



NICOLA SACCO.

FIGHT CAPITALIST "JUSTICE," RED AID URGES ON SACCO MEMORIAL

On the first anniversary of the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has issued a call to the world workers to intensify their fight against the rapacious white terror. "A year has passed," says the appeal, "since the class justice of the American bourgeoisie brutally murdered Sacco and Vanzetti de-

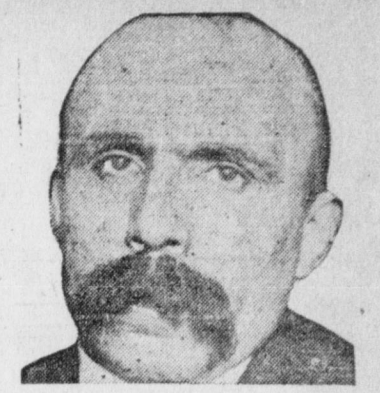
spite the storm of protests all over the world and the passionate indignation of the workers everywhere and despite the fact that they were both clearly innocent of the crimes with which they were charged. "By this bloody act of vengeance the bourgeoisie proved once again to the masses that it was prepared for all crime and all bloodshed in its struggle against the revolutionary movement." "The nearer the approach of the danger of a new imperialist war

and intervention against the Soviet Union which the international bourgeoisie is preparing, the more bitter and brutal grows the international struggle against the workers' and peasants' movement, the more ruthless grow the methods used to smash the revolutionary movement, the more furious grows the hatred of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary advance guard of the workers and peasants." In order to make the path clearer and easier for its imperialist

plans, the statement says, the mass class intends first of all to crush out the vitality of the revolutionary movement, to break the resistance of the workers and peasants once and for all. "The bloody violence and the mass executions in China, the white terror in India and Indonesia, the bestial sentences, the murders and tortures in fascist Italy, the persecutions and white terror in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and in the so-called democratic countries like

Great Britain, France and Germany, show all too clearly that the bourgeoisie is adopting the most brutal and ruthless methods at its disposal in its struggle against the revolutionary movement." The appeal concludes: "Workers! Do not forget the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti! Remember the thousands of murdered victims of the white terror in China!" "Remember the hundreds of thousands of class war prisoners who

are still in the torture chambers of the bourgeoisie! "Demand the abolition of the prison regime! Demand the abolition of torture as a weapon against the working class! "Demand the abolition of the Exceptional Laws and the Special Tribunals against the working class! Demand the release of all class war prisoners! American workers, join the International Labor Defense. Demand the release of Mooney and Billings."



BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI.

THE DAILY WORKER FIGHTS TO ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED FOR THE 40-HOUR WEEK FOR A LABOR PARTY FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

Daily Worker

FINAL CITY EDITION

Vol. V., No. 199.

Published daily except Sunday by The National Daily Worker Publishing Association, Inc., 20-28 Union Sq., New York, N. Y.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1928

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: In New York, by mail, \$8.00 per year. Outside New York, by mail, \$9.00 per year.

Price 3 Cents

SACCO-VANZETTI DEMONSTRATION ON UNION SQ. TODAY

TWO NEGROES ON WORKERS PARTY NEBRASKA TICKET

Davis, Albert Named at Ratification Convention

Ratify Party Platform

With the endorsement of Foster and Gitlow, the nomination of eight electors and a complete state ticket, the Workers (Communist) Party concluded a ratification convention in Omaha, Nebraska, on Aug. 19 which set a new mark for the Party in that state and aroused the enthusiasm of the delegates and sympathizers, according to a telegram from Roy Stephens, special organizer in Nebraska.

An outstanding feature of the convention was the nomination of two Negroes on the state ticket.

Unanimous Acceptance. The following nominations were made and unanimously accepted: Edward L. Schieffelin of South Omaha for Governor; W. E. Davis, a Negro, for Lieutenant-Governor; Dole Albert, a Negro, for Secretary of State; Charles Dayton, Sioux City, for auditor; and Roy Stephens, Congressman, for the second district.

In accepting the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor, Davis declared that the Party shows that it champions the cause of the Negroes by

NATIONAL SACCO VANZETTI MEETS

Demonstrations Throughout Country

Hundreds of thousands of workers will meet today in mass demonstrations throughout the United States to honor the memories of the two labor martyrs, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who were legally murdered a year ago today by the labor hating and reactionary courts of American big business, and to pledge themselves to the destruction of the capitalist system that made the murders possible.

The meetings, in addition to reaffirming the mass protest against the killing of Sacco and Vanzetti, will be turned into fiery protests against the incarceration of Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings, and the Centralia prisoners.

New York City, at Union Square, August 22, 5 p. m., with Robert Minor, Jack Stachel, Martin Abner, Moissaye Olgin, Max Shachtman, Paul Jones, and numerous others. Boston, Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St., August 22, with Ben-

SAY MEXICAN NUN LED ASSASSINS

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 21 (UP).—The nun, Maria De La Concepcion, held with a number of other suspects in connection with the assassination of President-elect Alvaro Obregon, was the leader of plots to kill both Obregon and President Calles many months before the actual crime, according to a police statement issued tonight.

The arrests of seven women and five men alleged to have been associated in plotting the assassinations, revealed the existence of a group which, besides seeking the death of political leaders, was responsible for placing bombs in both the chamber of deputies and Obregon headquarters, police charged.

At the Birthplace of Bartolomeo Vanzetti



Bartolomeo Vanzetti's sisters, Luigia and Vincenzina, are shown above at their home in Villafalletto, the birthplace of the martyred worker.

OPEN WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

Communist Leagues Meet in Moscow

(Special Cable to the Daily Worker) MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., Aug. 21.—Two hundred and fifty delegates and more than four thousand guests yesterday crowded a big theatre here to attend the opening session of the Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International. After Chitarov had made the opening speech, referring to the victims of the White Terror all over the world, the entire assemblage rose in honor of the victims.

The members elected to the Praesidium of the Young Communist International, included as honorary members, Stalin, Bukharin, Krupskaya, Clara Zetkin, Thaelmann, Marty, Max Hoelz, Gramsci, and many other internationally known Communist leaders. Kosarev welcomed the Congress

WHITING GIVEN COMMERCE POST

Anti-Union Paper Boss Picked by Coolidge

(By United Press) SUPERIOR, Wis., Aug. 21.—President Coolidge today accepted the resignation of Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce and appointed William F. Whiting of Holyoke, Mass., as the new secretary. The oath of office was administered at Coolidge's private office here by court attaches of Superior. Whiting arrived here early today to hold a conference with Coolidge.

William W. Whiting, new secretary of Commerce to succeed Herbert Hoover, is president of the Whiting Paper Company of Holyoke, and a notorious union-hater. Recently his corporation merged with the American Writing Paper Company, then the largest organization of its kind in the world. Combined, they own many score of open shop mills throughout the United States and Canada.

HUGE USSR OIL EXPORT

Four Times as Much as Under Czar

MOSCOW, Aug. 21 (UP).—As an indication of the enormous expansion of the Petroleum Industry in the Soviet Union may be cited the fact that for the three months May to July exports almost equaled the total for the entire year of 1913. It is announced here that 855,000 tons of oil and oil products were ex-

HILLMAN THUGS ASSAIL WORKER

Attack Tailor While at Work in Shop

Alarmed at the rapidly growing sentiment among the workers against paying dues to the officialdom of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union because of their resentment at the transformation of their once powerful organization into a company union, the machine in control decided to begin a new form of terror by beating up workers while they are at work in the shop.

Workers in the big plant of William T. Goldman, manufacturer of GGG men's clothing, had told Hillman's dues collectors that they felt reluctant to pay dues to an organization that has fast become an efficiency instrument of the employers, the right wing business agent, Tony Frunzi of Local 161, came up to this factory yesterday with a gang of thugs and viciously assaulted Abraham Jacobs, a lapel maker, who though criticizing the union officialdom nevertheless never advocated non-payment of dues.

After crashing a workers' mouth with a blunt weapon that knocked out three teeth and cut his lip, one of the assailants, J. Schneider, member of the executive board of Local 161, reached his hand into the prostrate worker's pockets and emptied them of about \$44 he had there in pay just received. Threatening similar treatment to all those who oppose the dictates of the machine in control the squad of underworld officials left the factory. Jacobs was later treated by an ambulance from St. Catherine's Hospital. The doctor in closing the torn lip was compelled to take four stitches.

"GOOD WILL" FLIGHT GUATEMALA CITY, Guatemala, Aug. 21 (UP).—Lieutenant-Colonel Roberto Fierro, who started from Havana this morning on a non-stop flight here as the first leg of his good-will flight around Central America, is reported to have landed at Belize, capital of British Honduras, at 1:05 p. m., due to bad weather.

Steel, Railroad and Textile Workers Strike in India

CALCUTTA AND BOMBAY TIED UP BY HUGE STRIKE

Troops in North Meet Peasant Resistance on Roads

Government Alarmed

(By United Press.) MOSCOW, Aug. 21 (UP).—Twenty-five thousand rubles, sent for the relief of striking railroad workers in India by the Railwaymen's Union of the Soviet Union, have been returned by the bank in Calcutta, through whom the transfer was to have been made. The Soviet press was inclined to doubt the bank's explanation that the All-Indian Federation of Railroad Workers refused to accept the gift. The "Evening Moscow," in a satirical tirade, charged that the bank held up the money transfer to hurt the Indian strikers. It claims that the federation denies having refused the money.

(By United Press.) CALCUTTA, India, Aug. 21.—A general strike was declared today by employees of the Tata Steel

TRAINMEN READY FOR STRIKE CALL

Rank and File May Act Despite Officials

CLEVELAND, O., Aug. 21 (UP).—Members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on lines west of Chicago whose wage increase demands were recently rejected, are voting heavily to strike, A. F. Whitney, Brotherhood president, said here today.

The strike vote was ordered last week after the collapse of a conference in Chicago at which the Brotherhood rejected a wage increase offer with the provision that certain working rules be abolished.

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 21.—Informed labor leaders here declared that there is a widespread sentiment among rank and file trainmen on the western lines for strike action.

SHOE WORKERS ISSUE APPEAL

Urge the Building of Strong Union

A mobilization call to all shoe workers of Greater New York and vicinity was issued yesterday by the Joint Council of the Independent Shoe Workers' Union appealing to these workers to unite for the task of building a powerful and militant Shoe Workers' Union in the city. The appeal calls attention to the recent Unity Conference called at the initiative of the workers of the S. Liberman shop, the purpose of which was to unify the various actions of the shoe workers. The unity committee has now completed its work, the statement declares. The place for every worker is now within the ranks of the union.

(The full text of the shoe workers' appeal will be published shortly in the columns of the Daily Worker.)

One Year Ago: Sacco, Vanzetti Manacled After Sentence



After Judge Webster Thayer, agent of the Massachusetts capitalists, had completed his job for them with the sentence of death passed upon Sacco and Vanzetti, the two workers were led out of the Dedham courthouse manacled to detectives.

INTENSIFY RED WEEK CAMPAIGN

Choice of Mailhold by G. O. P. Significant

Two events of utmost importance were ushered into the political arena on Monday: the beginning of the Red Week financial drive of the Workers (Communist) Party in New York, and the appointment of H. Edmund Machold as chairman of the republican state committee. The latter, while it has no revolutionary import, is significant of the support of Hoover and the republican state ticket by the power interests and their \$11,000,000,000 of propaganda money.

While the workers of New York—that portion which is class-conscious—do not expect the total of their contributions to the Communist Campaign Fund to compete with the huge sums being showered into the laps of the capitalist candidates by public utilities and munitions benefactors, the intensity of the Red Week campaign will in no degree be lessened.

Labor-Hating G. O. P. The appointment of H. Edmund Machold to the republican state chairmanship, for a pertinent example, brings to mind the number of power companies Machold controls, and it is rather safe to predict comfortable "presents" from the interlocking directorateships of

Continued on Page Two

Seamen to Hold Sacco, Vanzetti Meet Tonight

A Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting will be held tonight at 8 o'clock at the International Seamen's Club, 28 South St. Prominent speakers will be present, it is announced.

Eisenstein, Great USSR Movie Director, Will Visit U. S. in Autumn

In an announcement issued last night, American movie directors stated that S. M. Eisenstein, noted director of the cinema in the Soviet Union, will soon visit the United States to direct one picture for the United Artists.

Eisenstein, whose remarkable work in "Potemkin," "The End of St. Petersburg," and a score of other cinema masterpieces that enjoyed great successes throughout the world, will bring with him his theories on mass movies, developed since the Russian Revolution.

DRYS TO HOLD CONGRESS.

ANTWERP, Aug. 20.—The International Anti-Alcohol Congress is scheduled to hold its nineteenth congress here, where a large delegation of American drys are expected. The Soviet Union has also been invited to attend "officially."

ATHENS, Greece, Aug. 21.—Stephanos Skouloudis, premier and foreign minister of Greece in 1915 and 1916, died here today.

HIT SOCIALIST BETRAYAL

World Anti-Imperialists Rap Reformists

(Wireless to the Daily Worker) BERLIN, Aug. 21.—Representatives from all parts of the world consolidated their fight against imperialism at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, which opened its sessions here on Saturday. The position of the Second International on the colonial independence movements was severely criticized. After Muenzenberg made the

EXPULSION OF MILITANT FROM CAP UNION

Underworld Marshalled by Chicago Officials

CHICAGO, Aug. 21.—Marshalling all their underworld characters, the reactionary officials of the Chicago Capmakers' Local 5 and the heads of the right wing Chicago Hebrew Trades, came down to a membership meeting of the local Monday night, and after creating an atmosphere of terror railroaded through a measure expelling from union membership Morris Feingold, a leader of the left wing in the union and until recently a general field organizer.

A mass meeting of protest against these terrorist methods of retaining control of the union will be held this Tuesday evening, August 23, in the Capitol building, 159 N. State St., Room 863, leaders of the progressive forces in the organization declared this afternoon.

No Discussion Permitted. The machine business agent, sure of himself because of the presence

Continued on Page Two

EXPECT RECORD CROWD TO HONOR HEROIC MARTYRS

Fifty Labor Unions; Many Speakers to Participate

1,000 Police on Guard

One of the largest demonstrations ever held by the workers of Greater New York is expected to take place this afternoon at 5 p. m. on the anniversary of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti who one year ago today fell victims to the rapaciousness and vengeance of American capitalism. From every section of the city and its outlying districts members of the rising working class in the interest of which the two labor martyrs laid down their lives will journey to the demonstration.

Wide Representation.

More than 50 labor unions have already signified their intention of being represented. Forty-seven nationally known speakers will address the vast throng from four specially constructed platforms. The speaking stands will be draped in red and black, flowers will be banked at the foot of the center platform and large pictures of the two martyrs will decorate each stand.

From police headquarters, it was learned, that more than 1,000 uniformed and plain clothes cops will be on hand to see that "order" is preserved. The meeting, however, is expected to have all the surge and fire which marked last year's Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration. The usual attempt is being made by the police to create the impression that violence may occur.

Thousands To Participate.

Word was received yesterday at the International Labor Defense headquarters that many fraternal organizations and labor units will assemble at their respective headquarters and will march in mass formation to the scene of the demonstration. All organizations affiliated with the Working Women's Federation will meet at the Labor Temple at 5 p. m. and march in a body to Union Square. They will carry banners and slogans and will be but one of the colorful incidents in the monster demonstration.

Telegrams, letters and messages still continue to pour into the office of the New York section of the I. L. D. pledging support from the various fraternal and labor organizations. Unions and clubs which will take part in the huge meeting are as follows:

Unions To Be Present. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Local 1090; International Seamen's Union; Window Cleaners' Protective Union, Local 8; Paper Box Makers' Union; Architectural Iron and Bronze Workers' Union; United Council of Working Class Women; Amalgamated Food Workers of America; Furriers' Union; International Ladies' Garment Workers, Locals 22 and 43; twenty-seven branches of the Workmen's Circle; Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union; Hand Millinery Workers' Union, Local 43; Shoe and Slipper Workers' Union; Workers (Communist) Party; Young Workers (Communist) League; Young Pioneers of America; 45 branches of the New York section of the International Labor Defense, under whose aus-

Continued on Page Two

Miners Prepare for Big Pittsburgh Convention to Build a New and Militant Union

ALL DISTRICTS SEND DELEGATES TO HUGE MEET

Local After Local Pledges Support

(Special to the Daily Worker)

PITTSBURGH, Aug. 21.—Reports are now coming in steadily of the increasing sentiment among miners in all districts for the building of the new union and the sending of delegates to the Pittsburgh convention which begins September 9, according to an announcement made by the National Arrangements Committee for a new miners' union.

"Realizing that the first job facing every progressive miner right now is the election of delegates to the coming convention," the statement says, "hundreds of militants have thrown themselves into the work. Mining camps are more busy with preparations than at any time since the famous April 1 conference called by the Save-the-Union Committee.

"District 5 was whipped into line Friday, August 19, at a district conference in Walton Hall. Fifty leading progressives came together to report on work actually done and make final plans for covering the district, electing delegates, affiliating with the National Miners' Convention Arrangements Committee, and putting a dues card in the hands of every miner who is interested in building an honest union.

"Representatives at the conference proved that they have been on the job. Delegates have already been elected in dozens of locals on the basis of one for every local and an additional delegate for every hundred members.

"Mike Stenovich, of Renton, Pa., reported that he and many other organizers under Vincent Kernenovitch's direction are organizing local after local in the unorganized fields of Pennsylvania. Westmoreland, Somerset, Fayette and Green counties are all lined up for the big job of organizing one militant union which will fight for every miner in the country."

SOVIET STATION IN ARCTIC REGION

Scientists Push Plans for Base

MOSCOW, Aug. 21 (UP).—Soviet scientists are pushing the project of establishing a series of permanent scientific stations in the Arctic regions.

The scheme, as outlined here, contemplates formation of an international arctic society, financed by all the nations bordering on the Arctic, to carry on this work.

In a signed article published in a local newspaper the prominent academician, Professor A. N. Ferman said that until permanent stations are established at Spitzbergen, Nova Zemlya, Franz Joseph Land and other points, Arctic exploration will involve tragedies such as followed General Umberto Nobile's efforts.

The scheme, as outlined here, contemplates formation of an international arctic society, financed by all the nations bordering on the Arctic, to carry on this work.

In a signed article published in a local newspaper the prominent academician, Professor A. N. Ferman said that until permanent stations are established at Spitzbergen, Nova Zemlya, Franz Joseph Land and other points, Arctic exploration will involve tragedies such as followed General Umberto Nobile's efforts.

INTENSIFY RED WEEK CAMPAIGN

Choice of Maihold by G. O. P. Significant

Continued from Page One

these power companies to the republican party of Hoover, the protegee of the public utilities interests. The Northeastern Power Co., of which Maihold is president, has a network of power lines in Northern New York and controls the Power Corporation of New York, the Northern New York Utilities, Inc., Malone Light and Power Co., Fort Covington Light, Heat and Power Co., and others throughout the state.

Smith, Hoover Against Workers.

That the power interests are playing both ends against the middle is evident from the support given by Owen D. Young, president of the General Electric Co., to Smith, the anti-labor candidate of the democratic party.

Just as financial support is the most valuable in the capitalist campaigns, money is also needed for the campaign of the Workers (Communist) Party. Speakers' expenses must be paid, tons of literature must be printed and distributed. All workers are urged to collect and donate for the Communist Campaign Fund during Red Week, which ends August 26, and to participate in the Tag Days of next Saturday and Sunday.

FOR NICARAGUA WAR

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Aug. 21 (UP).—Leut. Frank Schilt, piloting a Fokker marine plane from Washington to Nicaragua, left here today for Miami. He planned to refuel there before attempting the hop to Managua.

One Year Ago: Police Attacking the Huge Sacco-Vanzetti Demonstration in Union Square



Following the police attack upon the Sacco and Vanzetti protest in Union Square, New York City, last year, hundreds of workers streamed down Second Ave., to the City Hall to protest against the murder of the two militants.

SURVEY EXPOSES MINE CONDITIONS

Starvation Brings New Menace

A medical survey of twenty mining towns where the strike has been in progress sixteen months indicates that the dread Pellagra and beri beri may be expected if the lack of essential foods continues. This survey is based upon a personal investigation made by George A. Parker, M. D.

Maternity cases, Dr. Parker said, lack suitable attention. Sometimes they are conducted with the aid of neighboring women hastily summoned. Often attempts to obtain medical aid have proved unavailing, he asserted, due to financial handicaps. General medical attention is limited, since miners' lack funds to pay for physicians or medicines.

Children's ailments uncarefully listed in the report, are enlarged glands, intestinal disturbances, subacute and chronic disorders, tonsillitis, etc.

Hospitals Overcrowded.

The hospitalization available is totally inadequate, the survey indicates. The free ward at the Miners' hospital in Spangler is overcrowded. There are no other free wards or clinics in the entire district. Should an epidemic break out, the results would be extremely dangerous, contributing markedly to an increased per cent in fatalities. The lowered vitality of the miners and their families brought about by inadequate nourishment and living conditions, life in the barracks, the approach of cold and inclement weather, and the opening of school are listed as factors influencing the spread of epidemics.

To combat this situation, Dr. Parker whose survey was conducted under the auspices of the Emergency for Miners Relief, proposes organized medical relief which would give special consideration to maternity cases, children's diseases and incipient epidemics.

A detailed program for clinics to be conducted two days a week in Barnesboro and Portage, reserving the remainder of the time for more distant and smaller settlements, as well as whatever emergencies might present themselves. Cooperation from hospitals and school boards to obtain rooms for urgent cases, and surveys of children's health, is also outlined. The cost of the project is estimated at \$50 a week for doctor's salary and personal expenses, and \$5,000 for medical supplies, hospitalization, etc., for a four months period.

Official Committee Active.

Meanwhile, the National Miners Relief Committee is straining its resources to send the minimum necessities to as many camps as possible, to fight off starvation and disease, where the miners have not yet returned to work.

The black-listing of local leaders, the aftermath of lost strikes, is already in effect starving the militant miners out of the industry. In numerous camps, the miners are banding together, demanding that everybody be employed together. In this way, the blacklist has been effectively eliminated in numerous mines.

TORNADO KILLS 7 IN MINNESOTA

AUSTIN, Minn., Aug. 21 (UP).—An army of relief workers today invaded the path of the destructive tornado which late yesterday swept southern Minnesota and northern Iowa, causing at least eight deaths and damage estimated at \$1,500,000. Five persons were injured fatally in Austin and the damage was estimated today at more than \$500,000.

5 DROWNED AT SEA.

SANTIAGO, Chile, Aug. 21 (UP).—Five lives were lost when the small steamer Miraflores went aground at the mouth of the Maulin River on Friday, it was announced officially today. The dead included an infant. The remainder of the 20 aboard escaped.

Miner Killed in Open Shop Mine When Body Touches Trolley Wire

SMITHFIELD, Ohio, Aug. 21.—Harry McCoy, 27-year-old miner, was instantly killed yesterday by electrocution in the No. 2 Mine of the United States Coal Company, according to information made public by Coroner Arch Bell. McCoy was killed while on duty in the open-shop mine when he came in contact with a trolley wire.

EXPULSION FROM CAP UNION

Underworld Marshalled by Chicago Officials.

Continued from Page One

of the numerous gangsters, arrogantly announced the decision of the executive board to expel Feingold and declared that no discussion would be permitted. Regardless of the union constitution, he said, Feingold stands expelled.

Thugs, rallied by the right wing forces in Chicago, openly threatened the lives of many protesting members. When Feingold himself arose to speak, in defiance of the bureaucrats' orders, he was curtly ordered to shut up and sit down.

Thugs Create Terror.

United Hebrew Trades leaders then took the floor and spoke cynically of the "so-called rights of the membership," declaring that they will stop at nothing to halt any probable protests.

Although many of the members at the meeting were silenced by the threatening terror, they nevertheless manifested bitter protest at these fascist methods and declared their intention of fighting against it.

World Congress of Red Youth Opens

Continued from Page One

in the name of the Central Committee and the Moscow Committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union.

Bukharin, greeted with storms of applause, then addressed the Congress.

"The Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International," he said, "is opening at a moment when the war danger is extremely great, and it is your task, therefore, to make all efforts to organize the resistance of the proletariat against the imperialists who would destroy the workers and peasants state of the Soviet Union."

In conclusion, Bukharin praised the great deeds of the Chinese Youth during the Canton insurrection and appealed to the Communist youth to struggle with all their strength for the proletarian revolution.

Welcomes Congress.

After immense applause for Bukharin, representatives of the Moscow youth spoke. Smith answered in the name of the Presidium. Delegates of the Kim division then welcomed the Congress amidst further display of enthusiasm. Madame Krupskaya, widow of Lenin, was greeted with a minute long ovation when she delivered her speech of welcome.

After Thaelmann had finished his greeting to the Congress, the Pioneers marched in the hall and thirteen-year-old Avkeyevich welcomed the Congress in their name.

Elect Secretariat.

Other speeches were made by Cachin, France; Liu Wu Tchu, China; Phillips and Rossignol. In the midst of these speeches, the International delegation of the Spartakid entered the hall.

LABOR DEFENSE AIDS STRIKERS

Bails Out Arrested Steel Pickets

CANTON, Ohio, Aug. 21.—The latest maneuver of the officials of the Central Alloy Steel Corporation to keep its strikers off the picket lines by imposing exorbitant bail on them has resulted in the first participation of the International Labor Defense in the steel strike and the complete rout of the corporation.

The initial trial of the Labor Defense organization came last Friday night with the arrest of three strikers by police, who hailed them to the station house because "they were suspicious." A strikebreaker said that he was afraid they were going to beat him.

At first the judge ordered them charged and set bail at \$150. Following a conversation with a company guard, however, he immediately raised the bond to \$1,500.

The International Labor Defense then stepped into the case and secured bail for the strikers, who were released, going straight from the jail to their strike meeting. The incident has caused the greatest enthusiasm among the steel strikers.

Fifteen strikers have been arrested to date by the police and held on charges of "suspicion" or others more serious involving deportation proceedings. The International Labor Defense, however, has announced its determination to fight to the last ditch the courts controlled by the steel corporation.

The Cleveland office of the International Labor Defense has pledged itself to defend every striker and requests its friends to help by sending contributions to the Cleveland District Office, Room 306, 226 West Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

More Capitalists are Prosperous This Year

E. I. Du Pont De Nemours Company today declared the regular quarterly dividends of \$2.50 on the common stock and \$1.50 on the debenture stock, payable September 15 to stock of record August 31 on the former and October 25 to stock of record October 10 on the latter.

Court to Hear Appeal of Mendola, Innocent Pittston Mine Leader

PITTSBURGH, Pa. Aug. 21 (FP).—Pennsylvania's supreme court will hear an appeal from Steve Mendola, sentenced to four years for accompanying Sam Bonita when he shot and killed Frank Agati in the district miners office in Wilkes-Barre. The shooting was the aftermath of the murder of Pittston progressive union leaders campaigning against the contract system.

TO HOLD SACCO MEETING TODAY

Huge Demonstration in Union Square

Continued from Page One

Every new reader of The DAILY WORKER is a potential soldier in the coming battles of the workers.

Rose Sacco To Attend.

It is expected that Rose Sacco, widow of the murdered revolutionist will attend the Union Square meeting. Greco and Carrillo, who narrowly escaped a death similar to the ones suffered by Sacco and Vanzetti, will also attend the demonstration. It will be remembered that Greco and Carrillo were saved from electrocution when the frame-up against them was exposed by the International Labor Defense.

Among the speakers who will address the meeting are:

Scott Nearing, Communist lecturer and economist; Robert Minor, editor of the Daily Worker; Moissaye J. Olgin, editor of the Hammer; John J. Ballam, acting District 2 organizer of the Workers Party; Ben Gold, manager of the Furriers' Joint Board; Bert Miller, organization secretary District 2, Workers Party; Melech Epstein, editor of the Freiheit; Richard B. Moore, secretary of the Negro Labor Congress; Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello, Bishop Paul Jones of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and many other speakers representing Communist, anarchist, labor and fraternal organizations. There will also be speakers from the Young Workers (Communist) League, from the International Labor Defense and from many other organizations.

WORKERS BEGIN TO ANSWER CALL OF CHINA UNIONS

Philadelphia, Seattle Committees Formed

Increased activity throughout the United States on behalf of the aid of the Chinese labor unions was indicated yesterday through the receipt at the office of the Committee to Aid the Chinese Trade Unions of communications from several big cities throughout the country announcing the formation and preparations for the formation of other committees, the purpose of which will be the raising of funds for the relief of the suppressed Chinese trade unionists.

Thus far, a beginning of several hundred dollars has been realized by the Committee. These funds were raised mainly through the efforts of those who participated in the Tag Day of two Sundays ago. However, the collection lists continue to be sent out, and the money raised in this manner will probably start coming in by the end of this week. The complete returns of the Tag Day have also not been turned in, and the definite sum collected during that day is still a matter of speculation.

Philadelphia Committee.

The communication from Philadelphia, received yesterday at the office of the Committee, says that "a Conference to aid the Chinese Trade Unions has been organized in Philadelphia." This conference, the communication states, will enlist the aid of many labor and fraternal organizations in the city. At a recent picnic held here, a Chinese speaker described the terrorism and persecution of the Chinese trade unionists by the reactionary Kuomintang Nanking government. After the speech, a collection was held among the people present, and the money will be sent immediately to the Committee to aid the Chinese Trade Unions in New York, thence to be sent to China. Besides this, house to house collections and mass meetings are being planned in Philadelphia, both of which are expected to net considerable sums for the Chinese worker and peasant relief.

2 Damage Suits Filed Against Standard Oil Company of New York

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Aug. 21 (UP).—Two damage suits, totaling \$20,000, were entered against the Standard Oil Company of New York in federal court today.

Frank Crowley of Bridgeport seeks \$5,000 damage for himself and \$15,000 for his daughter Mabel, for injuries alleged to have been received at a filling station of the Standard Oil Company.

The Vege-Tarry Inn
"GRINE KRITCHME"
BEST VEGETARIAN FOOD
MODERN IMPROVEMENTS
DIRECTIONS: Take trolley at 23d St., Christopher St., Barclay St. or Hudson Tubes to Hoboken. Lackawanna Railroad to Berkeley Heights, N. J.
BERKELEY HEIGHTS
NEW JERSEY
Phone, Fanwood 7463 R. L.

Veils War in Words



Secretary of State Kellogg is now traveling to Paris on the Ile de France, manned by French naval strikebreakers, to append his signature to the so-called peace pact that bears his name. The powers are not even waiting for the peace pact to veil their armament preparations in pacific phrases before beginning maneuvers thruout Europe.

SACCO LEAFLET GIVERS JAILED

Announced Meeting in Union Square

Two workers, Louis Objiler and Helen Kass were arrested yesterday afternoon at 37th St. and 5th Ave., for distributing leaflets announcing the Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting to be held today on Union Sq.

The workers were distributing leaflets from a truck which was covered with signs announcing the meeting, when police ordered them to stop and arrested them immediately.

They were taken to the 30th Street Police Station and released under \$500 bail each on the charge of "disorderly conduct." The International Labor Defense, New York section, provided the bail, and the I. L. D. lawyer, Buitenkamp, will defend the workers when they appear tomorrow morning at 9 a. m. at the Jefferson Market Court.

Every new reader of The DAILY WORKER is a potential soldier in the coming battles of the workers.

NEARING TO BE IN EXTENSIVE DRIVE IN NEW JERSEY

Will Expose Wall St. Control of State

The New Jersey Workers (Communist) Party campaign committee will invade the enemies' territory when Scott Nearing, the Party's candidate for governor, appears in Perth Amboy on the 26th of August, Sunday night. This city is the home of Morgan F. Larson, the candidate for big business on the republican ticket.

Nearing will expose the Wall Street domination of the two old party candidates, Hoover and Smith and at the same time expose the control of the corporations over the state politics. He will stress the investigations of Hudson county and Atlantic county.

Nearing will continue his itinerary then to Jersey City and speak in the home town of Mayor Hague; from there he will appear in Newark on the 30th and in Passaic on the 31st of August. Next Nearing will come back to Bayonne, the Standard Oil center, on the first of September; in Elizabeth on the 4th and wind up in Paterson on the 5th of the month.

Ship Worker Drowned in Fire on Standard Oil Company Tanker

SEATTLE, Wash., Aug. 21 (UP).—The \$5,000,000 plant of the Standard Oil Co. at Point Wells, 12 miles north of here, was threatened with destruction today when a large water area off the docks was converted into a sea of fire following an explosion aboard the 64,000 gallon tanker Petroleum II.

A. A. Richard, ship cook, was drowned when he and five other members of the crew leaped into the water to save their lives. The others reached shore safely, swimming most of the distance under water.

CONSUMERS FINANCE CORPORATION
Subsidiary of the United Workers' Co-operative Ass'n.
6%
dividends are being paid from the first day of deposit on gold bonds in denominations of \$100, \$300, \$500 and \$1,000 secured by the second mortgage of the second block of houses in the Co-operative Workers' Colony.
Offices: 69-5th Ave., New York, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 6900.
2700 Bronx Park East (Co-operative Workers' Colony)

GOOD printing of all description at a fair price.
Let us estimate on your work.
ACTIVE PRESS INCORPORATED
33 FIRST STREET NEW YORK
Telephone ORCHARD 4744

\$100,000
To fight against the imperialist war on Nicaragua and the war preparations now being made by Wall Street for another bloody conflict, in which the American workers and exploited farmers will be sacrificed. Send in your contributions to the NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 43 East 125th St., New York. Alexander Trachtenberg, treasurer.

WORKERS OPEN AIR FESTIVAL
THIS SATURDAY August 25
Given by Trade Union Educational League, Local N. Y., and Jewish Workers University
An Unusual Program Will Be Offered
3 P. M. Freiheit Soccer Team.
5 P. M. International Red Poets Forum
6 to 11 P. M. Camp Fire Concert with the Mass Chorus of Brooklyn—and other musical members
Tickets for Entire Festival, Only 35 Cents
TO BE OBTAINED AT THE FREIHEIT AND WORKERS' CENTER, ROOM 205
B. M. T. West End Line to 25th Ave.

SEVEN YEARS IN HELL FOR SACCO, VANZETTI

1919

NOVEMBER 7—On the second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, agents of the Department of Justice, under instructions from A. Mitchell Palmer, attorney general, swooped down on Communist meetings, workers clubs, societies, etc., and jailed hundreds of workers as a first step in the campaign of "red raids."

MARCH (During first week)—Andrea Salsedo, Brooklyn printer, is arrested for radical activities. Held incommunicado in a secret detention room of the Department of Justice in Park Row, New York.

MAY 2—Bartolomeo Vanzetti comes to New York as a representative of the Galliani anarchist group in New England to arrange for legal defense for Salsedo. They had learned that he was being subjected to third-degree tortures by the department of justice.

MAY 3—The body of Salsedo is found crushed on the sidewalk before the Park Row building of the Department of Justice. The impact had crushed it to a pulp. It is now generally agreed that Salsedo was either pushed from the 14th floor of the building or threw himself out when he could endure the torture of the Department of Justice agents no longer.

MAY 5—Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti are arrested on a street car while going from West Bridgewater to Brockton, Mass., while engaged in arranging protest meetings among Italian workers of the community following the death of Salsedo.

1920

AUGUST 16—Vanzetti is charged with attempting to rob a cashier in Bridgewater on December 24, 1919, and is sentenced to prison for from 12 to 15 years by Judge Thayer in Plymouth.

SEPTEMBER 11—Sacco and Vanzetti are accused of being the chief participants in the murder that occurred in South Braintree on April 15, 1920, where, near the shoe factory of Slater and Morrill Co., Ferdinand Parmenter and his guard, Alexander Berardelli, were killed. The \$15,000 payroll in their possession had been stolen.

1921

MAY 31—Sacco and Vanzetti are brought to trial in Dedham, Mass., again before Judge Thayer. They are indicted on a charge of first degree murder.

JULY 14—After five hours, the jury returns a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree against Sacco and Vanzetti.

OCTOBER 12—The workers of Paris conduct a huge protest demonstration against the verdict. Twenty workers are wounded when the demonstration is broken up by the police. (It is impossible here to list the tens of thousands of meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc., that took place in every corner of the world in solidarity with the two martyrs.)

OCTOBER 30—Workers in Cuba, in a demonstration before the American consulate, demand the release of Sacco and Vanzetti.

DECEMBER 24—Judge Thayer refuses to grant a plea for a new trial.

1922

JANUARY 1—The defense announces that it is in possession of new evidence to prove the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti.

MARCH 23—The workers of Sofia, Bulgaria, warn the American embassy that they will not remain silent if the American capitalist class determines to murder Sacco and Vanzetti.

1923

FEBRUARY 16—Sacco begins a hunger strike in the Norfolk County Jail which lasts 30 days.

1924

OCTOBER 1—Judge Thayer denies five motions of the defense to challenge the verdict of the jury in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

NOVEMBER 21—William Thompson, former Boston district attorney, assumes charge of the defense. The defense enters a bill of exceptions to make possible the institution of a new trial.

1926

JANUARY 10—Celestino Madeiros, a sentenced criminal, declares that he knows that the murder of Parmenter and Berardelli was committed by members of the notorious Morelli gang of Providence, R. I.

MAY 12—The state supreme court denies a new trial to Sacco and Vanzetti on the basis of the bill of exceptions. The court maintains that they were legally convicted.

SEPTEMBER 13—The defense demands a new trial on the basis of the Madeiros confession.

OCTOBER 21—Judge Thayer denied the motion for a new trial.

NOVEMBER 19—Twenty thousand workers gather in Madison Square Garden, New York, to demand a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

1927

JANUARY 27—Defense attorneys argue before the judges of the state supreme court and demand new action on the basis of Judge Thayer's prejudicial conduct during the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti.

APRIL 5—The state supreme court denies all pleas for a new trial.

APRIL 9—Judge Thayer hands down a decision that Sacco and Vanzetti shall die in the electric chair on July 10, 1927.

APRIL 10—International Labor Defense issues call for demonstrations of protest throughout the United States, and appeals to the labor movement of the rest of the world to join in a final movement to save Sacco and Vanzetti from being murdered.

APRIL 23—Gov. Alvan T. Fuller of Massachusetts institutes his star chamber investigation committee to give sanctity to the legal execution. It includes President Lowell of Harvard, and President Stratton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

JUNE 29—Gov. Fuller postpones the date of execution to August 10. The postponement refers to Sacco, Vanzetti and Madeiros.

JULY 7—A quarter of a million workers strike in protest in New York. Over 25,000 attend demonstration in Union Square.

JULY 17—Sacco and Vanzetti begin a hunger strike.

(In the meantime, strikes, demonstrations and meetings are taking place in every part of the world, demanding the release of Sacco and Vanzetti, or the granting of a new trial. Tens of millions of workers are set into motion against the planned assassination. Some of the workers' leading men and women of letters, arts and science join the worldwide protest movement. Gov. Fuller's office is swamped with thousands upon thousands of letters, telegrams and cablegrams of protest.)

AUGUST 8—The supreme judicial court of Massachusetts refuses to grant a writ of habeas corpus in order to halt the execution. Judge Thayer again refuses to grant a new trial.

AUGUST 10—Twenty minutes before the time set for the execution, and while millions of workers throughout the world are demonstrating their hatred to the Massachusetts murderers—on the streets, Gov. Fuller continues the torture of the two workers by again postponing the date of execution to August 22.

AUGUST 11—Judge Sanderson decides that the question of a new trial must be decided by the full court. Vanzetti ends his hunger strike.

AUGUST 15—Sacco ends his hunger strike, because he is threatened with forcible feeding.

AUGUST 16—The defense argues before the supreme judicial court for a new trial, demonstrating the prejudice of Judge Thayer.

AUGUST 19—The court denies the pleas of the defense.

AUGUST 20—Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, "liberal" member of the United States supreme court, denies the plea of the defense for a writ of habeas corpus. Fuller refuses to grant any further postponement.

AUGUST 21—Louis Brandies, another "liberal" member of the U. S. supreme court, also denies the pleas of the defense attorneys.

AUGUST 22—Rosa, wife of Sacco, and Luigia, sister of Vanzetti, approach Gov. Fuller for last minute action. He declines to act.

A few minutes after midnight: the execution. The current of death is sent thru the tortured bodies of the workers. The Puritan hyenas of Massachusetts capitalism have won their victory.

The Family of Bartolomeo Vanzetti: Labor Martyr



Above, in the foreground, is the father of Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Behind him are Vanzetti's mother, his sisters, Luigia and Vincenzina and his younger brother, Ettore. The picture was taken in Vanzetti's native town of Villafalletto.

"VILLAFALLETTO," A VISIT TO FAMILY OF VANZETTI

By H. W. L. DANA.

"VILLAFALLETTO," cried the railway guard at last, and as I stepped off the train at a little isolated station in northern Italy, I read on a sign the word that had been already imprinted on my memory: "Villafalletto."

Often during the long seven years of his imprisonment, Bartolomeo Vanzetti used to describe to me his native town. "Villafalletto rises on the right bank of the Magra in the shadow of a beautiful chain of hills," he wrote and added, "The deep green of the north Italian valleys is a living thing in my mind today." Shortly before he was put to death he wrote to me urging me, if ever I were in Italy, to go and visit his family. Now at last I was able to do so and had come to see the surroundings in which he had grown up and which had always meant so much to him.

Twenty Years Ago.

As I got off on the platform, I realized that it was here at this same railroad station that Vanzetti had said goodbye to his family twenty years ago when he had left home being, as he put it, "drawn to America by my love of freedom." The freedom for the working class which he had not found there, he had fought to give America, and America had given him death.

From the railway station it was more than a mile's drive up to the hill town of Villafalletto itself. I got into a covered wagon crowded with villagers who had returned by the train and the wagon made its way slowly up the winding road towards the little town among the foothills. Already the sun had set behind the mountains and the night was fast coming on.

Villafalletto and Dedham.

At length we rattled across the little bridge over the Magra and passing through an old gateway like that of a castle entered the town of Villafalletto. The one central street with the stream of water flowing through the middle of it at which the women washed their clothes offered a striking contrast to the wide lawns of the bourgeois estates in the town of Dedham, Massachusetts, where Vanzetti had been condemned to death. I thought once more of the contrast in the courtroom between the bronzed figure of Vanzetti himself and the shriveled form of the New England judge. In the two towns as in the two men, Italian labor and American capital seemed face to face.

As I alighted then from the carriage and set foot in this town, I found myself trembling with shame and indignation for my own country. Here was I from Massachusetts, venturing to come here. At the inn, said to be the oldest in Italy, I asked for Vanzetti's home. I was conscious at once of penetrating glances and yet a warm sympathy. There had been around the whole world a great rending cry at the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti—the voice of an "international of justice" such as the world had never heard before.

In Czechoslovakia in one of the cities the central square that had ten years ago been christened "Wilson Square" has now been renamed "Sacco and Vanzetti Square." In Moscow there is a "Sacco and Vanzetti Theatre" with large portraits of them on the facade. Instances of this sort can be found today in every country showing that their memory is still alive.

"Gente, Thoughtful."

Yet the inhabitants of this little town of Villafalletto seemed unaware of the world importance their Bartolomeo Vanzetti had come to hold. They pressed around me with questions about the trial and the execution in America and volunteered all sorts of information about Vanzetti's life at Villafalletto. One old woman remembered him as the most gentle and thoughtful boy their town had ever known. One of his schoolmates told me of his brilliance in his studies and of his unquenchable ardor for reading. One and all in Villafalletto were convinced of his complete innocence of the crime attributed to him. But I found in them a sort of mute acceptance of injustice which I came to feel characteristic of poor workers like these under a fascist regime.

They pointed out to me across the darkened street the yellow lights from the windows of Vanzetti's house. There I found his family warm-hearted in their hospitality through all the anguish of their suffering. I came to see in them the very traits I had learned to love in him. His two sisters, Luigia and Vincenzina, were kindly thoughtful and alert in interest. His younger brother, Ettore, was a shy but friendly lad. The father, a fine old Italian with a face that seemed carved out of hardest granite, came in later. He was courteous and kind but seemed a broken man, unable to talk about the case and sat throughout our conversation ominously silent. From neighboring houses in the course of the evening there dropped in an aunt, some young cousins, and a woman who, Vanzetti had told me, had been after his mother's death a sort of second mother to him.

They led me to a table and insisted in giving me things to eat and drink. In the letter of introduction which Vanzetti had given me to his family he had written

VANZETTI TO JUDGE THAYER

"If it had not been for these things, I might have live out my life, talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die unmarked, unknown, a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by an accident. On words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belong to us—that agony is our triumph!"

with characteristic thoughtfulness and naivete: "Give Professor Dana white wine because that is better suited to Americans, since they are not accustomed to drink." With a smile they offered me my choice from the well supplied wine store of the town.

Vanzetti's Letter.

After supper, I read them the various letters I had received from Bartolomeo, and showed them the pictures in the newspapers, the cartoons, and the posters about Sacco and Vanzetti that I had gathered in America and the various countries of Europe. They in turn showed me family portraits, pictures of Bartolomeo at various ages from earliest childhood, and a long series of letters from him during the seven years of the trial—much the most complete record of his thoughts that exists and one which must be taken into account in any attempt to write the full story of his life. They told me of the terrible days of suspense they had passed and the night of anguish waiting for the final news. They spoke too, of the family of Sacco at Torre Maggiore in the extreme southeast of Italy as they were in the extreme northwest. Half the night was spent in our talk before we finally went to bed.

The next day they took me out of doors, through the courtyard surrounded by galleries and through a lane to the vegetable garden where Bartolomeo had told me he used to love to work as a boy. Here now his young brother, Ettore, was at work and pointed out with pride the trees Bartolomeo had planted. The cousins told me of the sympathetic fondness he had felt for all living things in this garden. It all bore out Sacco's spontaneous characterization of Vanzetti as "the man kind to all."

His Last Letter.

This was brought out clearly when they came to read aloud to me Vanzetti's last letter of which they allowed me to make a copy. It was a letter written just before his death—a letter full of calm preparation and proud strength. It was dated: "The New Era: The First Day" and was in part as follows:

"I am calm and prepared for all that may come. I swear to you my complete innocence of the crimes attributed to me and of all other crimes. Do not feel ashamed of me. A day will come in which my life will be known such as it really was and then all you who call yourselves by the name of Vanzetti will be happy and proud of that name. Already all those who know me love and respect me. I have inscribed my gravestone with twenty years of life consecrated to the pursuit of justice and liberty for all. If I must now die through fault of the greatest injustice of men and of circumstances, I can rest assured that no one of those who have been my enemies will be mourned as I shall be... I shall fight to the last moment in order to conquer. Then lift up your spirits!"

As I watched the dignified, exalted look on the faces of the family as they stood listening to the reading of this letter, I felt confident that they had lifted up their spirits and that they were proud to bear the name of Vanzetti.

His Own Room.

The sisters showed me the room where their mother had died while Bartolomeo was a boy and I remembered his account of his pathetic attempts to stop all sounds that might disturb her during her sickness, rushing out into the street to implore noisy groups of young men please to go elsewhere. We saw the forest where he used to wander

HOW PALMER TRIED TO FRAME MARTYRS

By ART SHIELDS (Federated Press).

I MET Nick Sacco first eight years ago. He had already been caged six months and prison paller had set in. Nick was muscular and supple, but lack of exercise and prison food were telling on him.

On my second visit to Dedham jail, just after Thanksgiving Day, 1920, a department of justice spy who had been put in the cell adjoining Sacco was discovered. Fred Moore, Nick's attorney, was along. Moore had uncovered spies before when he was handling cases for western loggers and oil workers and the textile workers of Lawrence, Mass., and his quick thinking was successful in this emergency.

Nick was nervous when they led him through the barred doors of the corridor to the central waiting room of the prison. He bent forward and whispered his suspicions as the fat guard old keeper sat sleepily some to the distance away by the desk where the prisoner's entry book rested. Nick said a strange Italian was put into the next cell. That stranger, posing as a fellow radical, sought to incite him to enter into a bombing conspiracy.

MOORE listened to the story, then acted like a flash. With a disarming smile he was at the keeper's side, engaging him in careless conversation. In another minute, before the theod fellow woke up to the situation, Moore was copying an Italian name from the prison book. There was a fat-handed attempt of the keeper to get the book away, but the western lawyer's hand was too strong. The strange Italian was charged with attempted assault

and robbery, but no committing magistrate was listed.

That stool-pigeon was placed in the cell next to Sacco at the order of the department of justice and District Attorney Katzmann. A confidential agent of Moore got that from the sheriff's office soon after. It was a definite link connecting A. Mitchell Palmer with the prosecution of the two workingmen and in pamphlets, news stories and magazine articles that followed, the attack was driven home.

I met Vanzetti about the same time at Charlestown penitentiary. I met him again during the years, as he grew older in body but not in spirit in his Massachusetts cage. One day he summed up his two chief desires for me as follows:

"If I am ever free," he said, "I want to live in the open air close to nature and I want to live for the social revolution."

Vanzetti was more given to abstract thought than his comrade; he read more and he wrote more. But Sacco's last days showed to the world a realistic outlook that any revolutionist might be proud of. He saw that there was no hope for mercy from his class enemies, and yet he was entirely fearless. Both met their deaths with supreme beauty and courage—yet differently: Vanzetti with forgiveness for his enemies, Sacco with defiance.

ONE YEAR HAS PASSED

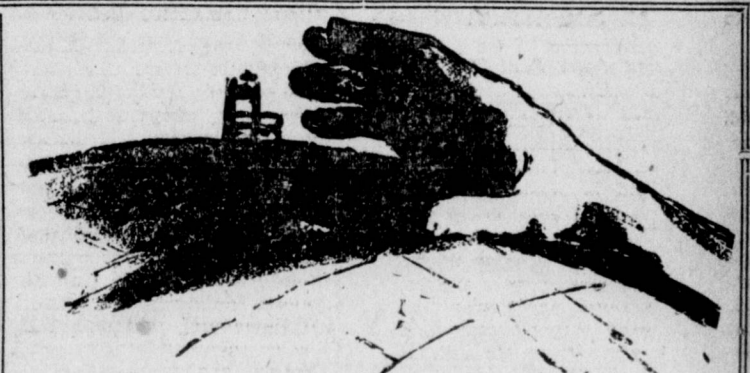
(In Memory of Sacco and Vanzetti).

By H. T. TSAING

Fast! Fast!
One year has past!
Dead! Dead!
You will reborn never!
Who said, "There will be resurrection?"
Why did we not see any of those gentlemen
Who were willing to take your places?
What are the uses of petition, protest and demonstration?
They may now refile the cold ashes of our martyrs,
And can never soften the murderers' hearts.
What are the uses of tears, sighs and complaints?
They may expect the embraces of their dear mothers,
And can never get pardons from the blood-thirsty masters.
Have you ever seen the sheep and pigs being dragged to the axe?
How pitifully thy cry!
How terribly they tremble!
Yet men all enjoy their delicious flesh, just the same!
Sheep, pigs, workers, foreigners!
Your flesh is fresh,
Your blood is sweet,
Your sweat is fertile.

O martyrs!
Dead! Dead!
You were dead.
Never, never
Live again.
Fast! fast!
But one year has past.
Years are piling up the immortal bricks of your lofty monument.
O martyrs!
Look at the autumn flowers
They are dying!
Dying! dying!
But
The trees, the roots from which
The flowers are coming,
Never, never die!
When the spring comes
We shall again see the pretty flowers
Blooming,
Perfuming,
Salute to the warming sun;
Wrestling with the mild wind
And kissing with the charming butterflies.
O martyrs!
Dead, dead. You are dead!
But
Your human tree and your human root
Is budding,
Blooming,
And growing!
Listen to the war cries of your living brothers!
This is the incense we are burning for you!

O Vanzetti!
Did you say:
"I wish to forgive some people for what they are now doing to me?"
Certainly, you can forgive them as you like,
But you are the Wop, the fish peddler, the worker.
And haven't anything in the bank.
Isn't it a great insult to say "forgive to your honorable master?"



Books on Sacco and Vanzetti

- The Cast of Sacco and Vanzetti
By FELIX FRANKFURTER
\$1.00
- Sacco and Vanzetti Cartoon-Book
By FRED ELLIS
25 cents
- Sacco and Vanzetti: Labor's Martyrs
By MAX SHACHTMAN
25 cents
- The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti
By EUGENE LYONS
\$1.50
- The Sacco-Vanzetti Anthology of Verse
25 cents

ALL THE ABOVE CAN BE SECURED FROM
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
43 EAST 125th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

The International Situation and Tasks of Communist International

Comrade Bukharin's Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

This is the concluding instalment of Bukharin's report, made to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International on July 18 and 19, the first half of which appeared in the Daily Worker last Saturday, August 18. The portion published Saturday consisted of: "I. A General Analysis of Modern Capitalism and the Special Forms of the Crisis of Capitalism," and "II. Internal Political Processes in the Bourgeois Countries." The report continues:

III. Our Line of Tactics.

THE CHANGE IN TACTIC CORRESPONDS TO THE CHANGE IN THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION.

The changes in the objective situation compelled us to change our tactics. It was a proper reaction to the altered state of affairs. A clear example of this is afforded by Great Britain. The Labor Party, which at one time was a loose organization without party discipline is now becoming a real social democratic party on the model of the continental parties. It has a program and party discipline; it is striving to bind us politically by means of its influence in the trade unions. It expels us, it launches attacks against us. If we were to retain our former attitude at the present time and preserve our former relationship so as not to break the common front of the organized proletariat, we would be doomed. We would lose our political independence and thereby our right to existence. The enemy would break us. It would be silly not to draw the proper conclusions from such a state of affairs. The change in the attitude of our British party was determined by the change in the objective situation, by the new organizational methods of the labor party, by new relationships that arose between our party and the labor party. These are all political factors of first rate importance.

The same may be said about France. It is no accident that the contemporary representatives of social democracy in France are Paul Boncour, with his military law and Albert Thomas, who is boasting Mussolini. The Thomases and Boncours are not expelled. On the contrary, the social democrats strive to justify their conduct. The "left" Fritz Adler writes a pitiful article in which he actually tries to defend Thomas, the bard of fascism. This is how the most "left" elements of the II. International act, and that is how the man, who during the war assassinated a cabinet minister as a protest against the war, writes now!

As far as the Communist Party of France is concerned, there were certain other considerations compelling us to change our tactics. It is

a well-known fact that survivals of parliamentary illusions are still prevalent in the French Party. The recent elections marked a turning point for the Party, a turning point which must be regarded not only from the viewpoint of the elections, but also from the angle of the entire future policy of the French Communist Party. Having come to the conclusion that we were on the eve of great class conflicts in which parliamentarism, in the worst sense of the word, may play a very pernicious role, we had to do everything in our power to break down this tradition.

Thus the change in our tactics was bound up with the change in the objective situation and this was the signal for a change in the tactics in the larger of our Communist Parties. The political pivot of this change is our changed attitude towards the social democratic parties. The question of our attitude towards the social democratic parties is a cardinal political question. Intensification of the struggle against social democracy—such is the political orientation of the Communist International, and I think that this slogan, this political orientation, will be adopted by the VI. Congress. At the same time I must emphasize that the adoption of sharper methods of struggle against the social democratic parties is not in any way identical with the abandonment of the united front tactics, as some comrades are inclined to think. On the contrary, the more sharply we come out against social democracy and against its political line, the more determinedly must we take up the task of capturing the masses, including the mass rank and file social democrats, including the mass of workers who follow the lead of social democracy, and the more strenuously must we fight to win these masses. But in order to conduct a successful struggle for the masses we must employ proper methods of approaching them. Only those lacking intelligence would argue that since we are waging a desperate struggle against social democracy we must have no dealings with rank and file social democratic workers. There are many comrades who still fail to appreciate this two-fold task. Many have not as yet given serious thought to the matter. But the fact is that this is one of our most important and fundamental tasks.

IV. The Revolution in Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries.

CORRECTNESS OF THE MAIN LINE AND BLUNDERS IN ITS APPLICATION TO CHINA.

Before analyzing our fundamental tasks in general, I should like to deal with the question of the colonial movements. I will deal with China and India, but will limit myself merely to a few remarks, because these questions will be dealt with partly in discussing the programme and, particularly, in discussing the colonial question.

On the questions of the Chinese revolution, we had an extensive discussion with our opposition on points of principle. Here we can in retrospect deal once again with some of the major problems of the Chinese revolution. The Communist Party of China, as all of you know, has suffered a severe defeat. This is a fact. The question arises, was this defeat a result of the wrong tactics pursued by the Comintern in the Chinese revolution? Perhaps indeed, it was inexpedient to have entered into a bloc with the bourgeoisie; perhaps this was the original sin, the basic error, which determined all other errors, and, gradually, step by step, brought about the defeat of the Chinese proletariat? Most likely this question will be analyzed in great detail at this Congress when the colonial problem will be up for discussion in as much as this is an extremely vital question which must be critically and scrupulously examined and analyzed. But I think, and the analysis will bear me out in this, that the mistake does not lie here.

On the whole, it is not the main line of tactics that was at fault, but the political actions and the practical application of the line pursued in China. Firstly, at the beginning of the Chinese revolution, in the period of collaboration with the Kuomintang, our mistake was that we did not sufficiently criticize the Kuomintang. Instead of being an ally, our Party was at times an accessory of the Kuomintang. Secondly, the Communist Party of China failed to understand the change that took place in the objective situation, the transition from one stage to another. Thus, it was possible for a time to march together with the national bourgeoisie, but at a certain stage of development it was necessary to foresee imminent changes. It was necessary to prepare for that. In concluding an alliance it is always necessary to bear in mind the possibility of changes and, consequently, to prepare for a struggle. On the C. C. of the Chinese Party and partly also our representative in China committed a grave blunder. They did not take this coming change into account, they did not foresee it and therefore did not effect a timely change when the former ally turned into a deadly foe. Thirdly, our Party at times acted as a brake on the mass movement, a brake on the agrarian revolution, and a brake on the labor movement. These were fatal blunders and, naturally, they helped to bring about the defeat of the Communist Party and of the Chinese proletariat. After a whole series of defeats the Party set to work resolutely to rectify its opportunist blunders. But this time, as frequently happens, some comrades fell into the other extreme. They did not prepare uprisings with sufficient care, they displayed glaring putschist tendencies and adventurism of the worst type. The IX. Plenum of the C. I. called for a change in the tactics of the Communist Party of China, but not in the same direction as that of the West European Parties.

By manipulating such terms as "Left," "Right," etc., we can say that in France and Great Britain a change has been effected towards the "Left" and in China towards the "Right." However, I wish to make a reservation: I am not in favor of such terminology. It little suits the occasion and explains nothing. The purpose of analyzing any given situation is to discover whether certain tactics are correct or not, suitable or unsuitable for the given situation and not whether the tactics are "Right" or "Left."

V. Our Main Tasks and Our Shortcomings.

MORE INTERNATIONALISM!

Comrades, I now come to our main tasks and our shortcomings. From my analysis of the world situation, certain conclusions follow in relation to our basic orientation in the sphere of tactical problems. First of all, I will deal with the question of the international character of our movement. It stands to reason that in the present period, when great political questions occupy the center of attention of the Communist Parties, when the war problem is the main problem, the activities of the Communist International must be chiefly based on international training and on the tasks of the Communist Parties arising from them. Regarding our Party activity from this viewpoint, it must be stated that notwithstanding the relative numerical weakness of our Communist Parties, we have achieved fairly great successes in regard to the Bolshevization of our Parties: we have quite considerable gains, and increase in influence to record, we have ideologically gained new territories for Communism, etc. Nevertheless, the degree of internationalism of the Communist Parties is still very small compared with the tasks confronting the Communist International and its Sections. Experience of recent years has revealed these shortcomings and I think that it is our duty to speak of them openly. A frank admission of these shortcomings is an important prerequisite for their elimination.

During the strike in Great Britain many Parties inadequately supported the British working class and this we have stated in the resolutions of Enlarged Plenums of the Communist International. With the exception of a few Parties, and particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Parties rendered very meagre help to the British proletariat.

Practically the same thing was manifested in connection with the Chinese events. The magnitude of the international campaign in defense of the Chinese Revolution did not fully correspond to the objects and re-

THE RETURN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TIDE IN CHINA IS INEVITABLE.

We characterize the present period in the Chinese revolution as the culminating point of a great period when the revolutionary wave rose high and the beginning of a period in which the main task is to unite the masses and to rally the forces in preparation for a new great revolutionary upheaval.

All objective symptoms show that another revolutionary upheaval is inevitable. The whole experience of the past struggle shows that without gigantic mass movements it will be impossible to solve the problem of the Chinese revolution and that the objective pre-requisites for its victorious completion exist. But this brings us against the main task of uniting the masses so as to deprive the enemy of the opportunity to gradually destroy our proletarian army unit by unit. Iron necessity demanded that the Party abandon the position of immediate insurrection and take up the position of preparation, mass preparation, for an uprising with a maximum chance of victory. I think that the resolution adopted by the IX. Plenum on the Chinese question helped greatly to further the development of the Communist Party of China. I hope that the Congress decisions will be in keeping with the spirit of the resolution.

NEW PROCESSES IN INDIA.

The situation in India is shaping itself differently. There the situation and the correlation of forces are different from those in China, where in the course of an entire period, in the course of many years, the bourgeoisie conducted an armed struggle against the imperialists. This is a fact. It is otherwise in India. There it is inconceivable that the bourgeoisie will play a revolutionary role for any length of time. This, of course, does not apply to the various petty bourgeois parties or terrorist organizations now existing in India. I have in mind the principal cadres of the bourgeoisie, the Swaraj Party.

I am not in a position to make an economic analysis of the situation in India, but I should like to state that I do not share the opinion that India is ceasing to be a colonial country and that a process of decolonization is going on there. That theory is a one-sided one. On the contrary, recently, following the period of concessions, British imperialism has increased its colonial oppression of India in general and of the Indian bourgeoisie in particular. This compels the Swaraj Party once again to maneuver against British imperialism. It is maneuvering. But this is a far-cry from armed struggle. At the very first outbreak of mass action the Swaraj Party will turn towards British imperialism and seek to compromise with it. I have in mind such mass action in which the masses will advance independent radical slogans such as a demand to confiscate the land or radical slogans for the defense of working class interests. It seems to me that in the event of independent mass action and the advancement of more or less revolutionary slogans the Swaraj bourgeoisie will very rapidly come to an agreement and compromise with British imperialism. Now it maneuvers. At some points, it may play even an objectively revolutionary role, but it is inconceivable that it will play a revolutionary role for any length of time. There is no doubt, and this must be emphasized, that the bourgeoisie will desert to the camp of counter-revolution at the first manifestation of a mass movement. The Communist Party must from the very outset expose the half-heartedness of the bourgeoisie, accentuate the slogans, from the very beginning come out against the bourgeoisie and open the eyes of the masses of the workers to the future behavior of the Indian Swarajist bourgeoisie. A mechanical application of Chinese tactics to India is fraught with great danger. A special analysis and special tactics based on the particular conditions prevailing in India are necessary.

requirements of the period and the revolutionary duty of the Parties. Interest in the Chinese Revolution was not sufficiently sustained. Nor did the Party press deal adequately with the Bolshevization of the Communist Party of China and the Bolshevization of the labor and peasant movement in China. Thoroughgoing and systematic work in this sphere was not observed. Sufficiently broad political campaigns corresponding to the requirements were not conducted. Sporadic attempts were made to remove these shortcomings, but persistent systematic work was not undertaken and as a result, the Parties were not always able to cope with the tasks that confronted them in the period of big campaigns.

Take the question of Fascism. I have in mind not only Italian Fascism; I want to deal with this question on somewhat broader lines. I want to take up the question of Fascism in Italy, in Poland and Fascism in general. The Communist Parties' struggle against Fascism and the attention they paid to this question was totally inadequate.

Events like the United States incursion in Nicaragua have not been sufficiently counteracted, particularly by the American Party. Even the American Party, for which this question should have been the Central Question in all its activity, was not in a position to develop a sufficiently broad campaign. This is no less true of the other Parties. Nicaragua is far away from Europe, but geographical conditions should not so seriously affect the work of Communist Parties. In some Parties, particularly in Europe, both small and large, certain survivals of provincialism are to be observed; a lack of understanding of the significance of international high politics. If we are to prepare seriously for world historical events like imminent war, we must now stress the problems of high international politics, for otherwise, we will be unable to prepare seriously for the outbreak of war. It stands to reason that in order to launch this campaign properly, in order to

carry it on with the necessary energy, we must link up questions of international high politics with questions of daily life and revolutionary activity in the respective countries. Here again the problem of war comes to the fore. Almost all internal political questions, including questions of the labor movement of each country, encounter this problem. The capitalist offensive is bound up with the bourgeois preparations for war and is called forth by the necessity to strengthen the positions of the bourgeoisie, to establish civil peace, to organize protection against the workers, etc. Generally speaking, this is a very complicated problem. While handling day to day questions it is necessary at the same time to make them the basis for the further development of our more general slogans and tasks. A certain politico-tactical art is involved in this. But this is an argument in favor of taking up big political questions, and it is precisely here that the art of Bolshevik tactics comes in, namely, to start out with minor questions and to lead them up to big questions. If we fail to acquire this art, if we fail to reach sufficiently to great international problems it will signify a struggle against war. This we must understand and state in our resolution. The question of war, the question of defending the revolution in the U. S. S. R. and in China—are questions of central and decisive significance. Systematic work in this direction is the fundamental task of all Parties, of all Sections of the Communist International.

The question of the general line of the Communist Parties is a question of attitude towards the present form of capitalism and to the capitalist state. In this sphere, minor questions imperceptibly grow into big political problems. If, for example, we take the tactical orientation of the Social Democratic Parties—I have already referred to that in passing—we find a fully consistent line. It is a line of unity with the employers' organizations. It passes on from the individual factory to the League of Nations. The social democrats advocate "industrial peace" and the so-called "American" method of collaboration between labor and capital. Such is the main line of contemporary social democracy. This main policy finds its reflection also in the sphere of foreign affairs. But we also meet with it in dealing with questions of home affairs, in the question of relations with the state, the question of coalitions, the attitude towards the so-called employers' organizations, viz., the magnates of Trust Capital. The social democratic slogan is a slogan of unity with trust capital. The question of the class struggle no longer exists as far as they are concerned. In the economic sphere they are opposed to strikes, they are opposed to the industrial struggle. They stand for industrial peace. Instead of extension of strikes, they stand for compulsory arbitration. To them it is not a question of the dependence or independence of the labor organizations, they stand for collaboration between the labor organizations and the employers' organizations. This is an integral system of tactics. From the reformist viewpoint the labor organizations must abandon their class independence. Class struggle has become "obsolete" in the eyes of these gentlemen. The Social Democratic line is a line of grafting the reformist labor organizations with the organizations of monopolist capital and the monopolist capitalist state. We see these consistent Social Democratic tactics operating all along the line.

UNITED FRONT TACTICS ONLY FROM BELOW.

What is our tactical orientation? Our tactical orientation in all these questions, from the factory nucleus to the League of Nations is diametrically opposite to that of the social democrats. Not industrial peace, but class struggle, not arbitration, but struggle against compulsory arbitration; exposure of all the traps which the capitalist organizations or the capitalist state are laying down for the working class; fight against every attempt to fetter the strike movement, etc. This is our basic tactical orientation. We have discussed these questions on many occasions already and our answer to them in my opinion was absolutely clear. The final conclusion to be drawn from this tactical line is, that we must steer a course for the overthrow of the bourgeois state power—for revolution. This does not in the least imply that we must abandon the tactics of the united front. But, regarding the sharpening of our struggle against social democracy, certain changes must be made in the conduct of that struggle. United front tactics must, in most cases, now be applied only from below. No appeals to the central committee of the social democratic parties. In rare cases appeals may be made to local social democratic committees. In the main, we must appeal only to the social democratic masses, to the rank and file social democratic workers.

The united front tactic is closely bound up with the questions of our systematic work.

TRADE UNION WORK.—A VITAL PROBLEM.

We are not concerned here with the various campaigns conducted from time to time. All these tactical questions first and foremost concern systematic work. You are all aware of the theses laid down in numerous resolutions of the Communist International to the effect that in this domain the most important problem is trade union work. We have already pointed to many of the shortcomings of our Parties in this respect. The trade union problem must be taken up also at this Congress. We will put the experience of our Parties under the microscope and search carefully for the causes of our defects in this sphere. If there is a section of our work that stands in need of thorough self-criticism it is these very sections of our work in the trade union. Our ideological influence is growing in the trade unions as in other spheres, but as trade unionists the authority of our comrades is still negligible. The authority of our comrades as political leaders, as initiators of big political campaigns, fighters in the revolutionary class front of the proletariat, as defenders of its great historical interests, is growing. But their specific authority as trade unionists, is not great enough. The disproportion between the authority of our comrades as political leaders and their authority as trade unionists is very big and this is due to the various shortcomings of our work in the trade unions. I would like to give a few illustrations. Take France for example: here, the Communists in the trade union movement have committed a series of errors. The relations between the Communists and the non-Party trade union members are not what they should be. The Communists have got into the habit of commanding, they do not exercise their influence by persuasion, they do not work systematically enough. Many other shortcomings can be mentioned. On the other hand there are trade unionists who do their trade union work "well." But this trade union work is almost social democratic work. It almost entirely lacks the specifically Bolshevik formulation of trade union problems, specifically Communist problems. Such trade unionists may have a very good reputation among the trade union masses, but their work cannot be approved of from the Communist viewpoint. Experience in Germany shows that some comrades have become so accustomed to social democratic methods of work that they do not carry out Party instructions; during elections they refuse to publish our Party appeals, in order to become "rooted" trade union workers. This is another unsatisfactory side of Communist work in the trade unions. We have also observed blunders committed by our trade unionist comrades during strike movements—a very serious aspect of our trade union work. In some cases we meet with what is known as khvostism, i. e. the lack of initiative and inability to play a leading role. In time of strikes we are carried along by the masses instead of leading them. In the past period, in France for example, there have been cases where strikes have taken place without participation.

On the other hand, very often we play with revolutionary phrases in time of strikes, but do not devote sufficient attention to the solid preparation of campaigns connected with such strikes, we do not sufficiently take into account the objective situation and all the possibilities of the strikes; we are unable to choose the proper moment for declaring strikes or for calling them off and we are unable to lead them properly, etc. But all these qualities of leadership are absolutely essential precisely at the present time, because the situation as far as strike leadership is concerned, is a very serious one. Potentially, almost every strike has the more or less marked tendency to grow into a big political event. It is possible to lead strikes under such conditions only if one has a good knowledge of the situation and is able to take into account all phases of the movement. Revolutionary enthusiasm is necessary, of course, but that alone is not enough. A knowledge of the economic and political conditions of the struggle is essential. Never have questions of strike struggles been so involved as they are now. At the bottom of this complex problem lies partly the correlation between the forces of capitalism and the united forces of the working class. But, comrades, the situation is that these specific circumstances have not yet been realized. For instance, the problem of uniting the factory committees on the lines of the organization of trusts has as

yet remained unsolved and it is still insufficiently advocated in the Communist Parties even of the most developed capitalist countries. However, this propaganda in favor of unification, this centralization of the struggle, must be our reply to the merging of trustified capital. In the trade union domain we are now waging a struggle not so much against individual employers as against capitalist trusts. The word trust must be emphasized, it must be accentuated. It is the specific feature of the situation with which we now have to deal.

THE YOUTH PROBLEM—ONE OF OUR MAJOR TASKS.

Comrades, there are shortcomings that I want to refer to, shortcomings in our mass organizations, although we have made great progress in this sphere. For example, our Young Communist movement. In this sphere, we have certain considerable achievements to record, particularly in our anti-militarist struggle and in the various military campaigns. Take the French youth organization during the Morocco war and the work of our Young Communists in the struggle against the war danger in general. Nevertheless, we have great shortcomings. The number of organized young comrades is either declining or stationary. There is no doubt that the youth movement suffers from excessive sectarianism; our Youth International is unable to penetrate all the organizations where masses of young workers are to be found and to influence them. Our tactical orientation in the youth organizations is still distinguished by a certain narrowness. These shortcomings have lately become even more marked. This is one of the most dangerous spots in our activity. Some comrades, realizing that great blunders have been committed, that we suffer from great defects in this respect, seek to remedy it by doses of medicine, so big that we run the risk of the Young Communist League's losing their specific political and Communist features. I think that this is a mistake. The youth organization must be a Communist organization. Of course, it must not duplicate the Party, but the general Communist orientation in the struggle must be the basis of Young Communist development in the future.

MAXIMUM OF VARIETY AND FLEXIBILITY IN THE METHODS OF WORK.

What we lack, and what we must acquire, is diversified methods of work. We must endeavor to bring about a situation in which the youth organization will react, not only to questions of high politics and to big political campaigns, but also to political and cultural questions, to all questions of interest to the youth. Our young comrades must have their say in all spheres, from sport to the Chinese revolution; they must react organizationally and politically, as the instructions point out, to carry our influence to all organizations where young workers are to be found. We must abandon sectarianism and restricted methods of work, the general effect of which is to nullify united front tactics in the sphere of the youth movement.

Comrades, the youth problem is one of the most vital problems of our time. In Western Europe, in America and in other countries, this problem is an exceedingly grave one for us. The bourgeoisie is waging a feverish and strenuous struggle for the youth and is waging it with great skill, much more skillfully than we are waging it. All the big sport organizations, which some regard as a method of fostering bourgeois culture, are, in general, of very great political significance. The importance of sport organizations is closely related with the central problems of politics, first and foremost with the question of war. Through these organizations the imperialist bourgeoisie provide military training for the youth in a form which appears innocent and non-political, but which, if regarded in the light of the general process of development, and not as an isolated fact—plays a great political role in these days. The young worker becomes absorbed in and enthusiastic over football, but imperceptibly he is caught in the web of bourgeois organization. Various military gymnastic stunts take the place of military training, not only from the technical viewpoint, but also from the viewpoint of politics, from the problem of war. And if we devote our attention mainly to great political problems without at the same time trying to penetrate all mass organizations—I do not speak directly of organizational penetration, I have in mind our influence and our political authority—the great masses of the young human material will be lost to our cause.

Why do I say that the youth problem is one of our central problems? Firstly, because, while we have devoted considerable attention to the trade union problem, for example, we have paid very little attention lately to the youth movement. What is the situation in the youth movement? The youth are now much worse organized than the adult proletariat. This is as true of the social democratic youth as of our youth.

One of the most striking historical paradoxes of the present day is that the post-war generation, the generation born during the war, is worse organized than the preceding generation. What does this signify? I think, partly, this means that large sections of the youth have either directly or indirectly been neutralized by the bourgeoisie, or that the youth has become non-political. This, too, is to be explained by the influence of the imperialist bourgeoisie, because the bourgeoisie is quite satisfied if it succeeds merely in neutralizing the youth. It does not require more than that.

An improvement of our work in the youth organizations is therefore absolutely necessary. We must say this definitely and the congress must give corresponding instructions to the Young Communist International.

MORE ATTENTION TO THE PEASANT PROBLEM.

Further, there is the question of sympathizing organizations. If it is correct to say that we are approaching catastrophic events, although we cannot tell exactly when they will occur, in what year and on what day—it would be absurd to predict dates, we must understand that it is precisely because of such perspectives that the question of auxiliary organizations play a very important role. In the near future we shall have to take up the question of the peasant movement and of the Farmers' and Peasants' International and analyze it separately. The election results in Germany and France have shown that our influence in the rural districts in these countries has not increased; on the contrary it has somewhat diminished. This is an important symptom. Of course, our work among the peasants in many advanced capitalist countries is not easy, but it must be borne in mind that it is the masses of the peasantry that are hurled against us in the struggle and we must not forget that the bourgeoisie is working feverishly in this domain. The bourgeoisie does its utmost to win over the masses of peasants whereas the Communist Parties have forgotten about their work among the peasants. In some countries we have allowed opportunities to slip by—recall the great peasant movement in Rumania. True, the Communist Party of Rumania was smashed, but no one uttered the warning that great events were approaching in Rumania. Neither the Comintern as a whole nor the executive committee foresaw them, nor did they take timely measures to meet them. This was a great oversight, even if we admit that the situation was a very difficult one and that we had almost no connection with Rumania. These events occurred without our Party exercising hardly any influence upon them. Therefore we must draw certain conclusions regarding the peasant movement in all Balkan countries, not only in Rumania, but also in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, etc., and even in Poland.

We must devote more attention to the peasant question and from this viewpoint we must help the Farmers and Peasants International to become a real live organization. I cannot give you a report on the activities of that organization, but I must say that they are more or less of a propagandist character, that its work consists chiefly in publishing various material. Its organizational connections are exceedingly meagre. The numerical strength of the organization is negligible, although it has certain successes to its record. I think that in this the Farmers' and Peasants' International is not alone to blame; the fault rests also on the Comintern. We have not appropriated sufficient forces for that organization, we have not devoted sufficient attention to its work. This is clearly borne out by the Rumanian events and the election results in France and Germany. We must take this question up in the immediate future and do everything we can to remedy the defects.

I think we are not giving enough support to the Anti-Imperialist League. Some comrades think that, in general, this league is not worth maintaining. In reality, experience has shown something quite different. Experience has shown that this organization has great potential powers and chances of development and that we are doing very little to help to release these potential forces. It is said that the congress of the league was a grand parade, a big political demonstration. But

Questions of War and Defending Revolution in U. S. S. R. and China Are Decisive

this was not an accident. This "parade" was a big political demonstration because the objective need for such a parade existed and the revolutionary forces were really in need of unification. From the viewpoint of our general strategy, we must say that the more rallying points there will be along our line of march in the shape of our sympathizing forces—be it in Europe, Asia, Africa, or any other continent—the more prepared will we be for the moment of catastrophic upheavals, the greater will be the number of real live organizations in the revolutionary camp. Why we should hold a liquidatory viewpoint on this question I cannot understand. People sometimes try to throw all blame upon the objective situation, upon forces and events outside of our sphere of influence. This is a grave mistake. We are mostly to blame, because we have given too little aid to that organization.

LINKING UP OF LEGAL WITH ILLEGAL WORK.

I will now touch another question—the problem of linking up legal with illegal work. Again, if our analysis of the general situation is correct, then we must immediately commence illegal work, we must immediately undertake the task of linking up our legal activity with illegal activity. We have now gathered considerable experience of illegal work in some countries. We have such experience in Poland, in the Balkan countries, in Italy, and now in Japan. Finally, we have a wealth of experiences in China, etc. Some parties have had no such experience. This applies mainly to the west European parties. But, comrades, the attacks upon us will from now on become more severe. Our French Party has already had a taste of what it may expect in the future. There is no doubt that immediately on the eve of war and even some time before that, a series of extraordinary laws will be passed against our Parties. Of this there is no doubt. This must be foreseen. That is why it is necessary now to lay the foundation of our underground organizations, particularly in the army and navy, etc. Otherwise, events will take us by surprise and because of lack of preparation we will suffer great losses. The question of illegal organizations, which includes also the question of legal and illegal connections in the army and navy, is now a very acute one. You can understand why I cannot go into details, give advice and instructions here. But this task must be brought to the forefront of our attention and dealt with thoroughly. We cannot confine ourselves to generalities. We must work out concrete instructions for our daily practical work and these instructions must be registered.

If we apply the united front tactics in our trade union work, in the youth organizations and in our sympathizing organizations properly we will be able to remove the notorious discrepancy between the growth of our political influence and its organizational consolidation.

SYMPTOMS OF BUREAUCRACY.

I want to draw attention to another drawback in our Party work. It seems to me—and I must say this openly—that the symptoms of bureaucracy have lately increased, not only in our Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but in many other Parties. Now and then this finds expression in super-centralized leadership, in the total lack of initiative on the part of local organizations, etc. Of course, centralism is necessary and so is centralized leadership. Central Committees must be strong, leading bodies. This is an elementary truth.

VI. Tendencies in the Communist International.

RIGHT TENDENCY, THE GREATEST DANGER.

Comrades, I will now say a few words about the various tendencies in the Communist International. Some time ago, the greatest danger in the Communist International came from the so-called "ultra lefts," who endeavored to set up an international organization. After the defeat of the opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, these were frustrated, but the very process of disintegration of the opposition, the culminating point of which was the collapse of the so-called "Lenin Bund," leads us inevitably to certain conclusions. We arrested that Trotskyism is a social democratic tendency. Some comrades in their inward mind consider this to be a gross exaggeration. But the history of the Lenin Bund has shown that the core of the opposition has migrated to the Social Democrats. Was this a chance occurrence? Certainly not. We can see distinctly the dialectics of the relationships between the so-called "ultra-left" and the Right. At present the principal danger comes from the Right tendency, if we take the Communist International as a whole. The period of stabilization, which I have analyzed, the survival of parliamentarism, the influence of Social Democracy, certain specific peculiarities in trade union activity—are the main elements which keep this danger alive. This danger assumes various forms in the individual Parties. How did it manifest itself? Firstly by aspiration to legality at any price, by the Parties' fear to exceed the limits of bourgeois legality, even in cases when it was necessary to go beyond such limits; by excessive submission to bourgeois laws. This Right tendency manifested itself also in ignoring the necessity for accentuating the class struggle, for instance, during strikes; necessary strikes were not carried out. This tendency manifested itself also in the adoption of a wrong policy towards Social Democracy and in an insufficient accentuation of the struggle against "Left" Social Democratic leaders. It manifested itself also in the inadequate internationalism of the Parties. We notice that on the whole even Parties with a correct orientation do not always perform their international duties, as was the case in regard to the Chinese revolution. This certainly is a definitely Right tendency. The same tendency is observed also in the trade union activity, where general trade union discipline is frequently considered more important than our Party discipline, as well as in various other forms with which I will deal presently.

LEFT TENDENCIES.

Failure to understand what relations should be between the Party and the trade unions, results in that the Party sometimes rules over the masses in its capacity of Communist vanguard without endeavoring to convince these masses and without carrying on systematic work. There is also a general tendency to abandon the tactic of the United Front.

Following on a period of gross right-wing errors, left tendencies are also noticeable in China. There they take the form of putschist, moods and tactics. But on the whole deviations from the correct line are at present more to the Right than to the Left. Take France, for example. In our French Party strong parliamentary traditions in the bad sense of this term are still to be observed. These manifested themselves at the recent elections when a tendency to sabotage our tactical measures was very marked. This, of course, is due to the somewhat exaggerated orientation towards parliamentarism, with some opportunistic deviations from the correct political path. In the French Party these tendencies originate in deeply rooted historical traditions, and it goes without saying that our French brother Party must continue systematically to combat this phenomenon and must endeavor first of all to persuade its own members that these methods are now obsolete. This is not a matter of combating individuals. Rather is it a matter of attacking the strong and time honored traditions of public life in France, the practice of the Socialist Party, a considerable section of which formed the Communist Party. These tendencies were observed also in the French Party when the question of so-called repressions came up for discussion, when a number of French comrades, and the whole Party made mistakes, which they subsequently remedied.

We also notice such errors in our Czech-Slovak brother Party. Our Party in Czechoslovakia is a real mass Party but it is seriously afflicted with the "legality" disease. The Czech Party sometimes cannot make up its mind to go to the masses to organize protests against anti-Communist laws. If we continually make concessions to the government and do not exert sufficient effort to mobilize the masses for struggle against legislation and government regulations directed against Communists, we will never be able to pave the way for the preparation of mass actions on a larger scale, which infringe the conception of bourgeois legality. Some comrades have not the ghost of a notion as to how events will develop. They argue somewhat like this: "We will work within legal limits up to such and such a day, for instance, up to the outbreak of war, and then we will change our tactics. But comrades, we must make preparations beforehand. Mass actions must be regarded as one of the best means in our struggle. Our tactics must be: to mobilize the masses, to become masters of the streets, to attack again and again the law and order of the bourgeois State and to smash it, to capture the street by revolutionary means, in the strict sense of the word and then to go further. Only on the basis of a whole series of such events and on the basis of the development of these events—mass actions, etc., only through such a process can we prepare ourselves for fiercer and more stubborn mass struggles on a larger scale.

Then again in regard to the strike movement and the inadequate leadership of this movement. There have been cases when certain Party organizations did not even know that a strike was brewing in a particular factory. We had several cases like this in France.

But we find that very often local organizations display no initiative, that the pulse of political life does not always beat fast enough in our nuclei, that many campaigns and questions of trade union struggle play an exceedingly insignificant role in our nuclei, that minor officials and rank and file members work on a very small scale and that inner Party life consists in very many cases of the activities of a group of officials. This defect is related to other defects. We strongly advocate the reanimation of the rank and file, drawing new people into the leadership, attracting new people into the Party. But these new people do not fall from the skies as ready made practical workers. They must receive training in the process of active Party life not only on the part of officials, but also of the rank and file. Unless we succeed in eliminating these shortcomings, we shall run short of active Party workers. Unless we accelerate the pulse of Party life among the lower ranks of the Party, we shall not be able to provide a reservoir from which to draw able Party leaders. In surveying the Party Congresses and the Congresses of the Communist International, one is struck by the fact that the percentage of rank and file workers participating in them has not increased. Here too a tendency is observed to delegate Party officials, professional and paid Party officials to these Congresses exclusively. This tendency is obvious here. Of course, the danger must not be exaggerated, but a warning must be uttered against it. This is only bound up with a whole series of highly complicated problems of internal Party life. We must draw attention to the inadequate beat of the pulse of inner Party life particularly among the lower ranks of the Party, in the factory nuclei, etc. This must be placed on record so that the situation may be improved.

THE NEED FOR IMPROVING THE PARTY CADRES.

A few more words on the cultural and political level of our Parties and our Party cadres—the method of inner Party discussions. Here again there is a discrepancy between the objective requirements of the mass of the membership and the abilities and qualifications of our Party cadres. It seems to me that we have ignored a whole series of theoretical tasks, that our Party cadres are devoting too little time to studies, that our literature is weak and does not correspond to the present objective requirements; that we do not work out our problem deeply and intelligently enough—and this reflects itself in the methods of our discussion. I have already said at a previous Congress, or Plenum, that our inner Party discussions largely consist of making strong, sweeping statements and that they reveal an insufficiently serious attitude to the problems under discussion on the part of those participating in them. We have learned very well to perform operations with various kinds of deviations, this we do splendidly, but as far as a genuine study of the problems is concerned, the presentation of sound arguments instead of merely slogging away at an opponent—this we have not yet learned sufficiently.

However, every further step our Party takes along the path of development demands that we must deepen our political thinking, and that we must manipulate, maneuver and react in every situation in a thoughtful manner. This is one of the extremely important problems that face us. I think we must devote serious attention to raising our theoretical level, to improving our press and to the development of studies in our Parties.

there was a consensus of opinion that political differences are gradually subsiding. In spite of solemn declarations made that henceforth fractional strife will be brought to a stop, this strife continued, and waxed fiercer and fiercer. The party suffered serious damage not so much as a result of police terrorism as because of internal fractional strife. Reorganization is taking place now on the basis of a complete regrouping within the party itself; a new rank and file and new leaders have been created. It was a miracle that the party was saved even by these means. I think we must ponder very deeply over this matter and draw our lesson from it. The crisis within the Yugo-Slav Party which lasted so long has been more or less overcome by means of the extraordinary measures I have already mentioned.

We are now confronted by another danger which is threatening a very big party, namely the Polish Communist Party. Up to now I have not spoken about individual parties, I merely summed up the various shortcomings of our parties and mentioned some of them as examples. But I consider it my duty to deal separately with the Polish question. In the present situation our Polish Party occupies a very responsible post. Everyone realizes what an important role our brother party in Poland is destined to play in the event of war. The party will become one of the principal forces at the disposal of the Communist International. At the time of the Pilsudski coup d'etat the Polish Party committed a gross and dangerous opportunist error. This error was committed by the leaders of all tendencies without exception. Responsibility for this fundamental opportunist error cannot by any means be placed on the shoulders of any one group, as we, the Comintern, have already declared. At the last Congress of the Communist Party of Poland, which lasted over three months—because on every question and in regard to every incident differences and disputes arose between the two fractions—the representatives of the Comintern were unanimous in declaring that political differences within the Polish Party have been practically reduced to naught. And yet after this congress, the only thing that prevented the disruption of the Polish Party was the ex-

tremely strong pressure brought to bear upon it by the executive and the whole Comintern. Had we not intervened there would have been two parties in the Polish Communist movement, notwithstanding that political differences—I say this with a full sense of responsibility—were reduced to a minimum. We must consider that this has been going on recently, in an atmosphere in which the Pilsudskites are openly preparing for war; at a time when it is clear to everyone that the insults hurled at Seim, etc., are not merely the coarse antics of a man who has taken leave of his senses, but a definite Caesarist policy directed first and foremost against the Soviet Union—and I must say that this Caesarist policy is an extremely clever and agile one. Pilsudskism has really succeeded in splitting several oppositional parties, it has succeeded in splitting our Ukrainian Party, the opposition in the White Russian Hromada, etc. Finally, in international politics, Pilsudskism has carried out successfully a very cunning policy. (A voice from the audience: "It succeeded in inoculating the working class with its policy.") Yes, it succeeded in penetrating into the working class. In fact, it was not our party alone that achieved victories in Poland; a considerable number of Warsaw workers voted for Pilsudski. Our party achieved considerable success in the situation which has arisen; a positively brilliant success. But from the last report received the day before yesterday we learn that there are now two committees in the Warsaw organizations. I do not think that this is a matter that the Communist Party, or the Communist International can be proud of (applause). Comrades, I think—although I did not draw up the draft theses—that the Congress will be unanimous in empowering the Executive Committee to adopt measures that will secure unity. (Loud applause.) It will be far better to have a united party headed by ordinary workers who, in the event of war, will fight boldly as soldiers of the revolution, than to have an organization of leaders who are continually quarreling and who at the moment of extreme danger will ruin our party. (Applause.)

VII. Favorable Perspective.

FORWARD: TO THE STRUGGLE AND TO VICTORY!

Comrades, I have not dwelt so much on our shortcomings because I consider the general situation and the general premises for our activity unsatisfactory or unfavorable. On the contrary. The big political questions, such as the war danger and the situation arising from the ever-growing contradictions in capitalist stabilization, provide us with increasingly favorable ground for our work among the whole working class. That ours is the predominant influence in colonial countries is an indisputable fact, particularly so in China; we are on the eve of it becoming an indisputable fact also in India; our influence is also predominating, beyond dispute, among the working class of west European countries, where we confront them with important questions like the war danger. Therefore, having regard to the accentuation of general contradictions, the accentuation of the inherent contradictions of capitalism and the accentuation of the class struggle, i. e., having regard to the conditions as they exist objectively at present everywhere, the ground and the prospects of our work and our success can be said to be favorable. There is not the slightest

ground for saying that technical progress, the partial consolidation of the capitalist organism, the process of capitalist stabilization will break us as the social democrats have prophesied. On the contrary, the more acute these contradictions which are the inevitable concomitant of the present situation become, the wider and the more solid becomes the ground under our feet. When we have learned—and we will of course finally do so—to link up our every day work with important political questions, we will succeed in winning over the broad masses of the working class in the west European countries, we will bring under our influence the labor movement in the big capitalist states and we will be able to link them up with the truly powerful and great historical movement of the oppressed peoples. And when the hour, when imperialism will raise its standard of war, approaches, our Communist International, all our Parties, the great phalanx of the world's workers will be ready to take up the challenge. They will hurl forth the battle-cry of civil war, of a fight to a finish against imperialism. And this battle-cry will be the cry of the Communist International! (Loud and prolonged applause. The delegates rise to their feet and sing the "Internationale.")

Judgment Day Arrives in Dedham, Mass.

By EUGENE LYONS.

(From First Anniversary Memorial Edition of "The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti. International Publishers, New York.)

SACCO and Vanzetti were brought into the neatly swept court room at Dedham on April 9, 1927, to hear themselves sentenced to die in the electric chair. The scene was fully illumined; the press of the entire world was represented, millions who felt deeply about the case watched with bated breath. The sentencing was merely a formality, yet it seemed that something might happen....

And something did happen. Vanzetti made a speech to the court. For the great epic of the class struggle there is a prologue ready-made: Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Judge Webster Thayer facing each other in the illumined court room of Dedham.

Judge Thayer on the rostrum of authority, a narrow figure mumbly dead words. Words as cold and precise as corpses. Words disinterred from the morgues of statute and precedent. Words that evoke a musty ingrown past.

And Vanzetti in the prisoner's cage. Alive, far-seeing, reaching out for words to express a new vision, groping for electric words to light up new vistas. Finding words that touch off the imagination and explode the walls of the narrow court room.

Behind Thayer, the dead accumulation of precedent and wealth and privilege, guarded by bayonets. A narrow world that is organized, rigid and unfeeling. Behind Vanzetti, the multitudes, as yet unorganized: the amorphous multitudes, surging forward and retreating and surging further forward, their live bodies and their live hopes against the dead past and its bayonets.

Thayer barricaded by statute books and surrounded by bayonets is yet a weak, shrinking figure, frightened by his own black coil, by the sinister memories of witch-hangings, by the sting of light on eyes accustomed to shadow. He rises to pronounce the dead formula of death.

"The jury did it," he mumbles, "the jury, not I. The jury and the law and the court—not I, I am just a small sick man about to die."

And Vanzetti standing, it seems alone, but erect and unafraid, speaking with the voice of a million. He, too, pronounces a death verdict. It is directed against the decaying past; not merely against the lonely frightened figure on the rostrum of authority. He speaks for the weak, the despised, the intimidated. Vanzetti does not explain nor apologize. He challenges with words of fire and contention with the resonance of a million throats.

Thayer—old, worn, dyspeptic, bitter—has come to judge the men in the prisoner's cage. But he shrinks from their words and their gaze. The skeleton clatter of his formula is lost in the echoes of Vanzetti's verdict. For it is Vanzetti—calm, eloquent in the aware-

"I Know the Sentence Will Be Between the Oppressed and Rich Class"—Vanzetti

ness of multitudes speaking thru his voice—who does the judging.

"Nicola Sacco," the clerk asked, "have you anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon you?"

Sacco replied that his friend Vanzetti would speak for both.

Nevertheless his feelings got the better of him, and he exclaimed:

"I never knew, never heard, even read in history anything so cruel as this court. After seven years' prosecuting they still consider us guilty."

"I know the sentence will be between two classes, the oppressed class and the rich class, and there will be always collision between one and the other. We fraternize with the people with the books, with the literature, tyrannize them and kill them. We try the education of people always. You try to put a path between us and some other nationality that hates each other. That is why I am here today on this bench, for having been of the oppressed class. Well, you are the oppressor."

"You know it, Judge Thayer—you know all my life, you know why I have been here, and after seven years that you have been persecuting me and my poor wife, and you still today sentence us to death. I would like to tell all my life, but what is the use?"

"Bartolomeo Vanzetti," the clerk repeated, "have you anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon you?"

"Yes," Vanzetti replied.

He talked quietly, with a gentle smile, as one talks to children. He paused to find a word in the tongue foreign to him—but the simple homely sentiments which are not in law books came without pauses, from somewhere deep within him.

"What I say," Vanzetti began, "is that I am innocent, not only of the Braintree crime, but also of the Bridgewater crime. That I am not only innocent of these two crimes, but in all my life I have never stolen and I have never killed and I have never spilled blood. That is what I want to say. And it is not all. Not only am I innocent of these two crimes, not only in all my life I have never stolen, never killed, never spilled blood, but I have struggled all my life, since I began to reason, to eliminate crime from the earth."

"Everybody that knows these two arms knows very well that I did not need to go into the streets and kill a man or try to take money. I can live by my two hands and live well. But besides that, I can live even without work with my hands for other people. I have had plenty of chance to live independently and to live what the world conceives to be a higher life than to gain our bread with the sweat of our brow."

"My father in Italy is in a good condition. I could have come back in Italy and he would have welcomed me every time with open

arms. Even if I come back there with not a cent in my pocket, my father could have given me a position, not to work but to make business, or to oversee upon the land that he owns."

"... Well, I want to reach a little point farther, and it is this, that not only have I not been trying to steal in Bridgewater, not only have I not been in Braintree to steal and kill and have never stolen or killed or spilt blood in all my life, not only have I struggled hard against crimes, but I have refused myself of what are considered the commodity and glories of life, the prizes of a life of a good position, because in my consideration it is not right to exploit man. I have refused to go in business because I understand that business is a speculation on profit upon certain people that must depend upon the business man, and I do not consider that that is right and therefore I refuse to do that."

"Now, I should say that I am not only innocent of all these things, not only have I never committed a real crime in my life—though some sins but not crimes—not only have I struggled all my life to eliminate crimes, the crimes that the official law and the moral law condemns, but also the crime that the moral law and the official law sanction and sanctify—the exploitation and the oppression of the man by the man, and if there is a reason why I am here as a guilty man, if there is a reason why you in a few minutes can doom me, it is this reason and none else."

"There is the best man I ever cast my eyes upon since I lived, a man that will last and will grow always more near to and more dear to the heart of the people, so long as admiration for goodness, for virtues, and for sacrifice will last. I mean Eugene Victor Debs. He has said that not even a dog that kills chickens would have found an American jury disposed to convict it with the proof that the commonwealth has produced against us."

"... He knew, and not only he knew, but every man of understanding in the world, not only in this country but also in other countries, men to whom we have provided a certain amount of the records of the case at times, they all know and still stick with us, the flower of mankind of Europe, the better writers, the greatest thinkers of Europe, have pleaded in our favor. The greatest scientists, the greatest statesmen of Europe have pleaded in our favor."

"Is it possible that only a few, a handful of men of the jury, only two or three other men, who would shame their mother for worldly honor and for earthly fortune; is it possible that they are right against the world? For the whole world has said that it is wrong and I know that it is wrong. If there is one that should know it, if it is right or if it is wrong, it is I and this man. You see, it is seven years that we are in jail. What we have

suffered during these years no human tongue can say, and yet you see me before you, not trembling, you see me looking you in your eyes straight, not blushing, not changing color, not ashamed or in fear.

"... We have proved that there could not have been another judge on the face of the earth more prejudiced, more cruel and more hostile than you have been against us. We have proven that. Still they refuse the new trial. We know, and you know in your heart, that you have been against us from the very beginning, before you see us. Before you see us you already know that we were radicals, that we were underdogs, that we were the enemy of the institutions that you can believe in good faith in their goodness—I don't want to discuss that—and that it was easy at the time of the first trial to get a verdict of guilty."

"We know that you have spoken yourself, and have spoke your hostility against us, with friends of yours on the train, at the University Club of Boston, at the Golf Club of Worcester. I am sure that if the people who know all what you say against us have the civil courage to take the stand, maybe Your Honor—I am sorry to say this because you are an old man, and I have an old father—but maybe you would be beside us in good justice at this time."

"... We were tried during a time whose character has now passed into history. I mean by that, a time when there was a hysteria of resentment and hate against the people of our principles, against the foreigners, against slackers, and it seems to me—rather, I am positive of it, that both you and Mr. Katzmann have done all what it were in your power in order to work out, in order to agitate still more the passion of the juror, the prejudice of the juror, against us."

"... We believe more now than ever that war is wrong, and we are against war more now than ever, and I am glad to be on the doomed scaffold if I can say to mankind, 'Look out; you are in a catacomb of the flower of mankind. For what? All that they say to you, all that they have promised to you—it was a lie, it was an illusion, it was a cheat, it was a fraud, it was a crime. They promised you liberty. Where is liberty? They promised you prosperity. Where is prosperity? They have promised you elevation. Where is the elevation?'"

"From the day that I went in Charlestown, the misfortunate, the population of Charlestown, has doubled in number. Where is the moral good that the war has given to the world? Where is the spiritual progress that we have achieved from the war? Where are the security of life, the security of the things that we possess for our necessity? Where is the respect for human life? Where are the respect and the admiration for the good characteristics and the good of the human nature? Never before

Continued on Page Six

France, England, Italy Concentrate Armies as Diplomats Go to Sign Kellogg Pact

SECRET TROOP MOVES FEATURE "PEACE" PLANS

Britain, France Hold Joint Maneuvers

By United Press.
PARIS, Aug. 21.—With the signing of the Kellogg anti-war treaty less than a week away, the armed forces of England, France and Italy are massed in their respective countries, preparing against possible war.

Annual maneuvers are being held by all three countries.

In England, artillery, cavalry, tanks, armored cars and airplanes began their maneuvers on Salisbury Plain today, coinciding with "navy week," during which the people are permitted to inspect navy ships at the various ports. Last week, London was "bombed" unmercifully in sham airplane maneuvers.

French troops are maneuvering with great secrecy this week in the mountains and valleys of that country, while joint Franco-British maneuvers were decided on for the Rhineland, despite protests from Germany.

Italy also is having expensive troop maneuvers.
Meanwhile, preparations went forward for a great gathering of diplomats to attend the formal signing next Monday of the Kellogg treaty, a movement to end wars of aggression or conquest.

Secretary Kellogg is due on the Ile De France in a few days. He will stop at the home of Myron T. Herrick, United States ambassador to France, Herrick announced today.

Kellogg sent a wireless today saying he was enjoying the trip and in perfect health.

The American embassy announced today that Kellogg would repay the visit of President William T. Cosgrave of the Irish Free State before he returns home. Kellogg probably will leave Havre on the cruiser Detroit on August 29, landing at Queenstown, Ireland.

SOVIET MONGOLS ISSUE DENIAL

Charge Japanese Move to Gain Manchuria

ULAN BATOR, Mongolia, Aug. 21.—In a statement issued today the Mongolian Soviet Republic emphatically denied that it had instigated the revolt in inner Mongolia against the Manchurian government denouncing these reports as propaganda and provocation by the Japanese with a view to gaining a free hand in Manchuria. The government resents the publication of these reports in the Japanese and English press. The statement says in part:

"Lately the foreign press and the radio have announced a people's insurrection in and about Barga. The Japanese press particularly spreads news of this rebellion and in addition reports that Mongolian troops are participating.

"The Mongolian Government emphatically denies its participation or the participation of its army in any rebellion. It requests citizens of the republic adequately to controvert these provocative rumors."

TO RALLY FOR SACCO-VANZETTI

Continued from Page One
Jamin Gitlow, Communist candidate for vice-president as the principal speakers.

Philadelphia, Labor Institute, 8th and Locust, August 24, with Max Shachtman, editor of the Labor Defender, Herbert Benjamin, Workers Party organizer, and an Italian speaker.

San Francisco, August 22, Musicians' Union Hall, with Emanuel Levin, William Schneiderman, Edgar Owens, and Charlotte Anita Whitney as chairmen.

Pittsburgh, Cameraphone Theatre, 6202 Penn. Ave., August 26, with Jack Stachel, organization secretary of the Workers Party, Magliacano in Italian and other speakers.

Detroit, Woodward and Alfred Sts., August 22, a demonstration with William Reynolds, Alfred E. Goetz, John Schmees and others.

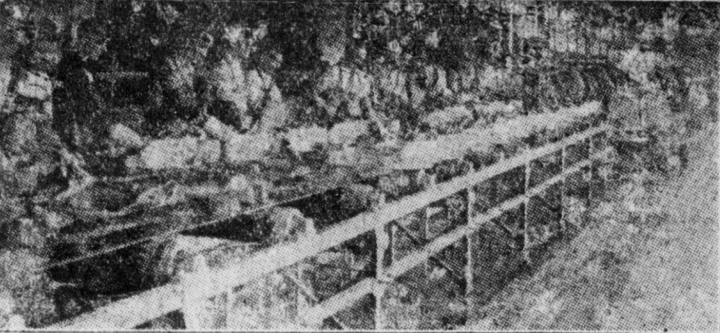
Haverhill, Mass., Liberty Club Hall, 244 Liberty St., August 22, with H. Sidney Bloomfield.

Omaha, Jefferson Park, August 22, with James Lane and others.

Newark, Military Park, August 22, with Philip Frankfeld.

Milwaukee, Harmony Hall, 1st Ave., and Mineral Street, August 25, with English and Italian speakers.

The Speed-up at Its Worst: Assembling



Scene in the radiator department at the Hyland Park Plant of the Ford Motor Car Company.

AUTOMOBILE-NEW GIANT

Special Forms of Exploiting Workers

By BEN LIFSCHITZ

(This is the fifth in the series of articles on "Automobile—Symbol of Modern Slavery.") The preceding articles have covered the scope of the industry, the giant mergers, the driving forces to imperialism war and the competition between Ford and the General Motors.)

The automobile industry can truly be designated as the real "American" industry. It marks the highest point of American capitalism in technical development, mass production, concentration of industry, sales methods and financing.

The automobile industry is indeed the pride of American capitalism. At the hearing of the bar association, held in New York, James A. Emery, general counsel of the National Manufacturers Association, pointed to the automobile industry as "an example to prove the soundness of the American plan of production, the Open Shop."

"The cost of production is reduced to the minimum and the wages of the workers have been at comparatively high levels." It is working out so well for the capitalists that the manufacturers of the leading European countries: England, Germany and France, are sending over their technicians and efficiency men to study the American plan of production and exploitation. It has also appealed very much to the labor leaders of England and Germany, who have sent over their representatives to study the American plan of production and exploitation. It has also appealed very much to the labor leaders of England and Germany, who have sent over their representatives to study the American plan of production and exploitation.

Greatest Exploitation.
A careful study of conditions, however, will convince any observer that nowhere is the exploitation of the worker so sharp as in the automobile industry, notwithstanding the fact that the average production for the individual worker is so high.

The economists term this acute form of exploitation as "various forms of wage payments"—but the workers in the automobile industry know from bitter experience that all these various forms of wage payments are introduced to squeeze out every atom of energy in order to produce more and more work for the same money and most of the time for less.

Speed-up is manifested in various ways: Piece-work is one of the systems evolved by the employing class to increase production by giving the workers a certain price per piece. The more pieces they turn out, the more they get up to a certain point. Under this system many bosses may be dispensed with. Time-study men are employed to walk around with a stop-watch and observe different operations. When they think that a worker is making his money too easily, or getting too much for the operation, his piece-work is cut down and the worker must work all the harder to catch up.

Then the conveyor line may be screwed up a little faster. The steam may even be turned low in winter to keep the workers a bit chilly and, hence, more in the mood to move faster at the machine. Raising the task of the individual worker or the group is the most common speed-up system.

The Whip—Fear.
The lay-off method, or the mere rumor of lay-offs, may be used to put fear in the hearts and hands. Under the stimulus, they give closer attention to the belt. The workers' names and production records may be put on a black-board and competition encouraged. The gang or group piece-work system may be used.

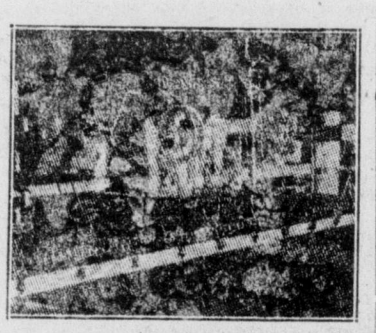
This makes the workers boss each other. Each realizes that the harder he pushes the other fellow the more the return to each other under the gang payment system.

The department percentage scheme is practiced in the Hudson Motor Car Company, where the company guarantees 200 per cent of the day rate, provided the work is done in a given time. However, the workers are ignorant as to the rates. This company practices schemes of reduction of forces, exacting the smaller group of workers to produce the same amount of work.

The "Buick Worker" tells how the gang system works in plant No. 66. When a new man comes in, instead of the company paying him day-rate while he breaks in on the job, the workers (the gang) have to pay him out of their own small wages.

At the Chevrolet plant in Flint, Mich., they hire in some departments at a flat rate of 42 cents an hour, promising a bonus which will run them up to 65-70 cents in three

Ford Conveyor System



Above are two views of the conveyor system bringing parts and materials to the workers who stand still at their task.

months. They increase the bonus in the first few days and then fire them out before they reach the high bonus.

Group Piece-Work.
In the Fisher Body plants the group piece-work system is now developed into a still further form of exploitation, best illustrated by one of the Fisher Body shops in Cleveland. Here they hire the workers at a basic day rate, fluctuating between 55 and 70 cents an hour. The company has designated for itself a certain rate for the operation. The company allows the workers to make one dollar an hour. The work is given out in lots, which take between 1 1/2 weeks and two weeks to perform. This lot, say, of 100 ferrous, is to be finished in a certain time in order to get the dollar an hour. This group of workers, however, do not get its bonus at the end of each week, but when the lot is completed. If the worker is laid off, or quits himself, he gets only his day rate. They use the same form of group system in the Sterns-Knight plant of Cleveland. In the Chandler Cleveland Motors Corporation the same group system is used. The workers do not know what they make every day. They only find out what they make on their bonus at the end of a pay period of two weeks.

The extent to which this group system demoralizes the workers, and makes them drive one another, could best be shown by the peculiar strike which broke out in the crank shaft department of the Buick Motor Company, where the gang demoralized of the superintendent that two workers that were not fast enough to keep up a high speed of production should be taken out from the gang!

The Ford Company does not use this system. Instead of giving the man extra money for more production, Ford pays this money to a large gang of bosses and straw bosses, who keep razing the men all the time. These "drivers" have received many millions of dollars, in the past, as bonuses and they, in turn, saw to it that Ford got it back many times over from the sweat and blood of the workers.

Evolve New Schemes.
But with the increased competition in the industry the Ford Company has evolved new schemes. One of the favorite ways of cutting wages is known as the "systematic Ford plan." "The Ford Worker" of June, 1928, tells the story:

"A herd of hunting dogs of the service department are placed under the direction of a specially trained hound hearing the license number, Star 262. These animals roam over the plant, hunting for some worker they can send to the employment office for talking, or wiping the fifth off his hands before the bell rings, running to the lunch wagon or walking away from his machine towards the tool crib. These dogs take your number and send you to the employment office, where you are usually fired. This is invariably the case if you happen to be getting above \$7

JUGOSLAV NOTE WILL STIR UP MORE ANGER

Dalmatian Workers in Rage at Pact

ZAGREB, Yugoslavia, Aug. 21.—The note of the Belgrade government promising it the full satisfaction for the recent anti-Italian incidents in Sebenico and Spalato, is expected to lead to further demonstrations against the Nettuno pact and the Belgrade regime in Dalmatia and Croatia.

The note was sent as an apology for the demonstrations of workers, peasants and students in Spalato and Sebenico when Yugoslav workers were discharged from Italian factories to make way for imported Italians, as provided for in the Nettuno pact.

The demonstrations grew to serious proportions in Sebenico, where windows of Italian shops were reported smashed, an attempt was made to storm the Italian consulate and Italian sailors, who attempted to break the demonstration, were attacked.

All-Opposition Coalition.
BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Aug. 21.—The formation of an all-nationality opposition coalition is indicated by latest reports from Zagreb, where the Croatian peasant party and democratic party leaders have already formed a coalition.

Dissident members of the Belgrade parliament, notably the few remaining Croatian representatives, some deputies of the Serbian peasant party and of the German minority are expected to join the Croats and Dalmatian parties against the Belgrade regime. Ivo Milich, the Croatian member of the government "radical" party, has already given up his membership and joined the Croatian peasant party.

a day. Then you are replaced by a man starting for \$5 a day or by a student at 35 cents an hour."

In the brake-shoe department, B building, Fordson, as throughout the whole plant, it is reported by many workers that boys getting around 35 cents an hour are being hired. The company feeds them a lot of taffy and calls them "students." They are expected to turn out as much production as the higher paid man next to them. They are promised a raise if they make good. The bosses "forget" about it. The one thing they never forget is "step on it"—more production, speed-up, raise the standard of efficiency. These boys are being used to beat down the wages of the men.

Systematic Terror.
This story of a superintendent, printed in the "Auto Workers News," June, 1928, will give the reader an idea of the systematic terror which is used by the various companies to speed up production and to transform the worker into a real slave:

In one of the biggest departments of the River Rouge plant, production was running smoothly. In fact, more production was being turned out by this particular superintendent than by any of the others. Nevertheless an efficiency expert one day walked over to him and told him to fire fifteen men. "Which fifteen?" asked the head of the department. "Oh, any fifteen will do." "And the reason?" asked the superintendent. "You don't have to give any reason," was the reply. "Well, even if I don't give the man a reason, I want to know why just the same," insisted the speaker. "Very well, then, I'll tell you," said the efficiency expert. "You are too friendly with the men. We have noticed that when you go through the department no one is afraid of you. No one is more on the alert, more uneasy and trying to work harder than before. It is different in the other departments. Any one can tell when the superintendents are passing through. The men are all uneasy and trying to goad themselves to the maximum effort. All the men think the heads of their departments are son-

"Are you not satisfied with the production record here?" asked the superintendent. "That part is quite O. K." was the reply.

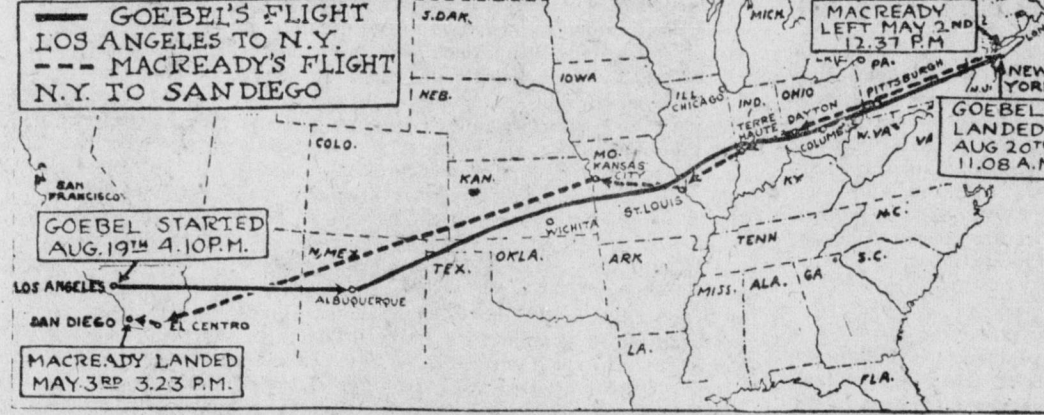
Unusual Foreman.
The superintendent then stated, "Henry Ford may be able to make what he wants out of other men, but he is not going to make a son—

out of me. I quit."

Something like the above story could be told about executives in the Fisher Body, Pontiac plant, and in other plants of the automobile industry. It illustrates the labor policy of this industry. Manufacturers don't want leaders, they want slave-drivers. They don't want workers to have any spirit of independence and self-respect, they want obedient, docile slaves.

The process of acceleration of production, of speed-up never stops. Here are a few examples. A Dodge worker writes that "in the Duce work we now spray the Victory Six with two coats instead of one, and at the same price." A Packard man writes, "In the body division we used to do six jobs a day. Now we do eight, and 20 per cent. of the

Trans-Continental Flight Record Lowered by Eight Hours



The map shows the route taken by Art Goebel, whose recent flight from Los Angeles to New York City has cut eight hours and fifty-eight minutes from the previous trans-continental record. The dotted line is the route taken by the army fliers, lieutenants Oakley, Kelly and James Macready. The development of aviation is being sponsored by the government in preparation for the coming imperialist war.

HIT TREACHERY OF REFORMISTS

Continued from Page One

welcoming the attitude of the Communist International was unanimously adopted. It was decided to hold the next congress of the League in Paris at the end of July, 1929.

At the Sunday session General Denyanda, Madame Drevet, and the representative of the Communist Party, Tchoukai spoke. Saklavala analyzed the situation in India. Drevet on Indo-China, Mohammed Hatta on Indo-Asia.

On the motion of the British delegation a sharp resolution against the second international's decision regarding India was adopted. In his closing speech Maxton, of the Independent Labor Party, severely attacked the second international's decision against participation in the Anti-Imperialist League.

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

CHICAGO, Aug. 21 (UP).—George E. Brennan, democratic leader, who died August 8, left an estate valued at \$300,000 to his wife and daughter, Mary. Relatives said today, when his will was filed for probate.

men have been laid off. And in the hood painting department of the same plant they used to turn out 16 jobs a day. Now 38 are required. And of course several men were fired."

Race-Track Speed.

At the Ford plants, most famous for their race-track speed, the soldering department has increased production from 35 to 80 pieces per hour in one year. At one of the Fisher Body plants where they used to make 150 to 160 bodies a day, they now finish from 235 to 240 with the same number of men on the job. At the Hudson plant they more than doubled the output for the same number of men in one year, at the same time reducing the wage an average of 10 cents an hour. (Auto Workers News, June, 1928.)

A worker from Briggs writes: "We're still speeding up plenty these days, on a piece work basis. Just as soon as we increase our efficiency, we're due for a cut in prices. Men still start at the average wage of 45 cents per hour, and women at 35 cents per hour.

On a certain operation a man has to handle 4,500 doors to make \$8, and on another operation 12,000 pieces of metalstrips must be put through the rolls to earn the same amount of money. There is everything here to make a worker feel that he is in prison: hard labor, slave-drivers and hard-boiled guards.

Set Women Against Men.
Another way used to cut wages is by replacing men with women. In the core-making department of Plant No. 20, men working for \$5-

JUDGMENT DAY COMES TO DEDHAM, MASS.

(Continued from page five)

the war as now have there been so many crimes, so much corruption, so much degeneration as there is now.

"...Well, I have already said that I not only am not guilty of these two crimes, but I never committed a crime in my life. I have never stolen and I have fought against crime, and I have fought and I have sacrificed myself even to eliminate the crimes that the law and the church legitimate and sanctify.

"This is what I say: I would not wish to a dog or to a snake, to the most low and misfortunate creature of the earth—I would not wish to any of them what I have had to suffer for things that I am not guilty of. I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian; and indeed I am an Italian; I have suffered more for my family and for my beloved than for myself; but I am so convinced to be right that you can only kill me once but if you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already.

"I have finished. Thank you."

Then Judge Thayer rose to speak. He rose to pronounce sentence of death. But first he paused to apologize. He paused to exhibit a stained-voice legal conscience—and his thin voice trembled.

"Under the law of Massachusetts," he began, "the jury says whether a defendant is guilty or innocent. The court has absolutely nothing to do with that question. The law of Massachusetts provides that a judge cannot deal in any way with the facts. As far as he can go under our law is to state the evidence.

"During the trial many exceptions were taken. Those exceptions were taken to the Supreme Judicial Court. That court, after examining the entire record, after examining all the exceptions—that court in its final words said, 'The verdict of the jury should stand; exceptions overruled.' That being true there is only one thing that this court can do. It is not a matter of discretion. It is a matter of statutory requirement, and that being true there is only one duty that now devolves upon this court, and that is to pronounce the sentence.

"It is considered and ordered by the court that you, Nicola Sacco, suffer the punishment of death by the passage of a current of electricity thru your body within the week beginning on Sunday, the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand, nine hundred and twenty-seven. This is the sentence of the law.

"It is considered and ordered by the court that you, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, suffer the punishment of death... Sacco (interrupting): "You know I am innocent. Those are the same words I pronounced seven years ago. You condemn two innocent men."

Thayer: "...by the passage of a current of electricity thru your body within the week beginning on Sunday, the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven. This is the sentence of the law."

BACKACHES from KIDNEY or BLADDER CATARRH in the Aged

Soon eased by the genuine Santal Midy Effective-Harmless

BRITISH, U. S. RUBBER RIVALS AGREE TO MEET

Huge Boost Planned in Prices

AMSTERDAM, Holland, Aug. 21 (UP).—The Dutch rubber committee announced today that British producers are ready to co-operate in a proposed conference with American manufacturers to stabilize the industry.

In a circular to producers, the committee said the British were not willing to send delegates to the United States, however, and added that negotiations with Belgian and French producers had resulted in no agreement.

The circular added that in response to a request for mediation, the Dutch minister at Washington replied that although the American consumers would not take the responsibility for inviting the Dutch, they are ready to deliberate if the latter formulate definite proposals.

MCCOY SATISFIED WITH NICARAGUA

MANAGUA, Aug. 21.—General Frank McCoy, American supervisor of the elections in Nicaragua this fall, has returned from a twelve-day tour of the country and reports himself satisfied with the progress of the American occupation throughout the country.

He said further that the Nicaraguan national guard, officered by American marines, was replacing the police in many towns and was doing "effective work."

with my lawyer, Mr. Thompson?"
Thompson: "I do not know what he has to say."
Thayer: "I think I should pronounce the sentence. Bartolomeo Vanzetti, suffer the punishment of death..."

Sacco (interrupting): "You know I am innocent. Those are the same words I pronounced seven years ago. You condemn two innocent men."

Thayer: "...by the passage of a current of electricity thru your body within the week beginning on Sunday, the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven. This is the sentence of the law."

The LADDER

Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. SEATS NOW ON SALE 8 WEEKS IN ADVANCE. COURT THEATRE, W. 48 St. Money Refunded if Not Satisfied With Play.

GOOD NEWS

with GEO. OLSEN and HIS MUSIC

MAN INJURED, ROBBED.

ASHLAND, Pa., Aug. 21 (UP).—James Lewis of New York was in the state hospital here today in serious condition from injuries received when he was held up and robbed early this morning.

SUPPORT THE \$100,000 Communist Campaign Fund

A campaign to rouse the workers and poor farmers to revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and their government.

FOR	AGAINST
1. Organization of the unorganized.	1. Wage cuts, injunctions and company unions.
2. Support of the miners and textile workers' struggles.	2. Unemployment.
3. Recognition and defense of the Soviet Union.	3. Treachery of the labor bureaucracy.
4. A Labor Party.	4. Discrimination against Negroes.
5. For a Workers' and Farmers government.	5. Imperialist war.

HELP TO PROVIDE A FUND TO Place the Communists on the Ballot. Tour speakers and organize mass meetings. Furnish campaign publicity and advertising. Publish campaign literature.

Respond Now! Respond Now!!

Send All FUNDS to ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, Treas.

National Election Campaign Committee
43 E. 125th St., New York City.

TO SOVIET RUSSIA

Free Soviet Visas We assist you to extend your stay so as to visit your relatives and friends in any part of the Soviet Union.

COST OF THE ENTIRE TOUR

\$375

\$25 First Payment, balance payable in installments.

World Tourists, Inc.

69 Fifth Ave., New York Tel. Algonquin 6900

Daily Worker

Central Organ of the Workers (Communist) Party

Published by NATIONAL DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING ASS'N, Inc., Daily, Except Sunday
26-28 Union Square, New York, N. Y. Cable Address: "Daiwork" Phone, Stuyvesant 1696-7-8

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
By Mail (in New York only): \$8 per year \$4.50 six months \$2.50 three months
By Mail (outside of New York): \$6.00 per year \$3.50 six months \$2 three months
Address and mail out checks to THE DAILY WORKER, 26-28 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

Editor.....ROBERT MINOR
Assistant Editor.....WM. F. DUNNE

Entered as second-class mail at the post-office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

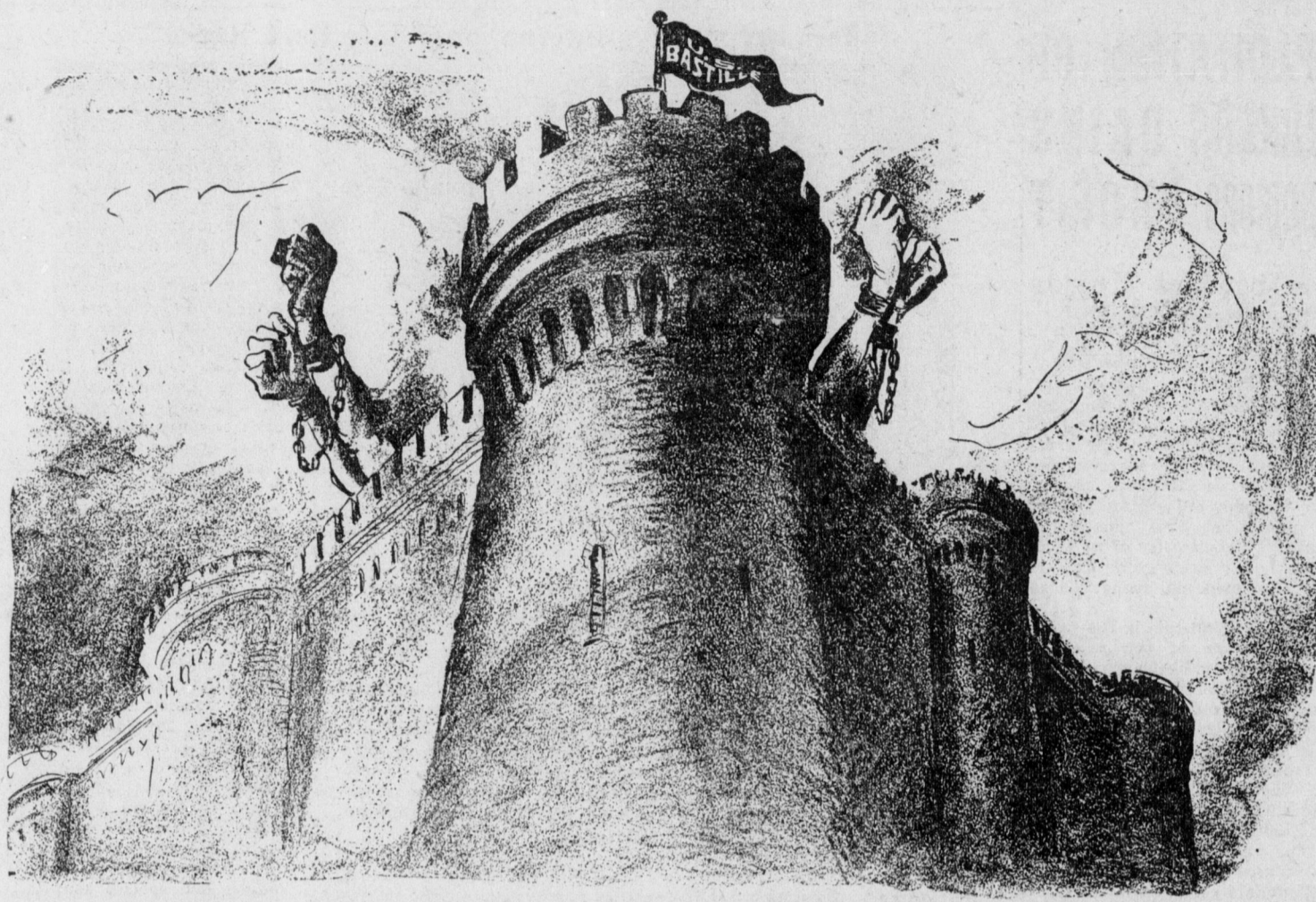
VOTE COMMUNIST!

For President
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
For Vice-President
BENJAMIN GITLOW

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

For the Party of the Class Struggle!
For the Workers! Against the Capitalists!

CAPITALISM



By Fred Ellis

Told You So

THIS is the first anniversary of the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti by the capitalist government of the state of Massachusetts. Today millions of workers in every part of the world will hold demonstrations commemorating the lives of those two gallant working-class warriors and pledging themselves to fight on against the capitalist system that sent Sacco and Vanzetti to their doom.

THERE will be two kinds of memorial meetings today. One kind will be held under the auspices of the Communist movement in the United States and other countries; the other under the auspices of liberals, anarchists and pacifists. The Communists will not only point out that Sacco and Vanzetti were framed by the authorities, that they were killed in the electric chair not because of a crime of which they were innocent but because they fought for the working class, but they will also point out that there never is and never can be any more justice under a class government than that class can afford to grant its suppressed class enemy.

THE liberals would have us believe that a "good" governor in the position of Governor Fuller of Massachusetts would have used his office to grant Sacco and Vanzetti a new trial. This is a dangerous illusion to hold up before the working class. This is on a par with the A. F. of L. political policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." This kind of nonsense means that the workers do not have to organize into a revolutionary class party to fight against judicial assassination now, and for their ultimate emancipation from wage slavery.

FROM the beginning of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense fight the Communists made a mass issue out of it, knowing that the power of the masses only could stay the hands of the executioners. Unfortunately the American working class were still too much under the sway of the reactionary labor bureaucrats to throw their collective weight behind the protest. The leaders of the A. F. of L. confined themselves to uttering platonic doubts of the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti. The liberals depended on intellectuals and bourgeois editors and politicians who craved when the campaign carried on by the Communists threatened to assume mass proportions.

THE Workers (Communist) Party, as a member of the great united front labor defense organization the I. L. D., was the driving force behind the movement to save Sacco and Vanzetti. The not in agreement with the anarchist philosophy held by the two doomed men, it saw in them protagonists of the working class who were willing to sacrifice their lives for the cause of labor, and saw that it was because of this that the capitalist government of Massachusetts decreed that they must die. Had Sacco and Vanzetti been parlor anarchists of the type to be found on many capitalist newspapers, they would be living today. But they believed in organizing the workers and fighting for higher wages and working conditions and that is why they were executed.

THE mass demonstrations today will be utilized, in addition to refreshing the memory of the working class regarding the crime committed against Sacco and Vanzetti, to mobilize the masses for a great drive to free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, now incarcerated in living tombs in the state of California and to open the jail gates for the I. W. W. prisoners in Walla Walla, Washington. The International Labor Defense is organizing this drive. The movement to free these class war victims will not be based on liberals and intellectuals, but the assistance of all human beings will be welcome, but it will be based on the exploited masses of the United States.

WHILE those workers are suffering the tortures of the damned in jail, millions of their class are going their way heedless of their agonies. In this election campaign, neither the republican, democratic nor Socialist parties have a word to say about the class war prisoners. The Workers (Communist) Party only places the release of all class war victims in the forefront of its program. The more sacred duty remains to be performed by the American working class than to compel the arrogant jailers of Tom Mooney, Billings and the victims of the Centalla frame-up to open the jail gates for our comrades.

A S Vanzetti wrote before the executioner pulled the fatal switch in Charlestown prison, he and his comrade Sacco might have spoken from soap boxes against the capitalist system until the end of their days without awakening the proletariat of the world as they were able to do thru their execution on a framed-up charge by the ruling classes of Massachusetts. Those two humble men became working-class heroes thru their sacrifice for the cause of the oppressed. Their memories will be honored for ages to come, when the rotten system that sent them to their doom, will be a historical blot and the names of their executioners recalled only to be cursed.

Tom O'Flaherty

Sacco and Vanzetti

One year ago in the death house of Charlestown prison were fitted the steel head-pieces of the electric chair upon the heads of the two Italian laborers whose names are now the best-known Italian names and the best-loved in the entire world.

The historical moment in the United States called for a savage blow against the militant section of the working class (and thus of course against the working class as a whole); it was "sound policy" from the capitalist point of view to murder Sacco and Vanzetti. Also the international situation made it psychologically necessary and a "sound policy" to throw the murdered bodies of the two Italian laborers into the faces of the score of Latin-American and European nations whose masses had dared to "meddle" in the case. By throwing the dead bodies onto the world-stage American imperialism said: "Who is master in this world?"

Millions of workers, raised under the sodden slave-philosophy given them through every channel of capitalist culture, believe in the everlasting character of the capitalist society, believe also in the one great, abstract justice, rising in godly grandeur above human affairs, uninfluenced by class conflicts and dealing even-handedly with all men—a theological conception, one of the most important in the ideological structure of the capitalist system.

From the very insistence of the capitalist authorities that the killing of Sacco and Vanzetti represented "justice," the working class begins to get a new understanding of what "justice" is. In the course of long and painful months the working class of the world has had it burned upon its minds that the murder of two innocent workers as an act symbolizing the mastery of the capitalist class over the working class, is "justice." Yes, justice, in a capitalist order, means murder. Justice means perjury and bribery, lying, swindling and murder or anything else which will under the circumstances tend to uphold the present order of society, the capitalist society of exploitation.

Sacco and Vanzetti received the only kind of justice there is in this country. It is the only kind of justice that can exist in a capitalist country. Evidence has nothing to do with political trials, except fictitious evidence employed to maintain the illusions of the masses. It is demonstrated that evidence had nothing to do with the Sacco-Vanzetti case. All concerned know beyond a shadow of doubt that both were innocent. The only question was: "What outcome will best benefit the social order of capitalist property?" As the spokesman of the whole United States capitalism, Thayer answered: "To hang these anarchist bastards."

If Sacco and Vanzetti are not to have died in vain, then we are duty bound to bring sharply to the minds of the working class just what their deaths mean. We must make the workers understand that in the murder of these innocent men there was nothing inconsistent with the administration of capitalist laws, but that the murder was the most typical, characteristic action of the legal system of capitalism in general, and of the United States in particular. It was an act of the class struggle.

The workers must learn the class nature of capitalist institutions. They must learn that there is no justice in the skies above, but that capitalist "justice" resides in the filthy little person of a Judge Thayer, sitting in a little court house administering a man-made system which has the purpose of preserving a certain form of property-relationships and social organization.

Justice, in a class society, can only be class justice.

Besides the capitalist class justice that Sacco and Vanzetti received, there is only one other justice existing in the world today. It also is class justice, but of another class. It is the justice of the revolutionary tribunals of the working class, set up by free workers to try such criminals as Thayer and Fuller. Such justice of the working class exists only in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—for the present. It will come later throughout the world.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were anarchists. Today there is practically nothing remaining of proletarian revolutionary composition in the anarchist movement. But Sacco and Vanzetti died as revolutionists, and their fearlessness and loyalty are the pride of the revolutionary working class of the world. Nicola and Bartolomeo belonged to the revolution, and the accrued result of their martyrdom is a strong ligament in the mighty body of revolution. What form does the revolution take? A form which the two martyrs could not see, but which nevertheless their martyrdom will help to strengthen.

Vanzetti and Sacco were revolutionists in that they believed in and fought for the realization of a free society—free from exploitation of man by man—and in that they trusted to the working class to bring that change by class struggle. Their aim was a society without government of compulsion—a stateless society. Insofar as this alone is concerned they were correct, but the methods of the long struggle to attain their aims were lost for them in a confusion of idealistic thinking.

All of the hard and cruel facts of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti demonstrated with ruthless logic exactly the flaws that exist in the anarchist views they held. The central point is the question of the state. Nothing more than the unswerving murderous course of the American capitalist class and its institutions in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, proves that the working class cannot accomplish the overthrow and suppression of the present ruling class without, first, the revolutionary organization and mass discipline and second, the ruthless dictatorship of the victorious proletariat. Nothing better proves that the proletariat cannot win its struggle without the organization of the firmest elements of the proletariat in the revolutionary party of the Communist revolution.

If Sacco and Vanzetti are not to have died in vain, the working class must learn from their martyrdom some knowledge useful for destroying the system that murdered them, and for attaining the free society of which they dreamed.

They must learn the nature of the capitalist state, an instrument for the suppression of a class by another class, and not an "impartial" institution above the classes, serving all "equally."

They must learn that for the realization of the ideals of Sacco and Vanzetti, this capitalist class must be overthrown and must be ruthlessly suppressed by the power of the working class itself organized as a revolutionary state—power of the new form of workers' councils—soviets.

And above all they must learn to fight, and to fight with the iron discipline of class loyalty and revolutionary organization which alone can lead to victory and free society, and vengeance for Sacco and Vanzetti.

They must learn that the building of the revolutionary Communist Party is the immediate answer to the murder of labor's martyrs.

The Face of the Workers Enemy

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

We stood with lowered heads before the graves of Sacco and Vanzetti. They died the heroic death of revolutionary fighters. They died irreconcilable enemies of the capitalist order. Their methods of struggle may only partly approach mass proletarian action, yet they gave the working class an example of men rising to immense spiritual heights in defiance of the most formidable foe with death staring in the face. Their death is saturated with the essence of greatness.

"Our words—our lives—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph!"

In Hearts of Workers. The working class has taken the two martyrs to its heart. The workers of the world see in those two victims, picked out at random by the ruling class from among all its opponents, an example of strength, courage, humanness so widespread among the exploited masses. One, a man of iron; the other a man of dreamy softness; one, a silent and stubborn reclus; the other a poet opening his heart to all the winds; one, in Vanzetti's words, "a man, a lover of nature and mankind, a man of action"; the other, in his own

words, "a living hurricane of thoughts, feelings and sentiments." Both made of that metal that breaks but does not bend.

We pay our heart's tribute to the dead martyred friends, but our eyes are turned to the living foe. Our Sacco-Vanzetti memorials must give the workers a clear picture of the rulers under whom we are compelled to live. The conviction and execution of the two victims shed a lurid light on the state of mind of concentrated capital which is the law of this land.

Part of Class Struggle. The liberals and socialists are wont to blame the "Massachusetts courts." To them it is an "unfortunate episode" which one ought to remember for the sake of history and in the name of justice. To the workers this is not an accident and not an isolated case. To the workers it only reveals in one flash the face of the enemy which they see every day in less tragic but no less significant encounters.

The Massachusetts courts do not stand alone. Judge Thayer did not care whether the "bastards" were guilty or not, but how many judges in every state of the union care to know the innocence or guilt of labor fighters brought before their bench?

Guiltily Because Militant. Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty because they dared to challenge the existing system; thousands of strikers, strike organizers, labor agitators, are found guilty every where in the United States for the sole reason that they fight the manufacturers and financiers. The most outrageous law violation was perpetrated against two peaceful, radical workers, but does any state or any city of this country follow its own laws when it comes to workers fighting for a better life? Sacco and Vanzetti fell the victims of a crudely executed "frame-up," but does anybody know the number of "frame-ups" employed everywhere against workers seized on the picket line, against workers distributing class literature, against speakers denouncing Wall Street? With grim determination the millionaire governor of Massachusetts upheld the

Sacco and Vanzetti Will Live in Workers' Hearts as Labor Martyrs

criminal action of his judges, but isn't it the conviction of every governor, every cabinet member, every president, that the "law" must be upheld under all circumstances once its edge is directed against the working class? Lowell, Grant and Stratton, representing the "intelligentsia" of the country, proved as biased and as hostile to Sacco and Vanzetti as was the judge himself; but isn't the average American college president, editor, engineer or lawyer full of the same class prejudice and class hatred as that famous trinity?

Massachusetts Not Alone. Massachusetts does not stand alone. Sacco and Vanzetti are no "unfortunate exception" to the rule. It is time for the working class, for all of us, to realize that there is no liberty for the working class in this country; that the struggling, unsatisfied worker is deprived of all the so-called constitutional guarantees; that he is confronted by a solid wall of the organized state power that does not shirk before the most hideous crime; that in this respect his position is hardly better, and in many instances it is even worse, than it was in Russia under the czar after 1905.

The working class must see the enemy's face. It will then realize that it can rely on nothing but its own organized force.

Garvey, Negro Misleader, As a Democrat

By OTTO E. HUISWOOD

Marcus Garvey, the "blind" Negro "Moses," "Provisional President" of Africa, has for once turned his attention to American domestic politics. This sponsor of the "Back to Africa" movement and the naive philosophy of Negroes voluntarily isolating themselves from their natural allies, the class-conscious workers of all countries, has at last seen a light—the glitter of gold. He is now championing the cause of the democratic party and Al Smith, the arch-enemies of the Negro masses.

It is rather curious that Garvey, who during the many years of his activities in the United States spurned all active participation in the struggles of the masses for the improvement of their condition in America, has now aligned himself with the party of slavery and the lynching tree. But, for Mr. Garvey, principles and consistency do not exist. His policies are rather based on a catch-as-catch-can philosophy.

A Different Song. A few years back Marcus Garvey addressed a letter to a number of white business men and prominent public officials, soliciting their aid, morally and financially for the purpose of repatriating Negroes to Africa. He had an interview with Simmons, the then Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, and the subject of his conversation with this Grand Cyclops, was to the effect that this is a white man's country, that the white man was entitled to his supremacy here, but, on the other hand, Africa was the home of the Black race, and that he should be aided in establishing a nation of his own on that continent. Today he is singing a different song.

In the "Negro World" of July 28, Marcus Garvey says: "Once more the time has come for the American Negro to use his ballot wisely in the interest of domestic politics and supremely in the interests of the black race." And he proceeds to tell his readers that they must vote for Al Smith, "not because the democratic party has been more kindly disposed toward the Negro than the republican party, but because Hoover represents a gang of politicians who mean absolutely nothing good to the black man in America nor anywhere else for that matter."

The inference from this statement

"Blind Moses" Takes Bosses' Gold to Betray Workers of His Race

is no doubt that the democratic politicians do mean some good to the Negro. Do they not hang and burn him at the stake, and is not jim-crowism, disfranchisement, segregation, and peonage the law in the South—the stronghold of the democratic party? And what does it matter to Mr. Garvey, if Robert Powell is lynched in Houston, Texas, just at the time of the national convention of the democratic party and only a few miles from the convention hall? Does the fact that Negro visitors to the democratic convention were placed aside like lepers in a cage-like structure mean anything to the "Moses"?

Raskob and DuPont. Garvey opposes Hoover and the republican party, because he was convicted for using the mails to defraud and deported under a republican administration, and because "this Mr. Hoover in this our present century has come upon the scene to assist big American interests to reduce Liberia to slavery, the slavery from which Abraham Lincoln freed us in America in 1865."

In speaking of the occupation of Haiti, Garvey says: "It is true that it was under Woodrow Wilson's regime that America assumed control of Haiti, but Woodrow Wilson never intended Haiti to be exploited as the republican party has done." But Mr. Garvey does not tell us of his secret information as to how Wilson and the democratic party intended that Haiti should be exploited. Here he exposes himself as the apologist of Wilson and the democratic party in their armed intervention in Haiti and the slaughtering of thousands of poor, defenseless workers. The one thing that the democratic administration does not dare tell his readers is that under democratic administration the National City Bank and other big interests will not exploit Haiti.

He knows too well that no Negro, not even the biggest moron in his organization, would believe that. But let Mr. Garvey tell us the real reason for his endorsement of the democrats: "... and it is now time for every Negro to vote for Al Smith and the democratic party, so that we may expect something of service in return for the support given whole-heartedly." What is this "something of service" that "we may expect in return"?

TO MASSACHUSETTS—A YEAR AFTER

Now that they're ashes, light as thistledown,
To blow with all the winds that ever blow,
Are you at ease, securer in your crown,
And has your commonwealth no other foe?
Are their lives gone?—and does no tempest grow
To leap upon your courts and tear them down?

THEY LIVE

When you lived you were bound by bars,
But what bars are big enough, strong enough
To bind you today, Sacco and Vanzetti!

—HENRY GEORGE WEISS.

CAMPAIGN CORNER

Now, let us see what our campaign organizers are doing. Sidney Bloomfield, campaign manager for the New England states, writes:

"Winfield A. Dwyer has invaded New Hampshire to collect signatures on our petitions. Comrade Valter Paanenon of West Concord, New Hampshire, is actively engaged in this task, and is covering the early towns of Hilford, Wilton and Concord. He has just ordered a shipment of Party Platforms, Comrades Chase and Iram, both of whom are Party candidates in New Hampshire, have just covered several points, including Newport,

Claremont and Stoddard. Dwyer is scheduled to go to Manchester, where the great Amoskeag Mills are located. We are arranging a Weisbord tour and making arrangements for the Foster-Gitlow meetings. But the main job will be done by local speakers, whom we are planning to utilize to the utmost."

Comrade Benjamin, organizer for District 3, sends in the following communique:

"The Party office in District 3 is in receipt of a contribution of \$10 to the \$100,000 Communist Campaign Fund from Joseph Chlofsky, a member of the Electrical Workers'

Union. This worker states that he sends this contribution from the first pay he has received after several months of unemployment, as his answer to the brutalities of the police, whom he witnessed arresting a speaker at an open-air meeting. Other contributions have been received by the district office from the Ruthenberg Branch of the Independent Workmen's Circle, which sent \$5, the first installment of a \$25 pledge which they have made. The North Philadelphia branch of the Workers Club sent in \$10 through their delegate to the enlarged campaign committee which has been formed in this city."