and rights had greatly progressed. While the post-revolutionary period gave rise to speculations about the society that resulted from armed conflict, intellectual and political groups, often completely at odds, constructed the public conversation around the present and future situation of Mexican women. Examples of this include the Primer Congreso Feminista [First Feminist Congress] in Tabasco in 1915, promoted by Governor Francisco J. Múgica—who would later collaborate with the government of Lázaro Cárdenas, which recognized women's suffrage, although this would not be formalized until 1953.[32] Of even greater importance was the January 1916 Feminist Congress of Yucatán, promoted by Governor Salvador Alvarado, in which key figures in the women's struggle participated, including Elvia Carrillo Puerto and Hermila Galindo.[33] Although, in the post-revolutionary period, the Mexican electoral system impeded the tentative advances in women's political participation, the meetings and forums devoted to this and other issues relevant to the lives of Mexican women would be constants throughout the decade.[34]

It is also worth pointing out that during this period the topic of feminism and women's emancipation began to emerge in the media, although women's place was relegated to that of a new cultural consumer. In addition, the space for women themselves to write was very restricted, and intellectuals and journalists reacted to the petitions of feminists at the time with fear and sarcasm. Thus, it is no surprise that Kollontai's arrival in Mexico would stimulate a debate plagued with stereotypes and prejudices in the country's major newspapers.

In the international sphere, her disembarkation in December 1926 coincided with the convention of the Alliance of Women of the World; representatives of forty nations met in New York and agreed on paper to grant women political rights. The Mexican politician and diplomat Juan Sánchez Azcona regarded these advances as a contemporary necessity, declared that they would require modifications to the Mexican Constitution, and that:

> it would of course be appropriate to take the pulse of public opinion on this matter, with the effect that the legislators' resolution, whatever it might be, would have the value of not going against the general feeling of the nation.[35]

In Azcona's opinion, this mission fell to the Social Democratic Party—in formation at the time—"without [the party] constituting itself as the absolute champion of so-called feminism.[36]

In discussing the international context of the acquisition of rights, Azcona spoke of Kollontai's arrival and referred to a previous article by one of the editors of *El Universal,* Carlos González Peña, who "in an amusing recent article about the imminent arrival of the Soviet Minister Mme. Kollontai, imprints these concepts with palpable truth:

> We, and they as well (cultured Mexican women), are already very far from thinking that women were only made for the stove and the knitting needle. Quite the contrary: our lovely girls who study for technical degrees in the schools, who flock to the university lecture halls, who quite frequently distinguish themselves for their sophistication in the arts and sciences, and who above all have imposed themselves, nobly and beautifully, on present-day society, through their generous daring in the struggle for life; it may be believed that they have taken a great step on the path of their self-perfecting.[37]

Taking this into consideration, Azcona reproached González Peña for his intolerance of women's participation in political matters because, according to him, "the few feminists who have popped up now and then are unmarried misses in a pitiful state of spinsterhood, or mannish women whose upper-lip hairs have grown ...," adding that, "politicking feminism is a matter of mustaches. Not masculine, but feminine mustaches."[38] But even a renowned ex-diplomat and journalist like Sánchez Azcona could not avoid defending his points of view in support of suffrage without also referring to "battleaxes." By the 1920s such a depiction of certain activist women was so widespread as to signify a genuine comparative frame of reference by the time the Russian Ambassador had arrived.[39]

With regard to Kollontai, this prototype of the "battleaxe" was specifically expressed in the distance between expectations and reality, between prejudices and contact with the ambassador in person. It is odd that the exclusively male journalists tended to make blunt use of the prejudicial image of the suffragist, as shown by the opening of the following article about her disembarkation in Veracruz, directly on the gangplank:

> In the port, there was—as we had the opportunity to see—expectations over her arrival. Many people talked about the Soviet diplomat: some sympathetically and others disdainfully: many curiously. But everybody imagined they would see, descending the carpeted gangplank of the French ship that brought her, a lady who could be confused with a suffragist or a backward teacher of Protestantism.[40]

As with many other such chronicles, as the narration progresses along with the journalist's approach, a description of Kollontai emerges that is marked by her "enchantments," her physical attributes, her cultural refinement, and thus her progressive distancing from the image of the anticipated "battleaxe." The journalist writing this note, signed as J.D., concludes as follows: "And in fact Señora Kollontay does not look like a suffragist or a teacher of Protestantism. She is an elegant and cultured lady."[41] Then, he says that she danced the foxtrot and "chatted as befits a privileged lady ..., a serious, cultured person, rather different from what fantasy had depicted."[42]

Class and gender prejudices go hand in hand. The ambassador's entrance is described in great detail and with impressions like these: "a woman, the daughter of a great faraway people, endowed the atmosphere with a strange touch of femininity, raised to the highest honors of public life."[43] From the perspective of the present, one might well wonder what this "touch of femininity" could refer to, if not the difficulty of talking about the presence of a female ambassador who steps, for the first time ever, into the room of protocolary functions. Following a physical description that emphasizes "the characteristics of her race," the paragraph explores every minute detail of the ambassador's clothing. The journalist himself becomes aware of the futility of this description and adds subsequently:

> There is something of the superior woman in her, a blend of intelligence in continuous play, of a more subtle tact than men's, of past struggles, whose experience remains as an inextinguishable sentiment in her ideology and her character, which, upon fusing in the crucible of a marked, exquisite, and serene femininity, give her an expression which departs from the ordinary. And her green-eyed gaze, penetrating without being indiscreet, intelligent without being cold, always rhyming with the gentle contracting of her lips, knows how to shine with the color most suitable to the moment.[44]

Even in the English-language Mexican press, in the international section, which obviously is aimed at a cosmopolitan reader, there are indications of a sexist treatment of Kollontai's appearance:

> Madame Kollontay is reported to be fifty years of age. She looks younger. Her brown-black hair is bobbed, besides the bang that half conceals her forehead in proportion to her small figure, about five feet and five inches. She is slightly beyond the regulation weight for one of her size.[45]

Despite the efforts of the more advanced press, with its interest in giving space for discussions about women, prejudices tended to prevail; this seemed to acutely affect foreign women who, in their presumed dual exoticism, were judged more by their physical appearance, clothing, and social manners than by their political, intellectual, and artistic activities. Masha Salazkina emphasizes this in the case of foreign women with substantial cultural acuity, evident independence, or resolute militancy regarding female emancipation, such as Kollontai or Tina Modotti.[46] Indeed, as Gabriela Cano explains, a recurring antifeminist argument in Mexico was precisely one that associates feminist ideas with foreign influence; there was a fear of destabilizing families and losing national identity.[47]

With the Mexican Feminists: Networks & Relationships

Although the influence of thinkers like Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, and Alexandra Kollontai on early twentieth-century feminism in Mexico has been noted by many scholars, there have not been many systematic accounts of these transatlantic or transnational contacts and dialogues. An obligatory reference point is Hermila Galindo, one of the most prominent and significant feminists in the Mexican Revolution. Beginning in 1914, she was the private secretary of Venustiano Carranza; Galindo was a promoter of Constitutionalism, a diplomat in Cuba and Colombia, and she disseminated the "Carranza Doctrine" and "the feminist agenda through the length and breadth of the country, and in other countries as well."[48] Besides being the first female candidate for federal deputy in the history of the country, Galindo also founded and directed, from 1915 to 1919, the most important women's weekly of the 1910s, *La mujer moderna* [The Modern Woman].

Galindo's and Kollontai's feminisms converge on several interesting points: their shared readings of Zetkin and August Bebel,[49] as well as several notable demands that make them stand out from the other popular campaigns of the period. Very much like Kollontai, Galindo labeled herself above all a woman, feminist, and revolutionary. Although she had received a Catholic education, she was profoundly anticlerical and warned of the harmful effects of religion on women's education, and of modesty that kept women from knowing their own physiology. Science, education, and reading were factors of potential liberation: these are views the Mexican journalist and writer shared with the Russian Ambassador. However, beyond Galindo's suffragist struggle, it is worth distinguishing one of the most polemical aspects for the period, which brings her closer to a possible indirect influence of Kollontai's theoretical perspective: sexual freedom. Women's sexual instincts deserved fresh attention, since "every human being must have not only the right, but the power and even the duty to satisfy it."[50] Otherwise, physical and mental health could be affected: according to an article by Laura Orellana Trinidad, these ideas are taken directly from Bebel, along with the absolute rejection of arranged marriages and the lack of freedom of choice.[51] Bebel's socialist feminism was propagated, in

this regard, by both Kollontai and Galindo, and each moved the theoretical position into different channels.

Galindo's most essential ideas are collected in the non-public speeches of the First and Second Feminist Congresses of Yucatán (1916) and are quoted as primary sources of the feminist thought of the period. These speeches led to accusations that Galindo was "propagating free love."[52] Despite convergences of this type, Kollontai left very few clues regarding her relationship to Mexican feminist circles. The only person she explicitly mentions in her diary that could be directly associated with the women's movements in Mexico is Esperanza Velázquez Bringas: "a progressive woman and an important figure in education. We talk about feminist groups and many books."[53] Velázquez was a teacher and journalist interested in emancipation through socialism and in the development and integration of women, especially through education.

One exemplary display of the global reach of Velázquez's perspective is her anthology of texts, *Lecturas populares para escuelas primarias, superiores y especiales* [Popular Readings for Primary, Secondary, and Special Schools], published in 1926, which includes translated stories, reflections on international politics, and a catalog of important personages in world history, so that "children could know that the humble people, proletarians, who only know slavery and oppression have the right to their pleasures, like all human beings, and that this libertarian idea is floating in the atmosphere of the entire world."[54] Among the collection, it is worth noting one entry written by Rose Lee is dedicated to Rosa Luxemburg.[55] An affinity with the ideas of Communist Russia can be perceived in the narratives about socialism, as well as the inclusion of a profile of Lenin and the publication of Anatoly Lunacharsky's response to the edition the editor sent him, who thanks her for the "delightful moments reading the books" [*Lecturas populares* and *El arte de la Rusia actual*; Popular Lectures and Art in Today's Russia] that Velázquez Bringas had given him."[56] However, Kollontai was not among the women whom Velázquez's publishing projects made known. She does not appear in the *Lecturas populares* or in her other books, nor did she directly single her out in *El Universal Ilustrado* among the immense variety of women who were interviewed or who published at that time.[57] This was likely due less to a lack of interest than to the difficulty of gaining access to the ambassador's

work and of understanding that work as a whole. But her absence is nevertheless revealing, especially considering that, at the moment of their meeting, when Velázquez Bringas was working in the Secretaria de Educación Pública (SEP; Secretariat of Public Education) with Manuel Puig Cassauranc, Kollontai noted the following: "There is growing interest in the Soviet Union, in our new culture and our writers. They feel a great admiration for Lenin," and celebrated the projects being implemented for the education of Indigenous people and peasants.[58]

On the other hand, in 1924—a point in time when Velázquez Bringas had already resigned her editorship of *El Universal Ilustrado*—a survey entitled "If women were in control" published in this Mexican weekly literary magazine featured the phrase "the Bolshevik opinion of Esperanza Velázquez Bringas".[59] The portrait made of Velázquez Bringas once again displays macho stereotypes, but also her affinity with Kollontai's ideas about bourgeois feminism of the period. Velázquez Bringas is a "friend of the workers, a socialist leader and political propagandist; also, her turbulent and colorful life is more that of an apostle than a woman."[60] In her answers to the survey, Velázquez Bringas shows her disinterest in the issue of women's suffrage, declares that she is happy to be on the side of the workers and "defend them disinterestedly," and believes that holding political office would turn her into a "leech on the worker."[61]

Velázquez Bringas was also among the few people the ambassador frequently visited until her departure; she did this accompanied, for example, by Carleton Beals,[62] or Rafael Ramos Pedrueza—whom evidence suggests was closer to Kollontai—but we have no information on the content of those meetings, nor whether contact was maintained after her departure. What may be inferred from combining what we know of Velázquez Bringas, Ramos Pedrueza, and Kollontai's pedagogical inclinations, is that these conversations dealt with the issue of education as a means for constructing a more egalitarian society for the poorest, but also for women. Under the leadership of José Vasconcelos, SEP took on an essential role not only as a professional option for women, but also as the institution in charge of bringing literacy to the people, relieving child-rearing of its religious imprint, and inscribing Mexico within universal culture.

The form in which these experiences influenced socialist-leaning women, who engaged in militant activity and were aware of what was going

on in other countries, deserves to be investigated in greater depth. One of these women is the Communist María del Refugio "Cuca" García, a missionary teacher in SEP and an activist for the rights of women and the poor in several states of the republic. Her political biography testifies to the similarity of the dilemmas confronted by women within the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) and those timidly related by Kollontai in her autobiography (which we now know about in greater detail).[63] Verónica Oikión Solano declares that "Cuca" García also had a relationship to Kollontai: "I often met with the Russian ambassador in Mexico."[64] Lourdes Cueva states that Kollontai influenced García, "not only in order to strengthen and redirect her work towards organizing women, but also on the personal level," although she cites no specific meeting between them.[65] The ambassador herself mentions García when she refers to the "enthusiastic revolutionary wife of 'M.' [Manuel Díaz Ramírez]," and explains that she had to avoid them because she was committed to not getting herself mixed up in Party matters.[66] This somewhat condescending reference could demonstrate the exact opposite: the fact that Kollontai did not write Díaz Ramírez's name perhaps reveals the intention of hiding the relationship that the two of them did indeed cultivate, besieged by the threat of the Russian central government; if García was dedicated to anything, it was to the effort to promote women's issues within the Party, and if Kollontai could do anything, it would be to help her do so.

There were very few women in the PCM and they were politically subordinated to the interests of men, showing, as Oikión Solano says, "the contradictions and inequalities between men and women within the Communist organization; as a reflection of those existing between both genders in the actual sociocultural structure of society."[67] Thus, whatever advance was made on issues of interest to women, according to Lourdes Cueva, "it was the result of the silent work of several female militants who carried out their activity within the party, but without any support from the party structure and without any explicit recognition of the importance of this program."[68] In general, the Communists reacted in the same way as their Soviet counterparts: with a fear that women would form separate organizations; however, unlike Russia, this would improve in Mexico from 1926 onward, when the PCM initiated more committed, systematic work with women by creating a women's commission in every Party branch.

The intention was to supervise the integration of more women into the organization, along with promoting socialist educational activities, the creation of schools, and improvement in women's working conditions.[69]

This was precisely founded on the work of the Consejo Feminista Mexicano (CFM; Mexican Feminist Council), created and headed by "Cuca" García in 1919, along with Elena Torres and Evelyn Roy in leadership positions. The organization was set up in order to promote the economic, social, and political emancipation of women in the new post-revolutionary society; it continued its activities until its replacement in 1926 by the Women's Bureau.

The struggle for women's rights also travelled down certain well-trodden paths. When she arrived in Veracruz in 1925, for example, García wanted to establish women's leagues, like those she had seen in Yucatán (under the leadership of Elvia Carrillo Puerto), or had successful experiences with, such as the textile factory of San Bruno.[70] The parallels between this experience and Kollontai's in Russia become even clearer when we see that the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM; Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation) boycotted García's work in the same way as it would later sanction Kollontai.

The CFM shared leadership in the feminist debate with the Mexican section of the Liga Panamericana de Mujeres [Pan-American Women's League], founded by Margarita Robles de Mendoza for the advancement of women's civil rights. Towards the end of the 1920s, the participation of Communists in the congresses was marked by issues like wages, unions, and prostitution, but their work in company with other organizations went in the direction of gaining the vote.[71] However, this does not mean that the women of the PCM were becoming bourgeois, but instead that the context gave precedence to the struggle for civil rights; the Communist women also seemed to find more of an echo among other women than within their own organization.[72] In any case, they were aware that suffrage was insufficient, and because of this they never broke with the Party line. As an article from *El Machete* (the PCM's journalistic organ) proposed:

> Women of the bourgeoisie in some countries, principally North American women, have undertaken immense campaigns for the conquest of the women's vote. Do these ladies believe in good faith that if only all women voted, their problems would be solved? What use would

> the vote be to the women of Latin American if they continued being exploited and, even with the vote, dying of hunger? What use is the vote to the men of Latin America if they are victims of inhuman working days and wretched wages, so that the Morgans, Rockefellers, and other exploiting magnates of peoples increase their fabulous capital? What use is the vote to mankind if peoples are invaded and humiliated, if the workers of Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Cuba are throttled beneath the boot of the Yankee exploiters, and Nicaragua sacrifices the best of her sons in defense of her nationality?[73]

For the Communists, civil rights and the suffrage were never the question in Mexico or in Russia. Kollontai herself celebrated the International's resolution calling for the vote for women in 1907 and establishing a women's secretariat, with Zetkin at its head. It was "a victory for the principle of equality in civil rights for all the members of the proletarian family," because it opened the possibility for women to become politically active.[74] The risk was in believing that the vote was the actual end of the road, instead of being another step in the liberation of women and the exploited countries. However, the most immediate problem was that men in various political organizations thought that none of this was important.

If the names appearing in the biographies of women like Velázquez Bringas and García are compared with those mentioned by Kollontai in her diaries, a panorama is delineated that adds nuance to the solitude of feminist women, particularly Communist women. For García, Governor Múgica's collaboration was essential. Elena Torres, also a Communist, singled out several men—Domingo Ramírez Garrido, Salvador Alvarado, and José Vasconcelos—"who have given us effective assistance, sometimes directly and most often making it possible for women to have jobs in their ministries that were once done by men."[75] But we also know, for example, of the support of Ambassador Negri and Luis G. Monzón—very much present in Kollontai's memoirs—for Graciela Amador as editor of *El Machete* and also of Monzón's collaboration with García.[76]

The scope and relevance of these men's collaboration remains to be studied. As we have seen, the mistrust against women who distanced themselves from social convention was certainly the norm. Kollontai herself complained of the men who attended the Russian Embassy's receptions

in the company of their lovers instead of their wives: "What's this? A demonstration against me as a woman in a male position?"[77] The opinions she stirred in the bureaucracy in general greatly resembled those she stirred in the press. The incredulity that a woman could occupy a political post of such importance could not be overcome; this perspective was generalized to all women with political aspirations.

Mexican Reception of Kollontai: The Arrival of Her Books & Ideas

Studying the influence of Kollontai's feminism in Mexico requires, finally, that we pay attention to the reception of her work in that country. Based on what she takes note of in one of her first encounters with Mexican intellectuals, we know some were already familiar with her work. As she declares in her diary "Pedrueza, the local theorist, has read my books. My *Worker Bees* have been published in Argentina."[78] Yet, there is no indication to clarify the broader reception of those books in Mexico or what their circulation would have been.

On the other hand, a curious note indicates that part of Kollontai's work was published in Mexico during her stay, but in an unauthorized pirate version, as still tends to happen nowadays. According to Daniela Spenser's investigations, a version of Kollontai's short story *Bol'shaia' ljubov'* [A Great Love] was published in Mexico in 1926 under the title *Amor rojo* [Red Love]. Although Carleton Beals helped her "improve the most vulgar alterations of her original text, ... the book nonetheless ended up as a cheap sensationalist romance."[79]

In previous decades, several of Kollontai's essays and pamphlets had been published, between 1908 and 1917, in English, French, and Russian. Likewise, a five-month journey to the United States in 1915 had enabled her to give lectures in German, French, and Russian. So it is difficult to think that her ideas would have gone unnoticed in Mexico among an educated and multilingual social class, and in a context that was especially attentive to what was going on in the Soviet Union.

What we can be assured of is that the distribution of her work was limited. The articles appearing in the press in the context of her arrival

in Mexico show a lack of knowledge of her literary and theoretical work; it was thought, grossly simplifying her ideas, that she was a partisan of free love. The bad press that the US newspapers gave her also permeated the Mexican press: "Madame [Kollontai] was shown a clipping from an American newspaper which commented on her theories of free love and the report that she favors 'free schools.' The schools, she indicated, did not form a part in her views."[80] This misinterpretation of her ideas was not specific to anti-Communism, because even in the Soviet Union, some of her ideas about morality and the family had already been condemned; her positions and her political importance caused her to be read without objectivity. Kollontai was so conscious of this that, upon arriving in Mexico, she declared to journalists that as far as "sex writings" were concerned, she was done with all that.[81] Though not without a touch of irony, she clarified her intention to change her public image and stick to official consular protocol.

It is symptomatic that in *El Machete* Kollontai's arrival in Mexico and her importance as a theoretician and politician were initially taken into account yet this evaporated quickly. The news of the departure of her predecessor, Pestkovsky, who was very close to PCM's activist and worker circles, and Kollontai's arrival, did make the front page.[82] However, the knowledge of the new Soviet Ambassador's work appears superficial (for example, she is "known to us by her written work, which has brought her fame in the international workers' movement"[83]); only her relationship to the proletarian revolution, her firm Communist convictions, and the Tsarist repression that she previously survived are mentioned as credentials. And, although a reference is made to her work in the Soviet government, it is obvious that there is no awareness of its foundations:

> Comrade Kollontai's most eloquent work, in which she showed herself to be a Bolshevik carved from stone, absolutely convinced of the role that today's society has provided her, incorruptible, through its time and atmosphere, was undertaken, in its entirety, after the Revolution.[84]

Finally, this item falls into exaggeration and historical fraud, defining her, without any reference to her "sex writings," as the "standard-bearer of Proletarian Morality, the Kant of the proletariat."[85] Whoever celebrated

this morality was ignorant of the ensemble and the complexity of her work written before the Revolution.

An especially interesting moment in the reception of Kollontai's work is the publication, in the pages of *El Machete*, of her article on prostitution, only a few months before her arrival in Mexico.[86] It constitutes the only directly distributed example—though strangely without any mention of the translator, as was the usual practice—of an extract from her work during the period of her arrival and sojourn in Mexico.

By Way of Conclusion: A Legacy of the 1930s & 1970s

The path to women's equality was long and its focus changed according to both the evolution of the movement and spaces of opportunity. On the socialist side, congresses specifically dedicated to working and peasant woman did not take place until the 1930s, amidst the policy of unity that the PCM adopted.[87] The second of these congresses, in 1933, was the most radical, according to Natura Olivé. A minimum wage for women workers was discussed, the inclusion of women in state departments dedicated to defending and educating workers and women was demanded, the creation of women's cooperatives was promoted, a program of constructive education was proposed, and the demand for the vote was reiterated.[88] Among the organizations present, the "Alejandra Kollontay Women's League" of Nuevo León participated, but we have no further information about its role or function.

The women's movement advanced until it succeeded in obtaining the vote in 1953, but Kollontai would not become truly present in the political and theoretical sphere until the upsurge of the feminist wave of the 1960s and 1970s. The French feminist Jacqueline Heinen wrote at the time:

> The value we accord the debate currently occurring in the autonomous women's movement, our will to go back and appropriate the experiences of Marxist thought relative to the oppression of women, but also the necessity of advancing the debate by superseding the analyses made so far, are the only reasons that guide us in the critical reading we are attempting to make of Kollontai's writings.[89]

Beyond a doubt, this reevaluation has found a second opportunity with the new feminist wave of the second decade of the 2000s. Hopefully, these times are also moving the debate toward new channels and will succeeded in overcoming—with understanding and historical consciousness—the obstacles of the past while valorizing the solid legacy of women like Alexandra Kollontai.

1. “La Señora Kollontay llegó ayer a México. Interesantes detalles de su vida política,” *El Universal Ilustrado*, 8 December 1926, 1.

2. Ibid.

3. The original version states: “whereas in the question of the illegitimate child we have not yet even progressed as far as the Norwegians.” The next edition truncates the passage as follows: “we have only progressed as far as the Norwegians.” See Alexandra Kollontai, “The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman,” trans. Salvator Attansio (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971); marxists.org/archive /kollonta/1926/autobiography.htm.

4. Ibid.

5. See Encarnación Barranquero Texeira, “Ángeles o demonios: Representaciones, discurso y militancia de las mujeres comunistas,” *Arenal*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2012).

6. Cathy Porter, *Alexandra Kollontai: A Biography* (London: Virago, 1980), 82. Barbara Evans Clements provides a fine overview of the “woman question” in Russia until just before the revolution of 1905 and accords more weight to this than to foreign influences in Kollontai’s thought: see Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist: The Life of Aleksandra Kollontai* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 40–8.

7. Both things were combined within the Russian Communist Party. Kollontai’s English translator, Alix Holt, explains that a suspicion existed that any activity of women up until 1917 had been influenced by Russian bourgeois feminism, which made it difficult for Kollontai to insert women-oriented groups within the party. See Alix Holt, ed., *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai* (London: Allison & Busby, 1977), 33.

8. Beatrice Brodsky Farnsworth, “Bolshevism, the Woman Question and Aleksandra Kollontai,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 2 (April 1976): 292–316.

9. Quoted in Tony Cliff, “Alexandra Kollontai: Russian Marxists and Women Workers,” *International Socialism*, vol. 2, no. 14 (Autumn 1981): 75–104; marxists.org/archive/cliff/works/1981/xx/kollontai.html. Also, this position alienated Kollontai from the Menshevik Party, to which she belonged at the time, see Simon Karlinsky, “The Menshivik, Bolshevik, Stalinist Feminist,” *The New York Times*, 4 January 1981, nytimes.com/1981/01/04/books/the-menshivik-bolshevik-stalinist-feminist.html.

10. (1) The wife of the factory owner experiences a well-cared-for and accompanied pregnancy, while (2) her domestic employee has to work until the day she gives birth. Both are distinguished from (3) the domestic worker—whom the boss gets pregnant and fires—as well as 4) the woman worker who has to work in subhuman conditions. See Holt, ed., *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai*, 137.

11. Kollontai, “Working Woman and Mother,” in *Selected Writings*, 137; marxists.org /archive/kollonta/1916/working-mother.htm.

12. Clements, “Emancipation Through Communism: The Ideology of A.M. Kollontai,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 32, no. 2 (1973): 327.

13. Ibid., 331. Clements takes this list from Kollontai’s *Rabotnitsa-mat* (Petersburg, 1917).

14. The organ depended on a system of delegations that consisted of "an elaborate apprenticeship to train women primarily in the soviets, trade unions, factories, educational facilities, hospitals and food services. ... Delegates also heard women workers' complaints on the factory floor and helped resolve conflict. ... Delegates were also encouraged to participate in Zhenotdel conferences and campaigns. ... Conferences were one space where women challenged prescribed roles and expectations. Zhenotdel participated in a staggering plethora of campaigns for delegate and public consumption. Most campaigns during the 1920s were ubiquitous: campaigns against alcoholism, homelessness, illiteracy, domestic abuse, hooliganism, prostitution, religion, epidemics, and even vermin!" See Michelle Jane Patterson, *Red "Teaspoons of Charity": Zhenotdel, Russian Women and the Communist Party, 1919–1930*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto (2011), 3–4.

15. Brodsky Farnsworth, "Bolshevism, the Woman Question and Aleksandra Kollontai": 299.

16. Clements, "Emancipation Through Communism": 325, 326.

17. Porter, *Alexandra Kollontai*, 19.

18. Clements, "Emancipation Through Communism": 327.

19. Ibid.: 328. Clements is quoting here from Kollontai's book *Novaia moral' i rabochii klass* (1918).

20. Ibid.: 337.

21. Christine Sypnowich, "Alexandra Kollontai and the Fate of Bolshevik Feminism," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 32 (Fall 1993): 290.

22. Kollontai, *Vasilisa Malygina* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gos. Izdatelstvo, 1927).

23. Quoted from Kollontai, *La bolchevique enamorada* (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 2008 [e-book version, 2013]), Chapter V. The story "Vasilisa Malygina"—its original Russian title—was the longest of the three narratives that made up *Ljubov' pcel trudovyh* (1923). It was translated into English as an independent book under the title *Red Love* (New York: Seven Arts Publishing, 1927). Vasilisa's story was later also included in Kollontai, *Love of Worker Bees*, trans. Cathy Porter (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2005), which respects the order and inclusion of the three stories in the 1923 Russian original *Ljubov'*.... In Spanish, we know that the first two translations were *Abejas proletarias*, trans. Leon Rudnitzky (Buenos Aires: Crítica, 1926) and *La bolchevique enamorada* (Madrid: Ediciones Oriente, 1928). On this subject, see also Dora Garcia's essay "Amor revolucionario" in this volume, 16–30, esp. notes 2, 3, 8, and 11.

24. During her mission to Norway between 1927 and 1930, Kollontai was able to continue writing for the Soviet press; however, her articles on the family, amorous relationships, and female emancipation were harshly criticized within the Party. See, Porter, *Alexandra Kollontai*, 416.

25. Enrique Arriola Woog, ed., *Sobre Rusos y Rusia: Antología documental* (Mexico City: Lotería Nacional e INAH, 1994), 279–80.

26. Friedrich Katz, "Prólogo," in Daniela Spenser, *El triángulo imposible: México, Rusia Soviética y Estados Unidos en los años veinte* (Mexico City: CIESAS, 2004), 9.

27. Esperanza Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres que se organizan: El frente único pro derechos de la mujer, 1935–1938* (Mexico City: UNAM/ Porrúa, 1992), 28. This includes an interview with E. Tuñón Pablos decades after Kollontai's sojourn in Mexico.

28. Victoria Rodríguez, *Women's Participation in Mexican Political Life* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 92.

29. Polina Popova, "Alexandra Kollontai's Feminism: Transnational Dimension," Chicago, DePaul University, 13 November 2013. Popova defends this "transnational" point of view by analyzing, among other works and biographical data, Kollontai's "The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman" (1926), her contact with movements of female emancipation in several European countries, and her comparative study of the problem of motherhood on the basis of legislation of different countries on the old continent, published in 1916 under the title *Obshestvo i materinstvo,* [Society and Motherhood].

30. In Mexico, women's history was long considered a "forgotten history," and while in recent years interest in the cultural and social participation of women is increasing, richer and more stimulating areas of inquiry are only now beginning to narrate the ideas and protagonists of the feminist movement properly speaking, as well as its intellectual influences. See Julia Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres en México: Una historia olvidada* (Mexico City: Planeta, 1987). In order to understand the feminist movement of the first half of the twentieth century in Mexico, Gabriela Cano's investigative work is essential for the variety of movements and personages studied, see Cano, "The Feminist Debate in Mexico," in Carlos Manuel Salomon, ed., *The Routledge History of Latin American Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 288.

31. Despite the fact that the theoretical and public debates and the movements that emerged from this process are today known as "feminism," it is important to recall that at the end of the nineteenth century the term became suspect for socialist parties, because it implied the union of women as a separate class; this is the reason why Kollontai herself was reluctant to use it. See Brodsky Farnsworth, "Bolshevism, the Woman Ques on and Aleksandra Kollontai": 294.

32. No document of this congress has been preserved. See, María Valles Ruiz, "Primer Congreso Feminista de México: Los primeros pasos hacia la conquista del sufragio femenino," *Historia de las mujeres en México* (Mexico City: INEHRM, 2015), 245–68.

33. E. Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres que se organizan*, 23.

34. Only three states approved the women's vote and their participation in popularly elected positions, before Federal legalization a couple of decades later: Yucatán and San Luis Potosí in 1923 and Chiapas in 1925, but with the exception of the latter, the electoral changes were struck down.

35. Juan Sánchez Azcona, "Derechos políticos para la mujer", *El Universal*, 19 November 1926, 3. We find here one of the previously mentioned scruples about the term "feminism."

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. In the same article, Sánchez Azcona also outlined the integration of women's suffrage in the next program of the Social Democratic Party, while always excluding the prototype of the "feminist battleaxe." He wrote, "We will succeed in automatically relegating the politically-minded battleaxe type to the deserved domains of ridicule, in which she herself is aiming to get stuck with a persistence worthy of a greater cause." (See note 35 for reference.)

40. "La Señora Kollontay llegó ayer a México: Interesantes detalles de su vida política," *El Universal*, 8 December 1926, 1.

41. "La Señora Kollontay llegó ayer a México," *El Universal Ilustrado*, 8 December 1926, 1.

42. Ibid.

43. "For the first me, a female diplomatic envoy," *El Universal*, 25 December 1926, 1 and 8.

44. Ibid.

45. "Washington Must Decide US-Russia Recognition Declares Woman Envoy," *Excélsior*, 10 December 1926, 2.

46. Masha Salazkina, *In Excess: Sergei Eisenstein's Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 80–1.

47. Cano, "The Feminist Debate in Mexico," 284–97.

48. Esperanza Tuñón Pablos and Juan Iván Martínez Ortega, "La propuesta político-feminista de Hermila Galindo: Tensiones, oposiciones y estrategias," *Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios de Género de El Colegio de México*, vol. 3, no. 6 (March 2017): 8.

49. See Laura Orellana Trinidad, "La mujer del porvenir: Raíces intelectuales y alcances del pensamiento feminista de Hermila Galindo, 1915–19," *Signos históricos*, UAM-I, 2001.

50. Quoted from Hermila Galindo's "Women in the Future," speech at the Primer Congreso Feminista of Yucatán (1916), quoted in Tuñón Pablos and Martínez Ortega, "La propuesta político-feminista de Hermila Galindo": 1–35, esp. 15. This article offers a good summary of Galindo's critical readings as well as her proposals in both Congresses: increasing the number of educational centers for women, demanding a fair work wage, tearing down prejudices and harmful modes, increasing sanctions in the Civil Code in cases of women being abandoned, the ability to choose one's partner with complete freedom, and in cases of divorce, requiring damages from and penalties for the spouse responsible for the separation, among others.

51. Orellana Trinidad, "La mujer del porvenir": 121–2.

52. Ibid.

53. Rina Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México: Diario y otros documentos*, (Xalapa/Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2012), 80.

54. Esperanza Velázquez Bringas, "Lecturas populares," *Lecturas populares para escuelas primarias, superiores y especiales* (Mexico City: Sociedad de Edición y Librería Franco Americana, 1926), 6.

55. Rose Lee, "Rosa Luxemburgo," in Esperanza Velázquez Bringas, ed., *Lecturas populares*, 255–8.

56. Velázquez Bringas, *Lecturas populares para escuelas primarias, superiores y especiales*, 9.

57. There are texts by Colette and Elinor Glyn, a profile of Jeannette Rankin, and even an interview with the "grandmother of the Russian Revolution," Katerina Breshkovskaia: the latter in *El Universal Ilustrado*, 17 February 1921, 46.

58. Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México*, 121.

59. Óscar Leblanc, "If women … were in control … what political position would you like to occupy?", *El Universal Ilustrado*, 7 February 1924, 28–9.

60. Ibid.

61. Velázquez Bringas, 28.

62. Carleton Beals, *Glass Houses: Ten Years of Free-Lancing* (New York: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1938), 341.

63. Both Barbara Clements's and Cathy Porter's biographies emphasize the difficulties Kollontai and her colleagues encountered when trying to make space for women's issues within the Communist Party.

64. Adolfo Montiel, "En la inopia la primera aspirante a diputada," *La Prensa*, 14 July 1973, quoted by Verónica Oikión Solano, *Cuca García (1889–1973): Por las causas de las mujeres y la revolución* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán y El Colegio de San Luis, 2018), 158.

65. María de Lourdes Cueva Tazzer, *Textos y prácticas de mujeres comunistas en México 1919–1934*, doctoral thesis in History (Mexico City: UAM-Iztapalapa 2009), 100.

66. Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México*, 60. The identification of "M." is from Oikión Solano, *Cuca García*, 159.

67. Ibid., 178.

68. Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México*, 45–50.

69. Ibid., 59–62.

70. Oikión Solano, *Cuca García*, 172–6.

71. Natura Olivé, *Las mujeres en el partido comunista mexicano: Los años treinta,* Master's thesis (Mexico City: Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1991).

72. See E. Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres que se organizan*.

73. "Lo que queremos las mujeres," *El Machete*, 4 February 1928: 1 and 4; quoted by de Lourdes Cueva Tazzer, *Textos y prácticas de mujeres comunistas en México 1919–1934*, 231.

74. Kollontai, "Dva techeniia," *Obrazovanie* (October 1907), quoted in Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 47.

75. Oikión Solano, *Cuca García*, 138.

76. De Lourdes Cueva Tazzer, in In *Textos y prácticas de mujeres comunistas en México 1919–1934*, 107, narrates this as follows: "Graciela Amador involved several men: in different ways she managed to maintain the support of functionaries or revolutionary politicians with whom her family had ties and who in addition had in the early years sympathized with Communism and the Russian revolutionary process, such as Senator Luis G. Monzón, General Adalberto Tejeda, and the lawyer Ramón P. de Negri."

77. Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México*, 52.

78. Ibid., 60.

79. Spenser, *El triángulo imposible*, 141.

80. "Washington Must Decide: US-Russia Recognition Declares Woman Envoy," *Excélsior*, 10 December 1926, 2.

81. Ibid.

82. *El Machete*, 30 September 1926, 1.

83. "El compañero Pestkovsky se regresa a la U.R.S.S.," *El Machete*, 30 September 1926, 1.

84. "Breves datos biográficos sobre la compañera Kollontay," *El Machete*, 30 September 1926, 4.

85. Ibid.

86. "Alejandra Kollontay," *El Machete*, 4 November 1926, 3.

87. These congresses were called Congresses of Women Workers and Peasants, and what is of interest is the proliferation of women's leagues that participated in them. Many of these were the direct result of Refugio García's work.

88. Olivé, *Las mujeres en el partido comunista mexicano*, 54.

89. Jacqueline Heinen, "Introduction," in Alexandra Kollontai, *Sobre la liberación de la mujer (Seminario de Leningrado de 1921)*, trans. Michèle Lenard (Barcelona: Fontamara, 1979), 34.

LOVE WITH OBSTACLES

Dora García

LOVE WITH OBSTACLES, FILM, 2020

Figs. 1–8: Dora García, *Love with Obstacles*, 60', 2020, film stills; digital film, color, 16:9, Spanish, Russian & English spoken, BE/NO; reproduced with the kind permission of Auguste Orts, Brussels.

LOVE WITH OBSTACLES, EXHIBITION, ROSE ART MUSEUM, 13 FEB TO 17 MAY 2020

Fig. 9: *Love with Obstacles*, solo exhibition by Dora García, exhibition view; photo by Charles Mayer, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

Fig. 10: *The Labyrinth of Female Freedom*, performance and installation, 2020; photo by Carlie Febo, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

Fig. 11: Original posters of the Paris Commune, 1871–73. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*; Boston: Peter Edes for Thomas and Andrews, 1792. Hannah Mather Crocker, *Observations on the Real Rights of Woman*; Boston: printed for the author, 1818. All objects on loan for the exhibition from the Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections/Rare Book Collection at University, Waltham, Massachusetts/USA. Photo by Charles Mayer, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

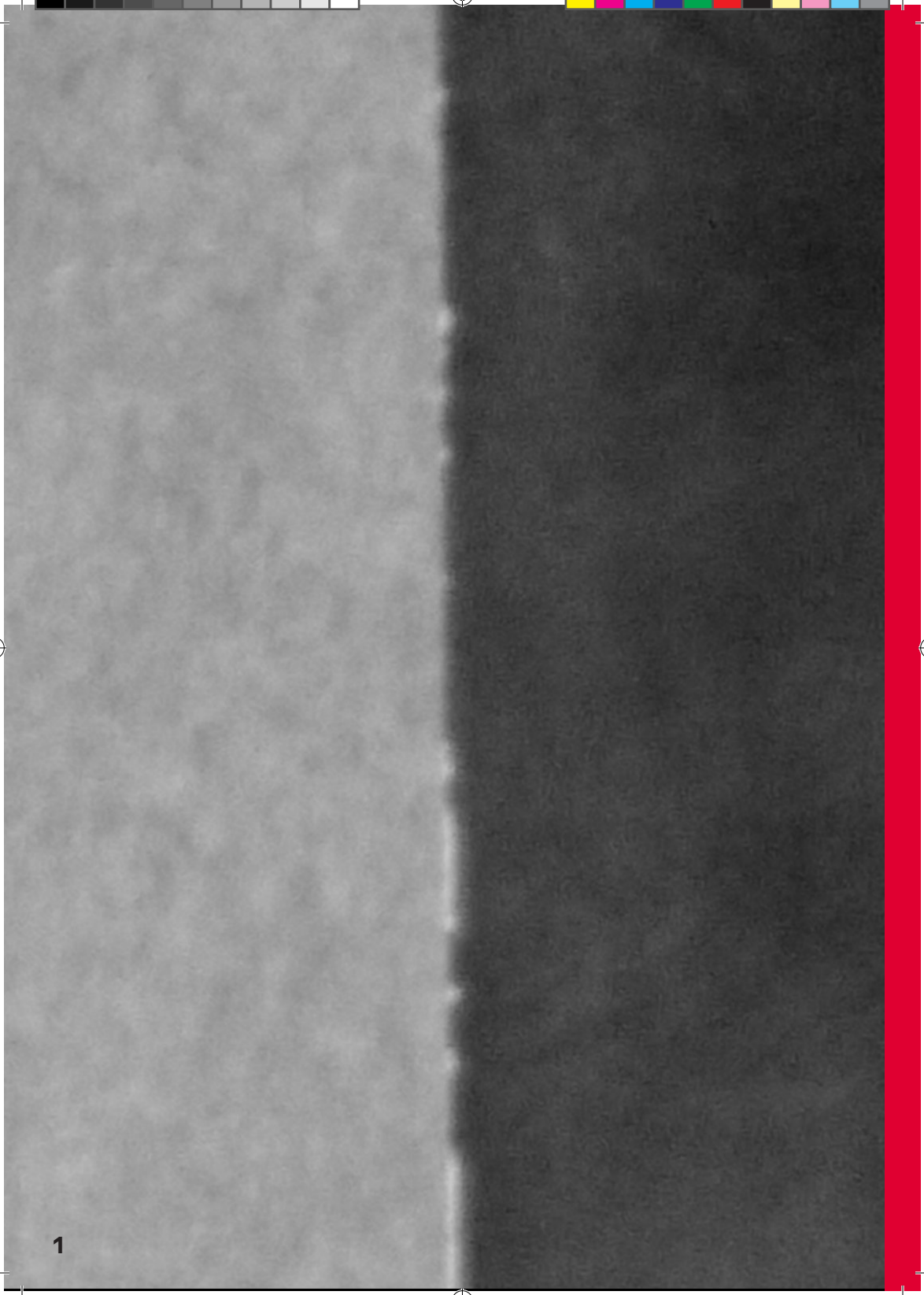
Fig. 12: Left: *Two Planets Have Been Colliding for Thousands of Years*, performance and installation, 2017. Right: *The Labyrinth of Female Freedom*, performance and installation, 2020. Photo by Charles Mayer, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

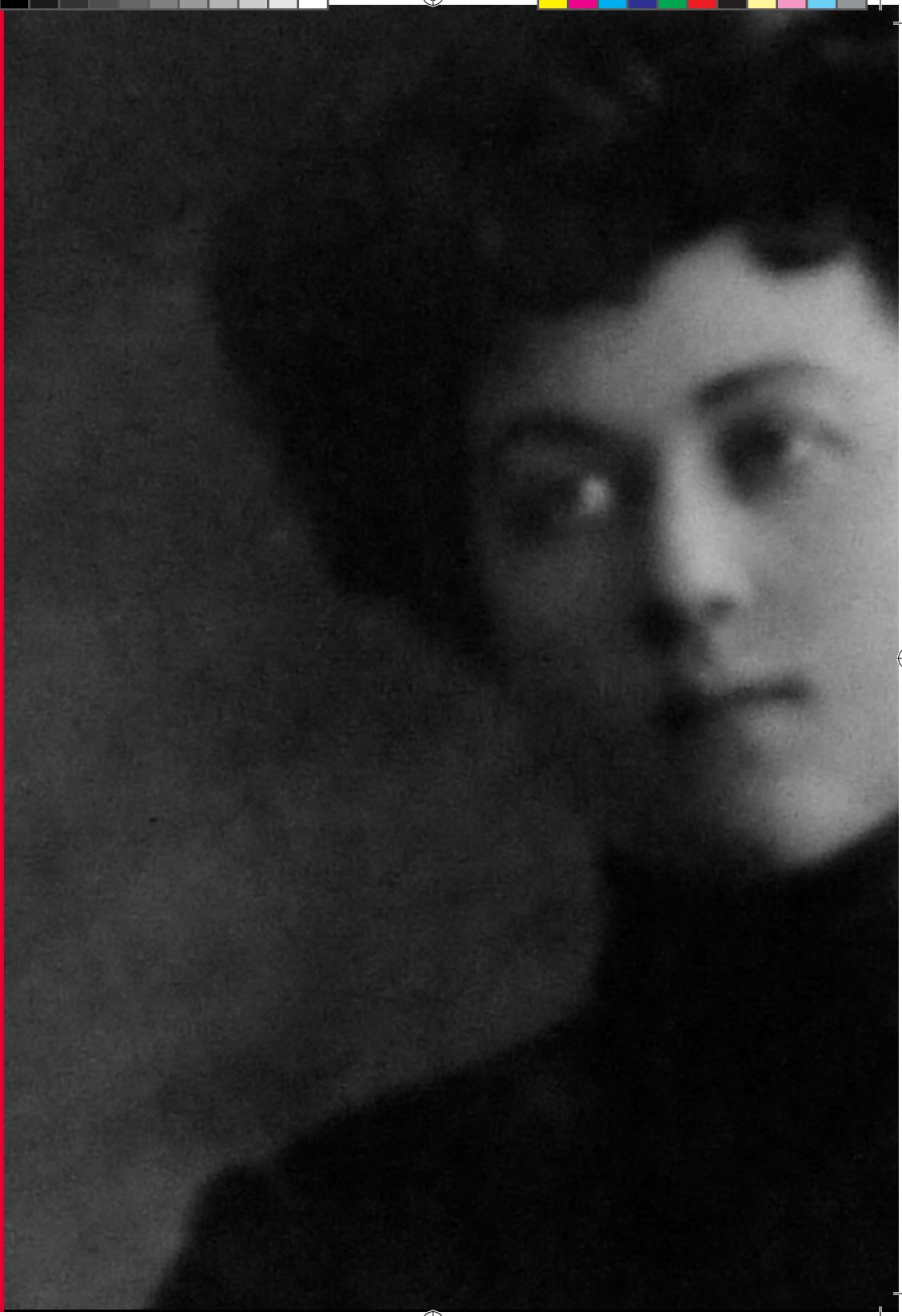
Fig. 13: Left vitrine: Black Panther News Clippings, 1968–71; loaned from the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Ralph Conant Papers, Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections, Brandeis University. Alexandra Kollontai, *"Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle" and "Love and the New Morality"* [1919], 1st. edition, trans. Alix Holt; Bristol, England: Falling Wall Press in collaboration with the members of the Women's Liberation Movement, 1973; loaned from the Lewis S. Feuer papers, Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections. Right vitrine: Dummy of Dora García, ed., *Mad Marginal / Cahier #5: Love with Obstacles (Amor Rojo)*; Berlin: K. Verlag, 2020; courtesy the artist. *Elektrolux: Der beste Staubsauger*, a Communist anti-Nazi pamphlet disguised as an Electrolux advertisement (1933); loaned from the Jewish Resistance Collection, Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections; photo by Charles Mayer, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

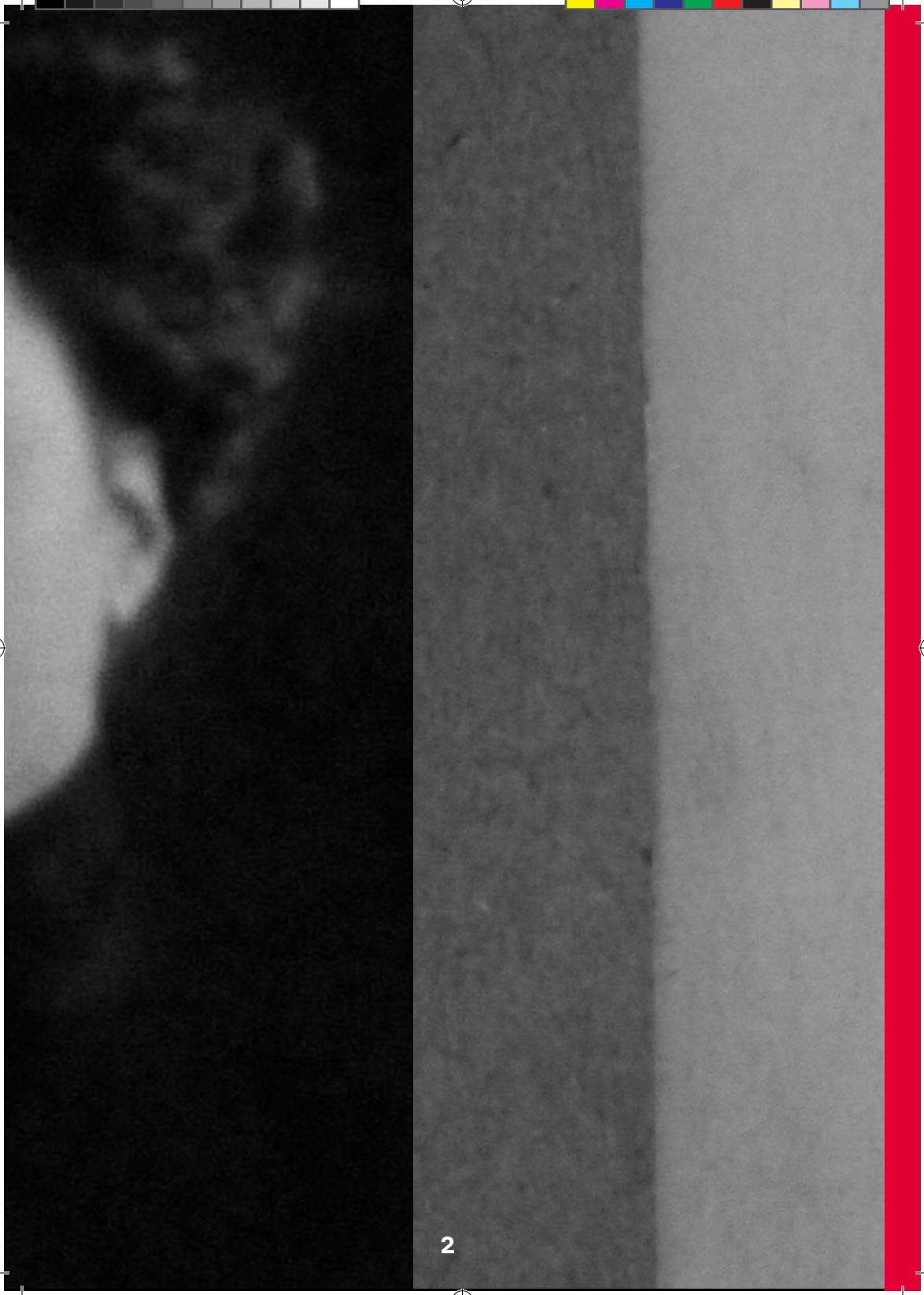
Fig. 14: *The Labyrinth of Female Freedom*, performance and installation, 2020; photo by Charles Mayer, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

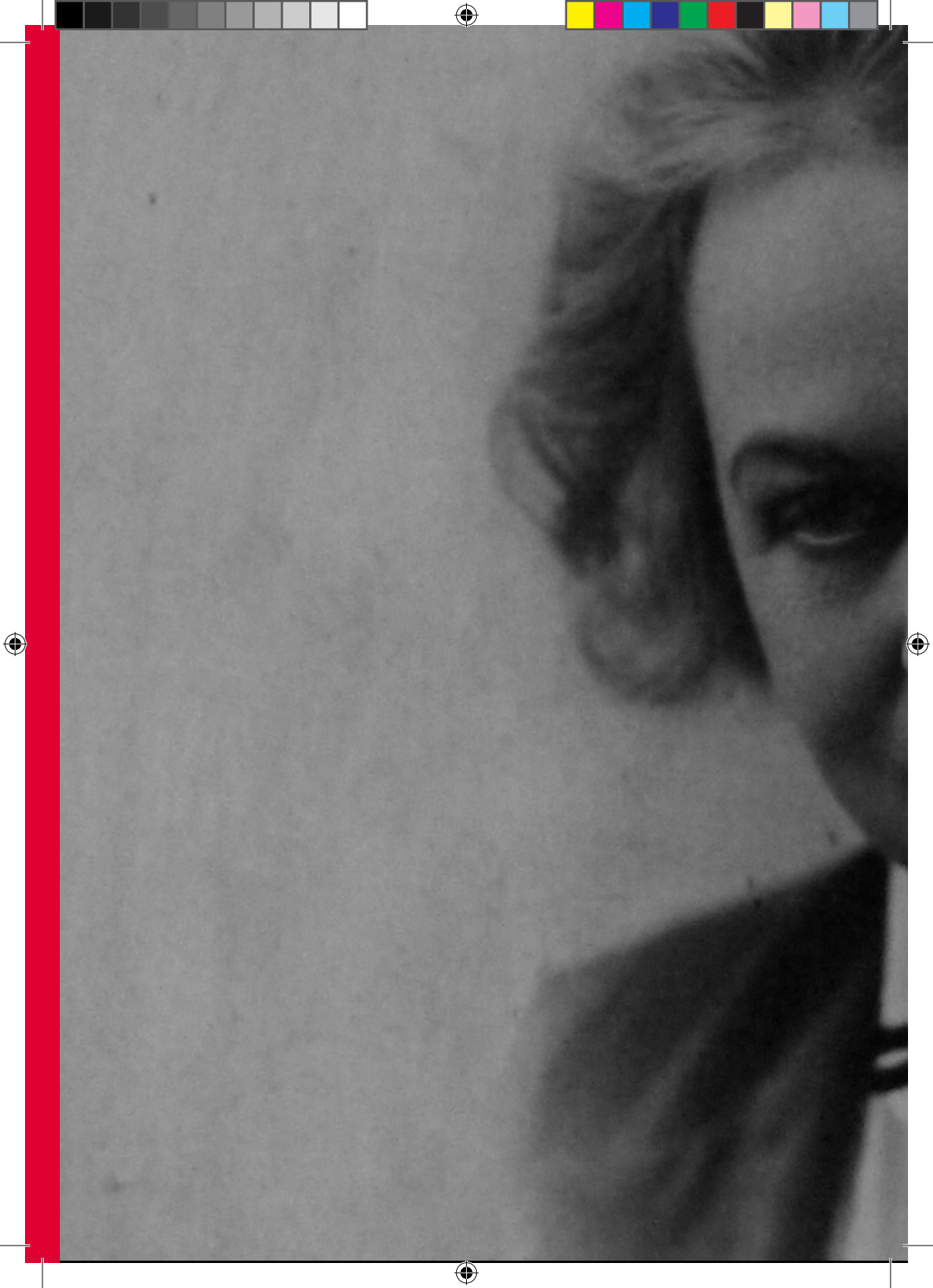
Fig. 15: *ALP (ANNA LIVIA PLURABELLE)*, 2020; from the series *Mad Marginal Charts*, 2014–present, graphite on wallpaper; photo by Charles Mayer, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

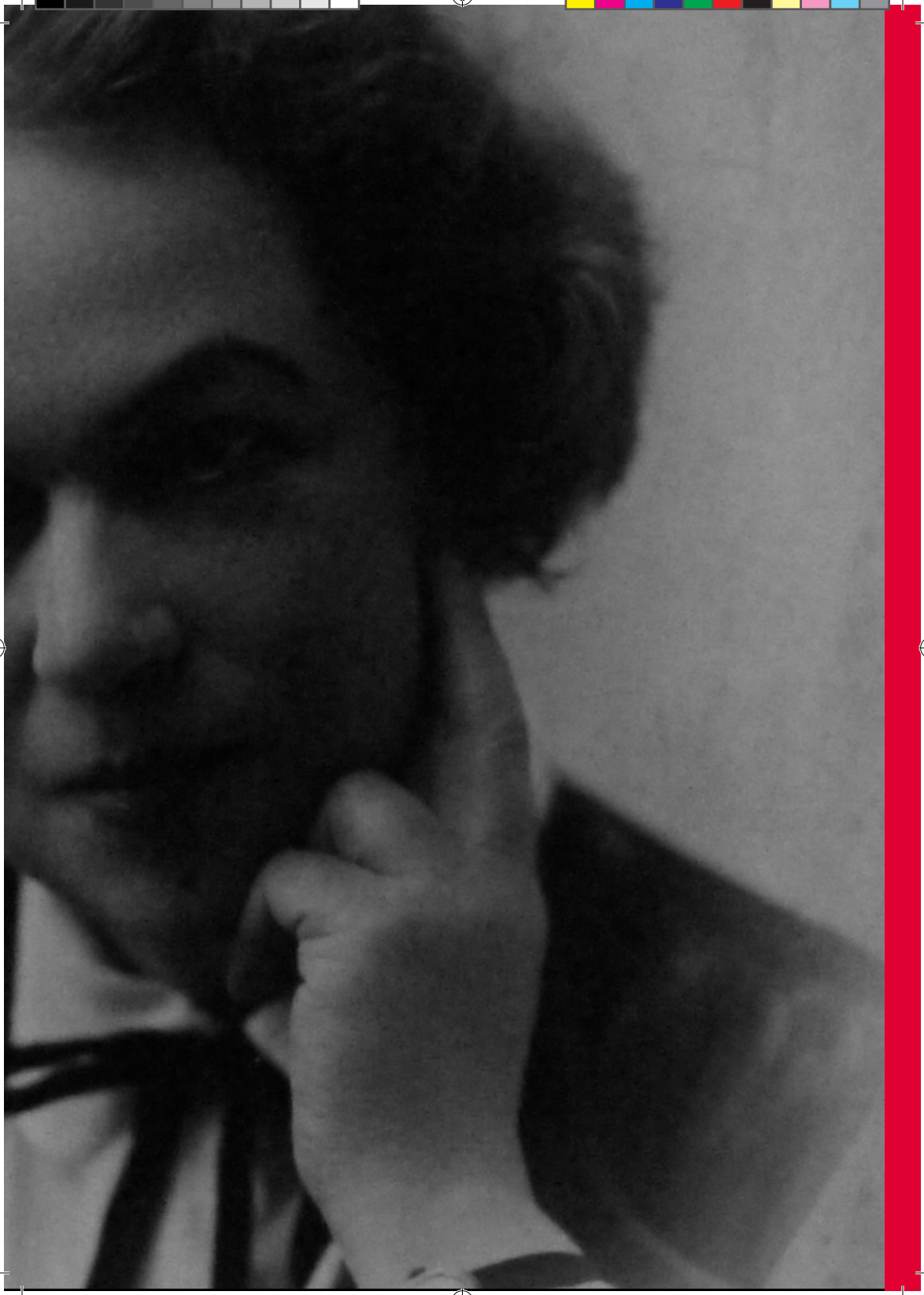
Fig. 16: *Love with Obstacles*, nighttime exterior view of the exhibition. On the image: *She has many names.*, 2020, from the series *Golden Sentences*, 2002–present, gold leaf on glass; *ALP (ANNA LIVIA PLURABELLE)*, 2020, from the series *Mad Marginal Charts*, 2014–present, graphite on wallpaper. View through the door: *Two Planets Have Been Colliding for Thousands of Years*, performance and installation, 2017. Photo by Charles Mayer, courtesy Rose Art Museum.

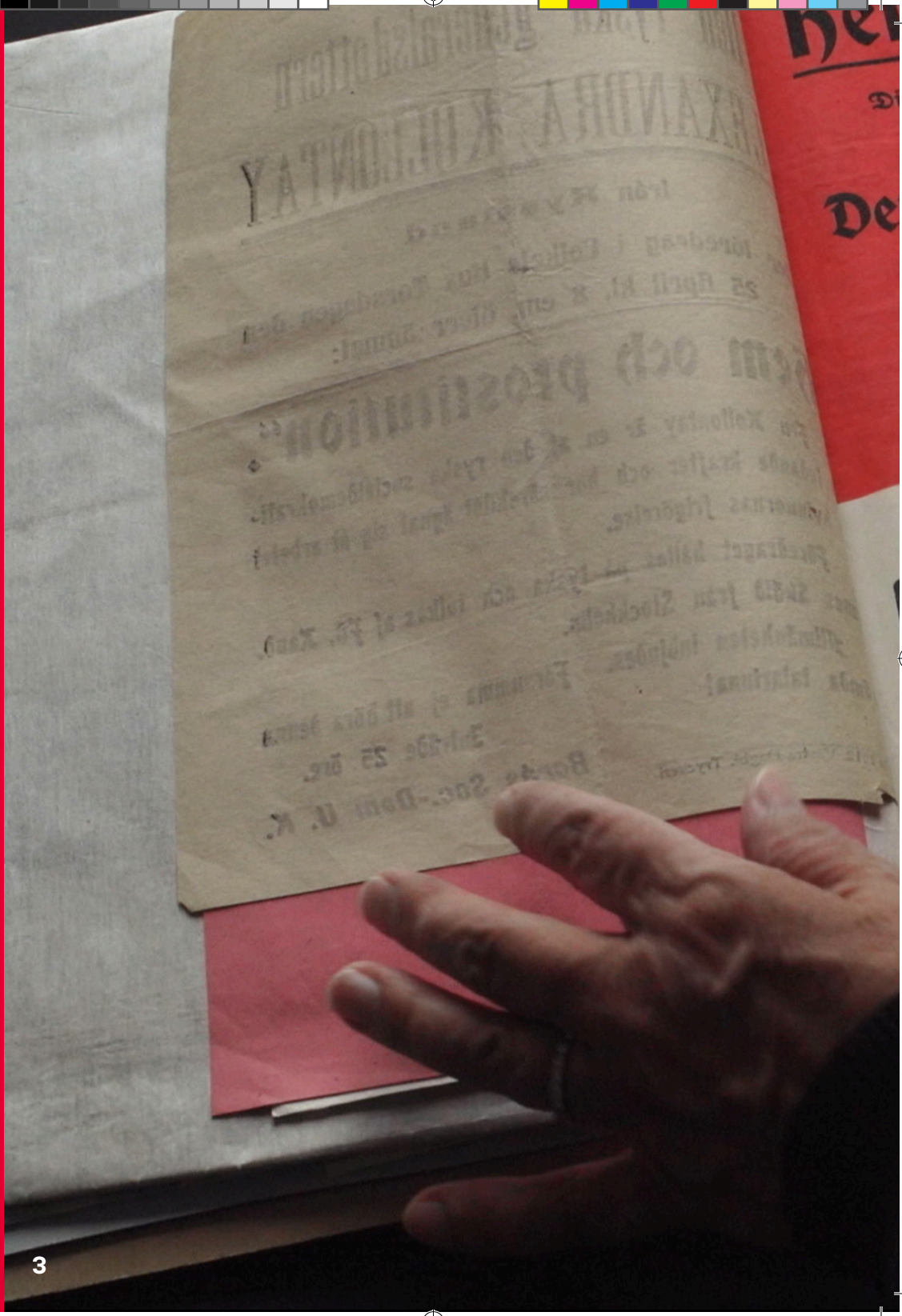


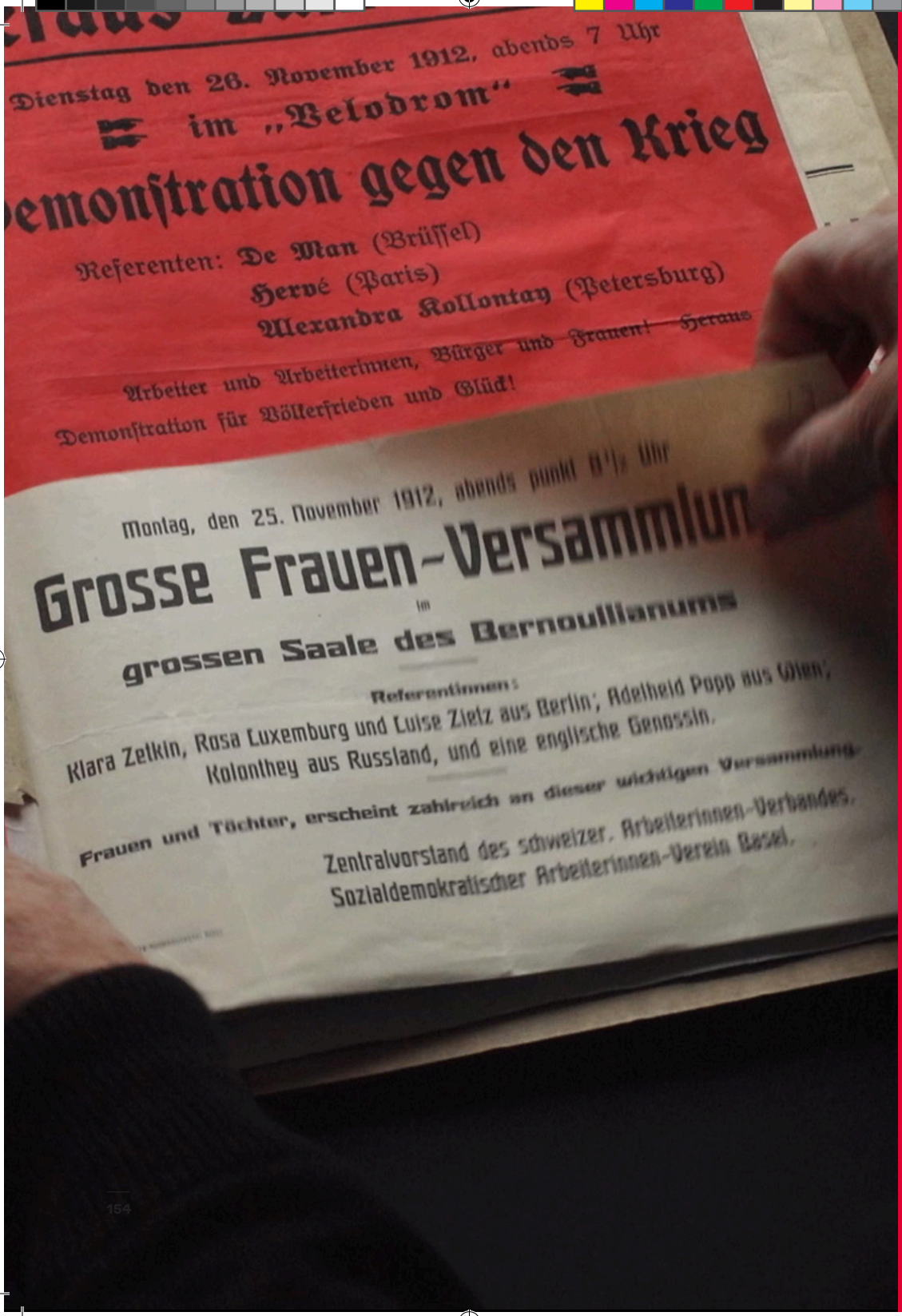


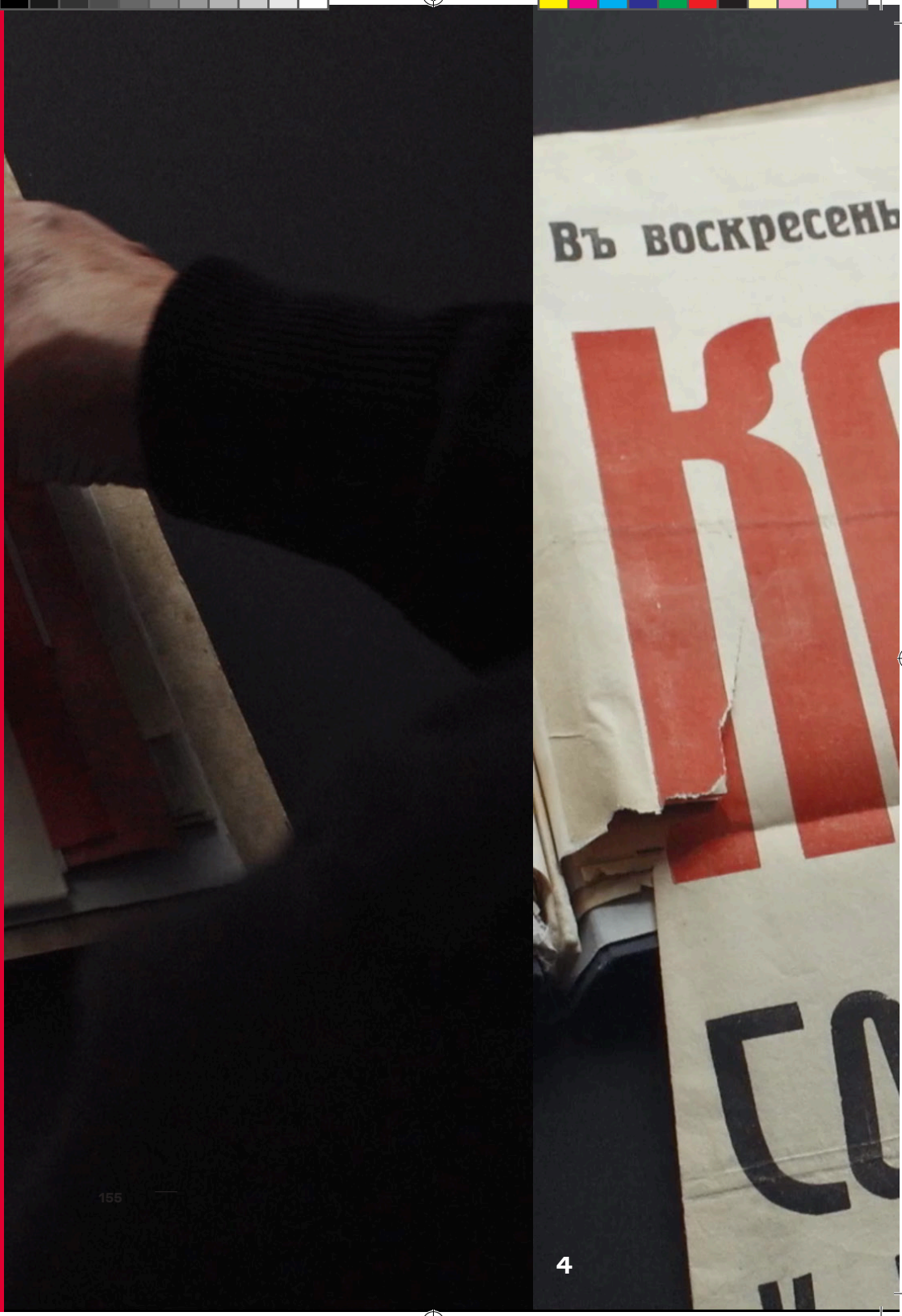


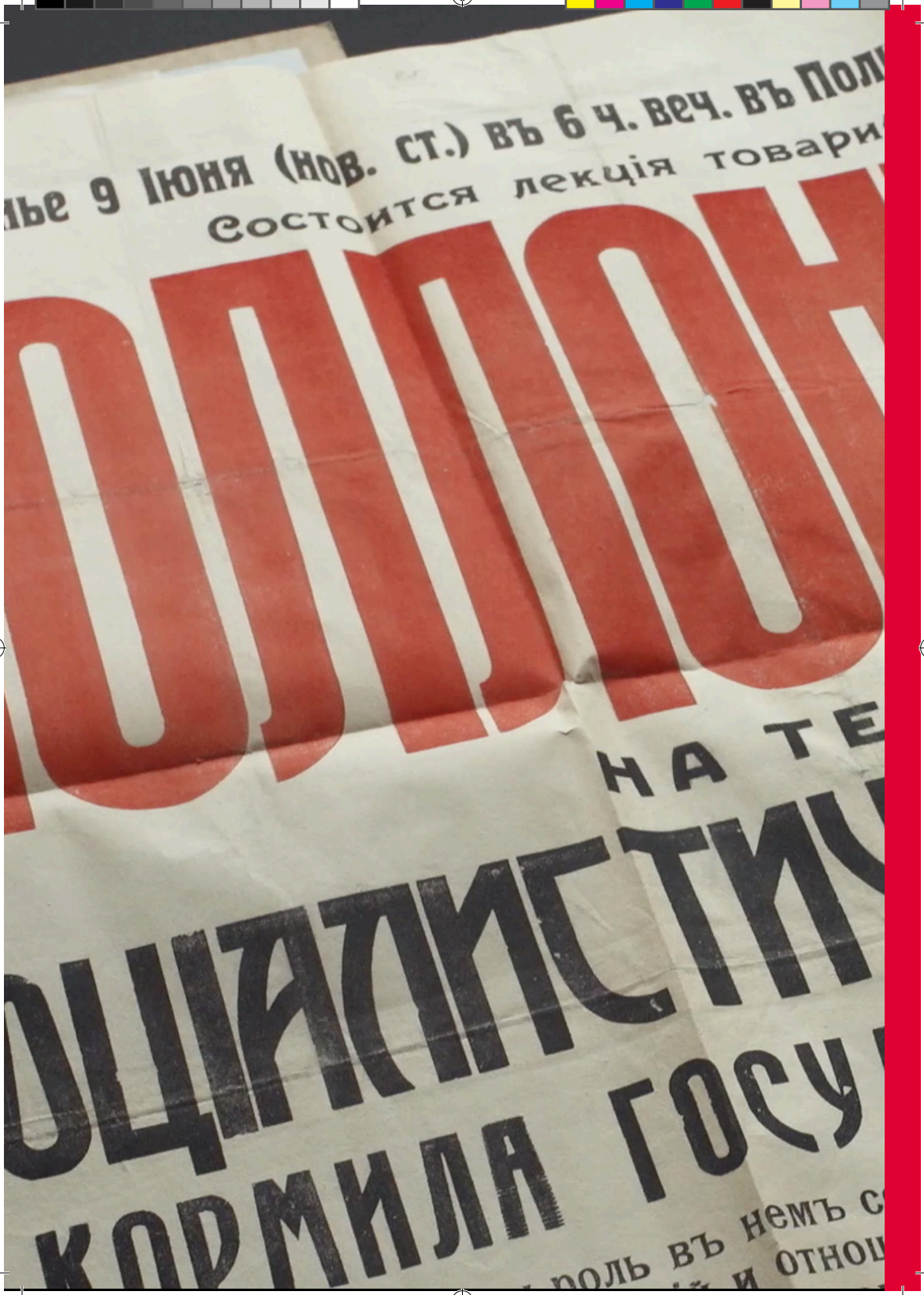






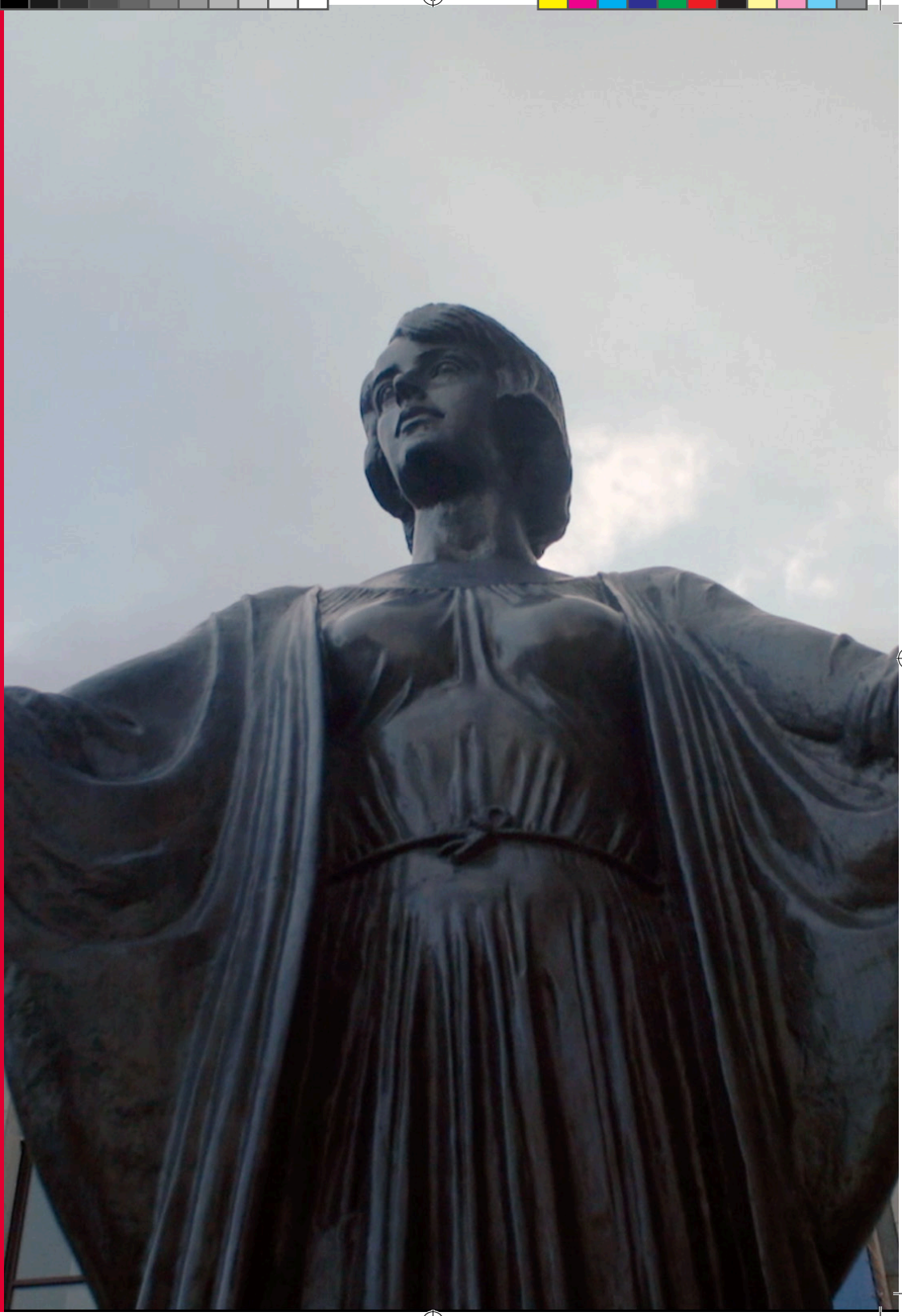

Dienstag den 26. November 1912, abends 7 Uhr
im „Velodrom"
emonstration gegen den Krieg
Referenten: De Man (Brüssel)
Hervé (Paris)
Alexandra Kollontay (Petersburg)
Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen, Bürger und Frauen! Heraus
Demonstration für Völkerfrieden und Glück!
Montag, den 25. November 1912, abends punkt 8½ Uhr
Grosse Frauen-Versammlun
im
grossen Saale des Bernoullianums
Referentinnen:
Klara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg und Luise Zietz aus Berlin; Adelheid Popp aus Wien;
Kolonthey aus Russland, und eine englische Genossin.
Frauen und Töchter, erscheint zahlreich an dieser wichtigen Versammlung.
Zentralvorstand des schweizer. Arbeiterinnen-Verbandes.
Sozialdemokratischer Arbeiterinnen-Verein Basel.

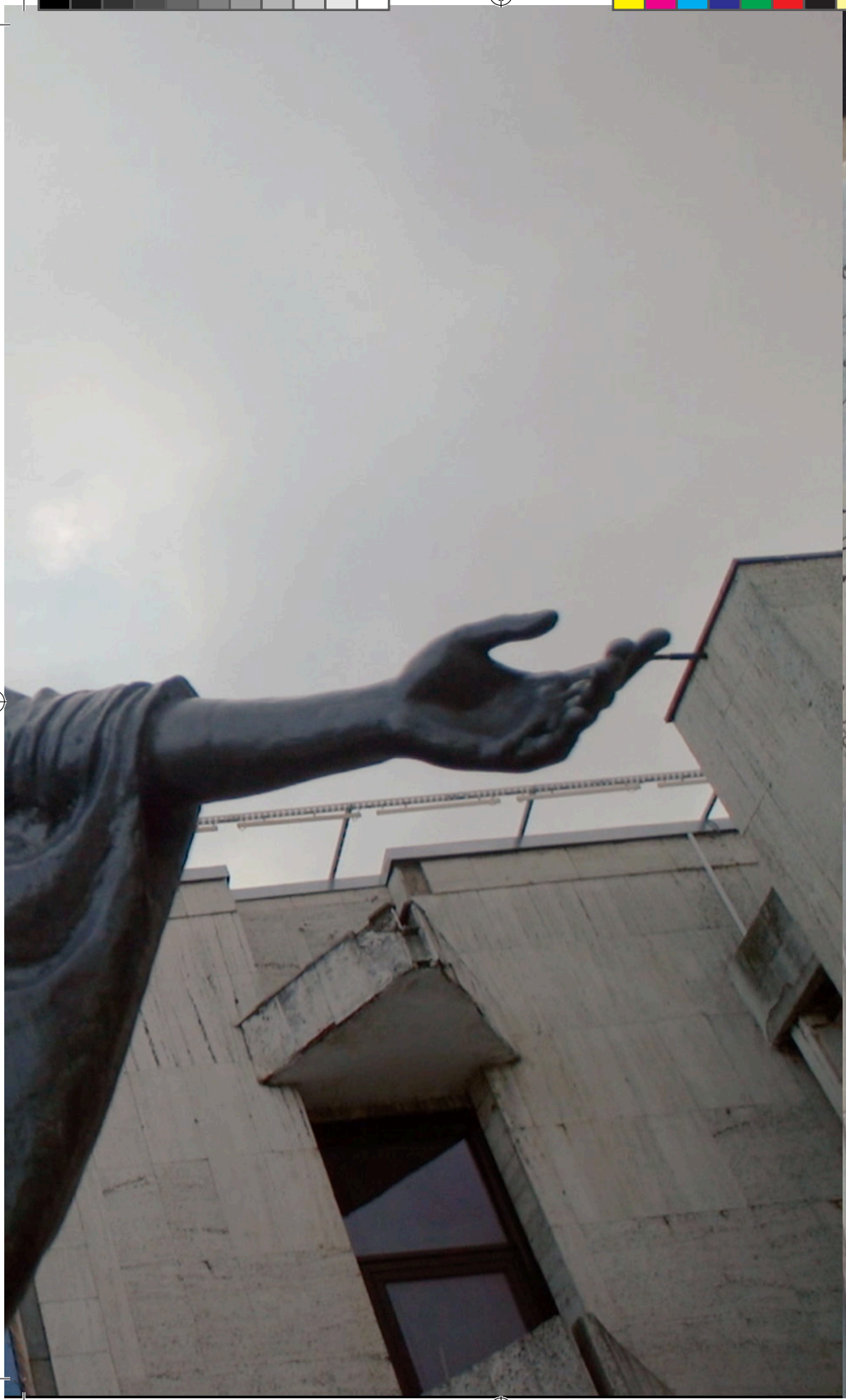

Въ воскресень

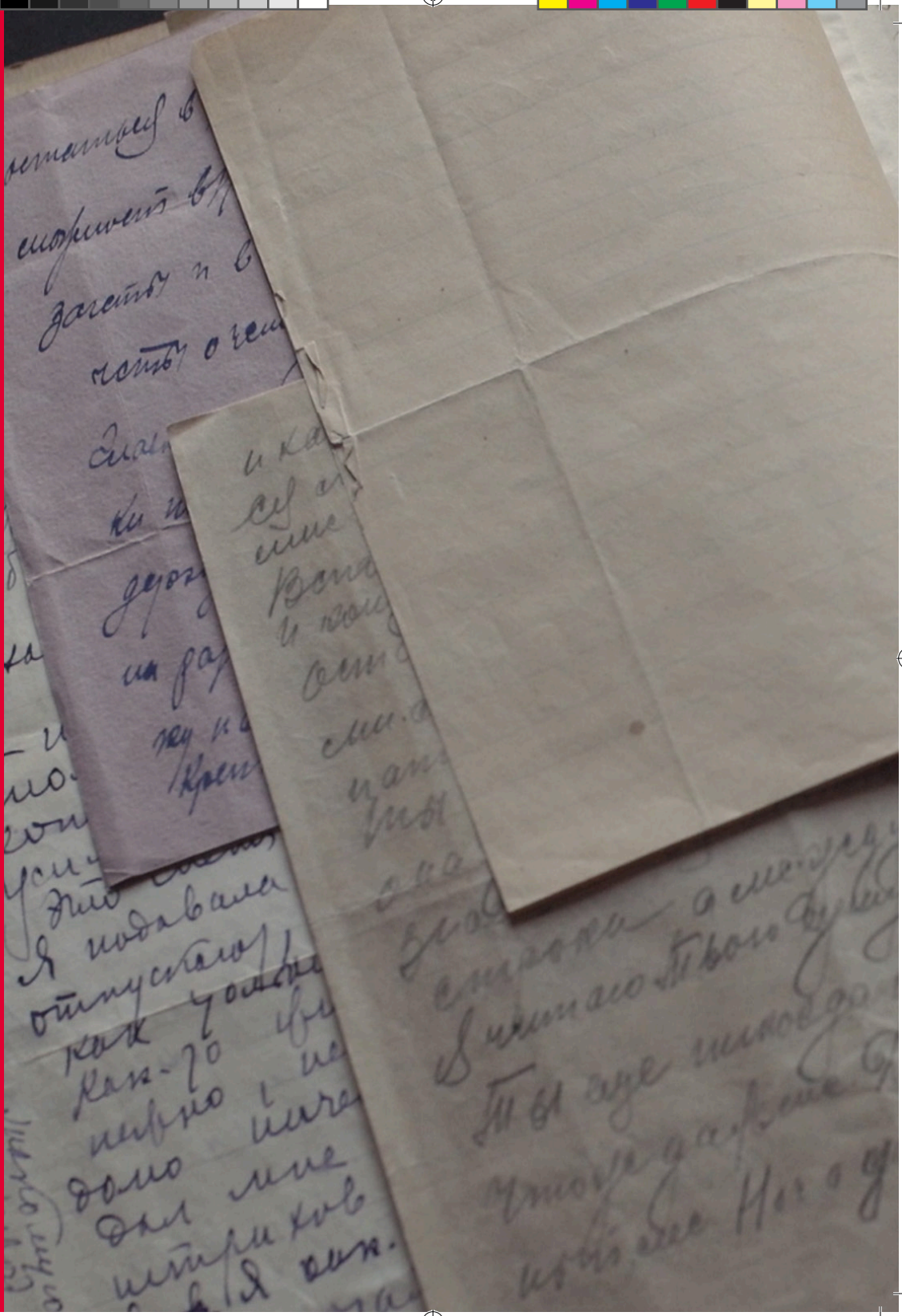

ье 9 Іюня (Нов. ст.) въ 6 ч. веч. въ Пол
Состоится лекція товари
ОЛОД
НА ТЕ
ОЦИАЛИСТИЧ
КОРМИЛА ГОСУ
РОЛЬ ВЪ НЕМЪ С
ОТНОШ

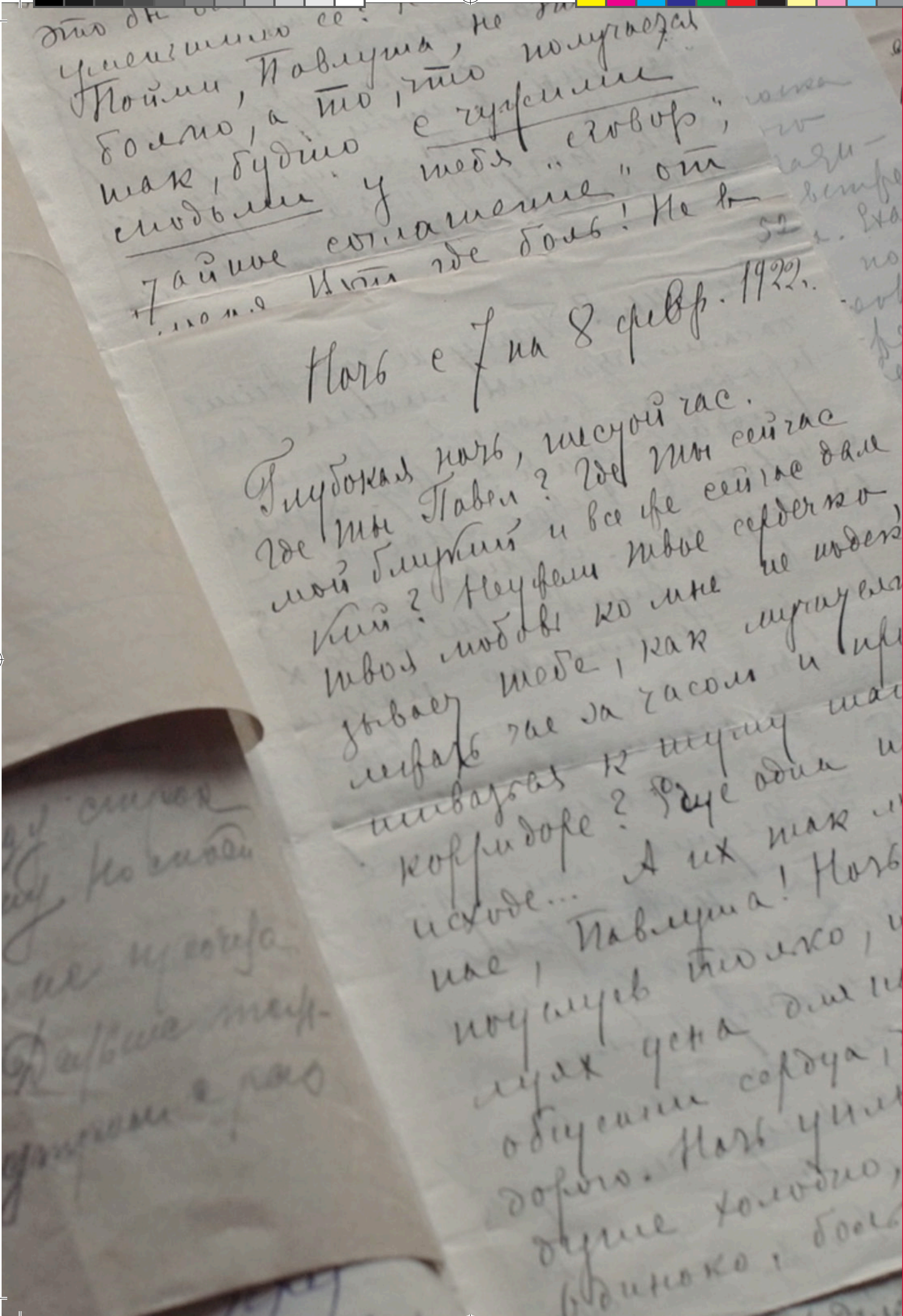

ТАЙ
ЧЕСКІЯ ПАРТІИ
ДАРСТВЕННОЙ ВЛАС
діастическихъ партій. Коалиціонное министер
ніе къ министеріализму. Оборонцы, с-ры и м-
стоящихъ у кормила правленія. Предател
лѣвыхъ". Правительственные
тской оппозиціи. Попра
Неизбѣжность сто
гибольш


ЛИ
ЛСТИ
керство. Пр
м-ки у влас
ельство кл
е меньши
равѣніе
олкновен
шевиковъ
по-ок

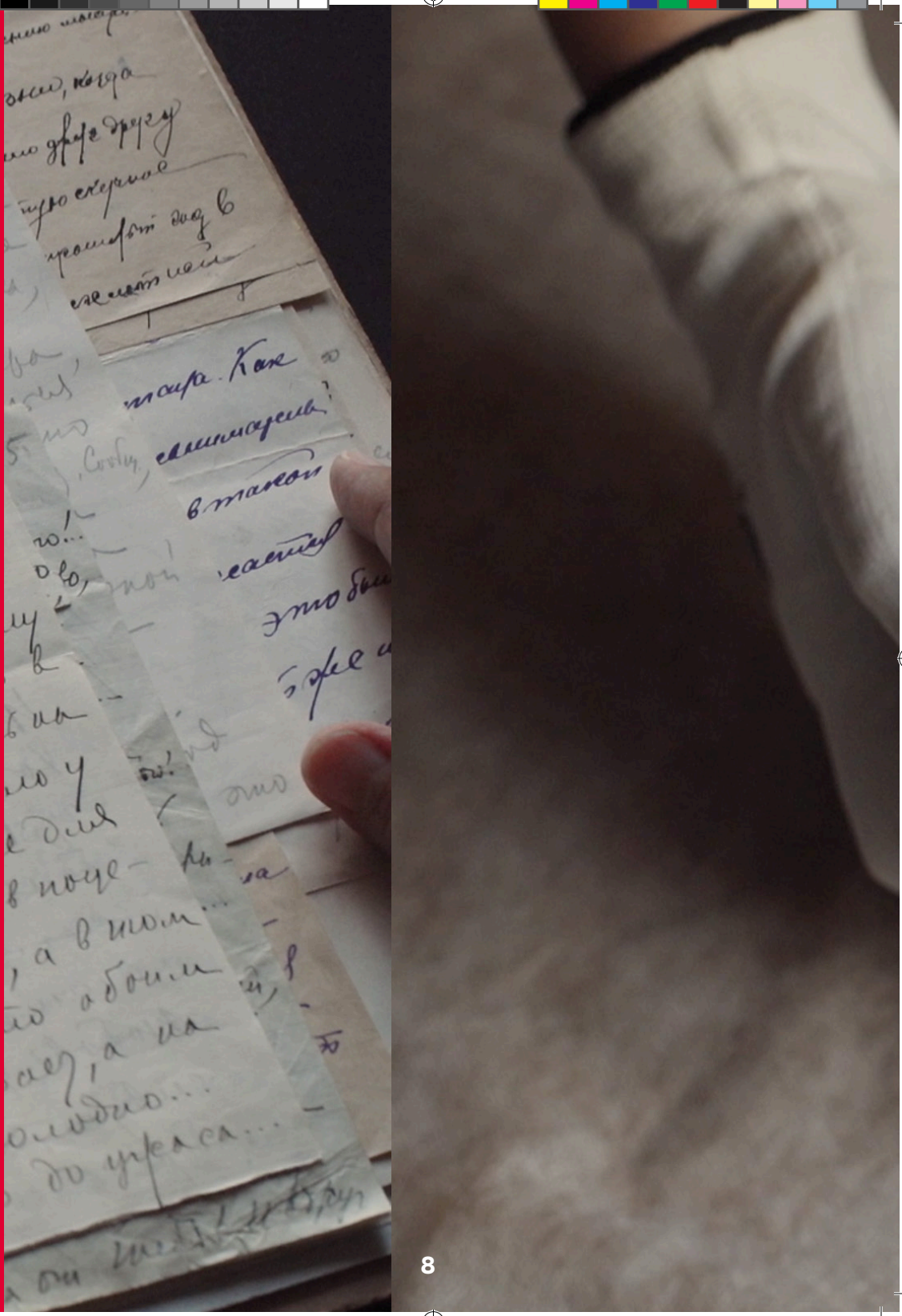


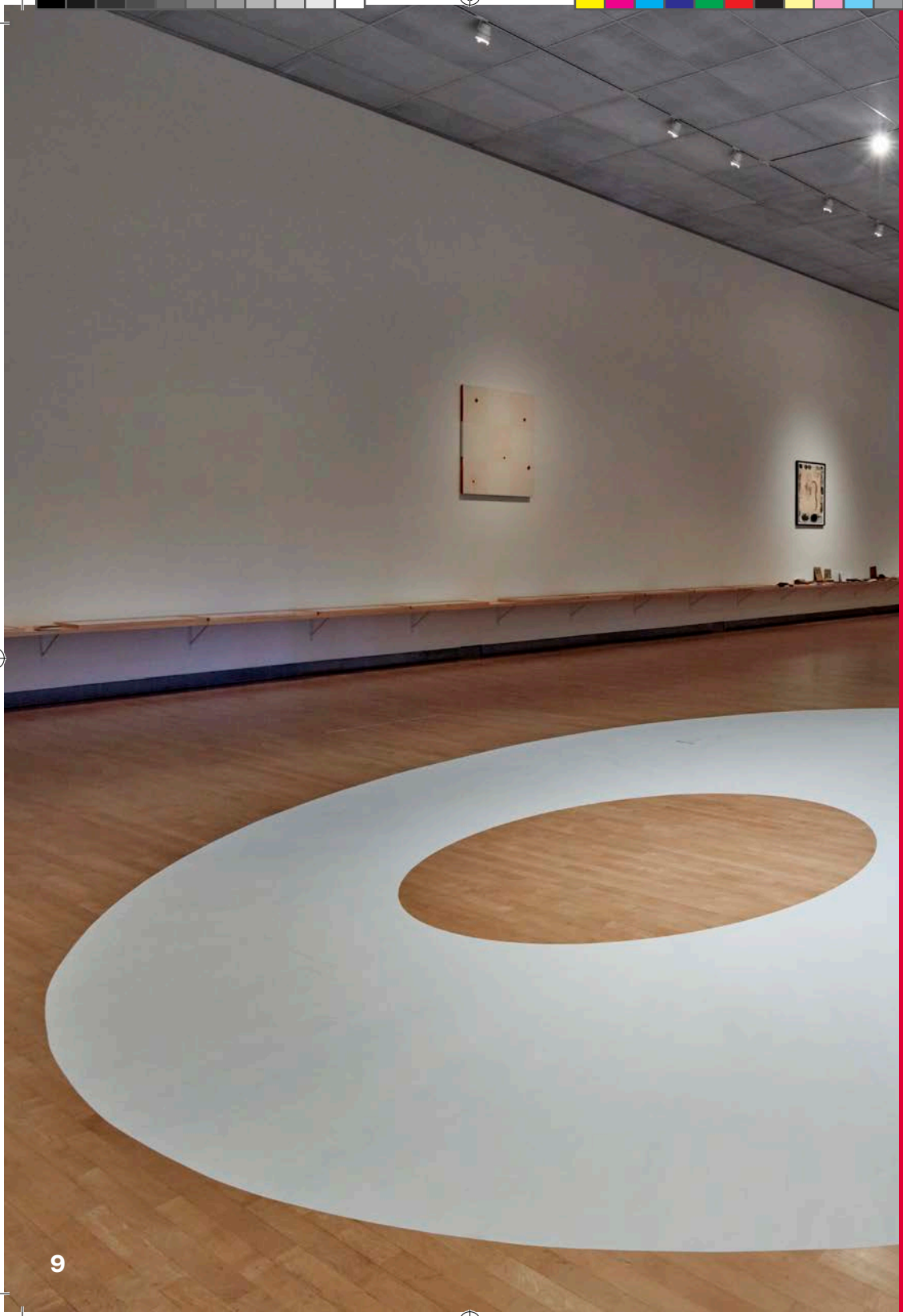


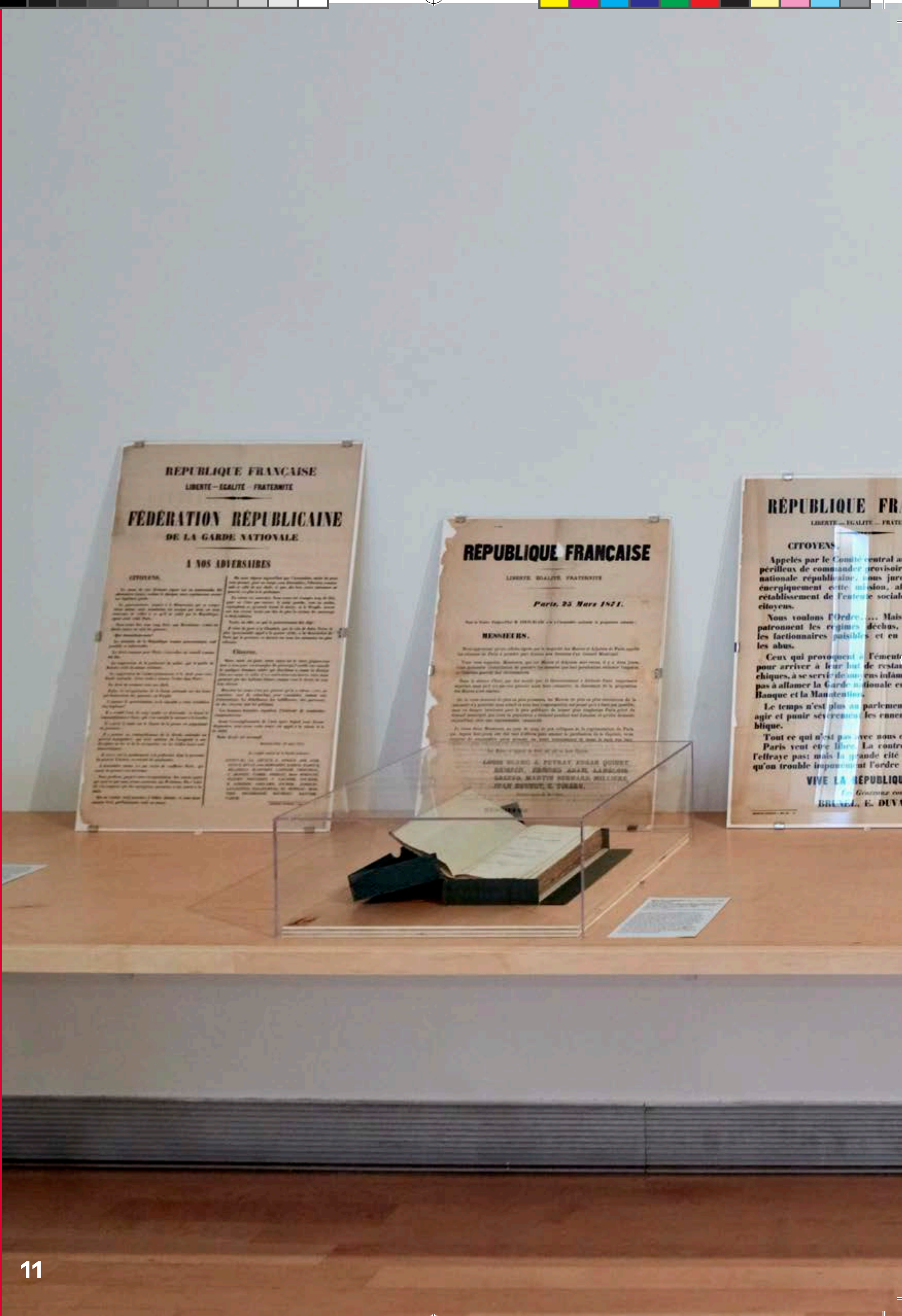




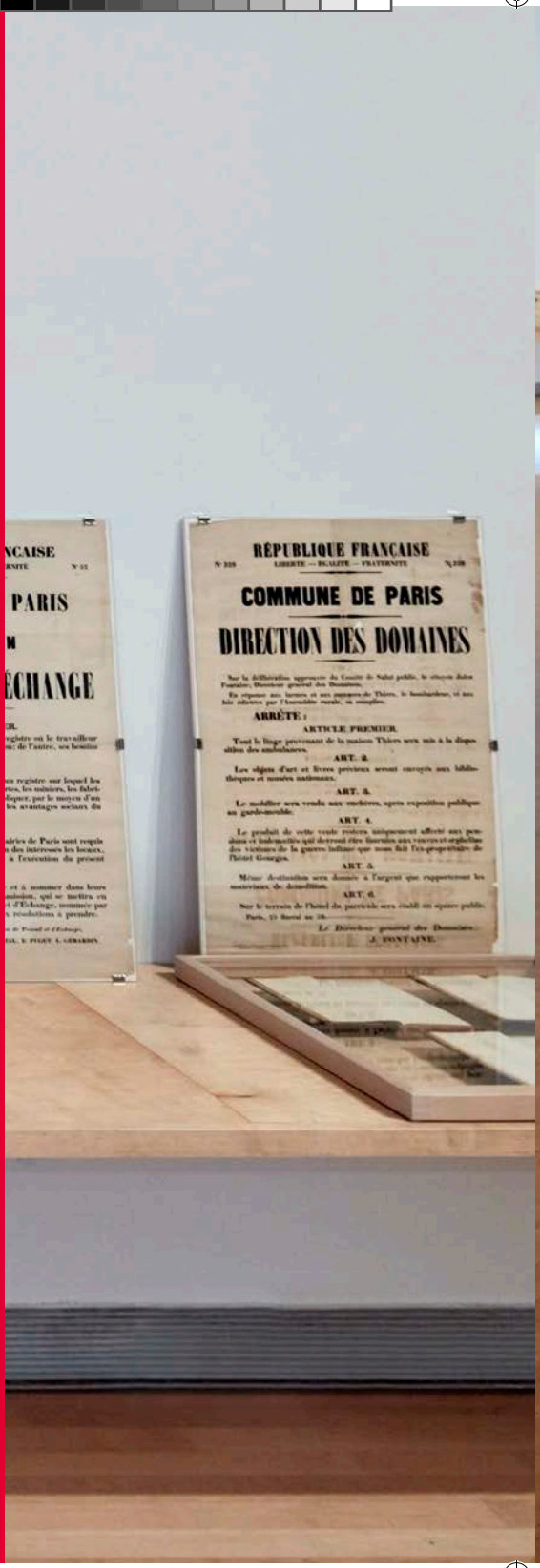
Пойми, Павлуша,
так, будто
тайное соглашение" от
52
февр. 1922.
Ночь с 7 на 8 февр.
Глубокая ночь, шестой час.
Где ты Павел? Где ты сейчас
мой близкий и все еще сейчас дале-
кий? Неужели твое сердечко,
твоя любовь ко мне не подска-
зывает тебе, как
коридоре?
исходе... Павлуша! Ночь
дорого. Ночь
холодно,

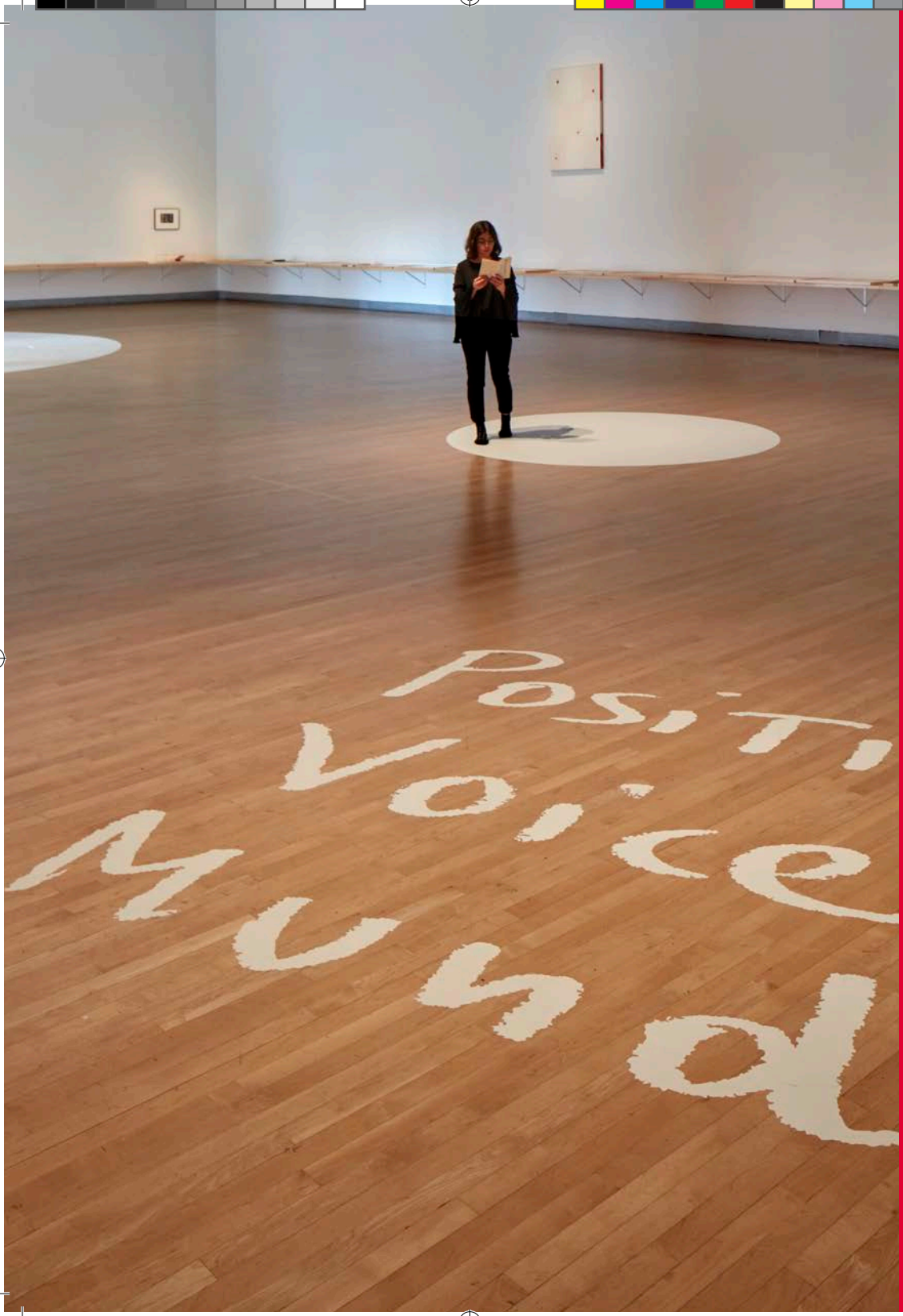


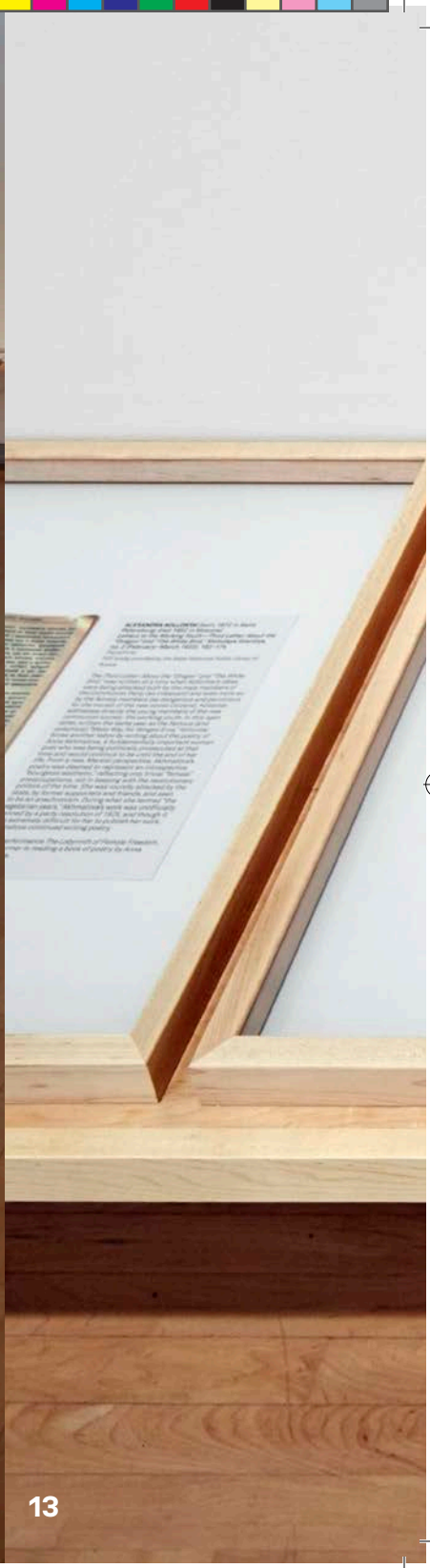



REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
LIBERTÉ – ÉGALITÉ – FRATERNITÉ
FÉDÉRATION RÉPUBLICAINE
DE LA GARDE NATIONALE
A NOS ADVERSAIRES
REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE
LIBERTÉ ÉGALITÉ FRATERNITÉ
Paris, 25 Mars 1871.
MESSIEURS,
RÉPUBLIQUE
CITOYENS,
VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE


FRANCAISE
REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE
LIBERTÉ — EGALITÉ — FRATERNITÉ
COMMUNE DE PARIS
A LA GARDE NATIONALE
DE PARIS
Les conspirateurs royalistes ont ATTAQUE.
Malgré la modération de notre attitude, ils ont ATTAQUE.
Ne pouvant plus compter sur l'armée française, ils ont ATTAQUE avec les zouaves pontificaux et la police impériale.
Non contents de couper les correspondances avec la province et de faire de vains efforts pour nous réduire par la famine, ces furieux ont voulu imiter jusqu'au bout les Prussiens et bombarder la capitale.
Ce matin, les chouans de Charette, les Vendéens de Cathelineau, les Bretons de Trochu, flanqués des gendarmes de Valentin, ont ouvert de mitraille et d'obus le village inoffensif de Neuilly et engagé la guerre civile avec nos gardes nationaux.
Il y a eu des morts et des blessés.
Élus par la population de Paris, notre devoir est de défendre la grande cité contre ces coupables agresseurs. Avec votre aide, nous la défendrons.
Paris, 7 avril 1871.
RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
LIBERTÉ — EGALITÉ — FRATERNITÉ
COMMUNE DE PARIS
LA COMMISSION EXECUTIVE.
ARRÊTE :
ART. 1er. Le travail de nuit est interdit dans les boulangeries, à partir du Mercredi 3 mai.
ART. 2. Le travail ne pourra commencer avant 5 heures du matin.
ART. 3. Le Délégué aux services publics est chargé de l'exécution du présent arrêté.
Paris, le 29 avril 1871.
RÉPUBLIQU
COMMUNE
TRAVAIL E

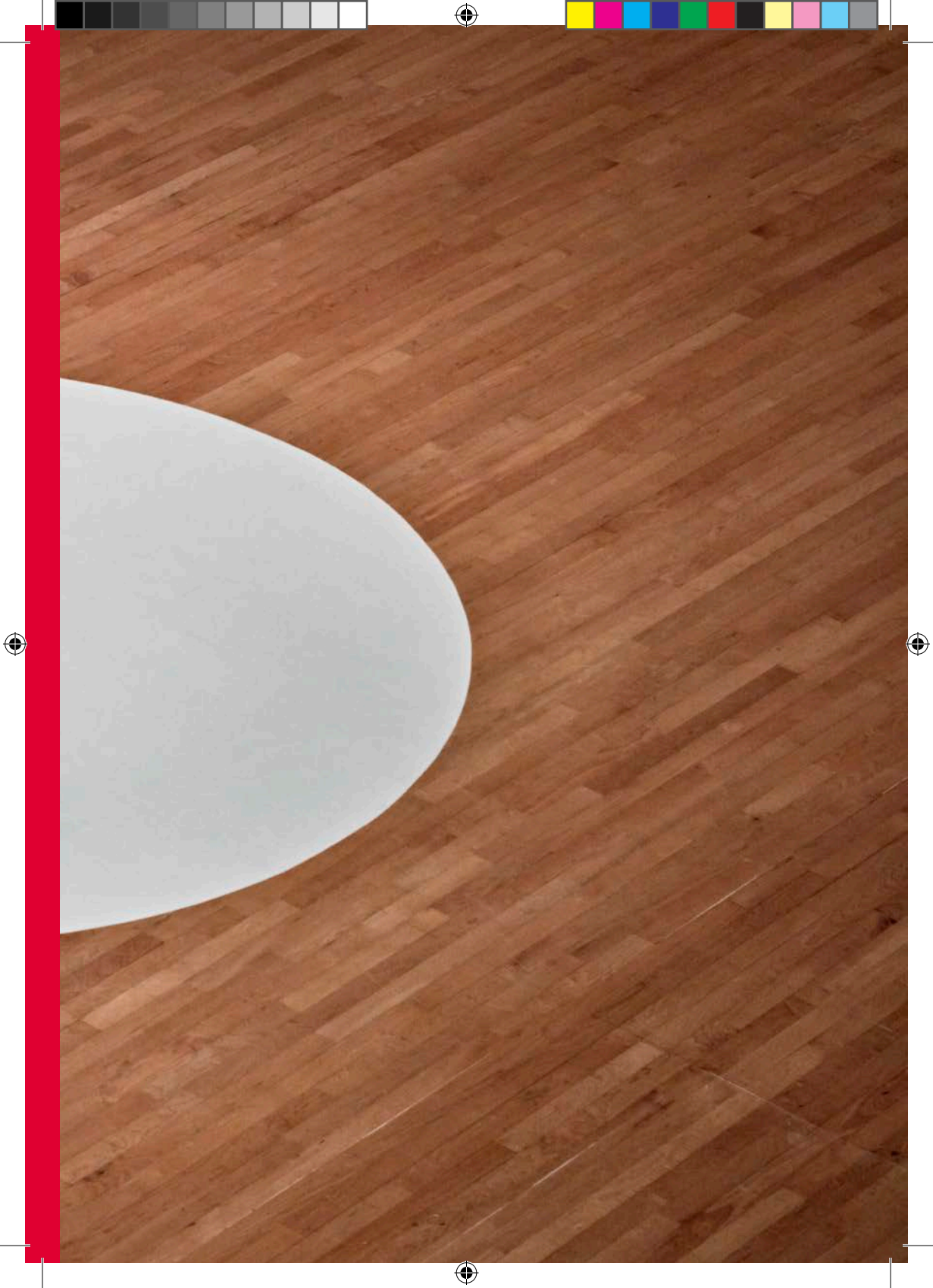

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
LIBERTÉ — ÉGALITÉ — FRATERNITÉ
COMMUNE DE PARIS
DIRECTION DES DOMAINES
ARRÊTE :
ARTICLE PREMIER.
ART. 2.
ART. 3.
ART. 4.
ART. 5.
ART. 6.
J. FONTAINE.


positi
voice
mund

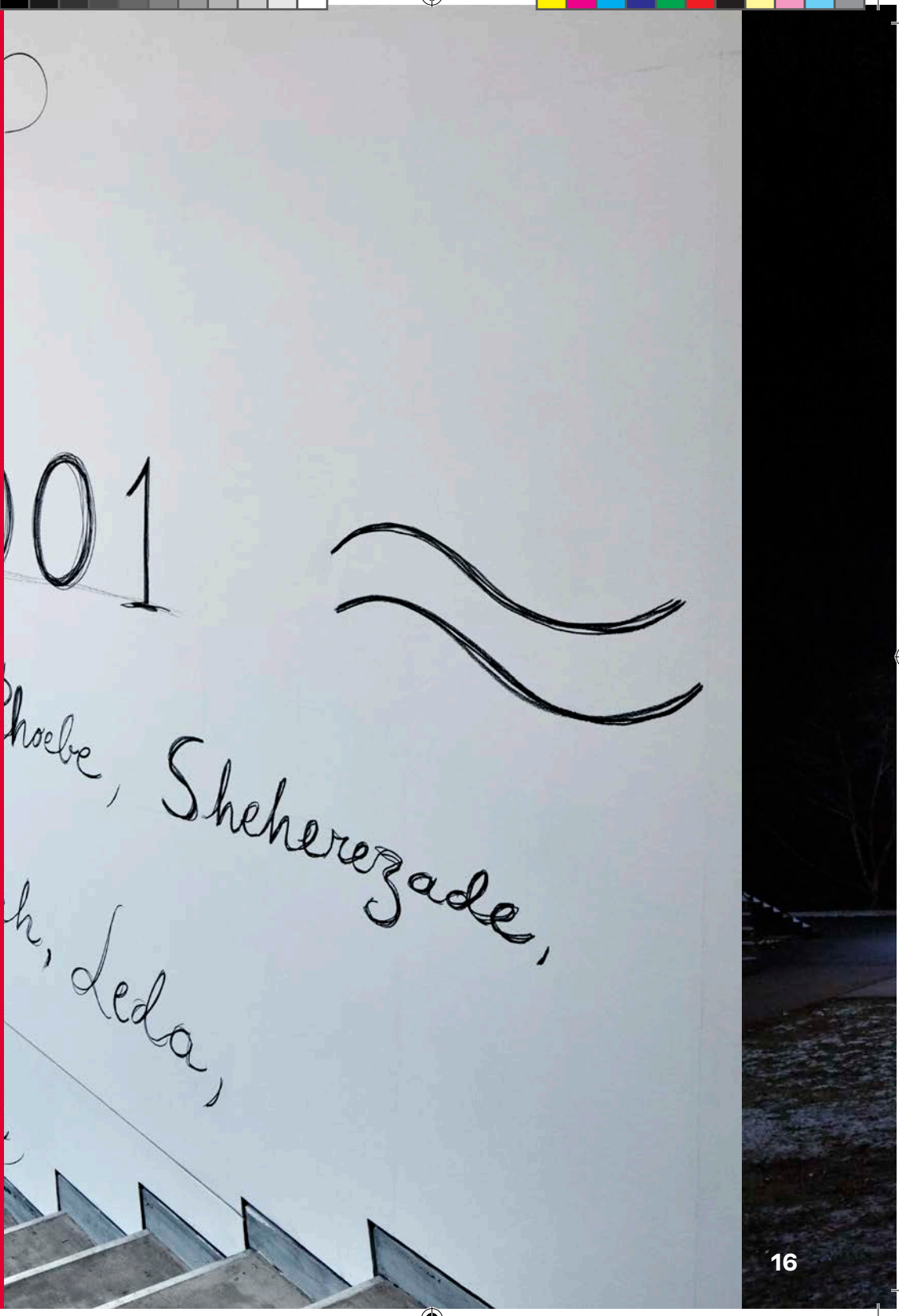



Black Militants
More Tot
For Cleaver
Cleaver's Wife Says He Doesn't Intend to Give Up
Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers, a visit with Papa Rage
ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI
SEXUAL RELATIONS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
LOVE AND THE NEW MORALITY
TRANSLATED AND INTRODUCED BY ALIX HOLT
ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI (born 1872 in Saint Petersburg; died 1952 in Moscow)
Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle, and Love and the New Morality. 1st., transl. Alix Holt (originally published in 1919. Bristol, England: Falling Wall Press in collaboration with the members of the Women's Liberation Movement, 1972).
Lewis S. Feuer papers.
Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections

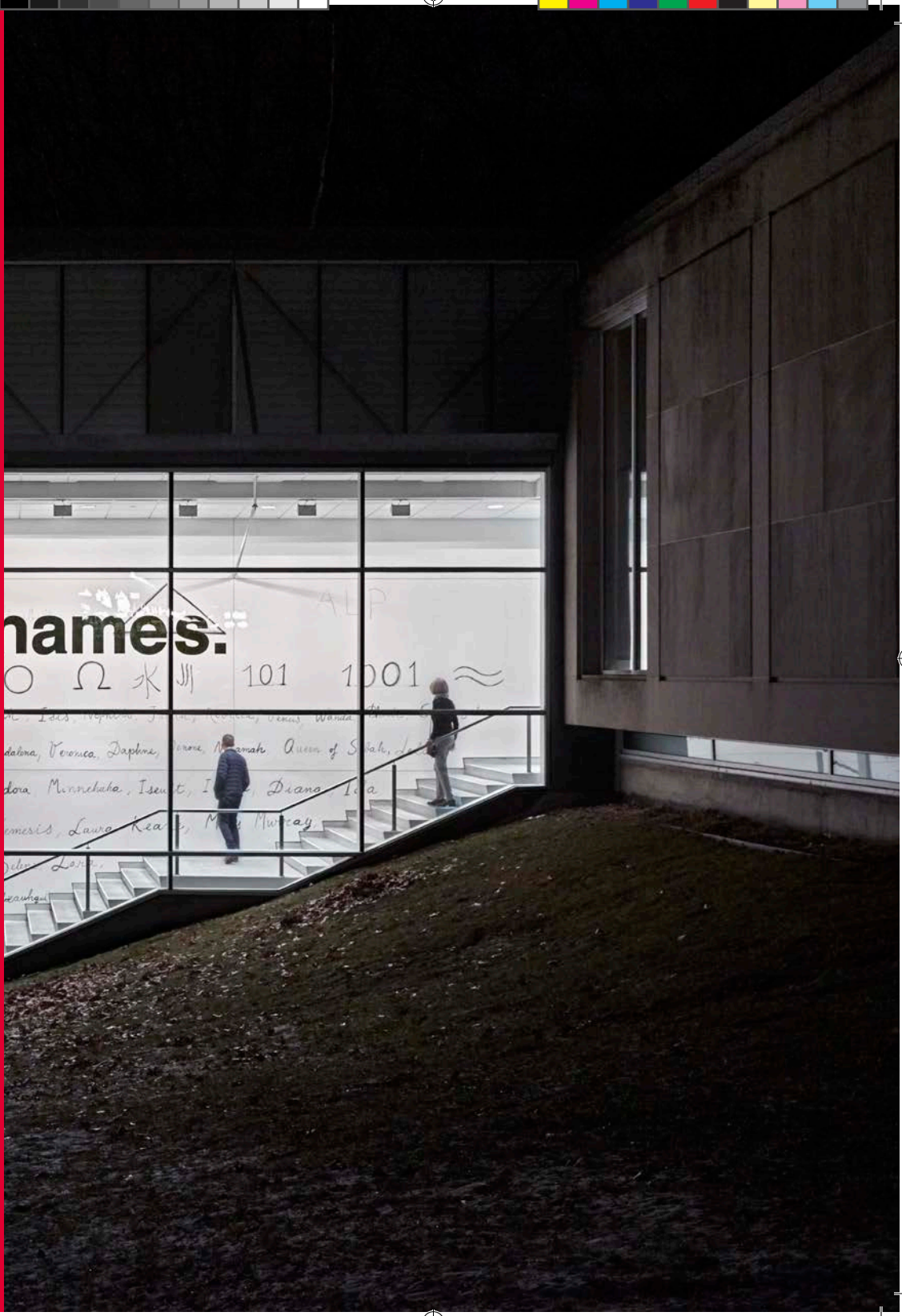

Per A. Rusenberg
Love with Obstacles
AMOR ROJO
Elektrolux




101
Eve, Lilith, Isis, Nephtis, Judith, Rebecca, Venus, Wanda,
Daphne, Oenone, Neamah,
Leah, Pandora, Iseult, Isolde, Diana,
Delia, Nemesis, Laura Keane, May Murray,
Selina, Lara,


001
Phoebe, Sheherezade,
h, Leda,


She has many


names.
101
1001

RADICAL IMAGINATION IN MOTION: RESEARCHING WITH DORA GARCÍA & ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Maria Lind

In Agneta Pleijel's 1979 play *Kollontai*, the writer, activist, politician and diplomat Alexandra Kollontai is called to meet with Stalin in the Kremlin on three distinct occasions.[1] Although she often held radically opposing views to those of the dictator, she worked as a diplomat in his service for almost twenty years, making each of their staged encounters in the play full of tension and contradiction, thereby weaving together political developments and personal lives. One of these meetings occurred after Kollontai was called back to Moscow from her position as Ambassador to Sweden in 1936, during some of the worst political purges in the Soviet Union. For many diplomats, such calls back to the Kremlin meant that they would never return to their respective embassies; some also lost their lives after returning home. Kollontai had real reasons to worry about Stalin's intentions; before leaving, she deposited her private papers with her best friend, Dr. Ada Nilsson, with clear instructions regarding what to do in the event of her imprisonment or assassination.

Through the play, Pleijel herself is using a move Kollontai often relied on, namely, using fiction to deal with political facts. The play is a poem about history, liberation from history, and the complications of freedom and coercion. Pleijel edits, isolates, and dramatizes factual events, inventing characters and scenes alongside her selected histories. She created *Kollontai* as a time machine, where the selection of individual cards from a deck by a charismatic impresario moves the narrative back and forth between years, with the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, and a group of Russian Futurists accompanying the story along the way. Notably, Kollontai's own œuvre includes plays, poetry, short stories and novels, but also research-based reports on the conditions of workers in Finland and female workers in Russia, sexual relations, class struggle, and other political statements and articles.

Dora García approaches many of her art projects with a similar spectrum of searching and thinking; that is, through her research on various historical individuals who exceed convenient or familiar narratives because their lives blended ambition and achievement with disappointment and failure, García fabricates new histories. Some examples of figures she has engaged through her practice include the French psychotherapist and philosopher Félix Guattari, the Italian psychiatrist and neurologist Franco Basaglia, and the Argentine art critic and psychoanalyst Oscar Masotta. Unlike Pleijel's use of the theatrical form, García's projects take the shape

of films, books, performances, and installations, all of which often reference the broader histories of film, literature, and psychoanalysis. These dissident personalities—each of whom contributed to emancipatory political struggles while encountering both structural and personal obstacles—are given a different mode of appearance within the sphere of visual art. The formations and failings of subjectivity that shape history and inheritance are at the core of this series of García's work, putting radical imagination in motion.

* * *

A major intellectual of the twentieth century with an international influence, Kollontai is also decidedly part of the history of Stockholm and Sweden. She visited Stockholm as a fifteen-year old with her mother and a girlfriend, and returned several times as a political refugee before the 1917 Revolution. In 1914, she was arrested and charged with spying for the Tsar and threatening the security of the Swedish state. After one week of solitary confinement, she was transferred to a prison in Malmö, before being banned from the country and deported to Denmark. During her political exile in Norway in the 1910s, she learned Norwegian, and eventually picked up Swedish as well. When she was appointed as the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to Sweden in 1930, she already had friends, acquaintances, and a fair number of adversaries in the country; however, during her fifteen-year tenure, she certainly befriended many Swedes. Surprisingly, it was in fact the day after she was formally accepted as the Soviet Ambassador by King Gustav V that her prior ban from the country was lifted. She took an active interest in culture and became particularly close with a group of Swedish feminists who had initiated the legendary Fogelstad Women's Citizen School.

A veritable celebrity in Sweden, Kollontai was also a compelling figure for further research, not least because of achievements as a feminist activist, theoretician, and politician. Her path-breaking policies regarding women formed the foundations of emancipatory gender policy in Sweden, as in much of the rest of the world. A prolific writer, she was also the first female minister in any government in the world, and a forceful critic of

the totalitarian and bureaucratic developments of the Communist Party and the Bolshevik leadership. Whether it was a result of her own ambition and desire, or a consequence of a proxy exile after her open criticisms of Lenin and Stalin, she spent more than twenty years abroad on diplomatic missions, becoming the first ever woman ambassador to Norway in 1924.

My own professional work on Kollontai's legacy began after Joanna Warsza and I decided to collaborate on a project about the life and work of Alexandra Kollontai—I'll return to my more personal affinities below. Warsza, currently the director of the CuratorLab course at Konstfack University College of Arts, Craft and Design in Stockholm, had been involved with some panels on Kollontai's work at the HAU theater in Berlin and shared my commitment to feminist theory and practice, as well as to reimagining histories of the left that could help connect local and global instantiations of feminism; guest lecturer Michele Masucci also contributed significantly to our ensuing research process. Our project soon took on a collective form as Warsza brought with her the participants of the CuratorLab. Tensta Konsthall (which I was directing at the time) afforded us the chance to invite Dora García to collaborate on the research and develop an exhibition. In this context, we contacted Agneta Pleijel in order to interview her regarding Kollontai's influence on feminism and the women's movement in the 1970s. Our ongoing research process involved reading texts by and about Kollontai, visiting sites in Stockholm connected to her life, inviting scholars to share their research, and eventually visiting her archives in Russia.

One of the sites we visited is located in the countryside, nearly 150 kilometers southwest of Stockholm; the Fogelstad estate near the town of Katrineholm is where the Fogelstad Women's Citizen School operated from 1922 to 1954. Located on an estate owned by Elisabet Tamm, a suffragette and one of the first female members of the Swedish parliament after women won the vote in 1918, this ground-breaking school for women from all walks of life was founded by the owner, together with her feminist peers. The goal was to coach women to become active citizens once they were allowed to enter political life on a formal level. Kollontai was friends with Tamm, as well as with other initiators and teachers like Nilsson, and the educator and translator Honorine Hermelin, and regularly came to the school herself to give lectures or just visit.

García and I also had the opportunity to travel in Kollontai's footsteps in Russia; in Moscow and St. Petersburg, we delved into archives and museum collections, searching for her traces. In Moscow, we visited the Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents, where we found amazing footage of Kollontai from the end of 1917, and at a women's congress organized by the Komintern in Moscow in 1921.[2] At the State Central Museum of Contemporary History of Russia, we encountered memorabilia from her short time as the Ambassador to Mexico; for example, a black dress and handmade gifts from local workers. The collection also holds some of her personal notes, with her large and rather unruly handwriting, as well as a manuscript of Pleijel's play. The research even led us to the grand housing block in Moscow where she was given an apartment upon being called back to Moscow in March 1945, never to go abroad again.

In St. Petersburg, we visited the Smolny Institute, where the municipal government has its seat. It is here that the first Bolshevik government had their offices, before the capital was moved to Moscow, including when Kollontai was the Commissar for Social Welfare. We were guided to Lenin's bright corner office facing the river Neva, and then to his and Nadezhda Krupskaya's dark and modest apartment one floor below. We met with the researcher Alla Mitrofanova in her bohemian apartment just off Nevsky Prospect, and she shared her knowledge about Kollontai and the radical feminist policies of the early Soviet Union. At the Museum of Political History, housed in the ballerina Matilda Kschessinskaya's art-nouveau villa (previously known as The Museum of Revolution), we encountered a rare instance of Kollontai being mentioned publicly in contemporary Russia.

* * *

Despite the collective sense we were developing through this research, the entire process became intensely personal for me as well. Time and again, it sent me back to memories of my family, my own trajectory as a student of the Russian language, and my time working as a tour guide in the Soviet Union/Russia in the late 1980s and early 90s. I have known about Kollontai as a figure since my childhood; growing up in a working class family where

women had traditional, clearly defined roles, my maternal grandmother, Anna-Greta Carlsson (1914–1993), was very conscious of class. She took a serious interest in the history of women and in female writers.

The only one in her family who, by the age of fifteen, had graduated from secondary school in the Stockholm working class district of Södermalm, Anna-Greta worked in some of the milk bars of Stockholm, before marrying, becoming the mother of two, and a housewife for two decades. Later jobs, such as homecare work for the social services, and being a cashier at the postal office, gave her an income and a context of her own, outside the family. When I was a teenager, I lived with her and my grandfather in the suburb of Örby; together, she and I took over the cleaning of the local post office where she had worked before retiring. Six days a week, we walked over to the post office after dinner and cleaned together while talking and laughing, and frequently joking that we might have ended up where we were because we were both born at the same hospital in Södermalm—fifty-two years apart. Most of her free time was spent weaving carpets and tablecloths on a loom in the basement of their little house.

My grandmother was the one who made sure I read the novels about working women by Moa Martinsson (1890–1964), and who placed Alice Lyttkens's (1897–1991) trilogy on the history of women in Sweden in my hands. Kollontai was not part of this inheritance, but I know she was friends with some of the women in these debates, and I suspect that she turned up when the role of women in Sweden in the twentieth century was being discussed. Furthermore, my grandmother repeatedly took me to the Stockholm City Museum, specifically to the section about the working class areas. Once she insisted on showing me the gorgeous watercolors of Josabeth Sjöberg (1812–1882), a "spinster" who could never afford a home of her own, but instead moved among many rental rooms in Södermalm, depicting her humble domicile in naive watercolors.

These anecdotes give a very brief sketch of Swedish society and offer some clues, although vague or remote, regarding Kollontai's legacy in Sweden. In fact, we know that many leftist intellectuals in the country were familiar with her political ideas through her writing, and that she worked closely with several colleagues on turning these ideas into policies. However, it would not be until the 1960s and 70s that certain measures adopted under Kollontai's influence in the Soviet Union would be implemented in

Sweden—for example, abortion was only legalized as a woman's choice in 1974. Not exactly a political radical—my grandmother was a staunch social democrat—she nevertheless supported much of what Kollontai promoted and achieved for women. Simply put, if my grandmother can take credit for my becoming a feminist, I began wondering if that would have happened without Kollontai's influence.

* * *

García's commission ultimately materialized as an installation at Tensta Konsthall in 2018, with three main components: a large painted red square on the wooden floor of the exhibition space, on top of which were installed a wooden, cage-like room, and a wooden spiral staircase [figs. 1 & 2].[3] While the overall lighting was subdued, a strong ray emanated from a lamp suspended above the big table surrounded by chairs in the room, creating dramatic, striped shadows on the red floor. The red square referenced both Moscow's Red Square, with all its historical connotations, and Kasimir Malevich's painting—the *Red Square*. Like its painterly namesake, García's square was not perfectly rectilinear but retained a feeling of the handmade.

The wooden room itself could be read as Kollontai's workspace, perhaps a study or a diplomat's office, while at the same time resembling a prison cell. The striped pattern of the cage-like room refers to the riotous and rather hysterical film *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* by Dusan Makaveyev, which addressed communism and sexuality from the point of view of a group of young people in Yugoslavia.[4] Kollontai is mentioned in one of the key scenes in the film, which sets no clear boundaries between real events and imagined situations. Another film reference is the dramatically lit cage in the middle of a sparsely furnished room in Fritz Lang's *You Only Live Once* from 1937 in which the lead character starts out as a criminal who wants to change his live but society forces him back behind bars.

The spiral staircase can be traced to the small, private Museum of Jurassic Technology in Los Angeles. Founded in 1989, the museum is a sort of contemporary cabinet of curiosities, and maintains, among the many fascinating objects in its collection, a set of maquettes of wooden

staircases. García's staircase in any case does not lead anywhere and is not stable enough to step on, yet it points simultaneously toward the upward ambitions of politics and the downward moments of history. Functionally, it acts as a mobile display structure for material connected to the collective research on Kollontai.

The cage-like room doubled as a stage and several of the contributions developed by the CuratorLab participants took place in this space; their projects, which grew out of the collective research on Kollontai, manifested as discursive and performative events within the exhibition. These gatherings included a writing workshop for young women, a lecture performance on domesticity in the digital age, and a larger exhibition-wide performance on censorship. The coinciding project *New Gospel: Soon (In 48 Years Time)*, occasioned a series of public speeches throughout Stockholm calling for open-source knowledge and technology, collective childcare, and interspecies cooperation to overcome the climate crisis. Kollontai herself made an appearance when she was performed by Sophia Tabatadze, who allowed the visitors in attendance to ask her questions directly. The final event in the exhibition's public program was a performance of Kollontai; in the presence of its author, Agneta Pleijel, a group of artists and scholars rehearsed sections of the play, with García reading the part of Kollontai.

Meanwhile, even after the completion of this collaborative research process, I am still reading Kollontai. At the moment of writing this essay, it is her diaries from the 1930s (most likely edited to suit the regime) that offer me a sober and professional assessment of politics, at least compared to her letters to friends.[5] With an inimitable mix of Norwegian and Swedish, and with occasional insertions in French, German, and English, she is both a remarkable polyglot and an uncompromisingly personable, outspoken, caring, and loving friend in her letters, which I find fascinating to read in parallel to her diaries.[6] She yearns intensely for her best friend, dreams about having less work and more time to write, expresses her concern over what is going on in the Soviet Union. The letters are deeply touching, each express an engagement with love as a form of friendship. While her work is still too neglected in radical feminist histories, I hope now that this new book exists and Pleijel's play has been published in English, it will be staged around the world, thereby inviting a new generation of feminists, activists, and political agitators to consider this rich inheritance.

Fig. 1 & 2. *Red Love* by Dora García, exhibition view, Tensta Konsthall Stockholm, Sweden, 2018; photos by Jean Baptiste Beranger © Tensta Konsthall Stockholm and Dora García.

1. The play was originally written in 1977, under the title *Hej du himlen!* [Hey You! Sky!], and was staged at Folkteatern in Gothenburg, directed by Lennart Hjulström. In 1979, it was staged at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm with a new title, *Kollontaj*. The then director of the theater, Alf Sjöberg, directed the play with the actress Margaretha Krook as Kollontai; the same year, the play was also published as a book. For a contemporary English translation of the play, as well as a wealth of other writing about Kollontai and her legacy, see Maria Lind, Joanna Warsza, and Michele Masucci, with the CuratorLab, eds., *Red Love: A Reader on Alexandra Kollontai / Kollontai: A Play by Agneta Pleijel* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2020).

2. The footage we received from the Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents (RGAKFD) is undated, however the location and the date are confirmed in Yulia Gradskova, *Soviet Politics of Emancipation of Ethnic Minority Woman* (Cham/ Switzerland: Springer, 2019).

3. The staircase is now part of the collection of Malmö Konstmuseum; an exhibition copy was made for the exhibition, *When Legacies Become Debts*, curated by Azar Mahmoudian at the Mosaic Rooms, London, 2019.

4. Dusan Makaveyev, *Mysteries of the Organism*, 1' 25", 1971.

5. Aleksandra Kollontai, *Dagböcker från Stockholm, 1930–40* (Falun: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2008).

6. Ibid., *Kära kamrat! Allrakäraste vän! Brev i urval översa a och kommenterade och med en biografisk essä av Bri a Stövling* (Avesta: Gidlunds Förlag, 1977).

Acknowledgements

Thanks to my collaborator Joanna Warsza and all the participants of CuratorLab, including Aly Grimes, Malin Huber, Nicholas John Jones, Martyna Nowicka-Wojnowska, Alessandra Prandin, Dimitrina Sevova, Sophia Tabatadze, Federico del Vecchio, and Hannah Zafiropoulos; Michele Masucci was a guest lecturer, and had a significant influence on the trajectory of our research; Michael Hardt also shaped our thinking through a guest seminar on love and organizing. Some special thanks also for our research grant from Garage in Moscow, facilitated by the then chief curator Kate Fowle; ample support in the research process was provided by the Garage team, particularly Oksana Polyakova and Daria Bobrenko, to whom I also extend my gratitude. Lastly, thanks to Loulou Cherinet, Dora García, Ingela Johansson, Michele Masucci, and Rebecka Thor, who participated in the final exhibition public program with Dora García for the reading of *Kollontai*.

THE MEXICAN BEYOND

Paloma Contreras Lomas

Part 1. Thalía and the Spirit of the Cosmic Race

> Señor Sotomayor, Commander and Commissioner, showed up with orders from the Chief of Police to have the girls with Communist affiliations leave the meeting hall, because they expressed concepts that some authorities found inconvenient.
>
> — Ana Victoria Jiménez and Francisca Reyes, *Sembradoras de futuros: Memoria de la unión nacional de mujeres mexicanas.*[1]

The first time I heard of Alexandra Kollontai was several years ago, from Sofía, a classmate affiliated with the Communist Party of Mexico. I never imagined that somebody so young would be a militant; I had trouble imagining her in an old house, filled with sour-smelling, half-ghostly old men, relics of a communism that never was realized in Mexico. I invited Sofía to a session of a Marxist feminism seminar that I was coordinating at Biquini Wax.[2] For Sofía's session, we read excerpts from Kollontai's *The Social Basis of the Woman Question*.[3] Her corporeal-economic analysis and her search for a mode of female liberation that would dispense with bourgeois feminism both surprised me.

For Kollontai, social class is a knife in the unliberated body of the "younger sister," that is, the proletarian woman.[4] Perhaps today, at least in a somewhat cursory way, we may compare her ideas with theories of intersectionality that have been incorporated into contemporary feminism. In fact, what is surprising about reading Kollontai in the current historical moment is that her early twentieth century prophecies have to a large extent taken shape in the neoliberal logic of our present (and future), where the most devastating impacts affect the most vulnerable bodies. Little did I imagine that after this seminar, I would again invoke this radical Soviet woman, a sorceress ahead of her time, while imagining ways to connect her thinking to the present situation in Mexico. Consider this passage from Kollontai, who argues:

> [W]omen can become truly free and equal only in a world organized along new social and productive lines. … Proletarian women have a different attitude. They do not see men as the enemy and the

> oppressor; on the contrary, they think of men as their comrades, who share with them the drudgery of the daily round and fight with them for a better future. The woman and her male comrade are enslaved by the same social conditions; the same hated chains of capitalism oppress their will and deprive them of the joys and charms of life. It is true that several specific aspects of the contemporary system lie with double weight upon women, as it is also true that the conditions of hired labor sometimes turn working women into competitors and rivals to men. But in these unfavorable situations, the working class knows who is guilty. ... The proletarian woman bravely starts out on the thorny path of labor. Her legs sag; her body is torn. There are dangerous precipices along the way, and cruel beasts of prey are close at hand. ... It is she, fighting in the ranks of the proletariat, who wins for women the right to work; it is she, the "younger sister," who prepares the ground for the "free" and "equal" woman of the future.[5]

The Mexican Beyond eats the women of Mexico. I ask myself how class also plays a role regarding the women who are murdered every day. In Mexico, Kollontai's "younger sisters" are Indigenous and mestiza women; still, the distinctions of privilege are blurred as femicide consumes the middle classes. The figure of the lower-class perpetrator—who comes from the slums to violate and kill—has been compared to males of higher social classes who committed acts of sexual violence against women from different classes with impunity. Six years ago, I was attacked outside my house by a man who tried to rape me; when he wasn't able to, he stabbed me in the stomach with a knife. I am a middle-class woman who passes for white and I am aware that I survived because of my privilege. I am not sure if my *younger sisters* would have survived the same attack. It is for this reason that I ask myself: what is the patriarchal mandate of the Mexican man who knows that he has all the license for disposing of a female body? Thinking with Kollontai, I believe the masculine body of the minimum-wage worker performs *la mexicanidad*. This Mexicanness is characterized by the macho who beats his wife, but who never fails to express his respect to *la mamacita* and *la abuelita*—the mother and grandmother—who are made to resemble, in symbolic terms, the Virgin of Guadalupe: always

holy, never slutty, and touched by no one. For, paradoxically, the Mexican macho is entirely oppressed by the mandate of the white man, by Uncle Sam, and the violent production machine of Mexican neoliberal realism. He is the cannon fodder for both warm and cold wars, a domesticated subject condemned to reinstantiating whiteness through violence. How to look at a perpetrator of violence as an oppressed being? I believe that to do so we would also need to look into the ideology of white academic feminism, especially when it depicts the Mexican perpetrator as the easy target of the hyperviolent *maquiladora* operating in Mexico, where you can run, but you cannot hide.

* * *

I can only write beginning from personal experience, although I suppose there is always a certain autobiographical element undergirding everything we write and do. These personal dimensions are productive material that can sometimes be disguised as theory, or as fiction, or as some other creative form. The text that follows below extends a chain of research and reading and citation that sustains us. When I first began reading about Kollontai, I discovered that her thought had influenced a variety of women's and socialist-oriented feminist organizations in Mexico from the beginning of the twentieth century; I then read some scholarly studies, books, and articles about Kollontai by my predecessors. This essay is not, however, simply an exercise in laudatory paraphrasing; instead, it is intended as an attempt to relay a post-socialist-Kollontaist imagination in the present.

I am thinking of this because I feel that Mexico is crashing down on me. Mexico: a country that announces every day that it is about to collapse; Mexico: a place where violent nationalism and our identity politics are endlessly reaffirmed and reifed. I have the sensation that we survive here on the basis of a simulated collapse that acts as a daily reminder that we are still alive. Mexico is—at least I want to *believe* it is—still emotionally closer to the south than the north.

As I write this text in my northern sadness, I repost on my Facebook wall the excellent news that abortion has finally been decriminalized in

the state of Oaxaca. I feel satisfied with my political act as if I was an indomitable activist of the networks caught in the eternal media loop of virtual manifestation. I reflect on how recent its legalization was, but in reality, abortion is still not legal in all of Mexico; there are women in the country who continue to die: *#Lasricasabortanlaspobresmueren. Rich women abort, poor women die*. Once again, the basic rights to existence and their correlative infrastructure are subsumed by issues of class. For Kollontai, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, the decriminalization of abortion meant the emancipation of the working woman. It was economically suited to the family as a whole, but would specifically diminish the mortality rate of lower class women who self-administered that procedure; along with the complete incorporation of state support for working mothers, Kollontai endorsed a Body-State-Mother transformation that would be able to provide complete communal support for working women. That was the way of thinking in the Soviet Union, the first nation to decriminalize abortion. As Kollontai explains,

> Abortion exists and flourishes everywhere, and no laws or punitive measures have succeeded in rooting it out. ... Soviet power realizes that the need for abortion will only disappear on the one hand when Russia has a broad and developed network of institutions protecting motherhood and providing social education, and on the other hand when women understand that *childbirth is a social obligation;* Soviet power has therefore allowed abortion to be performed openly and in clinical conditions. Besides the large-scale development of motherhood protection, the task of labor in Russia is to strengthen in women the healthy instinct of motherhood, to make motherhood and labor for the collective compatible and thus do away with the need for abortion.[6]

But what happens to the body of a mother in a murderous state?

In 2013, a Mazatec woman gave birth in a flowerbed outside an Ayutla hospital after the personnel in the health center ignored her requests for help. According to later accounts of the incident, these employees claimed that they did not understand the woman because she did not speak "correct" Spanish. Once again, the colonial regime was imposed

in a country with a diversity of languages (other than Spanish), which the government has helped to eradicate. Any body or language that is out of place is massacred, rendered invisible, or ignored. Even in the shadows, a phantasmagorical governmental presence continues to elusively but systematically oppress the younger sister. The government has normalized the humiliating situation in which the bodies of mestiza and Indigenous women appear because they are not important enough for the state to seek them out or to name them. Mexico is a state that conceals these bodies under the earth, stones, and monuments.

Women disappear within the abyss of the absence of infrastructure, a void that encompasses everything from the most primary elements (transport, street-lighting, sidewalks, etc.) to the support for and pursuit of complaints and the designation of gender-based killings. I think the same thing when I say something about feminism in Mexico and the condition of the younger sister, which has been rendered completely invisible by the State, and often by white feminism and academia: the state is a criminal one, politics died long ago, and Mexico is a place where the response to the economic logic of transnational exploitation is the privatization of territory, as bodies are pierced through by the plunderers. The revolution never happened and the land does not belong to those who work it. And then I start thinking about my own authoritarianism in dissolving the State and erasing the Mexican Revolution, and I take it all back—as if Emiliano Zapata's moustache had been a fantasy of the national guerrillero.

With the plundering of territory, not only is an ecosystem, a body, a living being killed; beliefs possessed by the landscape itself are also extinguished. The mountain keeps secrets that do not belong to the obedient bodies ordered by contemporary capitalist logic. In the abyss of the Mexican landscape, there are hidden not only potentially exploitable natural resources, but also places where the female body—invisible because of racialized, economic, and state-nostalgic imperatives—lives beyond the gaze of the master and capital. In Mexican history, there are several examples of men and women who have resisted from this outside: Emiliano Zapata, at the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution; Lucio Cabañas, the guerrilla who demanded the right to the jungle in the state of Guerrero; and the group of women who rose up against the tree-fellers in CheránK'eri, the largest town on the P'urhépecha plateau;

and, more recently, Zapatista women. The latter have taken on the role of protagonists critical of patriarchy within the movement itself and showing how the problems of capitalist oppression vehemently assault bodies unrecognized by the Mexican state. The territories and the bodies of mestiza and Indigenous women are connected, as are the landscape and anti-colonial resistance. Skin color and socioeconomic position (as well as the possible aspirations connected to both) form part of a system in which people are oppressed and categorized, as they were in the old system of *castas*. "Prieto" [Darkie], "Indio" [Indian], "Negro" [Negro], and "Naco" [Greaser] continue as insulting designations for non-whites in contemporary Mexico. Therefore, to understand how class difference functions, we must refer to complicated racial hierarchies in Mexico because they appeal to a certain colonial specificity and inheritance somewhat different from those of Europe and the United States.

The writer Susana Vargas defines the Mexican racial system accurately, that is, in both economic and racialized terms. She calls it the perfect Mexican pigmentocracy:

> In an analogous manner, I propose to think of pigmentocracy in Mexico as a system in which the tonalities of skin are perceived on the basis of social and cultural interventions, as if linked to a certain socioeconomic level. In this system, class and skin tonality, though not the same, function as self-reproducing, interdependent mechanisms of power. In pigmentocracy, skin tonalities exist in a relational and contextual form: the social meaning of each "color" is molded on the basis of a human intervention on a biological raw material. Within this system, whoever is "white" is also "rich"; that is, whiteness functions as a longed-for space of privilege, an aspiration to social belonging. Whiteness only exists in relation to other social categories, such as class and the cultural conjunctions that make it possible. To be "white" in Mexico is not just a question of a specific color, but also of social relations and cultural context.[7]

There exist, for me, two Mexicos: the one that is and the one I am trying to describe here. Those who suffer from this racial abyss in Mexico—amplified, as it is, by class and gender—rarely discuss it.

Despite the absence of this discussion, we can reconsider race and class performativity in the country. Take the example of the anachronistic Mexican national television, still one of the most important and influential apparatuses in the country. This ideological entertainment apparatus provided racial and aspirational models for decades. What I term the Melodrama Nacional Méxicano (MNM; Mexican National Melodrama), inspired by Mexican telenovelas, has been and continues to be one of the most effective ways to frame politics. (We should not forget that Enrique Peña Nieto, Mexican president from 2012 to 2018, revelled in the cries from his fans: "¡Enrique, bombón, te quiero en mi colchón!" [Enrique, you're gorgeous, I want you in my bed!]. We should also not forget that Peña Nieto, thanks to a favorable deal he made with the church—which agreed to annul his bride's previous marriage—married Angélica Rivera, the star of several Mexican *telenovelas*, in a decent, Catholic way.)

The MNM aided one of the most important producers of aspirational identity in Mexico, with a deep impact on racial and class differences that clashed with the country's mestiza, Indigenous, and impoverished reality. In *María la del Barrio* (Televisa, 1995), starring the actress and singer Thalía, a beautiful, poor, white woman lives in the city's garbage dumps with romantic sincerity and a smile on her face. Along with her charismatic personality—an attribute conferred by her humble economic status—*María la del Barrio* imitates the accent Televisa imagined as belonging to the poor. Eventually, Thalía-María la del Barrio becomes one of the servants in a wealthy household, falls in love with the handsome feudal lord, marries him, and finally transforms herself into a white woman.

It could be said that this aspiration has defined the Mexicanity of the twentieth century, yet Mexico has been transformed in the last decade: thanks to the infiltration of gender ideologies into the mainstream media, racial differences (and dissonances) have become commodified, thereby creating the simulation of inclusion. The perfect example of this is *Roma*, the 2018 film by Alfonso Cuarón, himself the global-Mexican director *par excellence*. In *Roma*, we encounter Cleo as interpreted by Yalitza Aparicio Martínez, chosen for her surprising resemblance to Cuarón's own nanny and who, after the film's release, won the heart and sympathy of the entire country. When I saw the film, however, I never saw Cleo; I could only see her through Cuarón's eyes. That is, I never saw her speak, look, or have a will

of her own. In the racial and economic system of the "woman who helps us with the housework," Cleo is presented as a person incapable of managing her own feelings. In one of the film's most memorable scenes, just after she has had sex with Fermín, she appears half-dressed, modestly covering herself with a blanket, while her lover engages in a big choreographic display of his double-edged sword—his martial-arts saber and his penis—which, in this case, are one and the same. The film, shot in romantic black-and-white, tells the story of a nanny who "fulfills" herself when she is able to symbolically access what has been denied to her in her triple condition of mother, Indigenous woman, and poor woman in Mexico: a family and a home. (And yet, the private home will not be run by her, but by the mistress who, though dependent on Cleo, will always condescend her.)

One of the reasons for the national approval for the figure of Cleo-Yalitza—inseparable at this moment—was that we could finally see a woman *like her* in the most commercial type of cinema; however, the representation of Cleo-Yalitza never ceases to be a construct of capital, since her imagined inclusion is only incorporated as a commodity, and class condescension does not vanish when resistance is commodified. It is here useful to compare the Cleo phenomenon with that of María de Jesús Patricio—"Marichuy"—the Nahua healer and the Consejo Nacional Indígena [Indigenous National Council] candidate for the presidency in the 2018 elections. Marichuy's potentially pop figure did not take hold like Cleo-Yalitza (nor, for that matter, like the EZLN's mestizo pop figure Subcomandante Marcos) because in Mexico we did not listen to the voice of an Indigenous woman, nor could we permit a historically marginalized woman to take power. We can only tolerate and appropriate her image through Cuarón's corny masculine gaze, which reduces Cleo once again to submission, making us believe that she is speaking just because she appears on the screen, and thereby deluding us into thinking that we are an inclusive country.

Returning to Kollontai, I want to stress her point that the liberation of the younger sister is not born from feminism, or from the "help" of bourgeois women. Instead, it is necessary to tear down the economic regime, which in Mexico's case is one that oppresses women whom the state renders invisible. What is needed is the voice of the younger sister herself, without intermediaries or condescending interests, in order to

realize a transformation and dissolution of class hierarchy. In "The Social Basis of the Woman Question," Kollontai writes:

> For what reason, then, should the woman worker seek a union with the bourgeois feminists? Who, in actual fact, would stand to gain in the event of such an alliance? Certainly not the woman worker. She is her own savior; her future is in her own hands. The working woman guards her class interests and is not deceived by great speeches about the "world all women share." The working woman must not and does not forget that while the aim of bourgeois women is to secure their own welfare in the framework of a society antagonistic to us, our aim is to build, in the place of the old, outdated world, a bright temple of universal labor, comradely solidarity and joyful freedom.[8]

How beautiful class difference looks when seen in black and white, and how convincing is Cuarón's bourgeois, democratic vision as a fantasy of the new mestizo nation. *Roma* is the inaugural film of the Mexican national discourse of the present regime, Andrés Manuel López Obrador's "Fourth Transformation"—a nostalgic regime that, though claiming to represent the nation as a whole, never ceases (nor will it ever cease) being a form of neoliberal populism, a tokenism that could perhaps bring us closer to the North's inclusive feeling. Mexico, perhaps, is essentially more of the north than the south.

Part 2. The Mexican Beyond

> Women aren't violent, women don't do such things, nor do they hide behind a piece of cloth that means death. Women love life and respect the family, and this will be heard throughout Mexico.
>
> — Elsa Méndez, PAN lawmaker, 19 August 2019[9]

> *Can the subaltern (as woman) speak? ...*
> *She writes with her body.*
>
> — Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*[10]

On 17 August 2019, the statue of El Ángel de la Independencia [the Angel of Independence] woke up surrounded. Above the wooden barricades, the phrase "México feminicida" [Femicidal Mexico] had been spray-painted. The newspaper *Excelsior*, one of the country's most important print and digital media sources, published the following text:

> In the march called, "They don't protect me, they rape me," several radical feminists vandalized different spots in Mexico City. As a protest against police accused of rape, some women also damaged the Angel of Independence. They set fire to it, painted the column, and destroyed the lawn, taking advantage of the lack of intervention by any element of the Secretariat of Citizen Security.[11]

In the days following the demonstration, both the media and the public expressed concerns about the *vandalized body* of the Angel of Independence, *which had suddenly become the only female (or at least feminized) body* the country wept over: the bronze body that paradoxically preserves in its interior the remains of several male heroes of Independence and only one woman, Leona Vicario. We mourn and celebrate and demand a mausoleum.

The Angel of Independence is customarily a meeting point to celebrate the victories of the Mexican football team. Men celebrate their team's victory—they party, drink, and piss. Although such crowds inevitably leave

behind their debris amidst the stench of urine, such behavior does not appear sufficiently consequential for public concern. In the end, the macho football fan is permitted to vandalize the feminized body of the Angel of Independence. Thus, the bronze body is continually transgressed and violated; this is only considered a crime, however, when such actions are committed by women—the penalty is always far greater when a woman violently trespasses on the terrain of the patriarchy. The body of this statue, to which we have given the meaning of life, value, and security, is rendered a sacrosanct monument with a female essence that we can weep over as we demand that all aggression stops. In the end, it is only a corpse-monument that we are allowed to see and to weep over, unlike the other female bodies in Mexico that disappear on a daily basis.[12]

This march was a response to the rape of a young girl by a group of police in the Azcapotzalco district of Mexico City, but it was also a manifestation of the general disgust with corruption and the occlusion and neglect of the thousands of femicides taking place throughout the country. The first Google search results on the Colonia San Sebastián, where the crime occurred, shows the real-estate sales and prospects in the area, along with various images of murdered bodies. To find what I am looking for, I must make a more specific search: "Azcapotzalco femicides." A crude combination of terms that prompts thousands of results, most of which are far more graphic than the murders of the mostly male bodies that appeared in the previous search. It seems that Google is playing a crooked game with me since it doesn't at first show me what's been alarming the country for decades; why again conceal the female body, which has for so long been under this violent, patriarchal gaze?

The San Sebastián victim returned from *The Mexican Beyond* to tell her story, and fortunately her testimony was leaked to the media. The majority do not return; those who do are often unable to tell their stories. It seems a formula exists for creating the testimony-narrative of women in Mexico: the vulnerability of public space, the lack of infrastructure, the night defined *as a state*—more than a phenomenological night, it is a *political* night. In Mexico, the political night facilitates the definitive disappearance of female bodies; it obscures the gaze of authorities that never had authority; it is a night that occurs any time of day and is thus the faithful companion of the woman invisible to the Mexican state, the

mestiza and Indigenous woman. Finally, what I want to define as *The Mexican Beyond* is a dimension that vulnerable women know as an inherited logic, inherent to our condition. Our bodies develop knowing and at times hoping for something or someone to come from *The Mexican Beyond* who can eat us, if things are going well for us, or else we return permanently damaged.

I believe I have the answer as to where our bodies are: they are in that dimension of *The Mexican Beyond*, an *obscurana* which, in this country, is suicide. Here, where thousands of bodies disappear under capitalism; here, where if they reappear, they can only do so as phantasmagorias of normalization, that is, as ghosts turned once again into bodies: the body of the commodity-woman within the statist fog of capitalism.

I am thinking of the warnings about capital and its various effects on bodies: the capital that inhabits *The Mexican Beyond* and which created the gateway to that dimension. I am thinking here of the economic-affective premonitions of Alexandra Kollontai, medium of the International, and I am able to read in these admonitions the effects of the regime that devolved into our contemporary neoliberalism has on female bodies. It is a virus that has long sickened us and inserted itself like a master in sexual, family, and gender morality—all of which are traversed by an economic logic. I am also thinking, in this relation, of the declarations of the Zapatista women: in their description of the landscape-body, which is one and the same body-territory, they are both *the night and the mountain*. I cannot stop thinking in parallels, and not necessarily because both Kollontai and the Zapatistas overflow with so many execrations; my comparison could be too forced, or it could signify an entry into a swampy theoretical terrain: a Western theory applied to female bodies, for which the translation of the center cannot be applied. And yet I am interested in exploring certain resonances, with the hope to think them without verticality or hierarchy, even if this is impossible.

The participation of Zapatista women in daily struggles and in a collective system is fundamental to the construction of a communitarian life *outside* the economic regulation of capital's bodies and desires. This means that the Zapatista women—invisible subjects for the Mexican state—constructed their own mandate over patriarchal machismo, sometimes as a group separate from men and other times together with them. This creates a kind of opacity that protects and articulates another way of

self-defence against patriarchy, without losing sight of the common goal. In February 2019, the Zapatista women issued their "Letter from Zapatista Women to Women in Struggle Around the World." In their communiqués, the Zapatista women wrote as a group, as a single entity along with the landscape, the earth, and the night. This communiqué forms part of an activity that the Zapatistas have been conducting for a long time; writing as a "we" not only to continue wearing the mask that can be inhabited by any one of them, but to make their positions public to the world in their own voice:

> The new bad governments have said clearly that they are going to carry forward the megaprojects of the big capitalists, including their Mayan Train, their plan for the Tehuantepec Isthmus, and their massive commercial tree farms. They have also said that they'll allow the mining companies to come in, as well as agribusiness. On top of that, their agrarian plan is wholly oriented toward destroying us as originary peoples by converting our lands into commodities and thus picking up what Carlos Salinas de Gortari started but couldn't finish because we stopped him with our uprising. All of these are projects of destruction, no matter how they try to disguise them with lies, no matter how many times they multiply their thirty million votes. The truth is that they are coming for everything now, coming full force against the originary peoples, their communities, lands, mountains, rivers, animals, plants, even their rocks. And they are not just going to try to destroy us Zapatista women, but all Indigenous women—and all men for that matter, but here we're talking as and about women.[13]

A few weeks ago, as I exited Metro Insurgentes in Mexico City, I could see graffiti on the walls and the floor from the march that had ended at the mausoleum of Avenida Reforma. However hard the government tries to erase them, the slogans remain, silently demanding justice. They reminded me again of how Kollontai's writing articulates an empathic thought beyond capitalism and patriarchy that can help us understand, and perhaps even transform, Mexico today.

1. Excerpted from Ana Victoria Jiménez and Francisca Reyes, *Sembradoras de futuros: Memoria de la unión nacional de mujeres mexicanas* (Mexico, City: Editorial Unión Nacional de Mujeres Mexicanas, 2000), 13.

2. Biquini Wax EPS is an independent lab space located in Mexico City that holds exhibitions of contemporary art, poetry readings, and discussions about economics, philosophy, aesthetics, politics, art history, and other bio-alchemical invocations. 400 people, a turtle, and an extraterrestrial work as a team without being a collective, welcoming anyone who wishes to participate in our activities or propose a pata-historical sacrifice.

3. Alexandra Kollontai, "The Social Basis of the Woman Question" (1909), in Alix Holt, ed. and trans., *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai*, (London: Allison & Busby, 1977), 58; marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1909/social-basis.htm.

4. The "younger sister" is a term Kollontai coined to refer to the position of the working-class woman with respect to the bourgeois woman.

5. Kollontai, "The Social Basis of the Woman Question," marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1909/social-basis.htm.

6. Ibid., "The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy" (1921) in *Selected Writings*; marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1921/evolution.htm.

7 Susana Vargas Cervantes, "México: La pigmentocracia perfecta," *Horizontal*, 2 June 2015, horizontal.mx/mexico-la-pigmentocracia-perfecta.

8. Kollontai, "The Social Basis of the Woman Question," marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1909/social-basis.htm.

9. Tweet by Elsa Méndez, 19 September 2019, bit.ly/2SKftq7 and laotraopinion.com.mx/por-si-creiste-haberlo-visto-todo-diputada-del-pan-dice-que-el-feminismo-denigra-a-la-mujer.

10. Gayatri Chakravor Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–313; pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8ef4/754a50d813b847ce8bd52ed52b1493cc2977.pdf?a=2.193921508.836825903.158%200104063-1284725952.1580104063.

11. Carlos Jiménez, "Vandalizan Ángel de la Independencia durante marcha de mujeres," *Periódico Excélsior*, 16 August 2019, excelsior.com.mx/comunidad/vandalizan-angel-de-la-independencia-durante-marcha-de-mujeres/1330933.

12. "Que desaparecen" is the phrase used in Mexico for the disappearance of women that remained unexplained and uninvestigated by the government. The English translation "that disappear" is meant to reflect this current status of those bodies.

13. Zapatista Women, "Letter from the Zapatista Women to Women in Struggle Around the World," February 2019, enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2019/02/13/letter-from-the-zapatista-women-to-women-in-struggle-around-the-world.

SI TOCAN A UNA, RESPONDEMOS TODAS

[IF YOU TOUCH ONE OF US WE WOMEN WILL ALL RESPOND]

Carla Lamoyi

> Reconstructing feminist genealogies is a political gesture entailing the task of searching for the doubly dispersed traces of our ancestors, some of them transgressive women, others feminists.
>
> — Alejandra Ciriza, *Constructing Feminist Genealogies from the South*[1]

1

Mexico City is a huge monster in which more than twenty million people live and move among its disorderly streets and avenues. Walking through it is not always a pleasant experience. You have to avoid potholes, dog shit, garbage, and food stalls; dodge angry drivers who don't respect the traffic lights; and, possess both a sixth sense and an infinite memory in order to navigate its streets. But, for women, the level of difficulty is even greater, because the public space we inhabit is not the same one that men inhabit.

Our life in the city is accompanied by a feeling of unease and permanent vulnerability, caused by the fear of being assaulted, or even murdered, at any moment. In this regard, we Mexican women are accustomed to adapting our lives and the ways in which we move around the city on the basis of this fear, whether by changing the clothes we wear in order to board public transportation, calling "safe" taxis at night, or avoiding walking alone in isolated spots. For us, going out into the public space is a risk—a risk that increases in inverse proportion to our socioeconomic status. Every day, when we read the news and other testimonies on social networks, it seems there is no security for us anywhere, that those few spaces where we thought we had safety are shrinking, and that the state and its institutions are prevented from providing these things to us. They are either complicit through their inaction, or worse: they are the ones perpetrating violence.

I was unaware of the fear I was living under until I moved to Buenos Aires. I arrived in 2017, shortly after the demonstration on 8 March, International Women's Day. In the place I went to study, my classmates talked of a "women's strike," a march that had brought together women workers and students from various sectors under the following slogan: "Women will halt our consumption, domestic labor, and caring work, paid labor and

our studies, to show that without us nothing is produced, and without us nothing is reproduced."[2] Until that moment, 8 March was for me a date on the same level as Mother's Day—when you were congratulated for having been born a woman and given flowers in restaurants. The following year, after familiarizing myself with the political demands of the feminist movement "Ni Una Menos" [Not One Woman Less], and at the beginning of the debates over legal abortion in Argentina, I went to an International Women's Day march for the first time. The yelling, the drumming, the thousands of angry and joyous girls wearing pink brilliantine makeup and green scarves, dancing and occupying the streets, profoundly moved me. This was no meaningless celebration, but a moment to demonstrate politically for our rights.

I returned to Mexico at the end of 2018, with a new confidence given to me by this sisterhood of women, and made a decision never to return to a fearful life and to seek out ways of finding different personal and collective strategies to do this. Indifference was no longer an option in a country where, in just the last ten years, more than 23,000 women have been murdered; my wish was to participate in the actions of the feminist movement that had in recent years developed with strength in Mexico and all of Latin America.

Through friends and various coincidences, in March 2019, I was invited to take part in an investigation of the socialist, feminist, and diplomat, Alexandra Kollontai (1872–1952), who from 1899 onward was involved in the struggle for women's rights in Russia, and who was the USSR Ambassador to Mexico from 1926 to 1927.[3] I was charged with tracking down her possible influences on the Mexican feminist movement. It was a perfect pretext to explore the ground beneath my feet, to understand which mobilizations of the past permeated the struggles of the present.

2

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Alexandra Kollontai expressed the need for a socialist feminism. Thanks to her participation in the workers' movement and her contact with feminist thought—which she considered to be bourgeois, since it sought equality between men and

women, without questioning class privileges—Kollontai proposed to the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party the "need for agitational work among women workers to attract them to socialism, offering answers to their gendered problems from a class perspective."[4] For her, work and political participation in the public sphere were fundamental issues in women's emancipation. While reading various publications, I realized that Kollontai's ideas on celebrating International Women's Day also inspired her to introduce a series of measures to improve the living conditions of women in the newly-formed USSR, such as the legalization of abortion, were also the precursors to the "women's strike" and the "marea verde" [green tide] I had lived through in Argentina.[5]

In March 1920, Kollontai wrote a text for a pamphlet celebrating International Working Women's Day. It originated as a socialist celebration promoted by the German Marxist theorist Clara Zetkin at the Second International Conference of Socialist Women in Copenhagen (1910), and was first realized on 19 March 1911, in Germany and Austria, and in Russia on 3 March 1913. It aimed to include women in political participation, encouraged the right to vote, and promoted the solidarity of socialist women on a more global level. Kollontai wrote about the date: "This was certainly the first show of militancy by the working woman. Men stayed at home with their children for a change, and their wives, the captive housewives, went to meetings."[6]

In this pamphlet, she states that during the 1917 February Revolution (which coincided with the commemoration of the Day of the Working Woman, because of the discrepancy between the Gregorian and the Julian calendar, used during the Tsarist era), thousands of women went into the streets of Petrograd and other places in Russia. According to the text, this demonstration contributed to Tsar Nicholas II's abdication and the end of the Russian empire. This revolt had a precursor in the participation of women in the 22 January 1905 march to the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, during which there was a confrontation with the Tsarist Imperial Guard where many women lost their lives.[7] Both protests were watersheds, as much for the socialist struggle as for the emancipation of women, who occupied public space as a platform for demanding rights.

Following the triumph of the socialist revolution in October 1917, Kollontai became the only woman in Lenin's cabinet when she was named

People's Commissar for Social Welfare. In this position, she proposed a series of democratic measures that were implemented by the Bolshevik government to improve women's working conditions. These improvements included the woman worker's removal from any labor that could affect her health during pregnancy, maternity leave of eight weeks before and after giving birth, breastfeeding breaks at work, rest spaces inside the factory, as well as the creation of nurseries and crèches.[8]

Another such initiative was realized on 10 November 1920, when the Soviet of People's Commissars approved the decree of "interruption of pregnancy,"[9] which made the USSR the first nation to legalize abortion and provide it free of charge to any woman who wanted it in state hospitals. One of the reasons for promulgating this decree was the immense danger to health that clandestine abortions entailed. Criminalizing abortion increased this risk and represented a social and public health problem; therefore, the state was obliged to offer the service in a safe manner.

As a whole, these measures that aimed to provide better working and living conditions for working women were motivated by a paternalist and protectionist state perception of women's bodies, not by a belief in women's bodily autonomy. According to Cintia Frencia and Daniel Gaido:

> The decree refers to abortion as an "evil" ... and to the need to fight this even through massive propaganda against abortion. Thus, although this law agreed to "allow this type of operation to be practiced freely and without charge in Soviet hospitals," it also expressed the government's intention to struggle against this phenomenon by means of family planning.[10]

Despite this contradiction, this law represented an advance in civil rights, marking a watershed in women's and feminists' movements.

Since 2017 in Latin America and the Caribbean, the 8th of March has recovered its political dimension. Once again, it is a moment to cry out our sense of urgency everywhere, particularly when control over our bodies is at stake, and along with it, legal, free, and safe abortion on demand.

3

The writings of Alexandra Kollontai and these significant political experiences together marked the point of departure for my investigation of feminist movements in Mexico. The goal was to tease out the influence of her thought on the genealogy of some Mexican women's groups, thinkers, and activists. Kollontai's texts began to be published in Spanish at the end of the 1920s in Argentina and Spain, and were reprinted with great success during the 1970s, when they achieved a larger circulation in Mexico. That was when many feminist and/or communist women had access to these writings and discussed and debated them in their meetings.

I began with the easiest part: contacting through e-mail the artist Mónica Mayer, whom I had met years before while I was doing my social service in the Museo Ex Teresa Arte Actual, where I had the opportunity to assist her in archival research on feminist performance in Mexico. She was my point of reference for the local feminism of the 1980s, since at university I had seen video recordings of the performance of *Polvo de Gallina Negra* [Dust of a Black Hens], Mexico's first feminist art group, formed in 1983 by Mónica Mayer and Maris Bustamante.

I met with her one April morning in 2019, when I got to know her house, where she has her library and the collection *Pinto mi raya* [I Draw My Line] assembled by herself and her partner Víctor Lerma.[11] We spoke about her brief passage through the 1970s feminist movement. Mayer had read only one book by Kollontai during that period, *Love of Worker Bees*, which beyond having a direct impact on her thought (along with many other feminist readings of the period), acted as a ground for her artistic practice. She then put me in touch with Ana Victoria Jiménez, a feminist and a very good friend of hers who was an editor, activist, photographer, and the creator of the Archivo del Movimiento Feminista de 1964 a 1990 [Archive of the Feminist Movement from 1964 to 1990]. The archive that was donated to the Biblioteca Francisco Clavijero of the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City in 2011, where currently it can be consulted. Mayer was sure that Jiménez could shed some further light on Kollontai's influence in Mexico, since she had been part of a Mexican communist organization and had traveled to Russia on several occasions during the socialist era.

I went home, stirred by this new lead, and sent a letter to Jiménez, who answered a few days later. We agreed to see each other on 20 April 2019, in her house located in Mexico City's Colonia Moderna. I went to the street and number indicated: blue walls and black gate. I rang the bell and a diminutive woman old enough to be my grandmother appeared. She was friendly and warm, and from the start she inspired confidence. My letter had piqued her interest, so she began to search her archive to see if there were any documents about Kollontai in her archive. She then found the *International Women's Day* pamphlet written by Kollontai, published in English translation in the United States in 1974.

When I asked Jiménez if she had read Kollontai when she was young, she told me that she had only read *La mujer nueva y la moral sexual* [The New Woman and Sexual Morality], in which Kollontai theorized sexuality, but that she had been more interested in Anaïs Nin, Clara Zetkin, Simone de Beauvoir, and Emma Goldman, the anarchist and pioneer in the struggle for birth control. Still, after this first chat, we agreed to go together to the Universidad Iberoamericana and visit her archive.

Ana Victoria Jiménez was born in Mexico City in 1941 and studied graphic arts in the Union of Graphic Artists and Photography in a technical school. Her first job was as a typesetter in a print shop, and later she worked as an editor and photographer. The events that marked the beginning of her militancy were the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, and the formation of the Unión Nacional de Mujeres Mexicanas (UNMM; National Union of Mexican Women) on 11 October 1964—an organization inspired by the Cuban Women's Federation. The goals of the Union, an openly communist group, were to forge a coalition among the broadest sectors of women, to promote their rights, and to solve urgent problems like affordable housing and child protection.[12]

The young Jiménez , who belonged to the Juventud Comunista [Communist Youth], was invited to participate in this organization from the beginning, and was part of its directorship with the founders Adelina Zendejas, Marta Bojórquez, Eulalia Guzmán, and its first president, Clementina Batalla de Bassols. Many of the Union's members were wives, girlfriends, sisters, or mothers of the men of the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM; Mexican Communist Party), formed in 1919. Like Alexandra Kollontai,

UNMM distanced itself from feminist ideas, since such ideas seemed to retain a bourgeois character, emphasized the struggle between genders, and did not recognize that the "woman problem" was also a class problem. UNMM identified itself as a movement of women that aimed to create solidarity campaigns and solutions to the daily lives of Mexican women. In this respect, the organization's work was very similar to what Kollontai proposed to achieve during her short term as People's Commissar for Social Welfare. Within its first four years as an organization, UNMM proposed a Federal Labor Law regarding child-care centers, contributed to the construction of the Frente Nacional por la Infancia [National Front for Childhood], and convened an Asamblea Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas [National Assembly of Peasant Women]. It also demanded landholdings for women and just wages for members of rural working families.[13]

As part of UNMM, Jiménez was in charge of the committee for press and propaganda. Thanks to this role, as well as her fascination with photography, she began documenting hundreds of marches and events related to the struggle for women's rights, and kept notes, posters, leaflets, and a bibliography, which made up a large part of her immense archive and that includes an entire section dedicated to the UNMM. There, I found photographs of her participation in the meeting of women from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean: Reunión de Mujeres, México, Centroamérica y el Caribe in 1961 [fig. 1]. This was a precursor to other women's organizations, in which topics such as women's tasks, the participation of women in the Agrarian Reform and the development of agriculture, the defense and extension of the rights of mothers and children, national independence and the sovereignty of our peoples were frequently discussed.[14] I also found images from the Congress of the International Democratic Women's Federation (FDMI) held in Helsinki in 1969 [fig. 2]; the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow organized by the Communist Workers Party in 1966, where the critic and art historian Raquel Tibol represented the UNMM [fig. 3]; and, the Women's Gathering of the FDMI in 1970 [fig. 4], as well as the posters of the 1963 World Congress of Women in Moscow [fig. 5], and the declaration issued for 8 March 1964 [fig. 6].

Initially, the women's movement went hand-in-hand with communism in Mexico; however, it separated during the 1970s and followed a more

independent path due to tensions and exasperation with machismo, dismissiveness, and ridicule on the part of their male colleagues. (A similar break occurred with Kollontai in the first years of the USSR, especially where her ideas about the new sexual morality were concerned.) From that moment on, in Mexico, Jiménez drew closer to recently formed feminist organizations, abandoned the Communist Party, and distanced herself from the UNMM.

In 1970, Martha Acevedo wrote "Las mujeres luchan por su liberación: Nuestro sueño está en escarpado lugar" [Women Fighting for Their Liberation: Our Dream Is in a Steep Place], a text that marked the second wave of the feminist movement in Mexico.[15] A year later, along with Antonieta Rascón, Elena Poniatowska, and Antonieta Zapiain, she founded the first self-identified feminist group: *Mujeres en Acción Solidaria* (MAS; Women in Solidary Action). In its first action, MAS carried out a demonstration on 10 May 1971 in front of the Monumento de la Madre [Monument to the Mother] in Mexico City, protesting the patriarchal imaginary created in Mexico around the figure of the mother. The Mexican Mother's Day (a copy of the United States celebration) was promoted by the newspaper *Excelsior* and formalized in 1922 as a counter to both feminism and advances in contraceptive methods, which destabilized the traditional family structure, questioned the state, and undermined the Catholic Church's control over women's bodies.[16]

Within the archive, I was able to see photographs of this first demonstration and several others that were carried out for legalized abortion and protection of women, like the protests organized by the Coalición de Mujeres Feministas [Feminist Women's Coalition]: one for the decriminalization of abortion held in front of the former Chamber of Deputies in 1977 [fig. 7], and another against the Miss Universe competition in July 1978 [fig. 8]. There were also images of the pro-abortion demonstration at the Monument to the Mother and in the Hemiciclo a Juárez on 10 May 1981, carried out by the Frente Nacional por la Liberación y Derechos de la Mujer (FNALIDM; the National Front for the Liberation and Rights of Women), which was the first unified coalition of feminist groups, lesbian groups, unions, and left-wing parties [fig. 9]. The archive also contained the project of the Law of Voluntary Maternity, presented on 29 December 1979 by the FNALIDM and the Coalición Feminista de Mujeres to the group

of Federal deputies that made up the Left Coalition [figs. 10 & 11]. Finally, I found photographs from the march "Yo he abortado" [I Had an Abortion], called for 13 January 1991, by the Frente Nacional por la Maternidad Voluntaria y la Despenalización del Aborto (FNMVDA; National Front for Voluntary Maternity and the Decriminalization of Abortion), where I recognized Mónica Mayer and Maris Bustamante protesting with puppets and disguises [fig. 12].

When one observes photographs of the past, one tends to visually compare them with the present by looking for the similarities and transformations that have occurred with the passage of time. In 2007, the decriminalization of abortion was achieved in Mexico City, after more than seventy years of struggle and thanks to the political alliance of several feminists with the left-wing government of the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD; Party of the Democratic Revolution). What is surprising is that the slogans in the marches of that time were the same ones I chant now: "Free abortion on demand." "Contraceptives so as not to abort, abortion on demand so as not to die." "We are not a commodity." "Neither a decorative object nor a suffering self-denying mother." "We're fed up with sexist manipulation that denies us as thinking beings." "Woman, nobody has the right to mistreat you. Denounce him!" "No more violence against women." The photographs connected with a long political thread all those women who had demonstrated in the streets in other times to a story that was also my own.

When the visit was over, on the way back to the city from Santa Fe, I asked Jiménez why in 1990 she had stopped documenting feminist marches and events. She responded that it was because of exhaustion—the feeling that her resources were exhausted. Currently, she continues to edit books about women, working with the Universidad Iberoamericana on cataloging her archive and collaborating with some women students interested in these documents. Recently, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Suzanne Lacy's performance *International Dinner Party*,[17] the young art historian Mónica Lindsay-Pérez organized an exhibition that sought to call attention to the feminist struggle in Mexico through a selection from Ana Victoria Jiménez's archive in the Wadham College antechapel in Oxford, England. This exhibition will come to Mexico in 2020, putting these photos into circulation and making visible the antecedents of the continuing fight.

Fig. 1. Reunión de Mujeres, México, Centroamérica y el Caribe [Women's Meeting, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean], 1961. AVJ – 1449; figs. 1–12 reproduced with the kind permission of the Archivo del Movimiento Feminista de 1964 a 1990 [Archive of the Feminist Movement from 1964 to 1990] by Ana Victoria Jiménez, Francisco Xavier Clavigero Library, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City.

Fig. 2. The Congress of the International Democratic Women's Federation (FDMI), Helsinki, 1969. AVJ – 0001.

Fig. 3. The International Meeting of the Communist Workers' Parties, organized by the Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, 1966. AVJ – 0004.

Fig. 4. A gathering of women from the International Democratic Women's Federation (FDMI) in 1970. AVJ – 0017.

Fig. 5. Poster of the 1963 World Congress of Women in Moscow. AVJ – 4562.

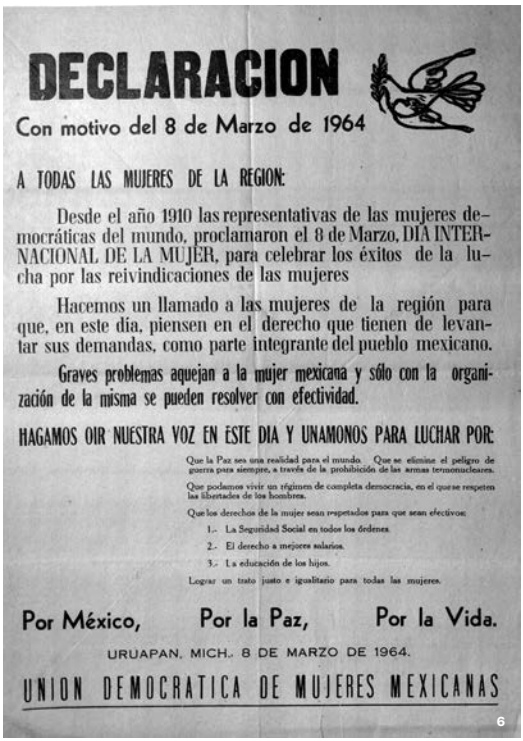


Fig. 6. A declaration issued for 8 March 1964. Poster, AVJ – 4555.

Fig. 7. A protest for the decriminalization of abortion in front of the former Chamber of Deputies in Mexico City, 1977. AVJ – 0625.

Fig. 8. A protest against the Miss Universe competition, outside of Mexico City's National Auditorium in July 1978. AVJ – 0161.


aborto libre
para no
morir
anticonceptivos
para no abortar

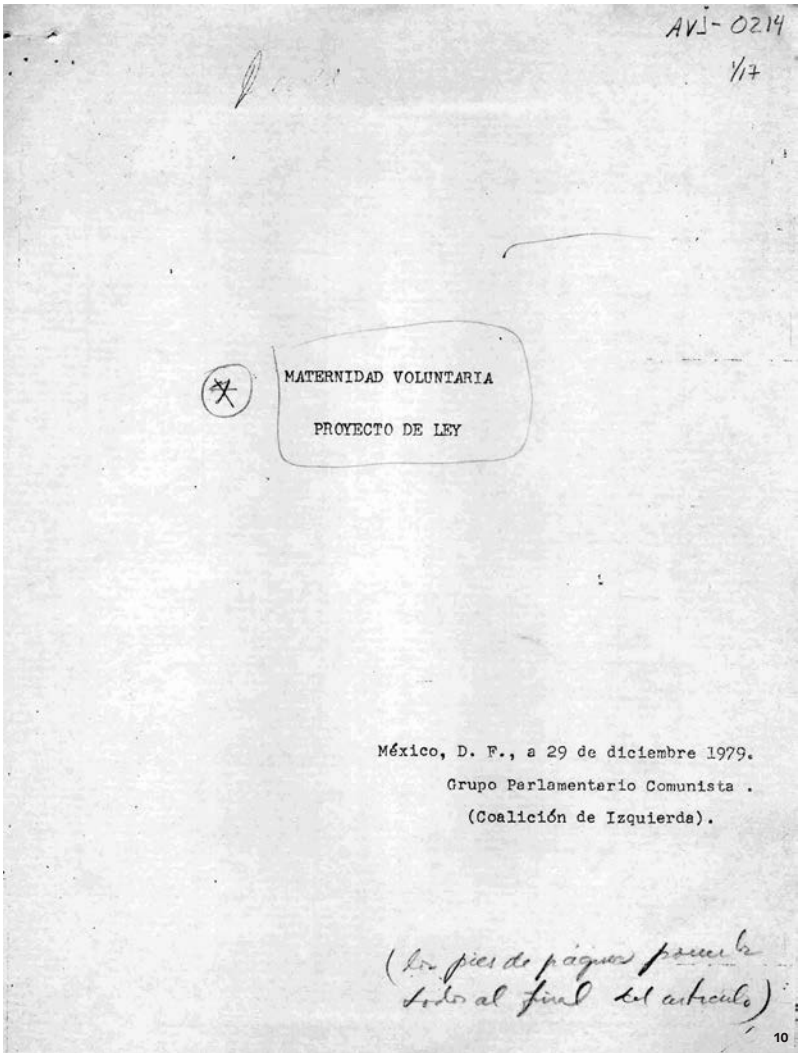
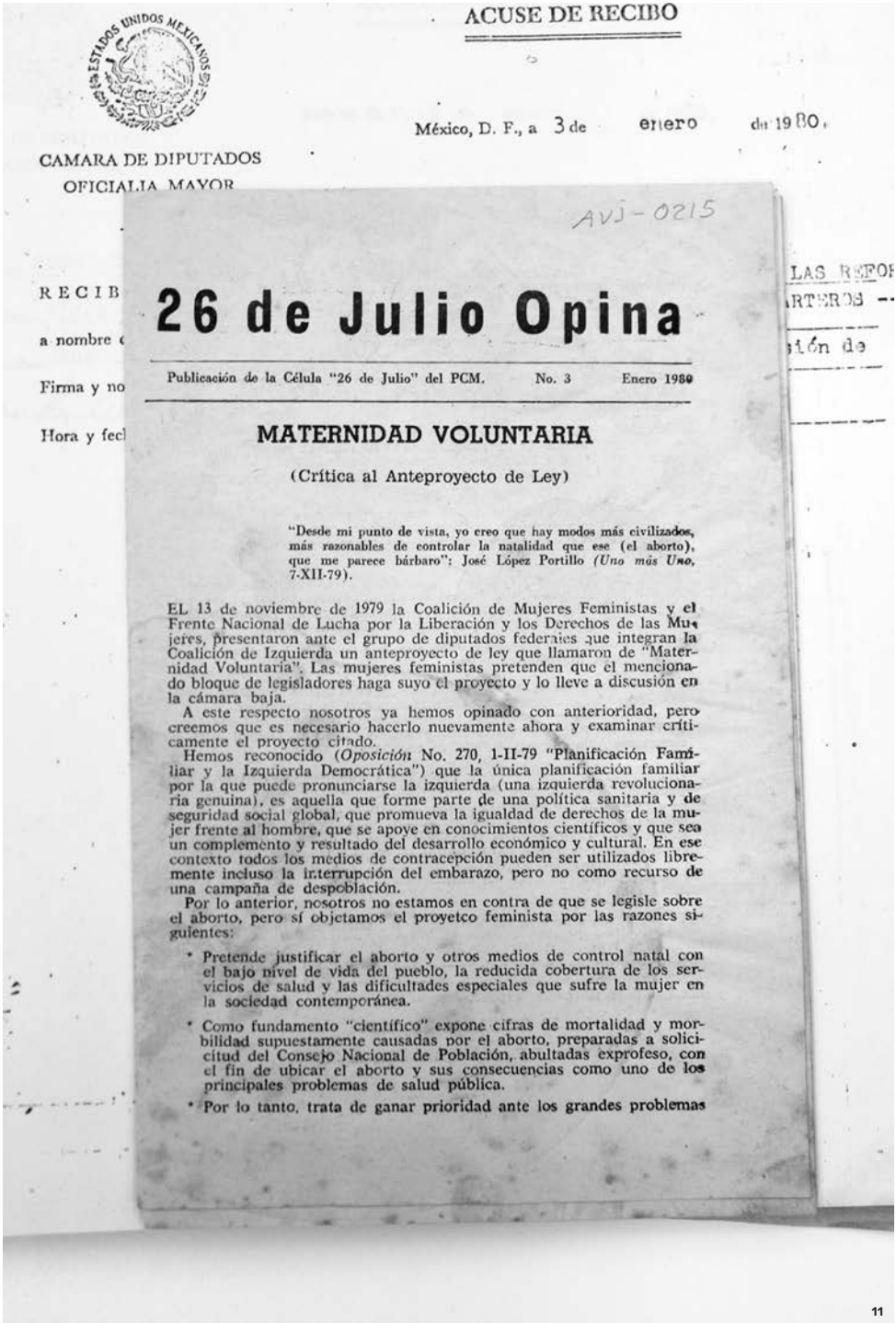


Fig. 9. A pro-abortion demonstration at the Monumento a la Madre [The Monument to the Mother] and at the Hemiciclo a Juárez, 10 May 1981; carried out by the Frente Nacional de la Liberación y Derechos de la Mujer (FNALIDM; National Front for the Liberation and Rights of Women). AVJF – 1264.

Fig. 10. Front page of a folder holding documents of the legislative proposal entitled Maternidad Voluntaria [Voluntary Maternity], presented on 29 December 1979 by the FNALIDM and the Coalición Feminista de Mujeres [Feminist Women's Coalition]. AVJ – 0214 (1–17).



ACUSE DE RECIBO

México, D. F., a 3 de enero de 1980.

CAMARA DE DIPUTADOS
OFICIALIA MAYOR

AVJ-0215

RECIB

a nombre

Firma y no

Hora y fecl

LAS REFOR
ARTERDS --
ión de

26 de Julio Opina

Publicación de la Célula "26 de Julio" del PCM. No. 3 Enero 1980

MATERNIDAD VOLUNTARIA

(Crítica al Anteproyecto de Ley)

"Desde mi punto de vista, yo creo que hay modos más civilizados, más razonables de controlar la natalidad que ese (el aborto), que me parece bárbaro": José López Portillo *(Uno más Uno,* 7-XII-79).

EL 13 de noviembre de 1979 la Coalición de Mujeres Feministas y el Frente Nacional de Lucha por la Liberación y los Derechos de las Mujeres, presentaron ante el grupo de diputados federales que integran la Coalición de Izquierda un anteproyecto de ley que llamaron de "Maternidad Voluntaria". Las mujeres feministas pretenden que el mencionado bloque de legisladores haga suyo el proyecto y lo lleve a discusión en la cámara baja.

A este respecto nosotros ya hemos opinado con anterioridad, pero creemos que es necesario hacerlo nuevamente ahora y examinar críticamente el proyecto citado.

Hemos reconocido (*Oposición* No. 270, 1-II-79 "Planificación Familiar y la Izquierda Democrática") que la única planificación familiar por la que puede pronunciarse la izquierda (una izquierda revolucionaria genuina), es aquella que forme parte de una política sanitaria y de seguridad social global, que promueva la igualdad de derechos de la mujer frente al hombre, que se apoye en conocimientos científicos y que sea un complemento y resultado del desarrollo económico y cultural. En ese contexto todos los medios de contracepción pueden ser utilizados libremente incluso la interrupción del embarazo, pero no como recurso de una campaña de despoblación.

Por lo anterior, nosotros no estamos en contra de que se legisle sobre el aborto, pero sí objetamos el proyetco feminista por las razones siguientes:

- Pretende justificar el aborto y otros medios de control natal con el bajo nivel de vida del pueblo, la reducida cobertura de los servicios de salud y las dificultades especiales que sufre la mujer en la sociedad contemporánea.
- Como fundamento "científico" expone cifras de mortalidad y morbilidad supuestamente causadas por el aborto, preparadas a solicitud del Consejo Nacional de Población, abultadas exprofeso, con el fin de ubicar el aborto y sus consecuencias como uno de los principales problemas de salud pública.
- Por lo tanto, trata de ganar prioridad ante los grandes problemas

Fig. 11. Official confirmation of the reception by the Chamber of Deputies of a criticism (because of class issues) to the legislative proposal on Voluntary Maternity, January 1980, presented by the cell "July 26th" of the Mexican Communist Party. AVJ – 0215.

Fig. 12. A protest themed "Yo he abortado" [I've had an abortion], summoned by the Frente Nacional por la Maternidad Voluntaria y la Despenalizacion del Aborto (FNMVDA; National Front of Voluntary Maternity and the Decriminalization of Abortion), 13 January 1991. Activists Mónica Mayer and Maris Bustamante can be seen in this image. AVJ n/n.

4

It was also thanks to Mónica Mayer that I went to the Archivo Histórico del Movimiento de Lesbianas-Feministas en México 1976–2020 [The Historical Archive of the Lesbian Feminist Movement in Mexico 1976–2020], created by Yan María Yaoyólotl in Mexico City. In Mayer's 1999 text, "De la vida y el arte como feminista" [Life and Art as a Feminist], she relates that in 1996, Yan was part of COYOLXAUHQUI ARTICULADA, the first group of lesbian-feminist artists in Mexico. While searching the internet, I found Yan's blog; one of its entries discussed the actions carried out during the 1980s by socialist lesbian feminists. I contacted her immediately.

The day I went to interview her, along with the artist (and fellow author in this book), Paloma Contreras Lomas, we arrived half an hour late, which in Mexico is common—indeed, it is normal. We knocked and a woman who seemed to have lived many lives, opened the door. She was angry, and with good reason. She let us in, but not before she reprimanded us: "No revolutionary should arrive late, because if you arrive late, they kill you." Frightened, we entered her apartment, which was crammed with shelves full of files. Yaoyólotl was literally living in her archive; domesticity had become secondary, diluted by the classification of the different lesbian feminist movements in Mexico. At the entrance, a sword was hanging from the wall, as well as a manual of daily tasks, displaying the activist's discipline. Before interviewing her, she made us pray to a Buddhist image and ask the archive's permission. We were very nervous and didn't dare say anything; little by little, she began to relax, and so did we.

* * *

Yan María Yaoyolótl Castro, born in Mexico City in 1952, is a militant and important activist in the Movimiento Lésbico-feminista (ML; Lesbian-Feminist Movement) that began in the mid-1970s in Mexico within the framework of the Mexican left, the feminist movement, and the Movimiento Amplio de Mujeres (MAM; the Broad Movement of Women).

Throughout her life, Yaoyolótl has been part of different artistic and activist collectives, and co-founded the first lesbian groups to exist in Mexico: ÁCRATAS (1976), LESBOS (1977), and OIKABETH (1978). Although

each of these groups had a different origin and character, the aim of the Movimiento Lésbico-feminista [Lesbian-Feminist Movement] was and remains the abolition of the patriarchal system in order to construct a non-oppressive society. Along with questioning class privileges and involving themselves in the struggle of other oppressed groups (movements of workers, peasants, migrants, Indigenous people, popular sectors, the unemployed, etc.), these activists began debating sexuality within the feminist movement, questioning traditional family structures like marriage, monogamy, and compulsory heterosexuality. In this regard, the position of the lesbian feminists can be understood as a radicalization of Kollontai's feminist thought and the idea of the "new woman"—who was meant to be both sentimentally and economically independent, and therefore a vanguard of society.

For Yaoyolótl, one of the most significant groups she participated in was OIKABETH: the socialist-oriented lesbian organization she founded in 1978 with Luz María Medina and Adrianita R. The name OIKABETH is an acronym for *Olin Ikispan Katuntah Bebezah Thoth*, which means in Maya the "movement of warrior-women who open the path and scatter flowers." Yaoyolótl told us that the members read and discussed a series of books and authors important for socialist thought, among them Marx's *Capital*, Rosa Luxemburg's *Reform or Revolution*, Wilhelm Reich's *The Sexual Revolution*, Eva Figes's *Patriarchal Attitudes*, and Alexandra Kollontai's "The New Woman" (from *The New Morality and the Working Class*), along with other authors who were a part of the feminism of the 1960s in the United States, like Kate Millett, Zillah Eisenstein, Margaret Randall, and Evelyn Reed. These texts reached them in Mexico through photocopies of translations from Spain and by North American Chicanas with whom the lesbian feminists maintained a network of communication and support.

OIKABETH participated in the first Gay Pride marches in Mexico, held in 1979 and 1980 [fig. 13], a moment when lesbians publicly demonstrated for the first time as a political movement in the context of a Catholic country where homosexuality was considered a sickness, and where many of them were rejected by their families, forced to marry, or subjected to psychiatric treatment. During these marches, political and symbolic actions were carried out, like the burning of the United States flag [fig. 14]. In the archive, I was able to read a pamphlet distributed during the protests by

OIKABETH, in which the organization's political and identitarian principles were expressed, explaining their understanding of lesbianism and how they fit within the socialist struggle [fig. 15].

The group dissolved in 1982, but Yaoyolótl continued to participate as an individual with various organizations in demonstrations for the social rights of groups of workers, collaborating with publications [fig. 16] and gatherings of lesbian feminists in Latin America and the Caribbean [fig. 17].

As part of her political participation, she believes in the importance of carrying out "grassroots work" and agitation, and working women from different sectors and classes in order to tackle violence-related problems and make them aware of their rights. Again, we find similarities with Kollontai, who had done the same with washerwomen and other working women in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In 1985, Yan María Yaoyólotl was part of a group called the Seminario Marxista-Leninista Feminista de Lesbianas [Marxist-Leninist Seminar of Lesbian Feminists] [figs. 18, 19]. On 19 September of that year, a massive earthquake in Mexico City, measuring 8.1 on the Richter scale, destroyed more than two thousand buildings, among them several clothing and costume factories located near the city center. More than four thousand seamstresses were left without work, and it is estimated that between 600 and 1,600 women workers died.[18] Many of these women were subcontracted and exploited by the factory owners, who began removing the machines with no concern for the death of their employees, without compensating them, or paying them for what they had earned during the work week.

The lesbian feminist group approached sixty seamstresses from the Dimension Welds factory to help them organize and discuss the possibilities of occupying one of the demolished factories and thereby getting the wages owed to them, along with the machinery that was still left in the workshops.[19] Thanks to this support, the Sindicato Nacional de trabajadoras de la industria de la Costura, Confección, Vestido, Similares y Conexos "19 de Septiembre" [National Union of Women Workers in the Industry of Sewing, Dressmaking, Clothing, Knockoffs, and Samples "September 19th"], was formed, which fought for the rights of the seamstresses affected by the earthquake. Despite this contribution, little is known of the participation and impact of the lesbian feminists work on this issue and its contribution to the union's struggle.

Yaoyólotl thinks there is a tendency to negate history, changing it into petrified historical data without any relevance to the present. For her, the construction of her archive is a way of resisting this trend by constructing another version of history. Throughout the years, she has looked for different ways of socializing her archive and disseminating her political ideals through exhibitions and the continuous contact with young feminists like the group Rosas Rojas [Red Roses].

Rosas Rojas is a socialist feminist collective of young university students that emerged in 2009 as a space for women belonging to the Grupo de Acción Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Action Group], formed in 2006. In its first meetings, it was decided to call the group Rosas Rojas, in homage to the thirteen young socialists murdered in Madrid in 1939 during the Francoist dictatorship. Currently, the group's principal leaders are Shajin Corona (b. Mexico City, 1990), Magalí Terraza (b. State of Mexico, 1995), and Atzin Balderas (b. Oaxaca, 1989), and its membership consists of around twenty women. The group organizes study circles, mobilizations, assemblies, open meetings, forums on different topics, and cultural festivals within the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM; National Autonomous University of Mexico), but also elsewhere, with trade unions and different communities in the state of Guerrero.

Some months following this first visit, Yaoyólotl invited us to the screening of the short film *Un Amor en Rebeldía* [A Rebellious Love] by the director Tania Castillo, organized by Rosas Rojas; later, she put us in contact with the group. On 26 August, Paloma and I met with Corona, Terraza, and Balderas.

For Rosas Rojas, it was in the 1990s and 2000s that feminism became institutionalized and deprived of its social, militant character, mainly through the promotion of the perspective and diversity of gender on the part of the state and the creation of programs of gender studies in different universities, to which workers, housewives, and Indigenous women did not have access. They have been criticized for these positions, since they could be considered biologist or transphobic. They believe that socialist feminism is necessary in the present moment, since on the personal level it enables the questioning of macho, classist perspectives that remain prevalent in society. On a social level, they demand the construction of a new economic, political, and cultural system in Mexico that would end oppression and transform the condition

of working-class women and men, which now not only includes salaried employees of state and private enterprises, but all the forms of work and exploitation that continue the logic of capitalism. They also argue that there currently exists a patriarchy/capitalism binomial, which, on the one hand, promotes the sexual freedom and empowerment of women through greater consumption and, on the other hand, has increased violence towards women through phenomena including sex trafficking and prostitution.

In September 2018, Rosas Rojas presented a citizens' legislative initiative to obtain legal, safe, and free abortion throughout Mexico. Its goal is to promote the law from below and seek a process of socialization and discussion of this topic.

* * *

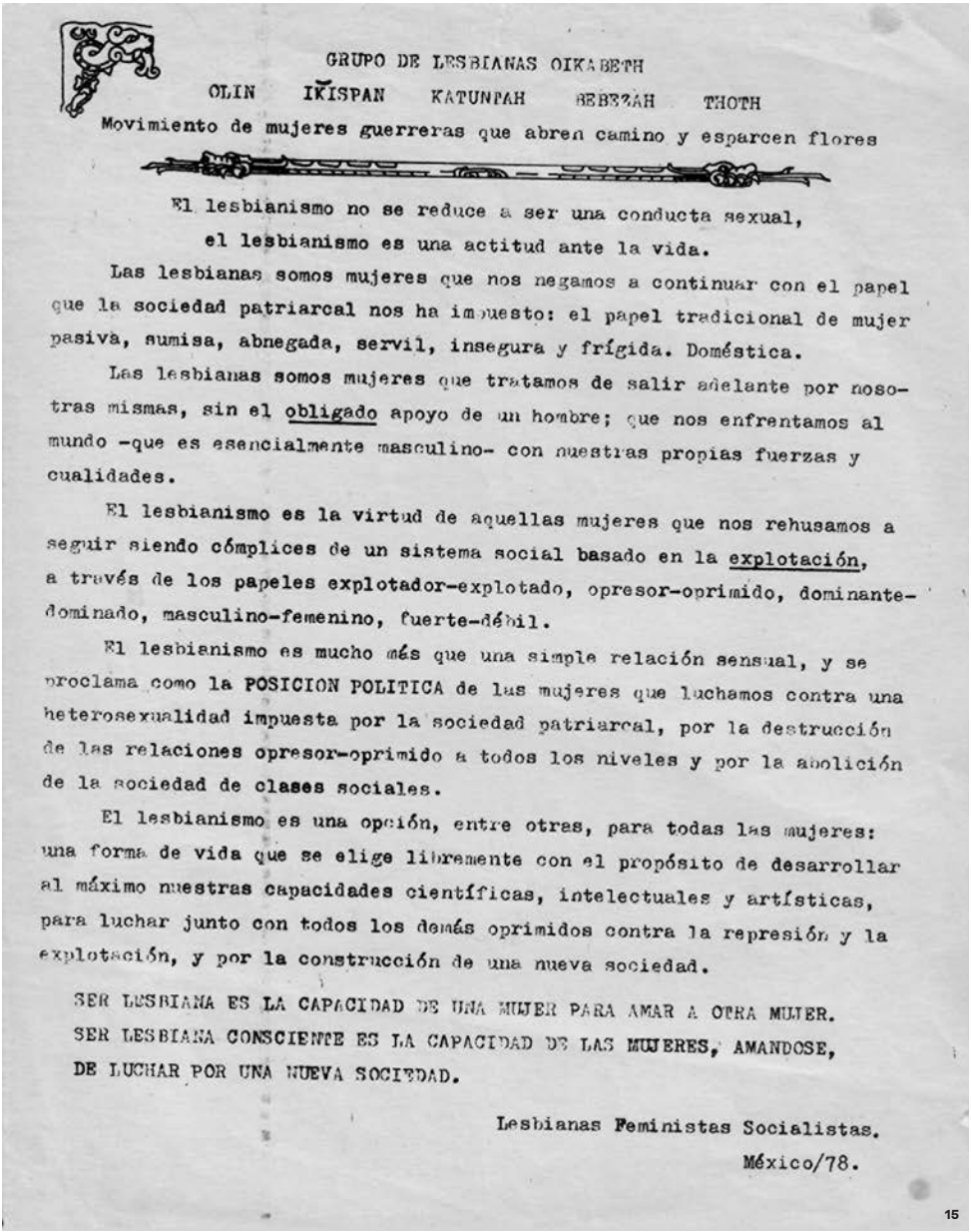
For a woman in Mexico, occupying public space in Mexico is a political position. The important thing is to go out in the streets—and not to fear being in the streets—because "fear of risk does not lessen the risk." To seize hold of the spaces that are denied us, through marches, occupations, and artistic and symbolic actions, is a way of disrupting society and the state to make visible the fact that the situation of violence against women in this country is unbearable, and to demand control over our bodies. In Kollontai's words, as paraphrased by Terraza: "Every social construct can be transformed, raising our level of consciousness and our organized collective strength, educating ourselves politically and going into the streets together to change this reality."[20]

In March 2019, I went to the International Women's Day march in Mexico City. Recalling the first women's march I attended in Argentina, it was very moving for me to feel that the struggle was one and the same. Perhaps the best example of this was the sign on the green scarf repurposed by Mexican women for this march, which depicted two clasped hands, symbolizing that this urgency, like many others, unites us as women and crosses classes, borders, and nationalities.

I believe this internationalization, supported by Latin American women uniting their different struggles, is the great legacy of Alexandra Kollontai and socialist feminists: the Marxist belief that in order for genuine change to happen, all societies must be shaken up, and that the liberation of women in one latitude is a step towards the liberation of all women.

Fig. 13. Photograph documenting the group OIKABETH I (Socialist Feminist Lesbians) participating in the 2nd Gay March, 1980. Figs. 13–19 are reproduced with the kind permission of the Historical Archive of the Lesbian-Feminist Movement in Mexico 1976–2020, Yan María Yaoyólotl, Mexico City.

Fig. 14. Photograph showing the US flag being burnt during the 7th Gay/Lesbian Pride March. Photograph by David Hernández, published in the newspaper *unomásuno*, 30 June 1985 (p. 6).



GRUPO DE LESBIANAS OIKABETH

OLIN IKISPAN KATUNPAH BEBEZAH THOTH

Movimiento de mujeres guerreras que abren camino y esparcen flores

El lesbianismo no se reduce a ser una conducta sexual,
el lesbianismo es una actitud ante la vida.

Las lesbianas somos mujeres que nos negamos a continuar con el papel que la sociedad patriarcal nos ha impuesto: el papel tradicional de mujer pasiva, sumisa, abnegada, servil, insegura y frígida. Doméstica.

Las lesbianas somos mujeres que tratamos de salir adelante por nosotras mismas, sin el obligado apoyo de un hombre; que nos enfrentamos al mundo -que es esencialmente masculino- con nuestras propias fuerzas y cualidades.

El lesbianismo es la virtud de aquellas mujeres que nos rehusamos a seguir siendo cómplices de un sistema social basado en la explotación, a través de los papeles explotador-explotado, opresor-oprimido, dominante-dominado, masculino-femenino, fuerte-débil.

El lesbianismo es mucho más que una simple relación sensual, y se proclama como la POSICION POLITICA de las mujeres que luchamos contra una heterosexualidad impuesta por la sociedad patriarcal, por la destrucción de las relaciones opresor-oprimido a todos los niveles y por la abolición de la sociedad de clases sociales.

El lesbianismo es una opción, entre otras, para todas las mujeres: una forma de vida que se elige libremente con el propósito de desarrollar al máximo nuestras capacidades científicas, intelectuales y artísticas, para luchar junto con todos los demás oprimidos contra la represión y la explotación, y por la construcción de una nueva sociedad.

SER LESBIANA ES LA CAPACIDAD DE UNA MUJER PARA AMAR A OTRA MUJER.
SER LESBIANA CONSCIENTE ES LA CAPACIDAD DE LAS MUJERES, AMANDOSE,
DE LUCHAR POR UNA NUEVA SOCIEDAD.

Lesbianas Feministas Socialistas.
México/78.

15

Fig. 15. The third flyer of OIKABETH I, 8 August 1978.

Translation of fig. 15

THE LESBIAN GROUP OIKABETH
OLIN IKISPAN KATUNTAH BEBEZAH THOTH

A movement of warrior-women who open the path and scatter flowers

Being lesbian isn't limited to a type of sexual behavior,
being lesbian is an attitude towards life.

As lesbians we are those women who refuse to continue the roles which patriarchal society has imposed on us: the traditional role of the woman as passive, submissive, selfless, insecure, servile, and frigid. Domestic.

As lesbians we are women who try to get ahead by ourselves, without the obligatory support by a man; we are confronting the world—which is essentially seen as masculine—but with our own strengths and qualities.

Being lesbian is the virtue of those women who refuse to continue being accomplices to a social system based on exploitation via the roles of the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed, the dominant and the dominated, masculine vs. feminine, strong vs. weak.

Being lesbian is much more than a simple emotional relation and can be claimed as a POLITICAL POSITION of those women who fight against a heterosexual norm imposed by a patriarchal society and for the destruction of the relation of the oppressor versus the oppressed in all levels as well as for the abolition of a society based on social classes.

Being lesbian is one option among others for all women: it's a way of life that one can choose freely with the aim to develop our scientific, intellectual, and artistic abilities to the highest levels—in order to fight with all the others who are oppressed against our repression and exploitation—and for the construction of a new society.

TO BE LESBIAN IS THE ABILITY OF A WOMAN TO LOVE ANOTHER WOMAN. TO BE A CONSCIOUS LESBIAN IS THE ABILITY OF WOMEN TO FIGHT FOR A NEW SOCIETY BY LOVING EACH OTHER.

Socialist Lesbian Feminists.
Mexico/78.

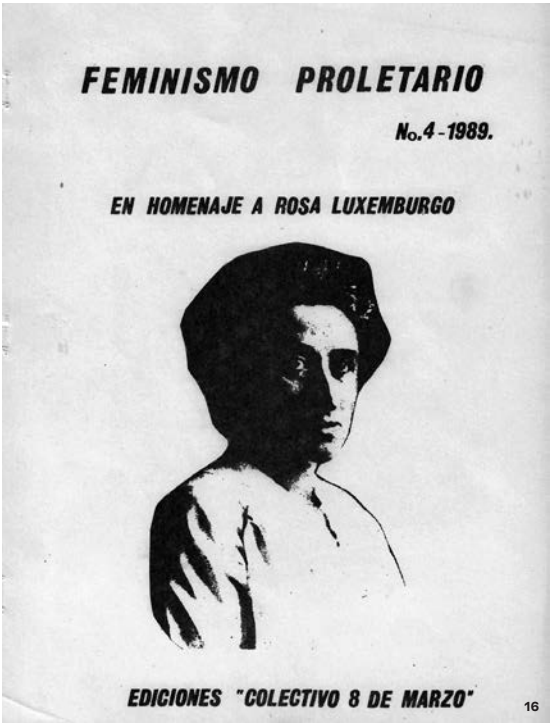


Fig. 16. Cover of the fourth issue of *Feminismo Proletario* [Proletarian Feminism] by the Colective 8 de Marzo [the March 8th Collective], a publication disseminating criticism and feminist science and literature (second edition, June 1989).

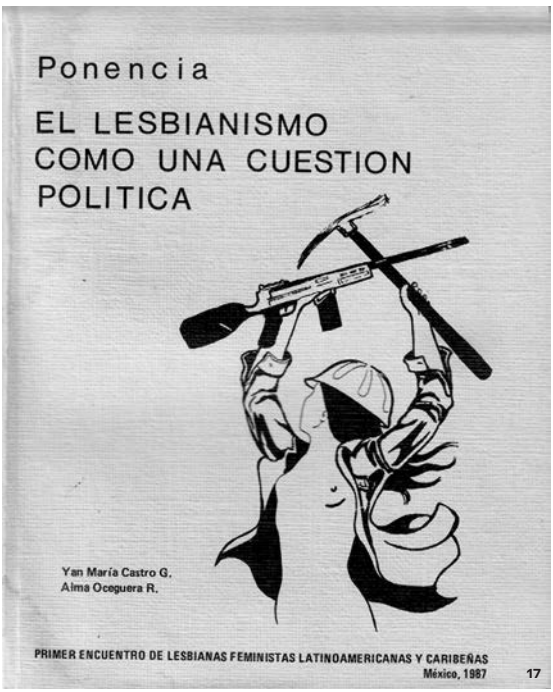


Fig. 17. Cover of the first publication of the political analysis of lesbianism, presented at the Primer Encuentro de Lesbianas Feministas Latinoamericanas y Caribeñas [First Gathering of Lesbian Feminists from Latin America and the Caribbean], Cuernavaca, Morelos/Mexico, 14–17 October 1987.

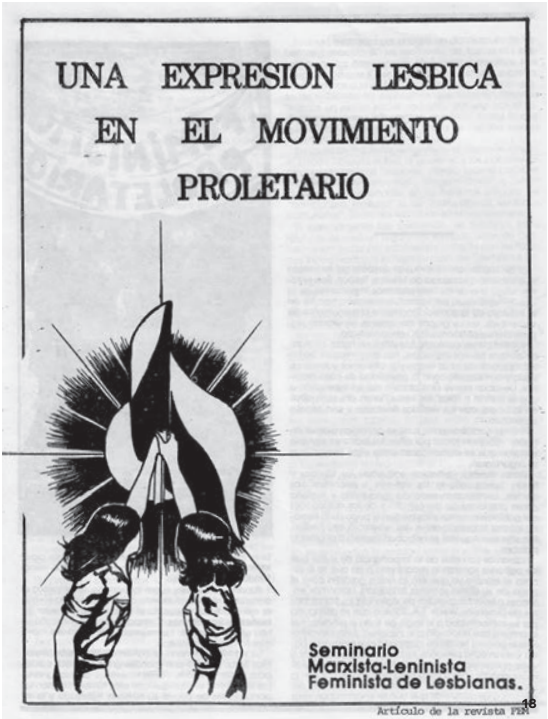


Fig. 18. "Una expresión lésbica en el movimiento proletario" [A lesbian expression in the proletarian movement]; cover illustration of an article in the magazine *FEM*, 1980s.

Fig. 19. A flyer for the Gay March of 28 June 1980 by OIKABETH I and reedited by the Seminario Marxista Leninista Feminista de Lesbianas [Seminar of Marxist-Leninist Lesbian Feminists] in 1984, reading:

LESBIANISM AND REVOLUTION

Done with living in silence!

we are workers, mothers, employees, professionals, farmers...
we are women who have chosen to live our own lives.
we are beginning to rupture our isolation sharing the world
that also belongs to us.

the march of 28 June
STARTING FROM THE MONUMENTO
A LOS NIÑOS HEROES 4 P.M.

1. Alejandra Ciriza, "Constructing Feminist Genealogies from the South: Crossroads and Tensions," in *MILLCAYAC – Revista Digital de Ciencias Sociales*, vol. II, no. 3 (2015), revistas.uncu.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/millca-digital/article/view/523.

2. "Paro Internacional de Mujeres: cuándo surgió y por qué Argentina tiene un rol central," [International Women's Strike: When It Emerged and Why Argentina Plays a Central Role], *El Clarín*, 3 March 2018, clarin.com/entremujeres/genero/paro-mujeres-paro-internacional-mujeres-8m_0_H1MEblPuz.html.

3. Rina Ortiz, *Alexandra Kollontai en México: Diario y otros documentos* (Xalapa/Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2012).

4. Rina Ortiz, "Del ensayo sociopolítico al relato literario: 'La cuestión femenina' en los trabajos de Alexandra Kollontai (1908–1923)," in *La osadía se viste de mujer*, edited by Fernanda Núñez and Rina Ortiz (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2019), 199.

5. The "marea verde" refers to the abortion cause in Argentina where all women started using a green bandana as the symbol to support legal abortion creating the image of a "green tide."

6. Alexandra Kollontai, *International Women's Day*. Originally published as a pamphlet in March 1920. Translated by Alix Holt and available on the Marxist Internet Archive, marxists.org/archive/kollontai/1920/womens-day.htm.

7. Vashna Jagarnath, "The Russian Revolution: A Reflection on the Role of Women Revolutionaries," *The Conversation*, theconversation.com/the-russian-revolution-a-reflection-on-the-role-of-women-revolutionaries-85118.

8. Cintia Frencia and Daniel Gaido, "Los orígenes del decreto soviético de legalización del aborto (1920)," *Anuario de la Escuela de Historia Virtual*, year 9, no. 14 (2018).

9. The push for this law is one of the initiatives that has also been credited to Kollontai and her work in working-class women's organizations, despite her resignation from her political post when this decree was approved. In June 1920, along with other notable Bolshevik leaders like Vera Lebedeva, Inessa Armand, Nadezhda Krupskaya, Olga Kameneva, and Vera Golubeva, Kollontai had participated in a series of meetings organized to discuss the question of abortion. [Note by Dora García: During our trip to Moscow in October 2019, we found a handwritten note in one of the files requested from RGASPI, the Russian State Archive of Sociopolitical History, in which Kollontai speaks of the joy with which the decriminalization of abortion was received by the women comrades, and that Lenin shared this joy].

10. Frencia and Gaido, "Los orígenes del decreto soviético de legalización del aborto (1920)," 36.

11. A project preserving various notes and articles on Mexican art since 1991, created by Mónica Mayer and her partner Víctor Lerma.

12. Ana Lau Jaiven, "La Unión Nacional de Mujeres Mexicanas entre el comunismo y el feminismo: Una difícil relación", *Revista de estudios de Género La Ventana*, no. 40 (2014): 165–85, scielo.org.mx/pdf/laven/v5n40/v5n40a7.pdf.

13. Dia Selene de Dios Vallejo and María Esther Navarro Larra, "El feminismo como movimiento social," *Perspectiva de Género*, edited by Chávez Carapia and Julia del Carmen (Mexico City: UNAM/Plaza Valdés, 2004), 38.

14. Mónica Lindsay-Pérez, *Mexican Feminism in Protest: The Photography of Ana Victoria Jiménez* (Mexico: 2019), 23 min., consulted on anavictoriajimenezexhibition.com.

15. Marta Acevedo, "Las mujeres luchan por su liberación: Nuestro sueño está en escarpado lugar," supplement to *La Cultura en México*, 30 September 1970.

16. Amor Teresa Gutiérrez Sánchez, "El 10 de mayo 'Día de la Madre' en México, o: De Cómo Imponer un Modelo de Maternidad," *Revista Xihmai* XII, no. 23 (January to June 2017): 45–60.

17. On 14 March 1969, an *International Dinner Party* was held, consisting of a performance created by Suzanne Lacy, in the framework of an exhibition of the artist Judy Chicago's *Dinner Party*. The goal of the performance was to invite groups of women in different parts of the world to hold dinners on that day and send the photographic documentation of these events via telegrams. Ana Victoria Jiménez put together the Mexican Dinner Party and took the photograph that was sent as part of the performance, which can also be found in the archive.

18. Marta Lamas, "El movimiento de las costureras: Notas para una reflexión feminista", *FEM*, year 10, no. 45. (May 1986): 4–10.

19. Saturday, 4 January 2014, "Una expresión lésbica en el movimiento proletario," (1985), Yan María Yaoyólotl's blog, yanmaria-yaoyolotl.blogspot.com/2014/01/ahdmdlfemex-19762013.html.

20. Statement by Rosas Rojas leader Magalí Terraza in conversation with Paloma Contreras Lomas and the author, 26 August 2019.

ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI: A COMPLETE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rina Ortiz

1898

"Osnovy vospitaniia po vzgliadam Dobroliubova" [The Basis of Education, According to Dobroliubov], *Obrazovanie*, no. 9 (September 1898), 1–15; no. 10 (October 1898), 1–19; no. 11 (November 1898), 1–16.

1901

"Promyshlennost i torgovlya Velikogo Kniazhestvo Finliandskogo," [Industry and Trade in the Great Princedom of Finland], *Nauchnoe obozrenie*, no. 7 (1901).

1902

"Zemelnyi vopros v Finliandii" [The Agrarian Question in Finland], *Nauchnoe obozrenie*, no. 2 (1902), 45–54; no. 3, 202–210; no. 4, 124–136.

"Sotsializm v Finliandii" [Socialism in Finland], *Zaria*, no. 4 (1902), 71–79. Also included in — *Finilandiia i sotsializm: Sbornik statei ne poyavliaivshijsia v pechati v Rossii* [Finland and Socialism: Anthology of Articles Not Published in the Press in Russia]. Petrograd: Izdanie Marii Malykh, 1906, 6–18.

"Splavshchik lesa v Finliandii" [Raftingmen in Finland], *Nauchnoe obozrenie*, no. 9 (1902), 69–78.

"Zhilishcha finliandskikh rabochikh" [Housing of Finnish Workers], *Russkoe bogatstvo*, no. 7 (July 1902), 126–144.

1903

Zhizn finliandskij rabochij: Ekonomicheskiy issledovanie [The Life of Finnish Workers: Economic Research]. Petrograd: Tovarishestvo Judozhestvennoi pechati, 1903. Also included in — *Sb 7: Skandinavskii Sbornik* [Sb 7: Scandinavian Anthology], 1963 (place and publisher unknown).

1904

"Die Arbeiterbewegung in Finnland und die russische Regierung" [The Workers' Movement in Finland and the Russian Government], *Die Neue Zeit*, no. 22 (1903–4), 749–757. Also included in — *Finliandiia i sotsializm: Sbornik statiei ne poyavliaivshijsia v pechati v Rossii* [Finland and Socialism: Anthology of Articles Not Published in the Press in Russia]. Petrograd: Izdanie Marii Malykh, 1906, 19–34.

1905

K voprosu o klassovoi borbe [About the Problem of Class Struggle]. Petrograd: Tip. N.P. Sobko, 1905. Subsequent edition — Petrograd: Izdanie Marii Malykh, 1905.

"Problema nravstvennosty s pozitivnoi tochki zreniia" [The Problem of Morality from a Positive Point of View], *Obrazovanie*, no. 9 (September 1905), 77–95; no. 10 (October 1905), 92–107.

1906

"Kto takie sotsial-demokraty i chego oni jotiat" [Who Are the Social Democrats and What Do They Want], *Rabochii ezhegodnik*, no. 1 (1906), 74–87. Subsequent edition — Petrograd: Ed. Armeiskogo Komiteta RSDRP, 1917.Also included in — *Izbrannie stati I rechi* [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1972, 31–44.

Finliandia i sotsialism: Sbornik statiei ne poyavliaivshijsia v pechati v Rossii [Finland and Socialism: Anthology of Articles Not Published in the Press in Russia]. Petrograd: Izdanie Marii Malykh, 1906.

1907

"*Izbiratelnaya kampaniia v Finlandii* [The Electoral Campaign in Finland], *Izdatelstvo Otgoloski Sbornik,* no. 3 (1907), 46–61.

"Novyi finliandskii Parlament" [The New Finnish Parliament], *Obrazovanie*, no. 4 (April 1907), 72–90; no. 5 (May I907), 54–69; no. 7 (July 1907), 20–47.

"Dva techeniia (po povodu pervoi mezhdunarodnoi zhenskoi sotsialisticheskoi konferentsii v Shtutgarte)" [Two Directions (Regarding the First Socialist Women International Conference in Stuttgart)], *Obrazovanie*, no. 10 (October 1907), 46–62. Also included in — *Mezhdunarodnye sotsialisticheskie soveshchaniia rabotnits* [The International Meetings of Socialist Women]. Moscow: Izdanie VTsIK Soviet RS i K deputatov, 1918.

1909

"Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa v sovremennom obshchestve" [The Woman Worker in Contemporary Society], *Trudy I vserossiiskogo zhenskogo syezda* [Works of the First Russian Congress of Women], Petrograd: 1908, 792–801 (original publisher unknown). Also included in — *Russkie zhenschiny v labirinte ravnopravia (Ocherki politicheskoi teorii i istorii. Dokumentalnie materialy)* [Russian Women in the Labyrinth of Equality (Essays on Political Theory and History. Documentary Materials)], ed. S.G. Aybazova. Moscow: RIK, Rusanova, 1998, 237–247; *Feminitskie otvety na zhenskii vopros v Rossiii (Vtoraya polovina XIX -pervaya tret' XXv)* [Feminist Responses to the Woman Question in Russia (From the Second Half of the 19th Century to the First Third of the 20th Century)], eds. V.I. Uspenskaya and N.N. Kozlova. Tver: Tveskoi gosudarstvennii Universitet, 2010, 129–138.

Sotsialnye osnovy zhenskogo voprosa [The Social Basis of the Woman Question]. Petrograd: Znanie, 1909 and 1916.

"Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa v sovremennom obschestve" [The Woman Worker in Contemporary Society], G*olos sotsial-demokrata*, no. 2 (March 1909), 6–7.

1910

"Itogi s" ezda po borbe s prostitutsiei" [Conclusions of the Congress on the Fight Against Prostitution], *Sotsial-demokrat*, no. 14 (July 1910), 5–6.

"Itogi vtoroi mezhdunarodnoi zhenskoi sotsialisticheskoi konferentsii" [Conclusions of the Second International Conference of Socialist Women], *Nasha zaria*, no. 1 (September 1910), 89–95.

"Die ökonomische Lage der russischen Arbeiterinnen" [The Economic Situation of the Russian Women Workers], *Die Gleichheit*, no. 24, 25, and 26 (1910).

"Proletariat i burzhuaziia v borbe s prostitutsiei" [The Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie in the Fight Against Prostitution], *Pravda* (Viena, 7 July 1910), 3.

"Die russische Arbeiterbewegung in den Zeiten der Reaktion" [The Russian Workers' Movement in the Time of Reaction], *Die Neue Zeit*, no. 41 (1910), 484–492.

"Vtoraia mezhdunarodnaia zhenskaia sotsialisticheskaia konferentsia" [The Second International Conference of Socialist Women], *Sotsial-demokrat*, no. 7 (1910).

"Zadachi rabonits v borbe s prostitutsiei" [The Women Workers' Task in the Fight Against Prostitution], *Golos sotsial-demokrata*, no. 3 (April 1910), 3–4.

"Zadachi s'ezda po bor'be s prostitutsiei," [Objectives of the Congress on Combating Prostitution], *Vozrozhdenie*, no. 2 (30 March 1910), 8–17; *Sotsial-demokrat*, no. 17 (1910).

"Zhenskoe rabochee dvizhenie na Zapade: Itogui 2° mezhdunarodnoi zhenskoi konferentsii v Kopengaguene)" [The Women Workers' Movement in the West: Conclusions for the Second International Conference of Women in Copenhagen], *Zhizn*, no. 2 (1910), 47–52.

1911

"Der 1. Mai im Zarenreich" [May First in the Tsar's Empire], *Die Gleichheit*, no. 15 (1911), 228–229.

"Aus der Bewegung" [From the Movement], *Die Gleichheit*, no. 17 (1911), 265–266.

"Aus der Gewerkschaftsbewegung Russlands" [From the Unions' Movement in Russia], *Die Gleichheit*, no. 19 (1911), 302.

"Zhenskii den'" [Women's Day], *Nasha zaria*, no. 2 (March 1911), 39–43.

"Dvizhenie menazherok (joziaek) vo Frantsii" [The Movement of Housewives in France], *Nasha zaria*, no. 9–10 (September 1911), 75–80.

"Formy organizatsii rabonits na Zapade" [Ways of Organization of Women Workers in the West], *Delo zhizni*, no. 1 (22 January 1911), 79–88. Subsequently published: Moscow: Izdanie VTsIK, 1918.

"Iz zapisok zagranichnogo agitatora" [Notes of a Foreign Agitator], *Russkoe bogatstvo*, no. 11 (Nov 1911), 167–183.

"Polovaia moral'i sotsialnaia bor'ba" [Sexual Morals and the Social Struggle], *Novaya zhizn'*, no. 9 (1911), 155–182.

"Na staruiu temu" [An Old Theme], *Novaya zhizn'*, no. 9 (1911), 174–196.

1912

"Dve pravdy" [Two Truths], *Novaya zhizn'*, no. 8 (1912), 166–175.

"Soiuz zashchity materinstva i reforma seksual'noi morali" [The Union for the Protection of Motherhood and the Reform of Sexual Morals], *Novaya zhizn'*, no. 11 (1912), 239–254.

"Den internationella arbetarklassen och kriget" [The International Working Class and the War], *Social-Demokraten* (2 May 1912), 1.

"Zhenskoe izbiratel'noe pravo v shvedskom parlamente" [Women's Right to Vote in the Swedish Parliament], *Nasha zaria*, no. 3 (July 1912), 55–60.

"Novaya Angliia" [New England], *Nasha zaria*, no. 11–12 (1912), 89–99.

"Novye zakony strakhovaniia materinstva" [New Laws for the Protection of Maternity], *Sovremennyi mir*, no. 10 (1912), 221–230.

"Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Finliandii" [The Social Movement in Finland], in *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii* [The Social Movement in Russia], eds. L. Martov, P. Maslov, and A. Potresov. Petrograd: Obshchestvennaia pol'za, 1912.

Po rabochei Evrope, siluety i eskizy (Iz zapisnoi knigi lektora) [Working Class Europe: Drawings and Drafts (From the Notebook of a Lecturer)]. Petrograd: Semenov, 1912.

Bei den europäischen Arbeitern. [Working Class Europe]. Dresden: Kaden, 1912.

"Zhenskii den v Germanii i Avstrii" [Women's Day in Germany and Austria], *Delo zhiznii*, no. 4 (1912), 67–72.

1913

"Zapiski agitatora" [Notes from an Agitator], *Sovremennyi mir*, no. 2 (1913), 1–14.

"Novaya zhenshchina" [The New Woman], *Sovremennyi mir*, no. 9 (1913), 151–185. Also included in —*Novaya moral' i rabochii klass* [The New Morality and the Working Class]. Moscow: VTsIK, 1918, 3–35.

"Organizatsiia rabotnits i partiinoe stroitel'stvo" [The Organization of Women Workers and the Construction of the Party], *Luch'*, no. 127 (1913).

"Veliki borets za pravo i svobod zhenshchiny (Pamiati Avg. Bebelia)" [A Great Fighter for the Rights and the Liberation of Women (In Memory of August Bebel)], *Nasha zaria*, no. 7–8 (1913), 15–24. Subsequent editions — Porvoo: Suuri Esitaistelija, 1914; *Avgust Bebel. Zhenshchina I sotsialzm* [August Bebel. Woman And Socialism] Petrograd: Izdanie Petrogradskij Sovetov rabochij I krasnyj deputatov, 1919.

"Zhenskoe rabochee dvizhenie" [The Movement of Working Class Women], *Nasha zaria*, no. 2 (1913), 3–16.

"Zashchita materinstva" [Maternity Insurance], *Nasha zaria*, no. 9 (1913), 10–21.

"Zhenskii den" [Women's Day], *Pravda* (17 February 1913).

1914

Rabotnitsa-mat' [Worker and Mother]. Petrograd: Izdatelstvo Biblioteki Rabotnitsy, 1914. Subsequent editions — Petrograd: Zhizn i znanie, 1918; Moscow: VtsIK, 1918.

"Zhenskii den' priblizhaetsia" [Women's Day is Approaching], *Novaya rabochaia gazeta* (21 January 1914), 2.

"Gosudarstvennoe strajovanie materinstva" [State Maternity Insurance], *Strakhovanie rabochikh*, no. 3 (February 1914).

"Zadachi Listka rabotnitsy" [The Tasks on the Worker Woman's List], *Listok rabotnitsy*, no. 1 (25 May 1914).

"Grosnyi prizrak" [A Threatening Ghost], *Sovremennyi mir*, no. 3 (1914), 65–84.

"Jean Jaurés," *Julfacklan*, supplement to *Social-Demokraten* (December 1914). Also included in — *Izbrannie stati I rechi* [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1972, 133–137.

"Krest' materinstva" [The Burden of Motherhood], *Sovremennyi mir*, no. 1 (November 1914): 42–54.

"Till de socialistiska kvinnorna I alla länder" [To Socialist Women in Every Country], *Stormklockan* (15 November 1914), 2.

"Staatliche Mutterschaftsversicherung" [State Maternity Insurance], *Die Neue Zeit* (11 December 1914), 363–371.

"Otechestvo ili rabochii internatsional" [The Fatherland of the Workers' International], *Golos* (19 December 1914), 1–2.

"Mezhdunarodnaya sotsialisticheskaya konferentsiia" [The International Socialist Congress], *Golos* (30 December 1914), 1.

"I försvaret au fosterlandet eller internationell solidaritet" [In the Defense of the Motherland or International Solidarity], *Stormklockan*, no. 51 (26 December 1914), 6–7.

"Kriget och vara närmaste uppgifter" [The War and Our Immediate Tasks], *Forsvarsnihilisten*, no. 11 (1914). Subsequent edition — "Voina I nashi blizhaishie zadachi," *Izbrannie stati i rechi* [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1972, 128–132.

"Tipy i formy strakhovaniia materinstva" [Types and Forms of Motherhood Protection], *Nasha zaria*, no. 2 (1914), 20–31.

"Und in Russland wird der Frauentag stattfinden" [And in Russia Will Be Women's Day], *Die Gleichheit*, no. 12 (1914), 180. Subsequent edition — "I v Rossii budet zhenskii den," *Izbrannie stati i rechi* [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1972, 125–127.

1915

"Sotsial-demokraticheskii deputat Finliandskogo seima soslan v Sibir" [Deputy of the Finnish Congress Deported to Siberia], *Golos*, no. 101 (9 January 1915), 1.

"Kopengagenskaia konferentsiia" [The Copenhagen Congress], *Nashe slovo* (29 January 1915), 2; (2 February 1915), 1.

"Shto delat'? Otvet sotsialistkam" [What to Do? Answer to the Socialists], *Nashe slovo* (19 February 1915), 1.

"Vmesto Zhenskogo dnia'—internatsional'naia demonstratsiia sotsialistok" [Instead of Women's Day—An international Socialist Demonstration), *Nashe slovo* (25 February 1915), 2.

"Zhenskii sotsialisticheskii Internatsional i voina" [Women's Socialist International and the War], *Nashe slovo* (7 March 1915), 3–4.

"Zhenskii den'" [Women's Day], *Nashe slovo* (18 March 1915), 2.

"Germanskaia sotsialdemokratia v pervye dni voiny (Lichnie nabliudeniia)" [German Social Democracy in the First Days of War (Personal Observations)], *Nashe slovo* (4 April 1915), 1–2; (9 April 1915), 1-2; (10 April 1915), 1.

"V Germanii" [In Germany], *Nashe slovo* (8 April 1915), 1.

"K vozrozhdeniiu" [Towards a Renaissance], *Nashe slovo* (28 April 1915), 1.

"Krizis v Shvedskoi partii" [Crisis in the Swedish Party], *Nashe slovo* (13 May 1915), 1.

"Rabochaia zhizn' v Norvegii" [Norwegian Working Class Life], *Nashe slovo* (15 May 1915), 1.

"Dve pobedy norvezhskikh rabochij" [Two Victories of the Norwegian Workers], *Nashe slovo* (23 May 1915), 2.

"Bern och Haage [Berne and Haage: International Socialist Women's Conference in Berne, 7–8 April)," *Social-Demokraten* (29 May 1915).

"Kongress norvezhskoi sotsial-demokratii" [The Congress of Norwegian Social Democracy], *Nashe slovo* (13 June 1915), 1–2.

"Vesti iz Rossii" [News from Russia], *Nashe slovo* (16 June 1915), 1–2.

"'Belyi' i 'zheltii' Kapitalizm" [White and Yellow Capitalism], *Nashe slovo* (20 June 1915), 1–2.

"Vesti iz Finliandii" [News from Finland], *Nashe slovo* (5 August 1915), 1–2; (6 August 1915), 1–2.

"O linii mezhevaniia" [About the Border Line], *Nashe slovo* (7 September 1915), 2.

"Den nye ungdoms internationale og arbeiderungdommen" [The New Youth International and the Workers' Youth], *Ungdomsinternationalen* (Zurich, Scandinavian edition), no. 1 (3 October 1915), 6–7.

"Pochemu molchal proletariat Germanii v iiul'skie dni" [Why Did the German Working Class Not Speak During the July Days?], *Kommunist*, no. 1–2 (1915), 159–161. Also included in — *Izbrannie stati i rechi* [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1972, 154–159.

"Den socialistiska kvinnointernationalen och kriget" [The Socialist Women's International and the War], *Morgonbris*, no. 1 (1915), 3–5.

"Statlig moderskapsförsäkring" [State Maternity Insurance], *Morgonbris*, no. 6 (1915), 2–3; no. 7 (1915), 2.

"The Third International," *The American Socialist* (23 October 1915), 2.

"Verdenkrigens flager set fra sociale, politiske og okonomiske synpunkter" [World War Flags Seen from Social, Political, and Economic Perspectives], *Klassenkampen* (13 November 1915), 559–561.

1916

"Do Internationalists Want a Split?", *International Socialist Review*, January 1916, 394–396.

"The Attitude of the Russian Socialists," *New Review*, 4 March 1916, 60–66.

"Gotoviatsa k voine" [To Get Ready for War], *Nashe slovo* (6 January 1916), 1.

"Vesti iz Rossii: Interv'iu s 'obyvatelem" [News from Russia: Interview with a Citizen], *Nashe slovo* (15 April 1916), 1; (18 April 1916), 1.

"Antimilitarizm rabochij v Amerike" [The Antimilitarism of US Workers], *Nashe slovo* (30 April – 1 May 1916), 2–3.

"Finskie sotsialisty v Amerike" [Finnish Socialists in America], *Nashe slovo* (6 May 1916), 1–2; (7 May 1916), 2.

"Vseobshchaia zabastovka v Norvegii" [General Strike in Norway], *Nashe slovo* (23 June 1916), 1; (24 June 1916), 1.

Komu nuzhna voina? [Who Profits from the War?]. Berna: TsK RSDRP, 1916. Subsequent editions — Petrograd: Priboi, 1917; Jarkov: Izdatelstvo Proletarii, 1917; Petrograd: Rosiiskaya Sotsial-demokraticheskaya Rabochaya Partia, 1917; Petrograd: Izdanie Voennoi Komissii pri Petersburgskoi Komitete RSDRP, 1917; Izdanie Helsinsgforskogo Komiteta RSDRP (location unknown), 1917; Irkutsk: Svobodnaya Rossia, 1917. Also included in — *Izbrannie stati i rechi* [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1972, 138–153.

"My Agitation Tour Around the United States," *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, March 1916.

Obshchestvo i materinstvo [Society and Motherhood]. Petrograd: Zhizn' i Znanie, 1916. Subsequent editions — Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921; Moscow: Gosizdat, 1923.

1917

"Itogi izbiratel'noi kampanii v Soedinennykh Shtatakh" [Results of the Electoral Campaign in USA], *Letopis'* (January 1917), 223–236.

"Pis'ma iz Ameriki" [Letters from America], *Letopis'* (May–June 1917).

"Rabotnitsy i uchreditel'noe sobranie" [Women Workers and the Constituent Assembly], *Pravda* (21 March 1917), 1–2. Subsequent edition — Petrograd: Priboi, 1917.

"Nash pamiatnik bortsam za svobodu" [Our Monument to Freedom Fighters], *Pravda* (23 March 1917), 1.

"Informatsiya" [Information], *Pravda* (11 April 1917), 1.

"Demonstratsiia soldatok" [Demonstration for the Soldiers], *Pravda* (12 April 1917), 2.

"Kuda vedet revolutsionnoe oboronchestvo?" [Where is Our Revolutionary Defense Taking Us?], *Pravda* (5 April 1917), 1.

"Na nashe 'linii ognia" [In Our War Front], *Pravda* (22 May 1917), 3.

"Rabotnitsy i Raionnyi Duma" [The Women Workers and the Duma], *Pravda* (8 June 1917), 2–3.

"Plenniki russkikh imperialistov" [Prisoners of the Russian Imperialists], *Pravda* (16 June 1917), 2–3.

"Pervye shagi k sozyvu konferentsii rabonits" [The First Steps to Call for a Women Workers' Conference], *Pravda* (23 October 1917), 2.

"Rabotnitsy, zanimaite svoi revoliutsionnye posty" [Women Workers, Occupy Your Revolutionary Positions!], *Pravda* (10 November 1917), 4.

"Ko vsem rabotnitsam" [To All Women Workers], *Pravda* (17 November 1917), 4.

"K tovarishcham vsekh Petrogradskikh raionov" [To All Comrades of the Different Petrograd Districts], *Pravda* (16 November 1917), 4.

"Prikaz narodnogo komisara po gosudarstvennomu prizreniiu" [Decree of the People's Commissioner of Social Security], *Pravda* (8 December 1917), 3.

"Durch Bürgerkrieg zur Gleichberechtigung der Frauen" [Reaching Women's Equality Through Civil War], *Jugend-Internationale*, no. 8 (May 1917), 9–10.

"Das fremde Kollektiv" [The Foreign Collective], *Jugend-Internationale*, no. 10 (1 October 1917), 5–6.

"Vosstanovlenie administratsionnogo proizvola" [The Restauration of Administrative Arbitrariness], *Rabochii put'* (20 September 1917), 2.

"Bankrotstvo lozunga 'grazhdanskogo mira'" [The Bankrupcy of the Term "Civil Peace"], *Rabochii put'* (13 October 1917), 2.

"Kak nado rabotnitsam gotovitsiia k Ucheriditelnomy Sobraniu?" [How Must Women Workers Prepare for the Constituent Assembly], *Rabochii put'* (27 October 1917), 2.

"Pervaia konferentsiia rabotnits" [The First Women Workers' Conference], *Rabochii put'* (8 November 1917), 4.

"Nashi zadachi" [Our Tasks], *Rabotnitsa*, no. 1–2 (1917), 3–4.

"Dorogovizna i voina" [War and Scarcity], *Rabotnitsa* (1917).

„Genom krig mot de bestaende samhäillet fram till kvinnornas likaberättigandemed männen" [Through the War Against Society Until Women's Equal Rights], *Morgonbris*, no. 5 (1917), 6–7.

"Konferentsiia rabotnits i partiinie raioni" [The Conference of the Women Workers and the Party Districts], *Rabochii put* (3 November 1917), 2.

Kto takie sotsial-democraty i chego oni jotyat [Who Are the Social Democrats and What Do They Want?]. Petrograd: Kniga, 1917. Subsequent editions — Tobolsk: Tobol. Kom. PSDRP i Ispol. Kom. Sotsialist. Uchascheisya molodezhi, 1917; Izdanie Armeiskogo Komiteta RSDRP (location unknown), 1917.

"På havet i blokade zonen" [At Sea in the Blockade Zone], *Lordagskvelden*, (3 March 1917), 1–2; (10 March 1917), 1; (17 March 1917), 1–2.

Rabotnitsa-mats [The Worker-Mother], Petrograd: Zhizn i znanie, 1917. Subsequent editions — Moscow: VTsIK Sov.R.S.Kr. i Kazach. Deputatov, 1918; Petrograd: Izdanie Petrogradskogo Soveta Rabochij i Krasnoarmeyskij Deputatov, 1918; Petrograd: Knigoizdatelstvo Zhizn i Znanie, 1918; Moscow and Petrograd: Knigoizdatelstvo Kommunist, 1918.

"Varfor bolsjevikerna bör segra" [Why the Bolsheviks Should Win], *Revolt*, no. 12 (1917); *Revolt*, no. 1, (May 1918), 5–6.

"La vie politique et sociale: Amérique" [Political and Social Life: America], *Demain* (Geneva), no. 13 (May 1917), 34–39.

"La vie politique et sociale: Suéde." [Political and Social Life: Sweden], *Demain* (Geneva), no. 13 (May 1917), 46–48.

1918

Robotnica-matka [The Worker-Mother]. Moscow: Tribuna, 1918.

Wem nützt der Krieg? [Who Profits from the War?], *Arbeiterpolitik* (Bremen) (7 December 1918), 297–98; (21 December 1918), 308–10; (28 December 1918), 314–6; (4 January 1919), 320–2. Subsequent editions — *Wem nützt der Krieg?* [Who Profits from the War?], ed. Deutsche Gruppe der Russischen Kommunistischen Partei (Bolschewiki). Moscow: 1918; *Qui veut la guerre?* [Who Profits from the War?], Switzerland, n.d.; *Wem nützt der Krieg?* [Who Profits from the War?]. Moscow: Dt. Gruppe d. Russ. Kommunist. Partei (Bolschewiki), 1918.

"Krest materinstva i Sovetskaia respublika" [The Burden of Motherhood and the Soviet Republic], *Pravda* (1 October 1918).

"Gorod pervykh 'buntarei" [The City of the First Rebels], *Pravda* (3 October 1918). Subsequent edition — *Iz moei zhizni i raboty* [From My Life and Work]. Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1974, 349–353.

"Pervoe vserossiiskoe soveshchanie rabotnits" [To the First Meeting of Russian Women Workers], *Pravda* (5 October 1918), 2.

"Amerikanskii proletariat" [The American Working Class], *Pravda* (12 October 1918), 2.

"K pervomu vserossiiskomu soveshchaniiu rabotnits" [To the First Meeting of Russian Women Workers], *Pravda* (30 October 1918), 3; (2 November 1918), 3.

"Pora pokonchit' s 'Chernymi gnezdami" [It Is Time to End with the Black Nests], *Pravda* (10 November 1918).

"Popy eshche rabotaiut" [Priests Are Still Working], *Pravda* (19 December 1918).

"Dekret" [Decree], *Izvestiia* (4 January 1918), 2.

Mezhdunarodnye sotsialisticheskie soveshchaniia rabotnits,1907–1910 [International Meetings of Socialist Women Workers 1907–1910]. Moscow: Izdanie VTslK Sovetov RSK I K Deputatov, 1918.

Novaya moral' i rabochii klass [The New Moralilty and the Working Class]. Moscow: lzdanie VTslK, 1918.

Rabotnitsa za god revoliutsii [The Worker Woman One Year After the Revolution]. Moscow: Kommunist, 1918; Moscow and Petrograd: Knigoizdatelstvo Kommunist, 1918. Subsequent editions — Pavlograd: Izdanie Obl. Kom. Donetsko-Krivopozhsk; Basseyna K.P.B.V, 1919; Kiev: Tsentr. Agenstvo po Rasprostraneniu i Raspredeleniu Pechati, 1919; Odessa: Gubernskoe Otdelenie Pechati, 1920.

Semya i kommunisticheskoe gosudarstvo [The Family and the Communist State]. Moscow: Kommunist, 1918. Subsequent editions — Moscow and Petrograd: Kommunist, 1918; Kiev: Ukrainskoe Tsentralnoe Agenstvo po Rasprostraneniu i Raspredeleniu literatury; Samara: Samarskii Gubkom RKP, 1919; Odessa: Otdel Agitatsii i propagandy pri Ispolkome SRD, 1919; Tver: Kommuna, 1919; Odessa: Izdatelstvo otdel agitatsii i propagandy odesskogo gubern. Komiteta kommunistov (Bolshevikov) na Ukraine, 1920; Jarkov: Vseukrainskoe Izdatelstvo,1920; Moscow: Gosizdat, 1920; Tashkent: Turkestanskoe Gos. Izdatelstvo, 1920; Ekaterinoslav and Kharkov, Vseukr. Gos. Izdat, 1922.

Communism and the Family [Semya i kommunisticheskoe gosudarstvo]. London: The Workers' Socialist Federation, 1918.

"Sistema izdevatel'stva prodolzhaetsia" [The Bullying System Continues], *Rabochii put'* (28 September 1918), 4.

"Starost'-ne proklaitie a zasluzhennyi otdykh" [Old Age Is Not a Curse but a Well-Deserved Rest], *Vechernie Izvestiia* (30 October 1918).

"Otnoshenie mezhdu polami i klassovaia bor'ba" [The Relation Between the Sexes and the Class Struggle], *Novaya moral' i rabochii klass* [The New Morality and the Working Class]. Moscow: VTSIK, 1918, 48–61.

1919

A dolgozo anya [The Worker-Mother] (foreword by Szamuely Tibor). Budapest: Kommunistak Magyarorszagi Partjanak Kladasa, 1919.

"Letter," *Revolutionary Age* (22 February 1919), 4.

"Karl Libknekht i Rosa Luksemburg—Bortsy, geroi, i mucheniki" [Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburgo—Rebels, Heroes, and Martyrs], *Ravochii mir*, no. 2–3 (February 1919), 14–15.

"Kogo poteriali rabotnitsy?" [Who Was Lost for Women Workers?], *Kommunar* (21 March 1919).

"Borba s tsarem-golodom" [The Fight Against the Tsar: Hunger], *Izvestiia Kharkovskogo Soveta i gubernskogo ispolnitel´nogo komiteta Sovetov rabochij, Krestianskij i krasnoarmeiskikh deputatov* (13 May 1919).

"Za chto my voiuem?" [Why Are We Fighting?], *Izvestiia Kharkovskogo Soveta* (7 May 1919).

Bud 'stoikim bortsom [Be a Convinced Fighter!]. Moscow, Gosizdat, 1919. Subsequent edition — Rostov Na Donu, 1920.

"Chei budet zolotoi urozhai?" [Who Will Harvest the Gold?], *Krasnyi ofitser* (Kiev), no. 3 (July 1919).

"K istorii dvizheniia rabotnits v Rossii" [About the History of the Movement of Women Workers in Russia], *Kommunisticheskaia partiia i organizatsiia rabotnits* [The Comunist Party and the Organization of Women Workers]. Moscow: Izd. RKP, 1919, 51–90. Subsequent editions — Jarkov: Vseukrainskoe izdatelstvo, 1920; Odessa: Izdanie Gubernskogo Otdela Pechati, 1920.

Kak boriutsia rabotnitsy za svoi prava: I. Sotsialisticheskoe dvizhenie rabotnits v razlichnij stranaj, II. Formy organizatsii rabotnits na Zapade [How Workers Fight for Their Rights: I. The Socialist Movement of Women Workers in Different Countries, II. Forms of Organization of Women Workers in the West]. Moscow: Izdanie VTsIK, 1919. Subsequent editions — Tashkent: Turkestanskoe Gos. Izdatelstvo, 1920.

"Kak i dlia chego sozvan byl I Vserossiiskii c'ezd rabotnits" [How and Why Was the First Russian-Wide Women Worker's Congress Organized?], *Pervyi Vserossiiskii s'ezd rabotnits, 16–21 noiabria 1918 g. I ego rezoliutsii.* Kharkov: Vseukrainskoe izdatelstvo, 1920, 3–9.

"Po Rossii" [Around Russia], *Pravda* (13 July 1919), 4.

"Krasnyi garnizon i zadachi rabotnits" [The Red Army and the Tasks of Women Workers], *Pravda* (25 October 1919), 1.

"O rabote voennikh organizatorov" [About the Work of Military Organizers], *Pravda*, (26 October 1919), 3.

Rabotnitsy v Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii [Women Workers in the October Revolution], *Pravda* (6 November 1919), 3.

"Vse na borbu s kholodom!" [All Together Fighting Against the Cold], *Pravda* (28 November 1919), 2.

Mezhdunarodnaia konferentsiia sotsialistok [The International Congress of Socialists Women]. Moscow: Izdanie TIK, 1919.

Ne bud 'dezertirom! [Don't Be a Deserter!]. Kiev: Vseukrainskoe izdatelstvo pri VTsIK Sovetov R.S. K i K. Deputatov, 1919. Subsequent edition — Moscow: Gosizdat, 1919.

Novaya moral i rabochii klass [The New Morality and the Working Class]. Moscow: VTsIK, 1919.

"Perelom v derevne" [Changes in the Village], *Izvestiia* (23 November 1919).

"Prava rabotnits v Sovetskoi Rossii" [The Rights of Women Workers in Soviet Russia], in *Kommunisticheskaia partiia i organizatsiia rabotnits* [The Communist Party and the Organization of Women Workers]. Moscow: Izdanie RKP, 1919, 20–23.

Rabotnitsy, krestianki i krasnii front [The Peasant and Working Woman and the Red Front]. Moscow: Izdanie VTsIK Sovetov R.S. K i K. Deputatov, 1919. Subsequent edition — Moscow: Gosizdat, 1920.

Starii drug bednoty – golod [Poverty's Old Friend: Hunger]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1919.

Staryi vrag bednoty – jolod [Poverty's Old Friend: The Cold]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1919.

"The Activity of the Russian People's Commissariat for Social Welfare," *Soviet Russia: A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth about Russia* (New York), vol. 1, no. 11 (16 August 1919), 1–3.

Pamiati Karla Libjneta i Rozy Liuxemburg [In Memory of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg], eds. G. Zinoviev, A. Lunachraskii, L. Trotskii, N. Bujarin, Y. Teklov, A. Kollontai, A. Balabanova, A. Ioffe, Y. Larin, V. Kerzhentsev, M. Bronskii, Demian Bedny. Moscow, 1919 (publisher unknown).

1920

"Die Familie und der Kommunistische Staat" [The Family and the Communist State], *Sovjet* (Vienna), no. 8–9 (1920), 10–11.

Semia i kommunisticheskoe gosudarstvo [Communist State and the Family]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1920. Subsequent editions — Odessa: Izdatelstvo otdel agitatsii i propagandy odesskogo gubern. Komiteta Kommunistov (bolshevikov) na Ukraine, 1920; Jatkov: Vseukrainskoe izdatelstvo, 1920.

"Semia i kommunizm" [The Family and Communism], *Kommunistka*, no. 7 (December 1920), 16–19.

La famille et l'état communiste [The Family and the Communist State]. Subsequent editions — Paris: Bibliothèque communiste, 1920; Brussels: Les Éditions Communiste, 1921.

"La famiglia e lo Stato comunista" [The Family and the Communist State], *Communismo: Rivista della III Internazionale* (1919–20), 617–630.

Bud' stoikim bortsom! [Be a Convicted Fighter]. Rostov na Donu: Donobagenstvo Tsentrpechati VTsIK, 1920.

Die Neue Moral und die Arbeiterklasse [The New Morality and the Working Class]. Berlin: A. Seehof, 1920.

"Eshche odno oruzhie v bor'be protiv dezorganizatsii" [A New Weapon in the Fight Against Disorganization], *Izvestiia* (17 March 1920).

"Vserossiiskoe soveshchanie kommunistok" [The Reunion of Communist Women from all Russia], *Izvestiia* (28 November 1920), 1.

"Radostnyi itog" [Happy Outcome], *Izvestiia* (10 December 1920), 1.

"Eshche odna pobeda kommunistok" [Another Victory of the Communists], *Izvestiia* (14 July 1920), 1.

"Gigant dukha i voli" [Giant of Mind and Will], *Krasnoarmeets*, no. 21–22 (April 1920), 14. Subsequent edition — "Golos Lenina" [Lenin's Voice], *Oktiabr'*, no. 1 (1963), 4–5.

K istorii dvizhenii rabotnits v Rossii [For the History of the Movement of Women Workers in Russia] and *Borba rabotnist v poslednie gody* [The Fight of Women Workers in the Last Years]. Both, Jarkov: Vseukrainskoe Izdatelstvo, 1920. Subsequent edition — co-authored with E. Blonina [Inessa], Odessa: Izdanie Gubernskogo Otdela Pechati, 1920.

Kak boriutsa pabotnistsi za svoi prava [How Women Workers Fight for Their Rights]. Odessa: Vseukrainskoe izdatelstvo, 1920.

"Pervaia mezhdunarodnaia konferentsiia kommnistok" [The First International Congress of Communist Women], *Kommunistka*, no. 1–2 (June/July 1920), 3–5. Subsequent edition — Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921.

"Trudovaia povinnost' i okhrana zhenskogo truda" [Labor Duties and the Protection of Women's Labor], *Kommunistka*, no. 1–2 (June/July 1920), 25–27.

"Klassovaia voina i rabotnitsy" [Women Workers and Class Struggle], *Kommunistka*, no. 5 (October 1920), 6–9.

"Zadachi otdelov po rabote sredi zhenshchi" [Tasks of the Different Sections in Charge of Women's Labor], *Kommunistka*, no. 6 (November 1920), 2–4.

"Trudovaia Respublika i prostitutsiia" [The Workers' Republic and Prostitution], *Kommunistka*, no. 6 (November 1920), 15–17.

"Semia i kommunizm" [The Family and Communism], *Kommunistka*, no. 7 (December 1920), 16–19.

"Posledniaia rabynia" [The Last Slave], *Kommunistka*, no. 7 (December 1920), 24–26.

Mezhdunarodnii den' rabotnits [International Day of Women Workers]. Moscow: Gozisdat, 1920. Subsequent editions — Volks, 1921 (editor unknown); Tula: Tulsk. Gubkom RKP, 1921; Kharkov: Vseukr. Gos. Izdatelstvo, 1921.

Otchet o deyatelnost otdela TsK RKP po rabote sredi zhenschin [Report on the Activity of the Work Section Among CC and PCR Women]. Moscow, 1920 (publisher unknown).

"Rabochii filosof F.I. Kalinin" [F.I. Kalinin: Working Class Philosopher], *Sbornik pamiati F.I. Kalinina* [Anthology in Memory of F.I. Kalinin]. Leningrad: Izd. Petrogradskogo Proletkulta, 1920, 17–22.

Rabotnitsa-mats [The Worker-Mother]. Odessa: Izdatelstvo otdel agitatsii i propagandy odesskogo gubern. Komiteta Kommunistov (bolshevikov) na Ukraine, 1920.

Rabotnitsy, krestianki i krasnii front [The Worker Woman, the Peasant, and the Red Front]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1920.

Rabotnitsa za god revoliutsii [The Worker Woman One Year After the Revolution]. Odessa: Izdanie Gubernskogo Otdela Pechati, 1920.

Semia i kommunisticheskogo gosudarstvo [Communist State and the Family]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1920. Subsequent editions — Odessa: Izdatelstvo otdel agitatsii i propagandy odesskogo gubern. Komiteta Kommunistov (bolshevikov) na Ukraine, 1920; Jatkov: Vseukrainskoe izdatelstvo, 1920.

"V te dni" [In Those Days], *Krasnaia gazeta*, 1920.

"Vozhd' proletarskoi revoliutsii" [The Leader of the Proletarian Revolution], *Krasnoarmeets*, no. 21–22, (1920), 14.

Za tri goda: Rechi i besedy agitatora [Three Years Later: Speeches and Conversations of an Agitator]. Moscow: Gozisdat, 1920.

The Workers' Opposition in Russia. London: Dreadnought Publishers, 1920.

1921

Po burzhuaznoi Europe [According to Bougeois Europe]. Kazan: Gosizdat, 1921.

"Avtobviograficheskii ocherk" [Autobiographical Essay], *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, no. 1 (1921), 261–302.

Iz moei zhizni i raboty [Of My Life and Work]. Odessa: Vseukrainskoe gosudarstevennoe izdatelstvo, 1921.

"Pora proanalizirovat" [It's Time to Analyze], *Pravda* (28 January 1921), 1.

"Soveshchanie kommunistok-organizatorov zhenshchin vostoka" [Reunion of the Communist Organizers of Eastern Women], *Pravda* (19 April 1921), 4.

"Pervoe maia i rabotnitsa" [First of May and the Woman Worker], *Pravda* (1 May 1921), 4.

"Profsoiuzy i rabotnitsa" [Unionism and Women Workers], *Pravda* (22 May 1921), 2.

"Vtoraia mezhdunarodnaia konferentsiia" [The Second International Conference], *Pravda* (5 June 1921), 2.

"Mezhdunarodnaia konferentsiia kommunistok" [International Conference of Communist Women], *Pravda* (11 June 1921), 1.

"Nedelia Kominterna" [Comintern Week], *Pravda* (13 November 1921), 1.

"Tretii Internatsional i rabotnitsa" [The Third International and Women Workers], *Pravda* (13 November 1921), 3.

"Eshche odin perezhitok" [One More Reminiscence], *Pravda* (27 December 1921), 1.

"Geschlechterbeziehung und Klassenkampf" [Gender Relations and Class Struggle], *Forum*, no. 1–7 (1921), 186–204.

"Krest materinstva" [The Burden of Motherhood], *Kommunistka*, no. 8–9 (January–February 1921), 22–29.

"Pis'ma Rozy Liuksemburg" [Letters by Rosa Luxemburg], *Kommunistka*, no. 8–9 (January–February 1921), 36–38.

"Proizvodstvo i byt" [Production and Everyday Life], *Kommunistka*, no. 10–11 (March-April 1921), 6–9.

"Komintern i II mezhdunarodnaia konferentsiia kornmunistok" [The Comintern and the Second International Communist Conference], *Kommunistka*, no. 12–13 (May–June 1921), 2–4.

"Tezisy o kommunisticheskoi morali v oblasti brachnikh otnoshenii" [Thesis About Communist Morals in Relation to Marriage Relations], *Kommunistka*, no. 12–13 (May-June 1921), 28–34.

"Kommunistka pervoi revoliutsii" [The Communist Woman of the First Revolution], *Kommunitska*, no. 16–17 (September–October 1921), 5–7.

"Ne uprazdnenie, a ukreplenie" [Not Suppression, but Strengthening the Zhenotdel], *Kommunistka*, no. 16–17 (September–October 1921), 25–27.

Mezhdunarodnii den rabotnits [International Day of Women Workers], 1921 (publisher and location unknown).

"Mezhdumrodnaia solidarnost' i den' rabotnits" [International Solidarity and the Day of Women Workers], *Otchet o pervoi mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii kommunistok* [Report About the First Conference of International Communist Women]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921, 5–12.

"Na puti k kommunizmu i polnomu raskreposhcheniiu zhenshchiny" [Towards Communism and the Total Emancipation of Women], *Tri goda diktatury proletariata* [Three Years of Dictatorship of the Proletariat]. Moscow: Izdanie Moskovskogo komiteta RKP, 1921, 11–18.

"O rabote mezhdunarodnogo zhenskogo sekretariata" [About the Work of the International Women's Secretariat], *Kommunisticheskii Internatsional*, no. 19 (1921), 5097–5100.

Obschestvo i materinstvo [Society and Motherhood]. Moscow, Gosizdat, 1921.

Obschestvo i materinstvo, gosudarstvennoe strajovanie materinstva [Society and Motherhood, Protection of Motherhood by the State]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921.

Otchet o deintel'nosti otdela TsK. RKP po rabote sredi zhenshchin [Report on the Activity of the Working Section Among Women of the CC of the Russian Communist Party]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921.

Po burzhuaznoi Evrope. Kazan: GIZ, 1921. Subsequent edition — *Po burzhuaznoi Evrope. Iz zapisnoi knizhki agitatota* [Bourgeois Europe. Notes of an Agitator]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921.

Polozhenie zhenshchiny v sviazi s evoliutsiei joziaistva [The Situation of Woman in Relation to the Evolution of the Economy]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921.

Porodica i Komunistiska drzava [The Family and the Communist State], *Jugoslovenska komunistička biblioteka*, no. 47 (1921).

Prostitutsiia i mery bor'by s nei [Prostitution and Ways to Fight it]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921.

Borba protiv prostitucije [Prostitution and Ways to Fight It]. Chicago: Jugoslavenske radnicke knjizare, 1921.

Rabochaia oppozitsiia [The Workers' Opposition]. Moscow: Gos. Tip., 1921.

The Workers' Opposition in Russia [The Workers' Opposition]. Chicago: IWW, 1921.

Tyoväen oppositsioni [The Workers' Opposition]. Duluth: Workers Socialist Publishing Co., 1921.

L'opposition ouvrière [The Workers' Opposition]. Strasbourg: Cahiers de Goulaï-Polié, 1921.

Rabotnitsa i krest'ianka v sovetskoi Rossii [The Worker Woman and the Peasant in Soviet Russia]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921. Leningrad: Komintern, 1921.

The Peasant and the Working Woman in Soviet Russia [The Worker Woman and the Peasant in Soviet Russia]. Moscow: Comintern, 1921.

L'ouvrière et la paysanne dans la République Sovietique [The Worker Woman and the Peasant in Soviet Russia]. Paris: L'humanité, 1921.

Die Arbeiterin und die Bäuerin in Sowjetrussland [The Worker Woman and the Peasant in Soviet Russia]. Leipzig: Frankes, 1921.

"Tsar-golod i Krasnaia armiia" [The Tsar-Hunger and the Red Army], *Voin revoliutsii*, no. 2 (1921), 3.

"Zhizn' bortsa: Pamiati tov. A. S. Vedernikova-Sibiraka" [Life of a Fighter: In Memory of Comrade A.S. Vedernikov-Sibiriak], *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, no. 2 (1921), 129–138.

La famille et l'état communiste [The Family and the Communist State]. Brussels: Les Éditions Communiste, 1921.

1922

Was bedeutet die Arbeiter-Opposition? [What's the Meaning of the Workers' Opposition]. Berlin: Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, 1922.

Die Arbeiter-Opposition in Russland. Mit kritischen Anmerkungen von R. Korpelanski [The Workers' Opposition in Russia. With Critical Commentary by R. Korpelanski]. Berlin: Verlag der Kommunistischen Arbeiter-Internationale, 1922.

"Edinym frontom na zashchitu rabotnits" [Unique Front of Defense of Women Workers], supplement to *Pravda* (8 March 1922), 1.

"Mezhdunarodnyi den' rabotnits" [International Day of Women Workers], *Kommunistka*, no. 2, (1922).

"Novaya ugroza" [New Threat], *Kommunistka*, no. 8–9 (1922), 5–9.

"Pis'ma k triudiashcheisia molodezhi. Pis'mo pervoe: ¿Kakim dolzhen byt' kommunist?" [Letters to the Working Youth. First letter: What is a communist?], *Molodaya gvardiia*, no. 1–2 (1922), 136–144.

"Pis'ma K triudiashcheisia molodezhi. Pis'mo vtoroe: Moral', kak orudie klassovogo gospodstva i klassovoi bor'by." [Letters to the Working Youth. Second letter: Morality as a Weapon of Domination and Class Struggle], *Molodaia gvardiia*, no. 6–7 (1922), 128–136.

"Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i massy" [The October Revolution and the Masses], *Molodaya gvardiia*, no. 6–7 (October 1922), 211–218.

Polozhenie zhenshchiny v evoliutsii joziaistva [The Situation of Women in the Evolution of the Economy; lectures given at the University of Sverdlovsk]. Moscow, Gosizdat, 1922. Subsequent editions — *Trud zhenshchiny v evoliutsii khoziaistva* [The Labour of Women in the Evolution of Economy]. Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1923; second edition, 1926.

"Prazdnik vesny rabochei revoliutsii" [Spring Celebrations of the Workers' Revolution], Odessa: *Izvestiia* (19 June 1922).

"Rabotnitsa za god revoliutsii" [The Working Woman One Year After the Revolution], Tula: Tulskii Gob Kom, 1922.

Skoro (cherez 48 let) [Soon, in Forty-Eight Years' Time]. Omsk: Izdatelstvo Sibburo TsKRKSM, 1922.

"Tvorcheskoe v rabote Konkordii Nikolaevny Samoilovoi" [Creativity in the Work of Konkordii Nikolaevny Samoilova], *Kommunistka*, no. 3–5 (May 1922), 8–10.

"Vospominania" [Memories about Concordia Nikolaevna Samoilova], *Revoliutsionnaia deiatel'nost Konkordii Nikolaevny Samoilovoi* [The Revolutionary Activity of Concordia Nikolaevna Samoilova], Moscow: Gosizdatelstvo, 1922.

1923

"Pis'ma k triudiashcheisia molodezhi. Pis'mo tretee: O 'drakone' i 'beloi ptitse" [Letters to the Working Youth. Third Letter: On the 'Dragon' and the 'White Bird'], *Molodaya gvardiia*, no. 2 (February–March 1923), 162–174.

"Dorogu krylatomu Erosu!" [Make Way for Winged Eros], *Molodaya gvardiia*, no. 3 (May 1923), 111–124; Emelian Iaroslavskii, ed., *Voprosy zhizni i bor'by*, *Molodaya gvardiia* (1924), 170–182.

"L'amour dans la societé nouvelle" [Love in the New Society], *Bulletin communiste* (8 November 1923).

La juventud comunista y la moral sexual [Communist Youth and Sexual Morality]. Madrid: Editorial Estudios Sociales, 1933.

"Kak my sozvali pervyi vserossiiskii s" ezd rabotnits i krest'ianok" [How We Called the First Congress of Working and Peasant Women], *Kommunistka*, no. 11 (November 1923), 3–8; *Rabotnitsa*, (1928), 6–7; *Sovetskaia zhenshchina*, no. 6 (1948), 9–10.

Liubov' pchel trudovikh [Love of Worker Bees]. Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1923. Subsequent edition: Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1924.

"Ne 'printsip,' a 'metod'" [It is not the 'principle,' but the 'method'], *Pravda* (20 March 1923), 4.

"Norvegiia i nash torgovlyi balans" [Norway and Our Trade Balance], *Izvestiia* (16 November 1923).

"Sestry" [Sisters], *Kommunistka*, no. 3–4 (March–April 1923), 23–26; also in *Liubov' pchel trudovikh* [Love of Worker Bees]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1927.

Alexandra Domontovich, *Zhenshchina na perelome* [Woman in Times of Change], Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1923. Subsequent edition — '*Bolshaia liubov'* [A Great Love], Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1927.

The Workers' Opposition in Russia: Describing the Conflict Between the Communist Workers and the Russian Soviet Government. London: Dreadnought, 1923.

Trud zhenshchiny v evolutsii khoziaistva [The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy; based on the lectures given at the University of Sverdlovsk in 1921]. Moscow and Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1923.

Jia Ting Yu Hun Yin [Family and Marriage], trans. H Chen. Shangai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1923.

1924

Otryvki iz dnevnika 1914 [Fragments of Diary of the Year of 1914]. Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1924.

1925

"Notes autobiographiques," [Autobiographical Notes], *Bulletin Communiste* (Paris), no. 1 (1925), 11–12; no. 2 (1925), 10–11; no. 3 (1925), 43–44; no. 4 (1925), 54–55; no. 5 (1925), 79–80; no. 6 (1925), 91–93; no. 7 (1925), 110–112; no. 9 (1925), 139–141.

"Kollontai Alexandra Mikhailovna (avtobiografia)" [Kollontai Alexandra Mikhailovna: Autobiography], *Deiateli SSSR; Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* [USSR Leaders: October Revolution: Encyclopedic Dictionnary]. Moscow and Leningrad: Granat, 1925–1928, (Part 1), 194–201.

Svobodnaya liubov' [Free Love]. Riga: Knigoizd. O.D. Strok, 1925.

Arbetsbien kärlek [Liubov' pchel trudovik/ Love of Worker Bees]. Stockholm: Frams förlag, 1925; second edition, 1931.

Wege der Liebe [Routes of Love]. Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1925.

Wege der Liebe: Drei Erzählungen [Routes of Love: Three Stories], trans. Etta Federn-Kohlhaas. Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1925. Subsequent editions — *Wassilissa Malygina. Erzählungen über Wege der Liebe im frühen Sowjetrussland: Frauen zwischen Ehe und Revolution* [Vasilisa Malygina. Stories about the Routes of Love in Early Soviet Russia: Women Between Marriage and Revolution], trans. Etta Federn-Kohlhaas. Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern, 1973, 1974, and 1980.

1926

"Brak i byt" [Marriage and Everyday Life], *Rabochii sud'*, no. 5 (1926), 363–378.

"Brak, zhenshchina i alimenty" [Marriage, Woman, and Child Support], *Ekran*, no. 1 (1926), 1–3.

"Obshchii kotel ili individual'nye alimenty" [Collective Child Support or Individual Child Support], in *Brak i semia* [Marriage and Family]. Moscow: Molodaya Gvardia, 1926, 132–135.

Uusi moraali [New Morality], trans. Hannes Mäkinen. Helsinki: Työväenjärjestöjen tiedonantaja, 1926.

Abejas proletarias [Proletarian Bees], trans. Leon Rudnitzky. Buenos Aires: *Crítica*, 1926.

Kvinnans ställning in den ekonomiska samhällsutvecklingen [The Labour of Women in the Evolution of Economy]. Stockholm: Frams förlag, 1926.

1927

"Chto dal Oktiabr' zhenshchine zapada?" [What Did October Give to Western Women?], *Ogonek*, no. 41 (9 October 1927).

"Dekret na stene" [Decree on the Wall], *Krasnaia panorama*, no. 45 (4 November 1927), 14–15; in *Nemerknushchie gody: Ocherki i vospominaniia o Krasnom Petrograde 1917-1919* [Unfading Years: Essays and Memories of Red Petrograd 1917–1919], ed. N. Bank. Leningrad: Sovietsky Pisatel, 1957.

"Mandat v Sovet o derevoobdelochnikov" [Mandate to the Board of Woodworkers], *Krasnyi derevoobdelochnik*, no. 3 (1927).

"Meksika, strana problem" [Mexico: Country of Problems], *Leningradskaia Pravda* (21 October 1927).

"Oppozitsiia i partiinaia massa" [The Oppostion and the Party's Masses], *Pravda* (30 October 1927), 3.

"Pervoe posobie iz Sosbeza" [The First Subsidy of Social Welfare], *Krasnaia niva*, no. 45 (1927), 39. Also included in — *Smena*, no. 2 (1927), 6; in *Krasnoarmeets* (1946); in *Moskva*, no. 9 (1957), 156–158; in *Vospominaniia ob Il'iche*. Moscow: Politizdat, 1959; in *Vospominaniia ob Vladimire Il'iche Lenine*. Moscow: Politizdat, 1960. Reprinted as "Pervye dni Narkomsobesa" [The First Day of Narkomsobesa], *Izvestiia*, (6–7 November 1927); *Nemerknushchie gody: Ocherki i vospominaniia o Krasnom Petrograde 1917–1919* [Unfading Years: Essays and Memories of Red Petrograd 1917–1919], ed. N. Bank. Leningrad: Sovietsky Pisatel, 1957, 267–272. Reprinted also as "Pervye shagi," [First Steps], *Sotsialnoe obespechenie*, no. 11 (1957), 23–5; in *Sovetskaia zhenshchina*, no. 7 (1957), 11–13.

"Po'bozheskim delam u monakhov" [Monastic Affairs of the Monks], *Smena*, no. 2 (1927), 39. Reprinted as "Po sotsial'nym delam u monakhov" [On Social Affairs of the Monks], *Don*, no. 4 (1966).

"Revoliutsionnaia Meksika" [Revolutionary Mexico], *Vecherniaia Moskva* (22 September 1927).

"Ruka istorii: Vospominaniia A. Kollontai." [The Hand of History: The Memoirs of A. Kollontai], *Krasmoarmeets*, no. 10–5 (November 1927), 68–71. Also included in — *Izvestiia* (24 October 1937).

"V tiur'me Kerenskogo" [In Kerensky Prison], *Katorga I ssylka*, no. 36 (1927), 25–53. Moscow: Izdanie, obshchestva politkatorzhan i ss-poselentsev, 1928.

"Veliki stroitel" [The Great Builder], *Za kul'turnuiu revoliutsiiu* (November 1927).

"Zavetnyi porog" [The Long-Awaited Threshold], *Krasnoarmeets*, no. 10–15 (1927).

"Zhenshchiny-bortsy v dni Velikogo Oktiabria" [Women Fighters During the Great October], *Zhenskii zhurnal*, no. 11 (November 1927), 2–3.

Bolshaya liubov' [Great Love]. Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat izdatel'stvo, 1927. Subsequent edition — *Bolshaya liubov': povestii i rasskazy* (foreword by A.A. Ikonnikov Galitskii). Leningrad: Azbuka Klassika, 2008.

Sestry [Sisters]. Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat izdatel'stvo, 1927.

Vasilisa Malyguina. Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat izdatel'stvo, 1927.

Red Love [Liubov' pchel trudovikh]. New York: Seven Arts Publishing, 1927. Subsequent edition —*Red Love*, Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1973.

1928

"*Trud zhenschiny v evoliutsii joziaistva* [The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy]. Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928.

V tiur'me Kerenskogo [In Kerensky Prison]. Moscow: Izdatelstvo bsesoiuznogo obschestva politkatorzhan, 1928.

Polozhenie zhenschiny v evoliutsii joziaistva [The Situation of Women in the Evolution of the Economy]. Moscow and Leningrad: 1928 (editor unknown).

"Ziel und Wert meines Lebens" [Goal and Value of My Life] in *Führende Frauen Europas*, ed. Elga Kern. Münich: E. Reinhardt, 1928, 258–286.

La bolchevique enamorada [Vasilisa Malygina / The Bolshevik in Love]. Madrid: Ediciones Orientes, 1928.

De maan kameraad [Vasilisa Malygina]. Utrecht: Door de Ploeg, 1928.

Vejen till kjaerlighet [The Road to Love]. Oslo, 1928 (original publisher unknown).

1929

"Den skapende Arbeide" [Creative Work], *Morgenbladet* (7 January 1929).

"Pebets molodogo zadora, (posvesheno 70-letiu Knuta Gamsuna)" [The Bard of Youth's Enthusiam: On the Seventieth Birthday of Knut Hamsun], *Izvestiia* (4 July 1929), 2.

Kollontai, *Chi lian*, trans. S. Yang. Shanghai: Bei xin shu ju, 1929.

A Great Love, trans. Lily Lore. New York: Vanguard, 1929.

1930

"Pamiati V.F. Komissarzhevskoi" [In Memory of V.F. Komissarzhevskaya], *Krasnaya nov'*, no. 2 (1930), 183–186.

Den stora kjarhghet [A Great Love]. Oslo: Arbeitermag, 1930.

La juventud comunista y la moral sexual [Communist Youth and Sexual Morality]. Madrid: Estudios Sociales, 1930.

La mujer nueva y la moral sexual [The New Woman and Sexual Morality]. Valencia: Biblioteca de Estudios, 1930.

1931

"Molodezh' zvala ee Solntsem" [The Youth Called Her the Sun], *Sbornik pamiati V.F. Komissarzhevskoi* [Collection in Memory of V.F. Komissarzhevskaya]. Moscow: Gosizdat, Khudozhestvennoi lit., 1931.

La mujer nueva y la moral sexual [The New Woman and Sexual Morality]. Madrid: Ediciones Hoy, 1931.

1932

"*La femme nouvelle et la classe ouvrière* [The New Woman and the Working Class], trans. Marie Bor. Bruxelles: Impr. coopérative Lucifer, 1932.

Free Love, trans. C.J. Hogarth. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1932.

La femme nouvelle et la classe ouvrière [The New Woman and Sexual Morality], trans. Marie Bor. Paris: L'Eglantine, 1932.

A nova mulher e a *moral sexual* [The New Woman and Sexual Morality], trans. G. Coutinho. São Paulo: Editorial "Pax", 1932.

Den nya moralen och arbetarklassen [The New Morality and the Working Class]. Stockholm: Frams förlag, 1932.

1933

"Udarnitsa proletarskoi revoliutsii (O Krupskoi)" [An Exemplary Worker of the Proletarian Revolution: About Krupskaya], *Pravda* (22–23 April 1933).

1934

"Eine Stoßbrigadlerin der Proletarischen Revolution" [A Shock Brigadier of the Proletarian Revolution], *Clara Zetkin: Ein Sammelband zum Gedächtnis der großen Kämpferin*. Moscow and Leningrad: Gozisdat, 1934, 59–61.

1936

"Men med hensyn till fri kjaerlighet?" [But in Terms of Free Love?], *Veien frem* (12 February 1936).

1937

"Zhenshchiny v 1917 godu" [Women in 1917], *Rabotnitsa*, no. 31 (November 1937), 12–3.

La juventud comunista y la moral sexual [Communist Youth and Sexual Morality]. Barcelona: Editorial Marxista, 1937. Another edition: Madrid: Estudios Sociales, 1930.

El comunismo y la familia [Communism and the Family]. Barcelona: Editorial Marxista, 1937.

1939

"*Työväen oppositsioni Venäjän kommunistipuolueessa* [Labor Opposition in the Russian Communist Party]. Duluth, Minnesota: Workers Socialist Pub, 1939.

1945

"*Den första etappen* [The First Stage], trans. Tora Nordstrom-Bonnier. Stockholm: Bonnier, 1945.

Madame Kollontayn Muistelmat Hänen Itsensä *Kertomana* [Memories of Madame Kollontai Narrated by Herself]. Helsinki: Karhu, 1946.

"Iz vospominanii" [Memories], *Oktiabr'*, no. 9 (1945), 59–89.

1946

"Dom na Moike" [A House in the Moika], *Krasnoarmeets*, 1946.

"Lenin dumal o bol'shom i ne sabyval o malom" [Lenin Thought Big but Did Not Forget About the Small], *Rabotnitsa*, no. 23 (January 1946), 6. Subsequent editions — *Vospominaniia ob Il'iche* [Memories of Ilich]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1959; *Vospominaniia o V.I. Lenine* [Memories about V.I. Lenin] (3 vols.). Moscow: Politizdat, 1964, vol. 3, 139–141.

"Molodomu pokoleniiu" [To the Young Generation], *Rabotnitsa*, no. 4–5 (April–May 1946), 16–8.

"Sovetskaia zhenshchina– polnopravnaia grazhdanka svoei strany" [The Soviet Woman is a Citizen Enjoying Full Rights], *Sovetskaia zhenshchina*, no. 5 (September–October 1946), 3–4.

1947

"Lenin i rabotnitsy v 1917 godu" [Lenin and Women Workers in 1917], *Rabotnitsa*, no. 1 (January 1947), 5–6. Also included in — *Vsegda s vami* [Always with You]. Moscow: Pravda, 1964, 84–85.

"Lenin v Smol'nom" [Lenin in Smolny], *Krasnoarmeets*, no. 2 (1947). Subsequent editions — *Utro novogo mira: Sbornik vospominania i dokumentov o II Vserossiskom C'ezde Sovetov* [The Dawn of a New World: Anthology of Memoirs and Documents of the Second Russian Soviets Congress]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1962; and in *O Vladimire Il'iche Lenine: Vospominaniie 1900–1922* [About Vladimir Ilich Lenin: Memories 1900–1922]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1963, 218–220.

1948

"30-a godovshchina Vserossiskogo s'ezda Zhenschin-rabotnits i krestianok" [Thirtieth Anniversary of the All-Russian Congress of Women Workers and Peasant Women], *Rabotnitsa*, no. 12 (1948).

1949

"Trud zhenshchiny v evoliutsii khoziaistva" [The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy], excerpted in *Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family in the USSR*, ed. Adolph Schlesinger. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949, 45–71.

1952

L'opposizione operaia [The Workers' Opposition]. Milan: Azione, 1952.

1957

Nezabyvaemye gody, 1917–1920 [Unforgettable Years, 1917–1920], Rostov: Knizhnoe izdanie, 1957.

1959

Vospominaniia ob Il'iche [Memories of Ilich]. Moscow: Gosizdat, 1959. Subsequent edition — Moscow, Politizdat, 1971.

1962

"Amerikanskie dnevniki A.M. Kollontai, 1915–1916" [The North American Diaries of A.M. Kollontai], *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 1 (January 1962), 128–159.

"Zvezdy. Vospominaniia ob Lenine" [Stars. Memories of Lenin], *Smena*, no. 8 (1962), 11. Subsequent edition — *Vospominaniia o V.I. Lenine*. Moscow: Politizdat, 1969, vol. 3, 186–187.

The Workers' Opposition [The Workers' Opposition]. Reading: E. Morse, 1962.

1963

"Golos Lenina" [Lenin's Voice], *Oktiabr'*, no. 1 (1963), 5–6.

"Raskryvalsia novyi put" [A New Road Opened], *Pravda* (8 April 1963), 3. Subsequent edition — "Priezd Lenina v Petrograd" [The Arrival of Lenin to Petrograd], in *O Vladimire Il'i'che Lenine: Vospominaniia 1900–1922* [About Vladimir Ilich Lenin: Memories 1900–1922]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1963.

"V.I. Lenin i pervyi s'ezd rabotnits" [V.I. Lenin and the First Women Workers' Congress] *O Vladimire Il'iche Lenine: Vospominania. 1900–1922.* Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1963. Also included in — *Iz moei zhizni I raboty* [From My Life and Work]. Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1974, 353–356.

1964

"Vypolniaia porucheniia Lenina" [Accomplishing a Mission Entrusted by Lenin], *Nedelia* (4 July 1964), 4–5.

"L'opposition ouvrière," [The Workers' Opposition], *Socialisme ou barbarie*, no. 6 (1964), 57–107.

1966

L'opposizione operaia in Russia [The Workers' Opposition in Russia] (introduction and notes by Gino Bianco). Milan: Azione comune, 1962.

"Pis'ma A.M. Kollontai peterburgskoi rabotnitse (V.I. Volkovoi 1908–1932)" [Letters from A.M. Kollontai to a Working Woman in St. Petersburg (V.I. Volkova 1908–1932)], *Neva,* no. 10 (1966), 162–165.

1967

"V vodoborote novoi Rossii. Pis'ma A.M. Kollontai V.I. Leninu i N.K. Krupsko v Shvetsariui" [In the Whirlpool of the New Russia. Letters from A.M. Kollontai to V.I. Lenin and N.K. Krupskaya in Switzerland] (edited and epilog by I. Dazhina, March 1917), *Novy mir*, no. 4 (1967), 235–242.

"Skoree v Rossiiu!" [Quick, to Russia!], *Sovetskie arkhivy*, no. 2 (1967), 23–33.

"Arbetaroppositionen" [The Workers' Opposition], *Zenit*, no. 4 (1967), 45–60.

1968

"*The Workers' Opposition.* London: Solidarity, 1968.

1969

Vospominaniia ob Il'iche [Memories of Ilich]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1969. Another edition in 1971.

"Souvenirs et memoirs révolutionnaires" [Revolutionary Memories], *Les Bolcheviks par eux-mémes*, trans. Georges Haupt and Jean-Jacques Marie. Paris: Maspero, 1969.

1970

"Iz arkhiva A.M. Kollontai." [From the Archive of A.M. Kollontai], *Inostrannaia literatura*, no.1 (1970), 226–236; no. 2 (1970), 226–245.

"Leninskie tezisy" [Lenin's Thesis], in *Ob Il'iche: Vospominaniia pitertsev* [About Vladimir Ilich Lenin: Memories of the Citizens of St. Petersburg]. Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1970, 245–276.

"Statui svobody" [The Statue of Liberty], *Inostrannaia literatura*, no. 2 (1970), 244–245.

Autobiographie einer sexuell emanzipierten Kommunistin [The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman]. München: Rogner und Bernhard, 1970.

1971

Communism and the Family [The Family and the Communist State]. London: Pluto Press, 1971. Subsequent edition — *Communism and the Family*. Sydney: D. B. Young, 1971.

L'opposizione operaia da Kronstadt a Danzica, 1921–1971 [The Worker's Opposition from Kronstadt o Gdanks, 1921–1971], ed. Victor Serge (preface by Pier Carlo Masini). Milan: Azione Comune, 1971.

The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman, ed. Iring Fetscher, trans. Salvator Attanasio. New York: Herder & Herder, 1971.

Vospominaniia ob Il'iche [Memories of Ilich]. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1971.

A Great Love [A Great Love]. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1971.

Women Workers Struggle for Their Rights. Bristol: Falling Water Press, 1971.

1972

"Inom kort" [Skoro (cherez 48 let) / Shortly], trans. Ann-Marie Axner, *Författarförlaget Tidskrift*, no. 2 (1972), 18–20.

Izbrannie statii i rechi [Selected Articles and Speeches], eds. I.M. Dazhina, M.M. Mujamedzhanov, R.J. Tsivlina. Moscow: Politizdat, 1972.

La mujer nueva y la moral sexual [The New Woman and Sexual Morality]. Mexico City: Juan Pablos Editor, 1972.

Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle: Love and the New Morality, trans. Alix Holt. Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972. Subsequent edition — Westport, Connecticut: Hill, 1978.

Arbetaroppositionen [The Workers' Opposition]. Stockholm: Federativ, 1972.

"A.M. Kollontai o N.A. Dobroliubove" [A.M. Kollontai on N.A. Dobroliubov], *Narodnoe obrazovanie*, no. 4 (1972), 77–85.

1973

A Oposição Operária: 1920–1921. [The Workers' Opposition: 1920–1921], trans. Jose Pais, Porto: Afrontamento, 1973

Alexandra Kollontai: Marxisme et révolution sexuelle [Alexandra Kollontai: Marxism and Sexual Revolution], ed. Judith Stora-Sandor Paris: Maspero, 1973. Subsequent editions — 1975, 1976, 1977, and 1979.

Kvinnans ställning i den ekonomiska samhälls utvecklingen [The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy]. Stockholm: Gidlunds förlag, 1973.

Red Love. Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1973.

Autobiografia di una comunista sessualmente emancipata [Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman]. Milan: Palazzi, 1973.

Kvinnans kamp för ekonomisk frigörelse [Women's Struggle for Economic Liberation]. Stockholm: Gidlunds, 1973.

Women Workers Struggle for Their Rights [Kak boryutsya rabotnitsy zo svoi prava (1919)], trans. Celia Britton (with introduction and notes by Sheila Rowbotham and S. Fleming). Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1973.

Wassilissa Malygina: Erzählungen über Wege der Liebe im frühen Sowjetrussland: Frauen zwischen Ehe und Revolution [Vasilisa Malygina]. Frankfurt: Roter Stern, 1973.

1974

Iz moei zhizni i raboty. Vospominaniia i dnevniki [Of My Life and Work. Memories and Diaries] (prolog and notes by I.M. Dazhina). Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1974.

L'opposition ouvrière [The Workers' Opposition], trans. Pierre Pascal (with preface by Jean-Maurice Gélinet and biography by Anne Valh). Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1974.

"Kollontai Alexandra Mikhailovna, Avtobiography" [Deiateli SSSR; Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' / USSR Leaders; October Revolution: Encyclopedic Dictionnary], *Makers of the Russian Revolution*, trans. C.I.P. Ferdinand and D.M. Bellos, 353–360. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974.

1975

La oposición en la URSS: La oposición obrera. [Opposition in th USSR: The Workers' Opposition], trans. Bárbara Sandoval. Buenos Aires: Schapire, 1975.

La oposición obrera / A. Kolontai [The Workers' Opposition / A. Kollontai] (a translation of *L'opposition ouvrière*), trans. Joaquín Jordá. Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1975.

Die Situation der Frau in der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung: 14 Vorlesungen vor Arbeiterinnen und Bäuerinnen an der Sverdlovsk-Universität, 1921 [The Situation of Women: 14 Lectures for Women Workers and Peasants at Sverdlovsk University, 1921], trans. T. Fichter. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1975; second edition 1976.

"Trud zhenshchiny v evoliutsii khoziaistva" [The Labour of Women in the Evolution of Economy], excerpted in *Alexandra Kollontai: Marxisme et révolution sexuelle*, ed. Judith Stora-Sandor. Paris: La Découverte, 1975, 214–246.

1976

Autobiografía de una mujer emancipada; La juventud comunista y la moral sexual; El comunismo y la familia; Plataforma de la oposición obrera [The Autobiography of an Emancipated Woman; Communism and the Family; The Platform of the Workers' Opposition], trans. Helena Herrero, Juan del Solar, and Emilio Oleina. Barcelona: Editorial Fontamara, 1976.

Autobiographie; suivi du roman Les amours des abeilles travailleuses [Autobiography; followed by the novel Love of the Worker Bees], trans. Christine Fauré. Paris: Berg-Bélibaste, 1976.

La mujer en el desarrollo social [The Woman and Social Development]. Madrid: Guadarrama, 1976.

Marxismo y revolución sexual [Marxism and Sexual Revolution]. Madrid: Miguel Castellote, 1976.

Autobiografía de una mujer sexualmente emancipada [The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman], trans. Horacio González Trejo. Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1976.

La mujer nueva y la moral sexual [The New Woman and Sexual Morality]. Madrid: Editorial Ayuso, 1976.

Die Situation der Frau in der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung: 14 Vorlesungen vor Arbeiterinnen und Bäuerinnen an der Sverdlovsk-Universität, 1921 [The Situation of Women: 14 Lectures for Women Workers and Peasants at Sverdlovsk University, 1921], trans. T. Fichter. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1976.

1977

Autobiographie einer sexuell emanizpierten Kommunistin [The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman]. Berlin: Guhl, 1977.

Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai, ed. and trans. Alix Holt. Westport/Conn.: Hill, 1977. Subsequent edition — New York: Norton 1980.

Udvalgte skrifter [Selected Writings], eds. Hanne Moller et al. (3 vols.). Copenhagen: Tiderne skifter, 1977–1978.

Die neue Moral und die Arbeiterklasse [The New Moralilty and the Working Class]. Münster: Verlag Frauenpolitik, 1977.

Kära kamrat! Allrakäraste vän! [Dear Comrade! Dearest Friend!] (with an essay by Britta Stövling). Stockholm: Gidlund, Cop., 1977.

La mujer nueva y la moral sexual [The New Woman and Sexual Morality]. (prolog by Carmen Porrondo). Madrid: AYUSO, 1977.

Love of Worker Bees [Liubov' pchel trudovykh], trans. Cathy Porter. London: Virago 1977.

1978

Love of Worker Bees [Liubov' pchel trudovykh], trans. Cathy Porter (afterword by Sheila Rowbotham). London: Virago, 1978.

Autobiografía de una mujer emancipada [The Autobiography of an Emancipated Woman]. Barcelona: Editorial Fontamara, 1978.

Conférences à l'*université Sverdlov sur la libération des femmes* [Conferences about the Liberation of Women at Sverdlovsk University]. Montreuil: Ed. la Brèche, 1978.

Den stora kärleken [The Big Love], trans. Lennart Westerberg. Stockholm: Gidlund, 1978.

Die neue Moral und die Arbeiterklasse [The New Moralilty and the Working Class]. Münster: Verlag Frauenpolitik, 1978.

Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai, ed. and trans. Alix Holt. Westport/Connecticut: Hill, 1978.

Udvalgte skrifter [Selected Writings], eds. Hanne Møller, Nina Lykke, Signe Arnfred et al. (3 vols.). Copenhagen: Staekkede vinger.

The Workers' Opposition [Rabochaia oppozitsiia], London: Solidarity, 1978.

1979

Der weite Weg. Erzählungen, Aufsätze. Kommentare [The Long Way. Stories, Essays, Commentary], ed. Helene Imendörffer, Krisztina Mänicke-Gyöngyosi, and Christiane Bauermeister. Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik, 1979.

Sobre la liberación de la mujer: Seminario de Leningrado de 1921 [On Women's Liberation: The Seminars from Leningrad 1921]. Barcelona: Editorial Fontamara, 1979.

A nova mulher e moral sexual [The New Woman and Sexual Morality]. São Paulo: Parma, 1979.

"Meksikanskii dnevnik Alexandry Kollontai, 1926–1927" [The Mexican Diary of Alexandra Kollontai, 1926–1927] (introduction by Inna Vasilkova), *Latinskaya Amerika*, no. 5 (1979), 186–196.

Memorias. [Memories] Madrid: Editorial Debate, 1979.

Oikonomike kai sexoualike apeleutherose tes gynaikas [Economic and sexual liberation of women]. Athens: Pyle, 1979.

Vivere la rivoluzione [Living the Revolution]. Milano: Garzanti, 1979.

Oikonomike kai sexoualike apeleutherose tes gynaikas [Economic and sexual liberation of women]. Athens: Pyle, 1979.

Den nya moralen [The New Morality], trans. Katarina Sundkvist and Gudrun Utas (afterword by Märit Andersson and Sonja Pleijel). Stockholm: Gidlunds, 1979.

1980

Autobiografía de una mujer sexualmente emancipada [The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman]. Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1980.

La bolchevique enamorada [The Bolshevik in Love]. Barcelona: LaSal, 1980.

La mujer nueva y la moral sexual [The New Woman and Sexual Morality]. Mexico City: Publicaciones Cruz, 1980.

Ich habe viele Leben gelebt. Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen [I Have Lived Many Lives. Autobiographical Notes]. Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, 1980. Subsequent editions — Dietz, 1981, 1982, 1985, and 1987; Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1986.

O erōtas tōn ergatriōn melissōn, [Love of Worker Bees], trans. T. Karaiskake. Athēna: Eleutheros Typos, 1980.

Wege der Liebe [Routes of Love], trans. Etta Federn-Kohlhaas. Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern, 1980.

1981

A Great Love, trans. Cathy Porter. London: Virago, 1981.

1982

Mujer, historia y sociedad: Sobre la liberación de la Mujer [Women, History, Society: On Women's Liberation]. Barcelona: Editorial Fontamara, 1982.

A Great Love [Bol'shai a liubov'], trans. Cathy Porter. New York: W.W. Norton, 1982.

1984

Alexandra Kollontai: Selected Articles and Speeches, eds. I.M. Dazhina, M.M. Mujamedzhanov, R.J. Tsivlina, trans. Cynthia Carlile. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1984. Subsequent editions — New York: International Publishers, 1984. Taipei: Program of African Studies, National Chengchi University and the Association of African Studies, Republic of China, 1984.

Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle [Novaya moral' i rabochii klass]. London: Socialist Workers Party, 1984.

1985

Jag har levt många liv [I Have Lived Many Lives]. Göteborg: Fram, 1985.

1986

Jeg har levet mange liv [I Have Lived Many Lives]. Copenhagen: Sputnik, 1986.

Lenin v Okt'iabrskie dni 1917 goda: sbornik vospominaniia [Lenin in the Days of October 1917: Anthology of Memories]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1986.

1988

"Zapiski za 23 goda diplomaticheskoi raboty. Tetrad pervaya: 1922–1923, Norvegia" [Notes of Twenty-Three Years of Diplomatic Work. First Notebook: 1922–1923, Norway], *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn. Ezhemeciachnii zhurnal*, no. 9 (1988), 130–40; no. 10, 143–51; no. 11, 117–127.

"Zapiski za 23 goda diplomaticheskoi raboty. Tetrad vtoraya: 1923–1924, Priznanie de Iure" [Notes of Twenty-Three Years of Diplomatic Work. Second Notebook: 1923–1924. De Jure Recognition], *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn. Ezhemeciachnii zhurnal*, no. 12 (1988), 116–131.

1989

"Verim goriacho i plamenno. (Podborka pisem i vospominania o nei)" [We Believe Fervently and Vehemently (Selection of Letters and Memories)], ed. E. Breslav, *Zvezda*, no. 3 (1989), 125–141.

Mujer, historia y sociedad: Sobre la liberación de la mujer [Women, History, Society: On Women's Liberation]. Mexico City: Editorial Fontamara, 1989.

Revolutsia—velikaya miatezhnitsa. Izbranie pis'ma 1901–1952 [Revolution—The Great Rebel. Selected Correspondence, 1901–1952], ed. V.N. Kolechenkova. Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossia, 1989.

"Sem' vystrelov zimoi 1939. (Fragmenty iz neopublikovanij Zapizkov za 23 goda diplomaticheskoi raboty)" [Seven Gunshots in the Winter of 1939] (excerpts of *Unpublished Notes of Twenty-Three Years of Diplomatic Work*], *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn. Ezhemeciachnii zhurnal*, no. 12 (1989), 195–215.

"Zapiski za 23 goda diplomaticheskoi raboty. Tetrad chetvertaya: 1926–1927. Meksika" [Notes of Twenty-Three Years of Diplomatic Work. Fourth Notebook: 1926–1927. Mexico], *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn. Ezhemeciachnii zhurnal*, no. 1 (1989), 135–146.

1990

"Ya ne lubliu kogda moi postupki raskhodiatsa s moim vnutrenym chuvstbom. Pis'mo A.M. Kollontai A.K. Kamenevu" [I Do Not Like It When My Actions Diverge from My Feelings. Letter by A.M. Kollontai to A.K. Kamenev], in Tsentralny Musei Revoliutsii SSSR, zapiski, vol. 22 (Moscow, 1990), 25–30.

"'Seven Shots' in the Winter of 1939," *International Affairs: A Monthly Journal of Political Analysis*, no. 1, (1990), 180–201.

1992

Wege der Liebe: Drei Erzählungen [Routes of Love: Three Stories], trans. Etta Federn-Kohlhaas. Berlin, Morgenbuch-Verlag, 1992.

1996

Isci arilarin aski [Love of Worker Bees]. Istanbul: Pencere, 1996.

1997

"Alexandra Norvezhskaya. Pervoi zhenchshinoi na postu posla sovetskoi Rossii stala A.M. Kollontai" [Norwegian Alexandra. The First Woman Who Had the Position of Ambassador of Soviet Russia A.M. Kollontai] (excerpts of the *Notes of Twenty-Three Years of Diplomatic Work*), *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn. Ezhemeciachnii zhurnal*, no. 5 (1997), 131–143.

1998

Alexandra Kollontai on Women's Liberation (introduction Chanie Rosenberg). London: Bookmarks, 1998.

1999

Love of Worker Bees and A Great Love, trans. Cathy Porter (introduction by Cathy Porter, afterword by Sheila Rowbotham). London: Virago, 1999.

2000

Toplumsal gelişmede kadının konumu [Women's Position in Social Development], eds. M.A. İnci & I. Yarkın. Istanbul: İnter, 2000.

2001

Diplomaticheskie dnevniki: 1922–1940 [Diplomatic Diaries: 1922–1940], (2 vols.). Moscow, Academia: 2001.

"Pis'ma A.M. Kollontai k V.A. Maklakovu" [Letters of A.M. Kollontai to V.A. Maklakov], *Rossiiskii Arjiv. Historia Otechestva v svidetelstvaj i dokumentaj XVIII–XX vv: Almanaj* [Russian Archive. National History in the Testimonies and Documents from the 18th to the 20th Centuries: Almanac], ed. N.A. Kargalopova. Moscow: Studia TRITE N. Mijalkov, 2001, 499–507.

"Otnoshenie mezhdu polami i klassovaia bor'ba" [The Relation Between the Sexes and the Class Struggle], *Novaya moral' i rabochii klass* [The New Morality and the Working Class], 48–61.

"La femme nouvelle" [Novaya zhenshchina / The New Woman], *Alexandra Kollontai: Marxisme et révolution sexuelle*, ed. Judith Stora-Sandor. Paris: La Découverte, 2001, 100–134.

"Les rapports entre les sexes et la lutte des clases" [The Relation Between the Sexes and the Class Struggle], *Alexandra Kollontai: Marxisme et révolution sexuelle* [Marxism and Sexual Revolution], ed. Judith Stora-Sandor. Paris: La Découverte, 2001, 168–182.

2003

Mein Leben in der Diplomatie: Aufzeichnungen aus den Jahren 1922 bis 1945. Alexandra Kollontai [My Life as a Diplomat: Records of the Years 1922 to 1945. Alexandra Kollontai], ed. Heinz Deutschland, trans. Ruth & Heinz Deutschland. Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2003.

Marksitskii feminism: kollektsia tekstov A.M. Kollontai [Marxist Feminism: Anthology of Texts by A.M. Kollontai], ed. Valentina Uspenskaya. Tver: Feminist Press, 2003.

2004

Letopis moei zhizni [Chronicle of My Life] (edited and prolog by R.A. Popovkina). Moscow: Academia, 2004.

2005

Bolsheviks and the Liberation of Women. Articles by Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin, V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky and the Communist International Theses on Work Among Women. New York: Mundial Publications, 2005.

"Perepiska A.M. Kollontai s suprigami Linderut. Yanvar 1941–mart 1952 goda" [Correspondence of A.M. Kollontai with the Couple Linderut. January 1941–March 1952], *Severnaya Evropa. Problemy istorii: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vol. 5 (Moscow, Nauka, 2005), 266–291.

2008

La bolchevique enamorada [Love of Worker Bees]. Tafalla/Spain: Txalaparta, 2008.

Bol'shai a liubov': Povesti, rasskazy [A Great Love: Novels, Stories]. St. Peterburg: Izdatel'skiĭ dom Azbuka-klassika, 2008.

Aleksandra Kollontajs dagböcker, 1930–1940 [Alexandra Kollontai's Diaries, 1930–1940], trans. Lars Olsson (foreword by Krister Wahlbäck). Stockholm: Bonniers, 2008.

Amor vermello e escritos sociais e politicos [Red Love and Social and Political Writings]. Santiago de Compostela: Sotelo Blanco Edicions, 2008.

El amor de las abejas obreras [Love of Worker Bees]. Barcelona: Alba Editorial, 2008.

2009

The Workers' Opposition in the Russian Communist Party: The Fight for Workers' Democracy in the Soviet Union. St. Petersburg: Red and Black Publishers, 2009.

2011

Los fundamentos sociales de la cuestión femenina y otros escritos [The Social Basis of the Woman Question and Other Texts], trans. María Teresa García Banús (1931), revised by Tamara Ruiz (2011). Barcelona: En Lucha, 2011.

Selected Writings on Women's Question, ed. A.K. Das. South 24 Parganas/Bengal: Social Education and Alternative Research, 2011.

2012

Alexandra Kollontai en México: Diario y otros documentos [Alexandra Kollontai in Mexico: Diary and Other Documents], ed. Rina Ortiz. Xalapa/Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2012.

Autobiographie einer sexuell emanzipierten Kommunistin [The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman]. Hamburg: Laika, 2012.

2014

Chego jotyat zhenschini? [What Do Women Want?]. Moscow: Algoritm, 2014.

Svoboda y liubov' [Freedom and Love] (introduction and epilog by Olga Greig; republishing of the short novels *Wassilissa Malygina* and *A Great Love*, together with the essay "Make Way for Winged Eros"). Moscow: Algoritm, 2014.

Catorce conferencias en la universidad Sverdlov de Leningrado (1921) [Fourteen Conferences at the University of Leningrad (1921)]. Buenos Aires: Editorial Cienflores, 2014.

2015

Autobiografía de una mujer sexualmente emancipada y otros textos de amor [The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman and Other Texts about Love], ed. Ana de Miguel (with prolog by Germaine Greer). Madrid: Librería Mujeres Horas y Horas, 2015.

Diplomatiske nedtegnelse, 1920–1930 [Diplomatic Record, 1920–1930], eds. Asmund Egge, Sven G. Holtsmark, and Aleksej Komarov. Oslo: Res Publica, 2015.

2016

Mujer y lucha de clases [Woman and Class Struggle] (introduction by Yolanda Marco). Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2016.

2017

El amor y la mujer nueva [Love and the New Woman]. Buenos Aires: Editorial Cienflores, 2017.

2020

"On the 'Dragon' and the 'White Bird'," trans. Joan Brooks, *Love with Obstacles (Amor Rojo)*, ed. Dora García. Berlin: K. Verlag, 2020, 32–49.

CONTRIBUTORS

PALOMA CONTRERAS LOMAS is a "phantom" writer and artist born in Mexico City in 1991. She began her career of visual arts at the National School of Painting, Sculpture and Engraving, La Esmeralda, Mexico City (2011–15). Shortly after, she joined the multidisciplinary collective Biquini Wax EPS (ongoing since 2016). In the same year, she also began her participation in the SOMA educational program in Mexico City (2016–18). Paloma is an accredited diver in the Latin American subcritical studies group "Los Yacusi" with whom she has performed different curatorships in a promising role of artist-curator, as well as being the coordinator of the Sierra Hermosa Communitary Museum, a project located in the desert of Zacatecas, Mexico. Her work extends to different media such as video, writing, drawing, and performance, as well as collective production in parallel to her personal research. Her work has been shown at institutions including Palais de Tokyo, Paris; FRAC Centre Orléans, Orléans; Museo Universitario de Arte Contemporáneo (MUAC), Mexico City; Museo de Arte Moderno (MAM), Mexico City; and, Lodos Gallery, Mexico City. She has been a recipient of national scholarships such as, in 2018–19, a Young Creators Grant from the National Fund for Culture and Arts (FONCA) and, in 2020, a Cisneros Fontanals CIFO for emerging artists. She lives and works in Mexico City.

RUTH ESTÉVEZ is a curator and writer. Her curatorial approach is highly influenced by her interest in the historical relationship between theater and the visual arts. She is Senior Curator at The Rose Art Museum in Boston and co-curator of the 34th São Paulo Biennale. She is also curator (with Pablo Martínez) of *Idiorhythmias*, a program of performance, music, poetry and text at MACBA in Barcelona. She was director and curator at REDCAT/CalArts in Los Angeles from 2012 to 2018. At REDCAT, she has worked with artists including Javier Téllez, João Maria Gusmão + Pedro Paiva, Allora & Calzadilla, Pedro Barateiro, Quinn Latimer, Hector Zamora, Andres Jaque among many others, and curated group exhibitions and public programs as Hotel Theory (curated with Sohrab Mohebbi, 2015) focusing on the performance of theory in contemporary art; Chalk Circles (an exhibition co-curated with Jose Luis Blondet, 2017), analyzing acting methodologies in the twentieth century. She also organized a project dedicated to the unexplored political theater plays of Latin American artist León Ferrari. Before REDCAT she was the Chief Curator at the Carrillo Gil museum in Mexico City (2007–12), where she also founded LIGA, Space for architecture (2010–), a non-profit platform focused on experimentation in architecture, urbanism, and public art. Currently she lives between Mexico City and Boston.

DORA GARCÍA is an artist, teacher and researcher who draws on interactivity and performance in her work, using the exhibition as a platform to investigate the relationship between artwork, audience, and place. García transforms spaces into sensory experiences by altering perceptions and creating situations of interaction, often using intermediaries (professional actors, amateurs, or people she meets by chance) to enhance a critical look at things. By engaging with the binary of reality vs. fiction and dwelling in questions of time (real, historical, cyclical, fictional) visitors become implicated (knowingly or not) as protagonists, either in the construction of a collective fiction, or in the deconstruction of conventions. In this context, she has also always been interested in anti-heroic and marginal personae as a prototype to study the social status of the artist, and in narratives of resistance and counter-culture. Dora García has participated in numerous international art exhibitions, including Münster Sculpture Projects (2007), Venice Biennial (2011, 2013, 2015), Sydney Biennial (2008), São Paulo Biennial (2010), dOCUMENTA 13 (2012), Gwangju Biennial (2016). In 2019, she participated in osloBiennalen, Art Encounters Timisoara (Romania), and AICHI Triennale, Japan. She has also published various books over the years, including a 2018 cooperation with K. Verlag entitled *On Reconciliation / Über Versöhnung*, a bilingual publication dealing with the unlikely relationship between Hannah Arendt and Martin Heidegger that was awarded the book art prize "25 Most Beautiful German Books" by Stiftung Buchkunst in 2019. She lives in Oslo and Barcelona.

CARLA LAMOYI is an artist and editor born in Mexico City in 1990. She studied at the Artist Program UTDT, Torcuato Di Tella University, Buenos Aires; the National School of Painting, Sculpting and Engraving, La Esmerlada, Mexico City, and at the National University of Colombia, Bogota. She has received funding through a Young Creators Grant from the National Fund for Culture and Arts (FONCA); the National Council for Culture and Arts, Mexico (2014–15); and was beneficiary of the fourth edition of the Adidas/Border Grant, Mexico City (2014–15). She also received residency grants in Marseille (Dos Mares); Honduras (Proyecto Rayuela); and the INBA Foundation in Mexico City as well as in Bolivia (KIOSKO Galeria). As an artist, she has had the following solo exhibitions: *Una cabeza enloquecida* (in collaboration with Victoria Nuñez), Salón Silicón, Mexico City (2019); *El capricho*, General San Martín Cultural Center, Buenos Aires (2018); *La novela está ubicada en el lugar dónde vamos a estar*, Espacio Qubo3, Quimera Galeria, Buenos Aires, (2018); *Las uvas y la ventana*, LadrónGaleria, Mexico City (2017). She is a co-founder and editor of *FIEBRE ediciones*, an editorial project that seeks to disseminate the creative work carried out in Latin America since 1980, a decade in which the emergence of a new wave of authoritarian and murderous governments forced the reinvention of new forms of traditional means of protest and social organization.

MARIA LIND is a curator, writer, and educator based in Stockholm and Berlin. She was the director of Stockholm's Tensta konsthall (2011–18), the artistic director of the 11th Gwangju Biennale, the director of the graduate program, Center for Curatorial Studies, Bard College (2008–10), and director of Iaspis in Stockholm (2005–7). From 2002–4, she was the director of Kunstverein München and in 1998, co-curator of Europe's itinerant biennial, Manifesta 2 in Luxemburg. In 2015, she curated Future Light for the first Vienna Biennial, and in 2019 she co-curated the Art Encounters Biennial in Timisoara. She has taught widely since the early 1990s, including as professor of artistic research at the Art Academy in Oslo 2015–18. Currently, she is a lecturer at Konstfack's CuratorLab. She has contributed numerous pieces to newspapers, magazines, catalogs, and other publications. She is the 2009 recipient of the Walter Hopps Award for Curatorial Achievement. In 2010, *Selected Maria Lind Writing* was published by Sternberg Press; the book *Seven Years: The Rematerialization of Art from 2011 to 2017* appeared in the fall of 2019.

JOAN BROOKS is a writer, reader, and translator based in Pittsburgh, USA. They are also a former teacher and academic. Interests include: queer-communism, radical feminism, Soviet and Post-Soviet Culture, Alexander Pushkin, Fedor Dostoevsky, and Andrei Platonov.

RINA ORTIZ studied history and obtained her Ph.D. at the Institute of Universal History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Until her retirement in 2017, she was a senior researcher at the National Institute of Anthropology and History (Mexico). In her work, she investigated social and political history, with a focus on Russian-Mexican cultural exchange, which she spent many years researching in various archives in Russia. She translated into Spanish the testimonies of Russian travelers to Alta California from the first half of the nineteenth century as well as other documents linked to the communist movement. Her focus of the more recent years has been on the life and work of Alexandra Kollontai whose diary about her time in Mexico (1926–27) she translated as well. Also as a translator, she has moreover contributed to several exhibition catalogs, including: *The Russian Avant-Garde: The Vertigo of the Future* (2015) and *Kandinsky: Small Worlds* (2018), both published by Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (National Museum of Fine Arts), Mexico City. Her own authored publications include books and book chapters dealing with Kollontai as well as the relations between other Mexican and Russian communists. She was born in Mexico City and lives and works in Coatepec.

ANA SOFÍA RODRÍGUEZ EVERAERT is a researcher, writer, and editor born in Mexico City in 1991. She graduated in history at the National Autonomous University of Mexico and is currently enrolled as a Ph.D. student at El Colegio de México. She has worked as an editor at the cultural and political magazine *Nexos*, where she currently coordinates the online project *(Dis)capacidades*, a site exploring the philosophy and history behind current ideas of divergent minds and bodies. Her research includes intellectual history, history of the left in Mexico, history of psychiatry, as well as the processes of public history, memory and the creation of identity. She has published in national and international magazines and has authored the following books: *Las décadas de Nexos: Una antología*, co-written with Álvaro Ruiz Rodilla and Luciano Concheiro (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018); and *El intelectual mexicano: una especie en extinción*, co-authored with Luciano Concheiro (Mexico City: Taurus, 2015).

ÁLVARO RUIZ RODILLA is a researcher, writer, editor, and translator born in Mexico City in 1988. He completed his Ph.D. in Latin-American Literature at the University of Toulouse-Jean Jaurès after finishing a degree in Art History and Archaeology and an M.A. in American Studies at the same university. Currently, he is a staff writer and web editor of the "Culture and daily life" section of the Mexican magazine *Nexos*. He has participated in collaborative translation projects between Spanish and French dealing with the work of Peruvian poet Eduardo Chirinos and Mexican Coral Bracho. Together with Camilo Rodríguez, he also co-translated Michel de Montaigne's diary of his travels to Italy via Switzerland and Germany (1580–81) that was published by Minerva editores in 2018. He co-authored the book *Las décadas de Nexos: Una antología*, co-written with Ana Sofía Rodríguez Everaert and Luciano Concheiro (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018), and contributed to various literary supplements and magazines, including *Laberinto*, *Periódico de poesía*, *El Cultural*, and *La Jornada Semanal*. The focus of his research is on the history of Latinamerican poetry, the translation of poetry, the dynamic groups of cultural journalism, and the history of the press in Mexico.

CHRISTOPHER WINKS is Associate Professor and Chair of Comparative Literature at Queens College/CUNY. He is the author of *Symbolic Cities in Caribbean Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), and he has published articles, reviews, and translations (from French and Spanish) in many journals and edited collections. He is the editor and co-translator, with Adriana González Mateos, of *Los danzantes del tiempo*, a bilingual English-Spanish anthology of Kamau Brathwaite's poems that received the 2011 Casa de las Américas prize. Current translation projects include *Labyrinth*, a bilingual English-Spanish anthology of the selected writings of Cuban poet Lorenzo García Vega (Junction Press, forthcoming) and the poetry of Haitian surrealist Magloire Saint-Aude.

LOVE WITH OBSTACLES (AMOR ROJO)

Edited by **Dora García**

Associate Editor
Ruth Estévez

Managing Editor
Anna-Sophie Springer

Copy Editors & Proofing
Anna-Sophie Springer
Etienne Turpin

Translators
Joan Brooks (RU>EN: Kollontai)
Christopher Winks (ES>EN: Contreras Lomas, Estévez, Lamoyi, Ortiz, Rodríguez Everaert & Ruiz Rodilla)

Editorial Assistant
Terēze Šulca

Designer
Alex Gifreu

Printing and Binding
Gràfiques Trema

This publication is published in conjunction with Dora García's exhibition *Love with Obstacles*, curated by Ruth Estévez at the Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts/USA, 13 February to 17 May 2020.

Love with Obstacles (Amor Rojo) is Cahier #5 in García's series *Mad Marginal* (see page 2 for info).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to **Brandeis University Archives and Special Collections** and our research collaborator, **Rayelle Gardner**.

Special thanks to **Garage Field Research**, **Garage Museum of Contemporary Art**, Moscow, for their extensive support to the project *Amor Rojo* in its research phase, and to the Garage Field Research managers, **Oxana Polyakova** and **Daria Bobrenko**.

Thanks also to the following State Archives in Moscow:
State Public Historical Library of Russia
Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI)
The State Central Museum of Contemporary History of Russia
Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI)
Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents (RGAKFD)

Generous support for the publication is provided by the **Oslo National Academy of the Arts, KHiO**; **Premio Arte y Mecenazgo, Fundación "la Caixa,"** Barcelona, awarded to Dora García in its eighth edition in the Artist category; and, the **Rose Art Museum at Brandeis University**, with additional funding from the **Program for the Internationalisation of Spanish Culture (PICE) Acción Cultural Española AC/E**.

KUNSTHØGSKOLEN I OSLO
OSLO NATIONAL ACADEMY OF THE ARTS

"la Caixa"

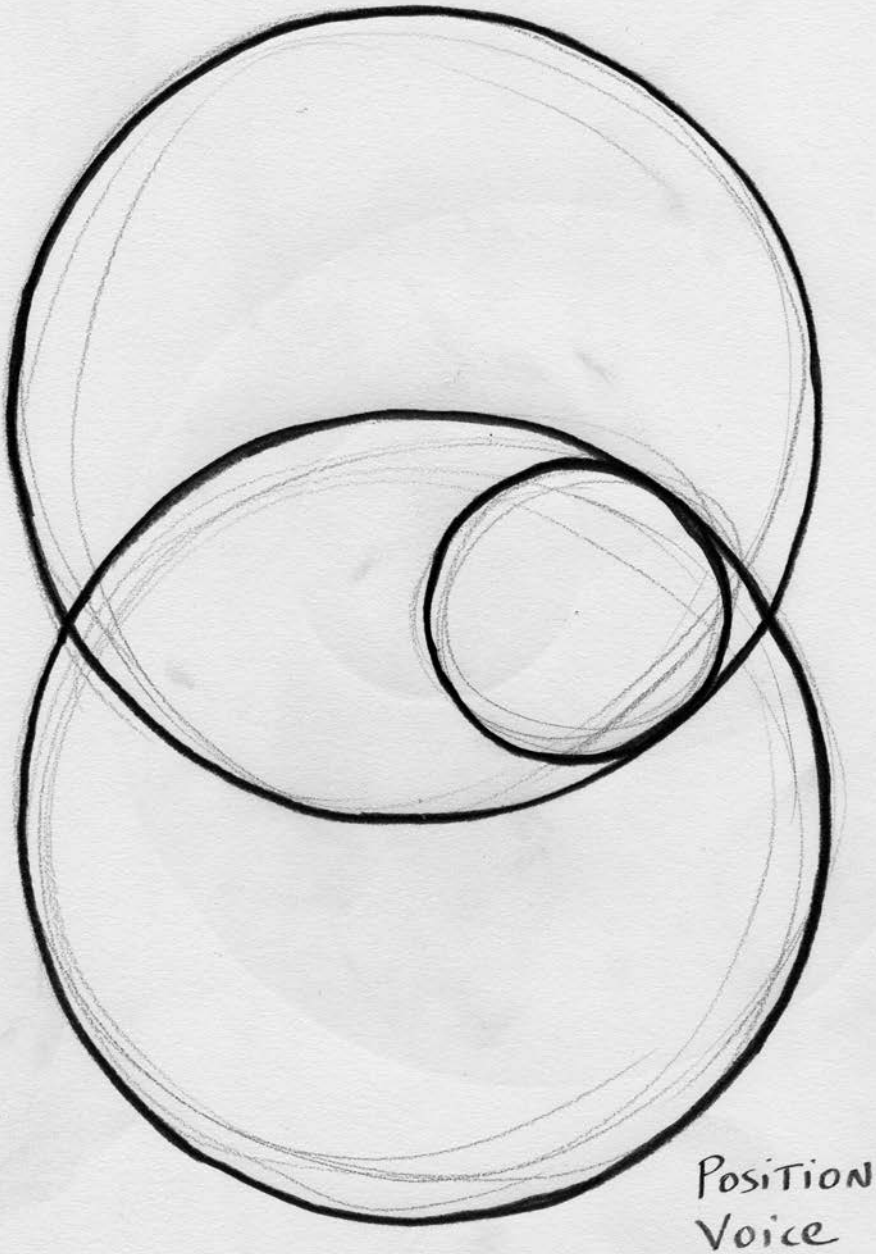
ROSE ART MUSEUM

Published by

K.

K. Verlag
Herzbergstr. 40–43
D-10365 Berlin
info@k-verlag.org
k-verlag.org

ISBN 978-3-947858-12-5


Position
Voice
Mundo