

In the Flames of Revolt Twenty Years Ago

EDITOR'S NOTE:—In connection with the 20th anniversary of the revolution of 1905 we published this series of wood pictures of the revolution as told by a comrade who participated in the events of that time. This is the sixth and final story.

By M. A. SKROMNY.

(Reminiscences of the Revolutionary Days of 1905, by an old Rebel.)

VI.

We Make a Raid.

I only lived over the "constitution" was a short-lived. After the horrible wave of pogroms that followed the first days of celebration in honor of the victory of October 17, the czar again felt the ground under his feet. With all kinds of regulations, instructions and "explanations" the manifesto of October 17 was made inapplicable.

The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party remained underground, although legal newspapers of the party made their appearance. The *duma* was called and dissolved by order of the czar. The *duma* was not revolutionary but the Bolsheviks as a fake proposition to keep off the revolutionary wave. We made use of everything to show up the czar's schemes and to revolutionize the masses and prepare them for an armed uprising for the overthrow of the czar.

The members of the left fractions of the dissolved *duma* collected at Vyborg, Finland, which at that time was a somewhat autonomous part of the Russian empire. Among them were also the constitutional democrats (cadets) the party under the leadership of Professor Mikulok. They considered themselves "lefts" at that time. The delegates passed a resolution of protest in connection with the dissolution of the *duma*. Although the resolution was far from being a revolutionary document, every newspaper that dared to print it was promptly suppressed. The resolution was published by the Social Democratic Labor Party in the form of a circular and distributed among the masses who were still under the illusion that the *duma* was a democratic institution.

In our city we received only two copies of the resolution with a suggestion that we reprint it. There were two printers in the city who used to do printing for the party for a considerable reward, of course. We had no printing plant of our own at that time. We had many party members working in the print shops. The usual price for printing the underground party proclamations was one kopek per copy. I used to deal with the printers, having close connections with them. This time I was authorized to pay twice that amount if necessary, but to get it in a hurry.

When I met the printers, first one and then others, they categorically refused to print the Vyborg appeal, as the resolution became known. They told me that the chief of police warned all the printers in the city not to print anything about the *duma*, and that no excuse of any kind will be accepted. One had shown me the letter from the chief of police. Besides that he told me that the police captain is paying visits to the shops to see if anything is being printed against the government. The other pointed out a policeman through the window who was stationed opposite the shop. There was never a policeman there before.

"You see, I can't do it," I offered to double the price for the job, but the printers refused. We had no printshop of our own, and to organize one was quite a difficult proposition. It was necessary much time and we needed the proclamation at once.

I had talked with one of our active party members who was a printer. I explained the situation to him and asked his opinion. He told me that "Why not read a print shop and print it by force?" he suggested. He explained the difficulties. The alertness of the police, etc.

"What about? There is no other way of doing it. Let's try it!" He was himself a member of the Bolshevik Party. (Military organization of the party) and knew what it would be like to be taking down the kind of a job it was. I told him that it would have to be decided by the city committee of the Party. He said in the meantime he must keep quiet about it. He needed no warning, but I did it by force.

The city committee decided to do it. There was no other way out. A meeting of about a dozen members of the Bolshevik Party was called and the matter discussed. Some proposed to raise the state print shop of the government. We had some comrades working there. Another proposal was to raid the shop of the patriotic counter-revolutionary newspaper. We had many comrades also there. A copy of all important and confidential documents that were printed in those shops would come to the Social Democratic Labor Party even before they reached the government offices for whom it was intended. Both proposals were rejected because the printshops were too big and had too many windows. It would require too great an effort to raid any of them.

After considering a few other propositions we finally decided to raid printshops we only had two party members working. One of them was a member of the Bolshevik Party. He gave a detailed map of the shop. The plan of the raid was worked out, a leader appointed and the date and time set.

At the appointed time two strangers came into the shop thru the rear door and began to talk to the managers. At the same time two "customers" came into the office and began to talk prices for printing a few minutes later two other "customers" came in, and at the same time three other strangers came in thru the back door, and a few minutes later two more appeared.

One of the comrades who came in thru the rear door went into the office to report to the leader that all was ready for printing. A few minutes later the "customers" suddenly changed the subject and informed the owner and manager of the office and printshop also under the control of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

"We will not remain here very long," explained the leader. "We will just print a few thousand copies of the Vyborg appeal. You can go about your business. We will not interfere with you in any way, of course. We use the telephone if you will not mention anything about us. No one present will be able to leave the place now, but those that may come in will be allowed to go if you will keep out. You are to remain here. The comrade also explained that there were about a dozen members of the Bolshevik Party in the building and that everyone of them was armed. The owner understood the situation and acquiesced. He was unable to act otherwise anyway.

The leader and two other comrades remained in the office watching the doors, windows and telephone. All that remained in the shop taking up strategic positions at the windows and doors.

The printers began to set up the appeal. They did not need any printing; two of them were party members, most of the others were sympathizers. They worked at top speed. In about forty-five minutes two compositions of the appeal were ready, printed into leaflets and given to the press. The pressman, who was also a sympathizer, began to run off the appeal at full speed. Altogether it took about two and a half hours to complete the job.

In the meantime customers were coming and going freely as usual. It was so arranged that there was no need to hurry. Business went on exactly as on the telephone. The printer and printer were finished and wrapped up, the leader asked one of the comrades for a boy to carry the appeal into the street. A "printers' devil" was recommended. The printer asked the owner that he will charge for the job, but the latter

refused to accept anything. He wanted to get rid of the unwelcome guests as quickly as possible. The comrades began to leave the shop as they came in. Two and then one. The boy carrying the leaflets went out with the first comrades to leave the place. He carried the bundles under his coat and then, according to our comrades took the boy offered to "ha chat," according to the Russian custom, but refused to accept it, remarking: "I don't want to take any money from the party."

A meeting of about twelve members were probably four or five minutes per month. When the last two comrades to leave the office were going down the stairs, they met a police captain going up, accompanied by a policeman. The comrades hastened to disappear.

Research Department Book Reviews

A BOURGEOIS LOOKS AT THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

By EARL R. BROWDER. "Social Classes in Post-War Europe." People's Bookshop, New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, 200.

MR. STODOLSKY has given us a very interesting picture of the class struggle as it is reflected in the bourgeois mind. In part a very effective study of the changes in class relationship but about by the war (even the not all profound which is the most post-war phenomena. It is in the other parts especially expressive of bourgeois prejudices and limitations, and of a limited horizon of the proletarian. Its greatest significance lies in the fact that it expresses the consciousness of the ruling classes that they all face today on the top of a social volcano which at almost any moment may erupt and bury them beneath the lava of revolution.

No one can accuse Mr. Stodolsky of ignoring the important factors in modern society. His previous books are for example: "Social Reform in Europe," dealing with a very old problem of the national mind, and another under the name of "Nordic-Mediterranean Area." One of the problems which the bourgeois does not and cannot understand, but which it knows exists, is the "Revolution Against Civilization." The "Under Man," which treats at the spectacle of the rise of the proletarian, and in 1925 to write the barbarians within the walls are able to destroy civilization, not find a way by which the "barbarians," the workers, can be expelled, and his new book, "The Rising Tide" which deals with the revolt of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world. Certainly Mr. Stodolsky has been trying to understand the problems which threaten the existence of the proletarian, and if he has done so, look poor and mean to those who have read Lenin's thesis must be blind, not to see lack of effect but the social atomization of the bourgeoisie.

The author deals in turn with the present, the future, and the class of the middle classes, the intellectual, and the upper classes. And each is described primarily as to its fitness in combat with Communism. He takes great comfort from the fact that the rising tide is not proletarian but was unsuccessfully attempted, the present always took a prominent part in the operations, involving the equally pertinent fact, that where the proletarian revolution was successful it was in alliance with the peasantry.

Mr. Stodolsky's knowledge of Communism is not perfect, but he is able to look to the one supposed to have things right. He says such things, "The so-called Communist have frankly recognized in the operations there, more irreconcilable opponents, that he has long been established that such an attitude, if it can be maintained, would have to be characterized as a very short-sighted. Also his bland disregard of the facts about Russia, which allows him in 1925 to write

One of the comrades working in the shop told me later on that when the police again came into the shop he thought that we were all arrested and that all was up. One of the comrades came to take away from a gallery and when he noticed the police he almost fainted. The comrade hastened to take away from the gallery and while the police captain tried to read the spot, slowly changed it to a "prison" but the man as seen as the composition was taken off the press, derided all remaining impressions of the National of the circulating was left in the shop.

The police captain, without examining anything, had just happened to drop in on one of his usual visits. If he had happened to drop in a little earlier, there would have been some fireworks there.

Of "Russia's despotic industrial life of the 19th century, passing the days of reform, the socialist appears as 'little better than a social reformer' and the book moves, with a little hesitation, to the report of the British trade unionist, the Communist of Russia as it effectively summarized the world Communist party's program.

All the changes of the working class, the most noteworthy feature is the Communist's political treatment of an independent labor for the world, the whole which "international" and socialization are presented for what they are aspects of the existing conditions, and the most noteworthy feature is the Communist's political treatment of an independent labor for the world, the whole which "international" and socialization are presented for what they are aspects of the existing conditions, and the most noteworthy feature is the Communist's political treatment of an independent labor for the world, the whole which "international" and socialization are presented for what they are aspects of the existing conditions.

Everywhere the middle classes have been depressed and impoverished since 1914, says Mr. Stodolsky. He looks on the depression as a continuation of the depression since 1905, and that those classes in the world which in Europe were the least depressed, was even in the least favored. "Social reform" does not apply, and in a movement of the middle classes, it is not to stabilize the working class, but to stabilize the bourgeoisie. The stability of the world order may eventually prove to be a few generations for the middle classes, but for far more than a century.

As for the "barbarians," Mr. Stodolsky points their plight as one of extreme depression. They are given no credit for their role in the middle class's fight for betterment, learning and culture. It would seem, as Mr. Stodolsky writes, that the stability of the world order may eventually prove to be a few generations for the middle classes, but for far more than a century.

The upper classes—the financial industrial philosophy and the landed gentry—the urban workers class, are shaken by the events of 1919-20. It is looked for a moment as being red-tinted, but they are destined, at least for a short time, to be as before—non-aligning themselves with the proletarian. The obstacle he sees in the cessation of that close understanding between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the interests of landlords and industrialists, which, however, it is a very important fact, that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie alike have a demand for Communism. "It appears certain that Communism, which becomes dangerously active, the upper classes will at once reforge their alliances with the bourgeoisie, to meet the common foe."

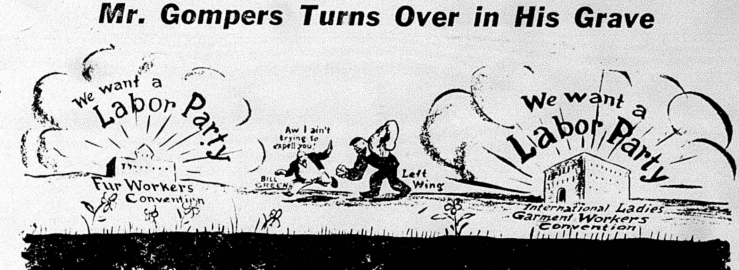
A very class-conscious book, this, which is read and designed to assist the working class move effectively to "ruin" and "kill" it in its place. It is a goodly and well-studied, and it is to the workers, just as it is always of value, it was to study the class of the class.

The New Magazine

Supplement of THE DAILY WORKER. Robert Minor Editor.

Second Section: This Magazine Section Appears Every Saturday in THE DAILY WORKER.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1925



Who Is Santa Claus?

IN the Middle Ages all "Christianism" had holidays galore. The year was cut up into innumerable festival days, borrowed from Roman customs but tagged with the name of some holy saint of the Roman church. But how could factories run profitably if well nigh half the days of the year were given over to religious festivals? It couldn't be done. Protestantism cleared away most of this junk of rejoicing and feasting, and made way for a year composed mostly of days of sweat and grinding toil at wage labor.

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boomed by the church and the newspapers. Only Christmas remains the "holy days" on which the poor toiler gets a chance to loaf. But poor Jesus has been crowded out by Santa Claus. It wouldn't do for Marshall Field and company to hire an unemployed worker to parade in front of the store in red and false whiskers as a lure to bargain hunters. His lean and hungry looking, the dolorous Jesus of the church with his crown of thorns had to give way to the fat and prosperous Jesus of the department store—Santa Claus.

Who is Santa Claus? For surely no one can dispute the reality of a saint who drums up a hundred million or so of dollars worth of business every year throughout "christendom!"

Christmas is a holiday with which the capitalist social structure absorbs some of the shocks incidental to the system of slavery, through over the mind of the worker a haze of illusion of universal good will in a blood thirsty social system, and always a crop of loss for its retail merchants on the margin of wages of the working class.

Who is Santa Claus? Santa Claus is a symbol of retail trade lost from toil, and the spring-clothing and military trade is.

(Continued on page 2)

Who Is Santa Claus?

(Continued from page 1)

Santa Claus for the workers is a successful cocaine peddler. Santa Claus for the working class child is a mythic symbol of the boss for whom he is to slave when he is grown up in the years to come—a symbol of the big fat benevolent boss at the apex of society, without whose good will it is impossible to be happy, from whom all good things flow. For the business man Santa Claus is the second begotten son of god, who is crucified, dead and buried, and resurrected each year for the redemption of the retail trade. And for many, on the edge of all classes—Santa Claus is a bootlegger.

Hooray for Santa Claus!

Foreign Investments and the Y. M. C. A.

ANOTHER ARTICLE ON THE Y. M. C. A. BY HARRY GANNES

WHY is it that the greater the foreign investment of the United States the more intensive the activity of the Young Men's Christian Association in the colonies? In 1900 the United States had about \$5,000,000 invested in China and Japan. At that time the Y. M. C. A. conducted very little work in these countries and devoted all the carrying of the gospel into the heathen lands were slim. But since 1905 money steadily streams into Asiatic countries. With the growth of U. S. investments came a tremendous rise in the activities of the Y. M. C. A.

Today United States capitalists have \$47,000,000 invested in Asia, \$10,000,000 in China and Japan. The Y. M. C. A. spends yearly about \$5,000,000 to add its moral protection to the armed protection of the imperialist armies. Whereas the natives immediately suspect bayonets and bullets they are not so quick to see behind the innocent face of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries and behind the pale, bland beard of Jess the king of the capitalist lash.

"Men are coming to realize that in the church we possess a social asset," says the Y. M. C. A. What is this asset to the capitalist class? Something that will bring profits, dividends. That the Y. M. C. A. produces the goods in connection with the foreign investments of the American capitalist is attested by the palatial and tinous and hearty support given to this band of prayerful sky-pilots who have laid behind the American money-

RUBBER, OIL, SUGAR AND TRADE ROUTES

American Reasons for Remaining in the Philippines.

BY J. LOUIS ENDORAH.
When Senator Sergio Osmeña, heading the Sixth Philippine Commission of Independence to the United States, visited Chicago, Fred Edwin A. Burt, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago, was on the program and delivered the following address:

"The United States got into the Philippines quite by accident, and it seems that it is only an accident that we remain there."
Senator Osmeña did not resent this interpretation of the reasons why American imperialism has remained in the Philippines these past twenty-two years. He was, in fact, so certain of his hold upon the islands, making them more susceptible of exploitation and developing them as another rich source of dividends for absentee stockholders.

It was no accident that American warships were prowling in Chinese waters and the United States declared war on Spain in 1898. These warships were taking care of American interests in the Philippines. The United States had no colonies in Asia, but the decks of American warships were a formidable outlet of Wall Street's expanding ray. The constitution may follow the flag, but the dollar does not. The flag and plants the staff from which it will fly.

The United States took the Philippines because its imperialism, like that of other nations, was hungry for colonies. It will not let them go so long as the simple reason that they are needed in the profit business of American imperialism.

THE Philippines stand astride official trade routes, they possess rich sources of valuable raw materials, and they offer a growing market for finished products. Such profits are accumulated voluntarily by governments organized for the protection of plunder for profit. The United States government that gave the Wilsonian phrase to a culturable world is no altruist.

It is Charles Hooper, assistant director, division of oriental commerce and politics, New York University, who declares that the Philippines "at the crossroads of the greatest trade routes of the future." Americans can reach the same conclusion by studying a map of Asia and its environs, showing the numerous islands bounding toward Australia, the Malay Indies and on to India, and toward China and even Japan and Red Vladivostok, the Pacific port of Siam, Siberia.

Jason did not search for gold in the Philippines. He searched for rubber. He was more energetically than any other hunter. He was the first to discover the rubber tree growing in the Philippines. He was the first to discover the rubber tree in the Philippines. He was the first to discover the rubber tree in the Philippines.

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importance of giving all possible encouragement to agriculture, fisheries and mining. These are the great possibilities for the development of all these. Comparatively little has been done in this respect. Chicago, Fred Edwin A. Burt, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago, was on the program and delivered the following address:

"Labor in the Philippines is adequate to meet the demands of the situation."
American capital wants dividends. It guarantees, however, and it demands to have its dividends. It demands that the Philippines without knowing the definite status of the islands. "The fact for the United States," he replied that "writing" was not in his line. A characteristic response among workers, although a mistaken one.

The miners of South Africa, he said, have improved on the percentage of their southern states. It is not in the nature of the thing, the fact either to a government official or a private contractor, who then call on the chief of one of the native tribes. The latter gets the required number of workers from the members of his tribe.

THE Kaffirs, who comprise the native Negro population, refuse to work in the mines unless well supplied. They are the only day laborers. This is the only day laborers. This is the only day laborers. This is the only day laborers.

Annual sugar imports total \$10,000,000, which isn't large when compared to the huge American purchases in other commodities. The sugar or any other industry is still in its infancy.

It is also claimed that petroleum, the precious fluid that everywhere is being sought for, is abundant in the Philippines. It is also claimed that petroleum, the precious fluid that everywhere is being sought for, is abundant in the Philippines.

America gets \$100,000,000 worth of coconut oil, 50 per cent of the total supply. \$100,000,000 worth of copra (dried coconut), and \$200,000,000 worth of tobacco from the Philippines. The rubber, oil, sugar and other commodities that the Philippines produces are sold to the United States.

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But there is the additional reason that the Philippines constitute an important link in the chain of trade routes. It is the only link in the chain of trade routes. It is the only link in the chain of trade routes.

Nailed to the "Y"



The Colonial Slave Crucified by American Imperialism with the Assistance of the Young Men's Christian Association.

The Land of Gold and Diamonds

BY JAMES H. DOLSEN.

AND so you are from South Africa? "Yes," he replied. "An interesting country, but hell for the native worker."
He eyes brightened as he recalled the country in which he had been born and had passed his life. "Yes," he responded. "An interesting country, but hell for the native worker."

He passed a moment and then continued in a vehement manner and with such rapid flow of words that he had to ask him to slow down. He could take notes. To my question why he did not himself write the story for The Worker, he replied that "writing" was not in his line. A characteristic response among workers, although a mistaken one.

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the boss because of the enormous difficulty of replacing them. Strikebreakers: must be imported from England at a great expense of transportation and training, as well as considerable time.
Life in the "Compound"
The mine properties are all surrounded by high stockades, a square mile or more in area depending on the extensiveness of the mine. Mining is all done underground and at a great depth. The natives (the "Kaffirs") are housed in the "compounds," as they are termed, the Negroes live during their contract period, then are sent home on narrow tracks, like flimsy constructed cattle sheds with only straw under the floor for bedding. They are not allowed a candle after dark so that when the sun sets they must crawl in to sleep.

The workday is from seven in the morning to six at night, with their lunch to be eaten on the job. They contract for a year. The winter months are their time. The winter months are their time. The winter months are their time.

As in our American mining and logging districts, the owners have the right to work on the mines. These owners have the right to work on the mines. These owners have the right to work on the mines.

The "Superiority of the White."
So far, indeed, is this "superiority" of the whites enforced that Negroes are not allowed on the mine after nine o'clock at night without a permit, and on no account after one o'clock in the morning. The morning meeting a white, takes off his hat, bowing in humility, with the greeting: "In your honor, my white brother, you who are above us!" (or "you who are like god"). This enforced ritual is carried out to extremes. For example, if a white man were to kill a Negro in the presence of the mine collector, he could not touch the white but would have to submit the white police force to a trial.

Who Is Mr. Youkum? Will, principally, he is the champion of that mode of contention that is liable to bring about the complete subjugation of the great west wide open. We would not be surprised if he is not a striking horse, but a man who Hoover for president. He of course, professionally, is a railroad magnate, and has recently become another "part" for the farmer, using his own fame and fortune, according to his best judgment, to entrap the farmer.

The "board" supplied in the compounds is the cheapest possible. Breakfast consists of a hard-boiled "hillbilly," a hard dry cornmeal made by boiling down the meal after the removal of the bran. The breakfast is a repetition of breakfast. The breakfast is made up of a thin

by train from Berlin, the local police had formed itself clandestinely by ceaselessly attacking the workers. In reply the R.F. decided to institute in the evening a Red Day. Announced through the official channels, the conditions that night before found troops at the camp of Red Front Fighters of the whole district being mobilized.

Red Front Fighters of German Communist Party
(Continued from page 6)

to which they have to bring them, and when they are taken to their traditions they keep. The struggle in Germany is already only slightly concealed, and warfare and those are the only way to win the battle. The Red Front Fighters of the whole district being mobilized.

the South African labor party program, dominated by reactionary economic ideas, and by the narrow, temporary benefits to the white workers of the mine. The narrow, temporary benefits to the white workers of the mine. The narrow, temporary benefits to the white workers of the mine.

The "Lash for Slaves."
Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the natives do not fear the "lash" in the mines. If they try to escape, however, they are arrested and punished. They are sent to jail. On release they must return to the mine to fill out the unpaid term of their contract. Whipped, indeed, is the usual punishment for the slightest disobedience on the part of the natives. It is done in this fashion: the Negro is held, a wet mack laid over his bare back, and the whip applied. The whistler of the lash is always a member of another tribe. Bitter intertribal hatreds are kindled and the workers are white managers to keep the workers apart. Tactics of "divide and conquer" apply even in South Africa.

The white miners, who are really the petty foremen or killed workers, receive \$4 a day for eight hours. They have been strongly organized, and the last strike they had was in the Negroes under him. There are over 50,000 of these whites, so some comprehension of the size of the industry may be obtained. Mining for gold and diamonds is led by the white industrialists. The white industrialists are in part due in part to the heavy tax imposed by the British government upon new industrial establishments and in part to the fact that practically no labor adaptable to factory work is available.

An interesting political index of the economic situation is the demand for "What is the way out for these workers? I mean both races?" I asked.
"His eyes gleamed. "Only world-revolution and the proletarian dictatorship will settle our problems. That's why I'm a Communist."

MR. YOUKUM'S KIND OF HOAKUM
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