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290

Working Women and War

By IDA DAILES.

A GRAND spectacle is being presented on the world stage for the benefit of the working class by those greatest showmen the world has ever known, the statesmen of world capitalism. The newspapers are flooded with stories about the world court, the league of nations, and various elaborate schemes for the preservation of the "peace of nations."

WITH the establishment of private ownership and production for profits came the expansion of the capitalist nations beyond their home boundaries. Surplus products had to be disposed of, cheaper labor had to be found, new sources of raw material had to be conquered.

Thus began the search for new markets. Armed with bibles, guns and whiskey, the knights of capitalism set out on their holy mission. Bloody wars of conquest made slaves of millions of backward people and divided the world up among the great capitalist powers. Finally the capitalist nations entrenched themselves in every corner of the globe.

But the system is such that it cannot stop of itself. Capitalism seeks ever greater fields of exploitation—what the statesmen call "spheres of influence." So the struggle turned from the search for new markets to the striving for domination in the world market. And such a struggle means war—the sacrifice of millions of workers in the unholy cause of satisfying the greed of the capitalist class.

TO make war requires men and money. The working class furnishes both. But the capitalists cannot go before the workers and say: "We need you on the battlefield. You must kill for us and be killed for us. Our position on the world market is threatened and we must cripple the country that holds this threat over us. For the sake of our profits: Go forth! Kill and be killed!" No, such frankness would be impossible. No worker would lift a hand—except, perhaps to strike down those who would speak these words. Yet this is the reality back of the grand slogans with which the workers are driven to murder their brother-workers of other lands. To cover up the reality the press-agents of capitalism get busy and turn out grand, idealistic slogans, gaged in promoting some noble cause.

IT is not necessary to go over in detail the history of the years since the war. These years have brought bitter disillusionment to those workers who were fooled by the lies of the capitalists—years that have thrown into the scrap-heap all the glittering paste jewels which dazzled their eyes.

All the "little" wars that have been going on, the stirrings of protest in the East, the enslavement of the German working class by the Dawes Plan, the tricky behavior of the French franc, widespread unemployment in England with no signs of permanent relief—all these and many other signs point to the fact that the problems of world capitalism are far from settled.

History has taught us our lessons. It is easy to see that another world war is threatening. This time a war more horrible and more destructive than any other that went before—with highly perfected poison gases, aeroplanes to wipe out a city in a night, new and more powerful instruments of murder being invented every day.

In this country, the propaganda for Citizens' Military Training Camps, for



"The Proletarian Woman," drawn by Fred Ellis for the New Magazine of The Daily Worker.

military training in the schools and colleges, and for "preparedness for defensive purposes," makes obvious that our own capitalists are far from being asleep on the job. They are preparing the victims for the next war.

It will be the brothers, the sweethearts, the husbands, the sons of the working class women, the fathers of the working class children, who will

be called to make the next "great sacrifice" in the name of PROFIT.

It will be the working women and their children who will take the places of their men on the land, in the factories, mines and mills.

IT is only when the working men and women realize the world-unity of their interests as a class that they

will no longer be fooled by the lies of their bosses. It is only then that they will realize that "my country" is truth for the capitalists, but an empty dream for the workers; that "democracy" is a humbug in the mouth of the capitalist class, and that democracy can only exist, in reality, in a workers' state.

Some Lessons of the Finnish Civil War

By a Red Guardist.

THE lessons of the class war in Finland, in 1918—January to May—have not yet been made sufficiently available for the comrades of other countries. There is a pamphlet of Comrade O. W. Kusinen, "The Finnish Revolution, A Self-Criticism," which is available in English, but is very little known in this country. In Finnish there are many publications on the question from both sides which give interesting material about conditions before and during this armed struggle of the classes, where the proletariat was compelled to take up arms without being prepared for it and in which it made some of the same mistakes as were made in the Paris Commune.

In "White Finland" there is published in six large volumes a history of "The Finnish War of Liberation"—so these allies of the German call their murderous warfare against the toilers of their own country. From this the following lessons can be drawn:

1. The preparations of the whites. As early as 1917, a military commission was appointed, whose first task was to investigate the geographical terrain, and especially to seek a basis for operation. They selected the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia in middle-western Finland. The reasons were: The population is of conservative middle peasantry, where a strong sentiment had been aroused against the Reds and the Russian soldiers. In this region there was a big railway center with roads running to the north, east and south, and west to the future white capital, Vasa. From this point it was possible to have connections with the western countries over the sea and north of the gulf. The whites had already made arrangements to get financial help, arms and supplies from Germany (officially) and from Sweden (unofficially). As is known, the Germans sent troops to Red Finland to the rear of the Reds, which decided the outcome of the civil war.

The lesson: In the sense of military preparations and foreign connections, the whites were well-prepared; the reds had neglected these matters.

2. A plan to isolate the Russian military by surprise, was worked out. As the war with Germany was still pending, there were small Russian detachments scattered thru Finland, and the revolutionary soldiers were friendly towards the Finnish Reds, the workers and poor peasants. The whites organized besieging rings of armed "white" organizations around every unit and even succeeded in isolating them from each other, and from the Finnish Red Guards. The preparations of the latter to frustrate these plans were too late, as a result of the lack of an intelligence service.

3. Preparations to clean out Reds from the hinterland. There were big industrial centers in north Finland, saw-mills and lumber works, and a rebellious, poor peasantry. To capture the southern part of East Bothnia would give the whites an opportunity to strike a blow against these Reds and to make their own rear safe. The whites succeeded in carrying out this plan. They were met by hard fighting on the side of the industrial workers and rural scouts, but succeeded in crushing them.

4. The military leadership. There were a number of former officers among the Finnish bourgeoisie. Some of them had been officers in the Finnish army, dissolved by czarism in 1901, and some had been officers in the czarist army. Then the whites had made arrangements to get staff and noncommissioned officers from Sweden and Germany. Then they had over two thousand "Jegers"—bourgeois youths, students and even peasants and workers, who had gone to Germany during the war in order to get military training. Most of them had honest intentions of preparing themselves for a fight against czarism in order to liberate Finland. They were regarded as adventurers by a big part of the Finnish bourgeoisie, which lined up with czarism for their profits in producing war supplies. But when power in Russia passed into the hands of the workers and peasants, the big bourgeoisie managed to get those patriots to fight the Finnish toilers under the cover of "ousting the Russians." But hundreds of these boys did not let themselves be fooled by this trickery and were held in Germany either as prisoners or as war-workers. The Reds were very poorly prepared as regards military leadership.

5. The general staff. The military committee of the whites was replaced by a centralized staff under the leadership of General Gustav Manner-

heim, a foreign count, registered among the Finnish nobility, but wholly Russianized as a general in the czarist army. He was secretly appointed by the Finnish government, January 16, to be commanding general of the white forces. He organized a staff of trained officers, each head of his department. The Red Staff was not at first composed of capable military leaders and was not centralized.

6. The headquarters of the staff. For this the city of Vasa was selected, as the capital Helsingfors in the south was considered likely to fall into the hands of the reds. This calculation was correct and the whites had an effective center from the very beginning. Later the white staff was removed to the railroad center, Seinajork.

7. Accuracy in details. As Mannerheim, disguised as a traveling salesman, was on his way from Helsingfors to Vasa, he was almost arrested in Tammerfors, the industrial center of Finland, where the Reds were especially strong. The Russian soldiers, who inspected the passports, suspected him of being an officer and demanded him to come to the station for questioning. The "white" history tells us: "Mannerheim began to dress himself (it was in a sleeper) when a young man ("white") dressed as a railway employe, passing, explained to the soldier that the passport was all right and that they did not have the right to bother the travelers." The soldiers dropped the case, and the whites had their leader.—The Reds were not careful in details.

8. The connections. The first task of the white staff was to organize connections with the white guard centers all over the country. They had eleven secret district centers. Messages to the staff came under the address of the Vasa City Administration. The whites also had the support of the telegraph operators. The quartermaster was in charge of all means of communication.—The intelligence service and the communication of the Reds were very poorly organized.

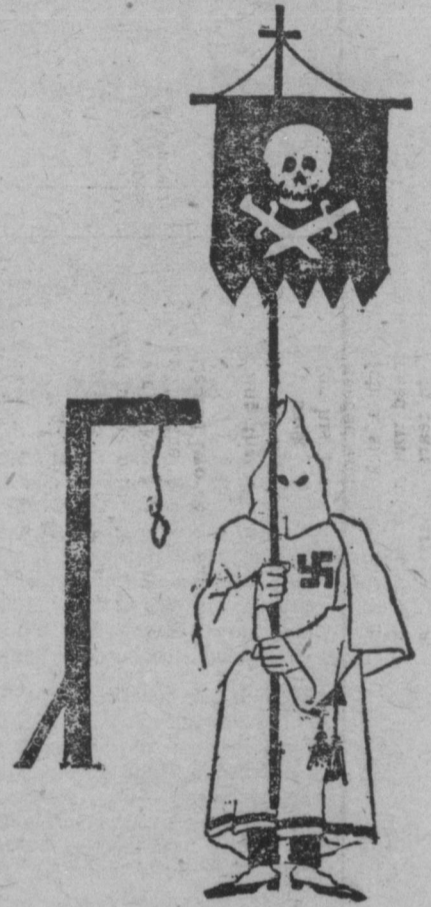
9. The supply of weapons. The white staff had the available weapons already registered and took energetic steps to hasten the sending of guns and ammunition from Sweden and Germany. They bought also weapons from the Russian officers and speculating soldiers. The surprised Russian military units were compelled to surrender their supplies. The Reds were very slow in arming themselves. The rank and file, alarmed by the secret preparations of the whites, demanded weapons, but the leaders were not energetic enough in supplying them.

10. The first alarms. The members of the White Guards were alarmed with exaggerated messages concerning some smaller fights in southern Finland and alleged sending of troops to the north. The "White" staff regarded these small occurrences as signs of threatening war, and was correct. The Reds did not fully understand this.

11. Threats and bluffs. The Whites circulated rumors among the Russian soldiers about the strength of the whites, and organized peasant parades to make an impression on them. In this way they gained time and succeeded in disheartening a part of the to some extent demoralized Russian soldiers. They also made earnest efforts to de-rail the trains and made other preparations for actual fighting.—The preparations of the Reds were not so systematic.

12. The relations between the leaders and the rank and file. When the white guards were alarmed and mobilized, they wanted to go into action at once. It was difficult for the officers to hold them back. When they received from the staff a command to wait for action, they revolted. Such a lack of discipline could in some instances be useful for the whites. For instance, little groups of whites defended a railroad station south of the only connecting road to the east. Their position was so dangerous that they received a command from Mannerheim to retreat, but did not obey. So they saved the connections to the east. But soon the whites got their staff officers organized and military discipline established. This was important for them because the peasants were not willing to go far from their own localities. They intended only to get the Russian soldiers out and after that wanted to return home. But this was not the intention of the leaders, and the members of the white guards were told that they were soldiers in an army and had to go where they were commanded.

The Reds had to face the same problem. The red guards were voluntary local organizations with elected officers. They were used to discuss-



Results of the Victory of "Democracy."
Drawn by Deni, in Moscow Pravda

ing at length whether or not they should attack, to obeying a command or not, as they pleased. After a time this was overcome. When the Red guardists saw that their appointed officer was not capable in practice, they asked for a new officer from the staff. But there were not many such officers to be obtained. Some groups of industrial workers, who had been trained in sport organizations, could supply comrades capable of military leadership. But this process of creating officers while the war was going on was slow, and time did not wait. The necessity for discipline also developed with experience. But this process also was too slow. One little anecdote will illustrate the awakening of this consciousness. Long after the civil war, when one of the red guardists was released from the prison camp of the whites, he told his comrades: "Now I will keep my place in the firing-line." That means that the trouble in fighting was that so many left the firing-line, and now he understood that this was the key to all fighting. The problem of developing men (and women) who are trained to keep their places and uphold their authority is the most vital in all questions of struggle. It is especially necessary when there is a need for a retreat. The men who take up arms are willing to advance, but retreat disheartens them and destroys discipline. It was for this reason that Lenin emphasized the double necessity of discipline during a retreat.

13. The concentration of troops. As told above, the rank and file in a civil war are willing to fight for their homes, but do not fully understand the necessity of fighting elsewhere. But in war, of course, there are places of more and less importance, and forces must be concentrated to hold the important places. This was clear for the white military leaders. And they had made preparations to concentrate the troops where they were needed and to provide them with the necessary supplies. This was not so apparent to the Reds. Of course it was done, but not so systematically as was the case with the whites, and the concentration and distribution of the troops was delayed. This was in many cases the main reason for defeat.

14. The critical moment. The decision to begin is the most vital problem in all action. This should not be hastened, but neither should it be delayed beyond the right moment. On February 25, some members of the whites were demanding immediate action. Others hesitated. They pointed out that there was no artillery to speak of, and the supply of machine-guns was insufficient. Even guns and ammunition were lacking. But Mannerheim decided for action. His reasons were:

"If the sending of troops to the north, aimed at by the marines and the Reds, could be carried out, the rise of the 'white' people, insufficiently armed, would suffer a serious drawback. It

"Good Morning, Mr. President"

By Michael Gold

HE was an old Iowa farmer: he looked like many other old Iowa farmers: slow, gnarled hands, glasses, suspenders, sharp nose, white moustache, blue suspicious eyes, Congress shoes, and a twangy voice always complaining. He was on a train bound for Washington, D. C.

"When do we reach the capital, porter?" he asked as he stared for the fiftieth time at his silver onion watch.

"Tuh-morrer mawnin' at seven, Boss," said the porter.

"Thanks." The Iowan shut his tight mouth tighter; but his heart beat fast.

Seven o'clock in the morning! After all these years! And at ten o'clock he would stand in line at the White House, and shake the president's hand! My lands! My stars and snakes, that's enuf to make an American's heart beat fast!

"My congressman has arranged it all," the old man confided proudly, to another old man in the smoking room. "I'm a-going to shake the president's hand. Yes, sir, and I've been waiting for this moment for fifty years."

Then he told about his father, who had shaken the hand of President Grant, and how it had been the proudest memory of his life. It had made him an outstanding member of the community; it had even gained him an election as town marshal.

"Sence I've been a boy of ten, and heard my father tell about President Grant, I vowed to git to Washington and do the same as he did if it took every cent I had," said the old Iowan. "I tell you, it's the proudest moment of my life. I'm a-going to step up, shake his hand like this, and just say a few words: Good morning, Mr.

President, I've voted the straight republican ticket for the past forty years."

"He'll be glad to hear it," said the other old man. "What this country needs is a lot more good republicans. Reckon the trip from Iowa is costing you quite a penny tho, aint it?"

"Worth every cent. Worth every cent a man has got," twanged the Iowan shrilly.

AS a matter of fact, the trip was taking every cent he had. He was too old to work, and his farm was not his, it was mortgaged to the hilt. His wife had died a few years ago; she had dropped like an overworked animal in the harness. His two sons had run away from the farm, because of the drudgery, and he never heard from them. He had run a slave farm on which he had been the principal slave. Now he was worked out, and old, and penniless, but glory he would shake the president's hand!

This would make up for everything: for the years of drudgery, ignorance, and isolation; for the miserly years, the mean, lean Yankee years, for the penny-squeezing years that had killed his wife and driven away his sons, and twisted and ruined his body. Yes, it would pay.

(This is the way Yankees think. They despise royalty and the effete European worshippers of King George of England, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Queen Marie of Roumania. But they would all go hungry, naked and cold to shake the president's hand. Yes, sir. Nothing concrete is gained; a man does not become wiser, nobler, or even richer by the act, but it satisfies something in the Yankee soul. The flunkey in it, perhaps. Or the romantic, or the damn fool. I can't figure it out. But I know the way to corrupt a staunch labor

leader is to permit him to shake the president's hand. The trick works equally well with the leaders of Negroes, oppressed bankrupt farmers, trust-flattened little business men, and the club ladies who politely agitate for the abolition of child labor and such measures. All of them would, and do, surrender the last shred of honor for the privilege of shaking the president's hand. Figure the reason out for yourself; I must confess myself unable to.)

THE train reached Washington. The old Iowa farmer was met by his congressman and taken to the White House line. There he found a thousand other Yankees waiting to shake the president's hand. This amazed him; he had dreamed, on his lonely farm, that he cherished a sacred and unique ambition.

After four hours and forty years of waiting, his turn in the line came at last. He was suddenly shoved from behind; he touched a cold, clammy hand; he saw a fixed presidential smile, and a blur of frock-coat. Suddenly he found himself in the corridor, confused among a thousand other confused Yankees. It had all taken a second, this consummation of a life-time of sacred yearning.

"I didn't even get a chance to tell him I'd voted straight republican for forty years," the old Iowan complained feebly, to another old Yankee as they passed out on the lawn, gently but firmly expelled by the fat secret service men.

THAT'S all there is to the story. Except that I ought to add that the old farmer died six months later; nothing much the matter with him, the doctor said, but he seemed to have lost all his interest in life. Nothing more to live for.

might be frustrated entirely. . . . Hesitation was no longer possible." The Russian revolution had convinced Mannerheim "that where power has passed into the hands of the revolutionists, no further upheaval was possible. . . . Now the question was: victory or destruction."

So the Finnish civil war started. This is called by the whites "The War of Liberation," because it liberated the exploited classes of Finland for a time from the power of the workers and peasants. The white historians maintain, of course, that it was a liberation from Russia. But the simple fact that the Soviet government had already recognized the full independence of Finland and that the Russian military was withdrawing from Finland, illustrates the falsity of this statement. The peasants in the white guards were surprised when all of their prisoners were Finnish workers and their fellow-peasants and not Russians against whom they were supposed to be fighting. But by that time they were already under the iron discipline of the officers' machine and they had to obey orders.

The industrial south of Finland was organized as a Peoples' Republic and defended by Red guards of workers and small peasants, now organized into a Red army. On January 28 the Red torch in the tower of the Workers' Hall in Helsingfors called the Reds together. So the decision of the Red leadership came some days later than the decision of the whites. The many laxities in preparation have been mentioned above. Other defects and mistakes were in the main as follows:

1. No system of soviets was organized. That means that the great masses of the workers and peasants were not drawn into the state organizations. Already in 1917, representative bodies of workers had been organized in localities. They were a poor substitute for the Soviets, because they were established by only the organized workers (unions, workers' federations, sport organizations, etc.)

The district committees of the Social-Democratic Party and the unions were organized as district centers. The government, called "The Trustees (Commissars) of the People," were organized by the central committees of the party and the unions. A General Council of Workers consisting of representatives of the party, the unions, the Red guards, and the Helsingfors local centers was organized and functioned as a revolutionary parliament. Altho these organizations included the active part of the working people and were really mass organizations, the basis for a revolutionary power was too narrow. The non-partisan masses, which sympathized with the

Reds and helped them with all their means, did not feel the new power as entirely their own. This was a big mistake.

2. The masses of petty and middle peasants were neglected. The dissatisfied tenant farmers and even independent peasants registered in the Red army and fought bravely in south Finland. Also in the far north. But during the period of preparation the peasants of middle Finland were neglected. They were religious and patriotic and the Reds did not understand how to approach them. So they could be misled by the whites. There were plenty of signs of dissatisfaction with their conditions. The taxes were heavy, also the mortgages. Hunger for land was general. And there were huge areas of land owned by lumber companies which could have been confiscated, for the benefit of the small peasants. There was some understanding of this problem in the Social-Democratic Party but its revolutionary importance was not brot out and not developed into clear slogans, a general feature of the socialist parties, even the most radical, such as the Finnish Social-Democratic Party.

3. Lack of initiative. As told above, the Reds were late in all their preparations and actions. This had its basis in the fact that the Social-Democratic party was not conscious of the inevitability of the revolution and the civil war. It was forced on them. Already in November, 1917, the power in the whole country was in the hands of the Reds. But the party gave it up. At the end of January the party had to face a situation where the power in middle Finland was in the hands of the whites, who had used their time well. They recognized the necessity of fighting when the Red leaders still hoped the civil war could be avoided and the necessary reforms obtained in a parliamentary way. (The Finnish Social-democrats had almost half of the legislation in their hands and hoped for a coalition with left-wing peasants, but were unable to establish it.) So the lack of understanding and initiative on the military and political field proved fatal to the Reds.

4. The institution which was in Russia called the Extraordinary Commission (Teheka) was not organized. There were of course some organs to watch for and fight the whites in Red Finland, but they were not centralized and did not have the proper political leadership. The result was a lack of consistency in their work. In many places they were too lenient towards the whites and in other places some cases of arbitrariness occurred. The revolutionary power must be firm but consistent. This can be obtained only under leadership of responsible, politically trained per-

sons. In Red Finland the whites appeared in establishing fortifications and partisan troops and in this way tied up the Red forces and delayed their sending troops to the north. And in Helsingfors, as they afterwards boasted, they succeeded in organizing conspirative troops and buying arms from the Russian officers and demoralized soldiers. The bourgeois women were especially used in transporting arms and supplies. Thus they abused the chivalry of the Reds towards the fair sex. The intelligence service of the whites was also comparatively well organized. At the beginning of the civil war they controlled a telegraph line running directly from Helsingfors to the "white" headquarters. When this was discovered they used the cable to Revel and sent the message thru Stockholm. Messengers from the white staff in Helsingfors went to the frontiers to the side of the whites, under several pretenses (girls who "wanted to visit their sick mothers," etc.) The naivete and leniency of the Reds were astounding. (Compare this with the alarming stories about the "cruelties" of the Reds.)

5. The main defect was of course the lack of a Communist party. The Social-democratic Party, which was forced by circumstances to take up the defense of the working class, was not prepared for the attack. The activity of the party during the revolution illustrates this also. The central committee did not function as the leading body in the fight. The party leaders were of course in the government, but they did not hold central committee meetings. And more than that: the central committee was changed, the leading comrades replaced by less caable comrades. There was no party discipline to speak of. The propaganda and agitation work was not systematized. The government depended wholly on the voluntary loyalty of individual comrades and the revolutionary inspiration of the masses. The strong backbone, which was felt in the Russian revolution, was lacking.

As the Finnish revolution as a whole was a costly experience of how a revolution should not be conducted, so it illustrates, in a negative way, how absolutely necessary it is to have a conscious revolutionary, a Communist Party in leadership. The nearly 15,000 murdered in the white terror, the 15,000 starved in the prison-camps of the whites, where 100,000 working men, women and children were tortured, was the price paid for these experiences. Not to speak of the international significance of Finland being white and not Red during the past eight years. The revolutionary workers of other countries ought to learn of this experience.

Women in the Workshop

By HELEN KAPLAN

I HAVE been unemployed for the last ten months. Going to A. C. W. employment office practically every day to ask for a job, I come in contact with thousands of workers.

When we come together we talk of everything under the sun. We joke, we laugh, we praise and we condemn. We get acquainted very fast. We do not wait for any introduction—we just begin to speak when we have anything to say.

A few days ago I came to the office. I asked the usual question of the man who gives out the jobs, and he gave me his usual answer, "nothing doing today." Then I went over to a group of workers who were standing talking. They were trying to put blame on women workers for some of the defects in our industry.

ONE worker said: "We men are going around idle while many of the women are working. In the old country in Poland the women didn't work in the shops. But as soon as they come to this country they get into the shops and factories and soon they will be even getting into the mines."

I told the worker that I would tell him why women work in the shops

today. I pointed out that the conditions under capitalism were responsible for the influx of women into places hitherto occupied by men. The wages of the male worker today is insufficient to support a family, with the result that women have to go to work also. The whole question is rooted in the conditions of the entire working class under capitalism.

Material conditions determine women's activities as well as men's. Capitalism's mode of production has drawn the woman into the industrial field. They immigrate to different countries because they can't find any work in their own countries.

Take, for instance, the pre-war period in Russia. Russia was an industrially undeveloped country. The workers emigrated to countries where they could find work. Among the immigrants there was a great percentage of women.

NOW the question arises, what part are women playing in industry? And what effect do they have on the class struggle?

For centuries women were made to believe that they were inferior to men. When women began to enter industry, the exploiters made good use of this false tradition. With the

development of machinery, thousands of unskilled workers are taking the places of the skilled workers. The bosses do not care. If they can get a woman worker to work for less money they will surely employ her instead of a man. Take, for instance, the machine shops. They are employing girls for the punch-press. They pay them half the wages that they are paying men.

Now, dear brother, shouting that women are no good will get us no place.

THE women are part of the exploited class. We might as well start to do some work among them so they should emancipate themselves from this economic oppression as being an inferior sex, and raise the interest among the women. They shall participate in the struggle for the working class as equals to men. In unions, where women are getting less pay for the same work that men are doing we shall help them to put up demands, "equal pay for equal work." Where women are not organized into unions we must see to it that they are organized.

All the capitalist countries are trying to make the workers believe that they have such a thing as democracy

for women in industry. They are trying to say that they are given more protection. This is all camouflage. I know of cases in the shops where I worked that women were taken direct from the shops to the hospital to give birth to children. The capitalists have no provisions for mothers with small infants.

There are families where mothers have no rest after childbirth; they have to go right back to the factory. We have to point out to the women workers that such conditions must be improved. Go to the packing houses and you will see the conditions of the women workers.

THERE is only one country that has raised the level of the women workers, and that is Soviet Russia. They have in Russia special provisions for the mothers in the different industries. The women are given an opportunity to participate in all the activities of the class struggle. The women have shown themselves just as capable as the men in their undertaking. We men and women had better stop our guerilla warfare, and make a common fight to emancipate ourselves from our common enemy, the capitalist.

The Women on the Farm

By ALFRED KNUTSON.

THE farm women, especially the wives and daughters of the farm workers, tenants, and mortgaged farmers, do more useful labor for less thanks and reward than any other class of workers in this country.

From early in the morning till late at night the farmer's wife is on her feet, preparing the food for the family, taking care of the children, milking the cows, feeding the chickens and turkeys, and not infrequently we find her driving across the field sitting on a wobbling plow and loading hay on a hot summer's day. She rises earlier than anybody else on the farmstead and is the last one to go to bed. She is busy all day long, working patiently without very much thought of what she is going to get for her labor. She and her husband are partners in the disagreeable task of slaying for the bankers and food gamblers—their capitalist exploiters.

If any person on earth has problems facing her it is the woman on the farm. To be sure there are some farm women who get along quite well but these constitute only a small minority. The vast masses of farm women, along with their husbands, sons and daughters, are eking out a meager existence from year to year with the situation on the farm becoming steadily worse. There is no hope for them under the capitalist system.

MODERN conveniences, such as sewer systems, city water, electric lights, steam heat, bath, etc., the poor wife of a struggling farmer knows nothing about. She should, of course, have access to these conveniences in order to lighten her burdens as well as to increase her health, happiness, and general wellbeing. By her labor she is entitled to it all.

Instead she is compelled to live in houses that are small and without any improvements worth mentioning. Water and fuel must be brought into the house from the outside during the cold winter months, the old kerosene lamps must still be used to light the dingy rooms, impure air due to gases emitted by the kitchen and heating stoves must be constantly inhaled, no bath and no decent toilet facilities are available for this tireless working woman.

THERE are no luxuries in the home of the poor farm woman. The stories we read in the capitalist press about "farmers generally" installing "most" of the modern conveniences into their homes are not true and are certainly not borne out by the facts. They should be there, of course, and would be there too if the capitalist system gave way to a workers' system. The poor farm woman has nothing

to lose and everything to gain thru the destruction of capitalism. Her problems are bound up with the problems of her sisters working in the factories in the big cities; and together they must solve these problems.

There is very little variety of either food or clothing in the homes of farm women generally. They have to live simply because they cannot afford to buy the things they should have and really need. Eggs, pork, and potatoes make up the principal food and in many of the farm communities thruout the country the farmer's family oftentimes cannot even eat as much as they should of this kind of food, for the reason that these farm products must be sold to buy clothing, to pay the taxes and interest. Debts—debts—debts—staring in the face all the time!

CLOTHING is an important item in the budget of the farmer's wife; but how can she get what she needs of this? One farm woman, testifying before a government commission in Texas, made the statement that she hadn't had a new hat for fourteen years! The women who work in the factories in the big cities make lots of clothing but the women on the land are unable to buy it. Clothing, you know, like everything else, is made for profit and not for use. The capitalist who owns and operates the clothing factory does not think of the needs of the poor women on the farm.

THE farm woman has few opportunities for recreation and her social activities are much restricted. Now and then there is a social gathering in the farm community to break the monotony of endless toil, but such gatherings are poor and infrequent. Also travel, sightseeing, educational facilities are not for her. She must be content to stay on the old farmstead and work. She does not mind working, of course, but she would very much like to get a good deal more out of what she produces, enjoy a modern house, have better food and clothing, and secure greater opportunities of recreation and education. She has fully learned of these modern conveniences thru the important work she performs for society.

SOME day—let us hope the time is not far off—the woman on the farm will wake up and realize that it is the capitalists and their system that make her slave the way she is doing now. She will join hands with the working men and women in the big cities and organize to do away with capitalism which now exploits both. The farmer must take the lead in this work and aid and guide the latter.

Working Women and Lenin

"With sobs and lamentation we lowered our banners."

By N. KAPTELTSEVA

ONE cannot describe in words the great sorrow in the heart of every conscious working woman since the death of Lenin.

Two difficult years which seem as soon as centuries and as short as flashes have gone by since January 21st, 1924. For two years the working class and toiling peasantry have been building up their state without their leader, their guide, without this thinker and organizer of genius. They are building up collectively in place of their party leader.

It is a difficult and stupendous task, but the teachings of our great leader show us the way and light up our path.

THE death of Comrade Lenin has been a great sorrow in the hearts of many millions of our toiling women, and January 21 will be imprinted forever on the memory of every woman thinker and peasant.

How I was thunderstruck at this news. I was no longer able to think. The words reeled in my head: "Lenin is dead."

"And I could not understand them," writes a working woman from the Ukhovskaya factory. It was my husband who told me that Vladimir Ilyich was dead. I stood there with open mouth, wanting to say something, but my tongue would not move and my brain burned as if it were on fire.

"What do you mean, 'Lenin is dead?' Who could replace him?"

"I remember how this went to my heart and how I burst into tears," writes the working woman Epifanova from Teikov in the Ivanovo-Vosnesensk Province.

"A thunderbolt could not have stupefied me more than this news of Lenin's death," said Anurova.

The first minutes were minutes of fright, terror and panic, but another question immediately faced every working woman—Lenin is dead, but his work lives. The Party he founded is living and the working class and toiling peasantry which Ilyich organized around the Party is still living.

Help the orphaned party to get to work. In such times there is no place for tears—this burst forth from the collective hearts of the workers.

"I immediately realized the importance of this moment and dried my tears, but it was just as if a stone had fallen upon my heart," writes the working woman Semenova in her letters.

THE Moscow men and women workers in the days of the sharp January frosts marched uninterruptedly day and night to bid farewell to their

leader, teacher and friend. They came in hundreds from the provinces.

"I remember how I wanted to look at him, and how I could see nothing for my tears. I wiped them away with my sleeve, but once more they hid from me the face of our leader, teacher, comrade and friend.

"I and all working women to whom Ilyitch is dear must follow his teachings and be Leninists—these are the thoughts that are burning in our brains, writes a working woman from the Uritsky factory.

And when the walls of the Mausoleum had hidden the body of Vladimir Ilyitch, when the last salvos had died down, when the banners were lowered to the ground, then the working women poured into the still iron-firm Leninist Party in scores, hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands.

And then two years of persistent work in the ranks of the Party and together with the Party, under Lenin's watchwords—work at restoring industry, at strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

FROM the first days after Lenin's death the working women commenced sending their collections, letters, notes and poems to the newspapers and journals.

And not only at that time but even up to the present time they are still sending in material uninterruptedly. In this they bemoan the tragic loss, and allude to the colossal work of Vladimir Ilyitch in forming the Party and organizing the working masses—and they swear they will be true to his teachings.

And it is not only those who have written and who know how to write who are writing these things, but also those who but a few years back have never held a pen in their hands. Both the old and the very young write in their ungrammatical and crooked hand from all parts of the Soviet Union. It is the hands of hundreds and thousands of working women who are writing, but their thoughts are all one.

TOGETHER with the Party we will bring Lenin's work to its conclusion. We will carry forward his teachings, and if not we, then our children, our grand children and great grand children will see the dawn of Socialism thruout the world.

"And not only the working women, but the housewives, also, are entering the Leninist Party and bidding others to do likewise"—that is what the housewife Demanin writes.

Working women, and wives of working men, Lenin suffered persecution, shame, prison and exile for our freedom and now that he is no longer with us let us stand beneath the Red banner of the Leninist Party and help it to finish the work of constructing socialism that Lenin commenced.

Our banner is Lenin and our weapon is Leninism.