

# THE NEW MAGAZINE

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ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor

## "It's a Fine Day"---Said Governor Fuller

Someone must write a play about Sacco and Vanzetti. This is now one of our great proletarian legends—it is a perfect epic of the new America.

I suggest Governor Fuller as the villain of the piece. Capitalism is the real villain, the impersonal profit machine.—Capitalism, punishing its two rebels.

But on the stage one must have flesh and blood—not abstractions. Governor Fuller will do as a perfect symbol of capitalism in this great play yet to be written.

It is the day of the execution. The morning sun glitters on the dirty gold dome of the State House in Boston. It is a hot stifling day, a day of swamp mists and heavy breathing. A hundred thousand clerks clatter meekly to work, sweating under their straw hats. The cops suffer in their blue woolen suits and choker collars. It's a fine day for swimming, but the Governor comes to the State House at 10 o'clock.

He greets the newspaper boys with his usual wholesome smile. They immediately write for the first editions:

"The Governor looked rested, as if he had had a good night's sleep. His eyes were clear and friendly, his rosy face beamed. It's a fine morning, isn't it, he said to the newspapermen. I'll be here at my

By MICHAEL GOLD

desk until midnight, boys, doing my duty."

He is a tall, handsome man, the Governor, with the strong face of a Roman senator. He is a portly magnifico of the New American Empire, the stern, hard-boiled, genial, ignorant type ruler we are breeding in this country. He was once a trick bicycle rider, this Governor; then he owned a bicycle repair shop; then, when automobiles came in, he was shrewd enough to take to selling them instead of bicycles; now he has about 13 million dollars in the bank, and firmly believes every American boy can rise like himself from trick bicycle rider to Governor of Massachusetts.

He enters his office. Four hard-boiled looking men take chairs about him. They have the iron faces and gimlet eyes of detectives; but they are a little higher than that in the social scale; they are the Governor's political advisers.

They are here to help him do his duty, the duty for which he gave up a pleasant holiday at the beach. All day delegations are to arrive, to plead with the Governor for the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In the narrow crooked streets of Boston the mobs of worried clerks rush about their business. The cafeterias are crowded. Taxicabs carve their way through the traffic. The cops sweat and worry. Everyone is tense. Buying and selling goes on as usual—nothing must ever disturb this in America.

But the newsboys are shouting, in a chant like the chorus of a mad futurist play:

"Sacco and Vanzetti Must Die, Must Die!"

And everyone mutters, converses, comments, worries. They agree that Sacco and Vanzetti must die—aren't they Italians? aren't they anarchists? But the clerks worry—the city worries.

Governor Fuller doesn't worry. He is genial as the delegations are ushered in. He takes the offensive. A liberal woman poet timidly tries to convince him that capital punishment is both wicked and inefficient. He puts her through a cool smiling catechism. What does she know about criminals? What does she know about law? She flounders and stutters, and then retreats in tears. The Governor smiles at his "political advisers"; they smile at him.

A labor delegation from New York arrives. They are right wing leaders in the needle trades who refused to call a protest strike against the execution, believing that friendly words with the Governor would be as effective.

The Governor regards them with a smile of pleasure. Before even that word-hero Judge Panken or that A. F. of L. poet Shiplacoff can utter a sound, Fuller has begun attacking them with questions. How do they know Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent? How do they know Judge Thayer was prejudiced? Were they present at the trial? Do they live in Massachusetts? They try to put in a few feeble arguments, but this irritates the Governor, so they desist.

They do not wish to offend him—it may prejudice him—they still believe there are stirrings of mercy in the chill millionaire's heart.

Two clubwomen arrive from Newport, R. I., women with important husbands. They are pink liberals, and they think the poor Italians should be given another chance, or at least life imprisonment, and they have had tea and dinners with the Governor's wife in the past, and they know Mr. Fuller is a good man. He listens to them, assures them politely he will ponder and pray over their fluttering words, and bows them out. They are rather confused, but hopeful.

Whitefaced liberals with big names troop in all day. They have followed this case, and until the last minute will not believe the fair name of America is to be sullied by the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. They believe in the pure white abstraction they call "Justice." They are sure one need only present the "facts" to the Governor. They believe in "reason." They believe that there are no classes or class war in America, but that this case is simply a miscarriage of "Justice."

Now they are bumping head first against the stone wall of the capitalist dictatorship and class justice. They are puzzled, alarmed, sickened by the Governor's smooth determination. They repeat whole pages of the "Nation" and the "New Republic" at him. They utter the thousand and one phrases dear to liberalism, but the Governor sheds them like a duck's back, and he politely teases the liberals. He is a realist, this governor; he is class-conscious, he despises liberals. But he is always polite.

They stagger out into the street, their world shattered. Liberal phrases do not soften a class-conscious Governor's heart. They can't understand it at all. And the Governor is smiling at his "advisers" and they are smiling at him.

From every corner of the world thousands of telegrams poured in on the Governor. They were last-minute, desperate messages from mayors, congressmen, labor organizations, churches, writers, Japanese, French, Italian, American, African. A whole world was pleading for mercy to two innocent men. It was the biggest event in recent history—this first international protest on a labor issue.

The telegrams arrived, but the newspapermen told their friends later something that they had not the courage to print, namely:—

That These Telegrams Were Never Read!

They were tossed into huge wastebaskets, and then taken away and burned by the janitor. They were on the floor, they were in the corners, they were cynically walked upon by the class-conscious Governor of Massachusetts—the electric-chair Governor.



Justice For Labor In Massachusetts

By Fred Ellis

(Continued on Page Two)

**"It's a Fine Day" --  
Said Gov. Fuller**

(Continued from Page One)

# MURDER AT MIDNIGHT

By A. B. MAGIL

In Memoriam Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Betrayed and Murdered In The American Class War, August 22, 1927.

The test of his humanity came when Mrs. Sacco and the sister of Vanzetti were ushered in. He listened to them long and politely, but with a set face. He catechised them, too, on the crime, and pointed out various facts that had "convinced" him of the workers' guilt.

This was at nine o'clock in the evening. The two women were too sad and nerve-wracked to argue with the Governor. They repeated pitiful unanswerable humiliating words; they asked for mercy.

The Russian Soviets have granted mercy to thousands of White Guardists who threw bombs, who invaded the country, who burned villages and slaughtered babies and old men. When one's enemy is no longer dangerous, one must be merciful. Revolutionists are not sadists; revolutionists do not believe in murder; revolutionists kill only in defense of the workers' cause; revolutionists have a great faith that some day there will be a red dawn on the world, and in the skies will be written the beautiful "word over all": Reconciliation.

But Governor Fuller was faintly annoyed at the two women, and would not discuss the matter of mercy. It is not a word in the legal books; it is not a word in the lexicon of capitalism.

He sent the women out in tears. He said: "I am afraid I will have to go through with my duty."

There is a pious legend among the voter-boobs of Massachusetts that Governor Fuller "is a good man." John Howard Lawson, in his satirical play, "Loud Speaker" strangely pre-visualized this by having his Babbitt hero run for governor on a platform with the single slogan: "Harry U. Collins Is a Good Man." It sounds like a joke, but in Massachusetts it is not a joke. Nearly everyone there believes that Governor Fuller is a good man, and that's why they vote for him.

It is a legend that has been carefully built up. Plumbers, paupers and policemen of Boston will tell you with tears in their eyes how Governor Fuller has never accepted a cent of his salary since he has been Governor; how kind he is to his wife; how he loves his children; how genial he is to his workers; how democratically fond he is of poker and beer; what a firm churchman he is; how much he gives to charity every year.

But this "good man" has for several years persisted in his determination that Sacco and Vanzetti must die. And he has whipped up a storm of newspaper prejudice against the men; he has schemed and plotted and framed careful publicity campaigns; he has followed his murder plan through like an expert criminal, he has slept on it month after month.

His mind was made up years ago. His investigation was a piece of political sadism. He knew he would find the men guilty; but he called in witness after witness, and taunted them, and jeered at them. One woman witness for the defense, it is said, left in tears. The Governor had hinted that she was the paid mistress of one of the lawyers for Sacco and Vanzetti.

On the last day of the trial, and returning the separate friends of Sacco and Vanzetti who came before him. Someone who went to see him said the Governor was radiant; his "mental attitude was that of a rooster flapping its wings." He really enjoyed this last day, when sobbing women came to him and knelt for mercy.

At precisely midnight Francis Fisher Kane, former Federal District Attorney in Pennsylvania, was in the Governor's office. He was telling the Governor of the tactics of the Department of Justice and its agents provocateurs, a situation he knows from the inside. He begged the Governor to relieve Sacco and Vanzetti until this federal angle of the case had been cleared up, and the files showing the part the Department of Justice had played in the Sacco case examined.

The Governor went on listening with his polite, satisfied smile. He pretended to be affected by these pleas, impressed by Mr. Kane's logic. He promised he would take the matter under advisement. A humorous murderer he is, a Massachusetts wit, an electric chair clown!

For when Mr. Kane came into the street, his heart beating with a wild, last-minute hopefulness as a result of the Governor's friendly smile, he was startled by the shouting of the newsboys.

They were shouting:  
"Sacco Executed at 12.19."

The execution had been going on a few miles away in Charlestown, all during those minutes when the Governor was politely pretending to listen to Mr. Kane's appeal. The Governor had known all the time that the juice was being released into the electric chair. The Governor had been baiting Mr. Kane. The Governor, that good man, had been having his last delightful thrill of sadism.

Yes, Governor Fuller is a good man. Yes, Massachusetts is a good state, and America is a good country. And all over the world there are millions who will never forget Sacco and Vanzetti, nor forgive the good people who murdered them.

VII.  
Go back, slaves, go back.  
Go back to the factories, the dancing machines.  
Go back, dancing slaves.

Noon.  
(The sun is a big round brass spittoon).  
Life seethes, blown up.  
Collapses like a pricked balloon.  
Night.  
"Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves."

VIII.  
Too intolerably blue, empty, shining, remote the sky.  
Too intolerably serene, calm the tall, greatwinded trees.  
Too green every leaf, every grass.  
Scared by no sadness, no blight even of the cool keen panting autumn.  
The brown stain of the taking away.  
Nothing to mar, no hunger of stamped-out growing, no cry  
Out of denial.

Trees lift strenuous leanness, raise petulant hands,  
drag darkness  
To them.  
Nothing, nothing to mar.

IX.  
Each sound is their sound.  
Life demands life.  
Beyond the pathos and the pain  
That humans martyr humans with  
Their blood shouts over all the earth  
Blood, red blood.  
My brothers' blood is on my hands.  
My brothers' agony burns my flesh.  
Agony. Blood.  
On my hands.

X.  
Pity the wretches that will sit in the cells  
Of Charlestown and of Dedham Jails.  
Pity the poor stiff that will come after  
To live a while in those exquisite hells.  
To live and hear always two voices, always the tread  
Of feet always, always dead.

Pity the fellows that will scrub the floors and walls  
Of Charlestown and of Dedham Jails.  
And never be able to wash away  
The great trembling stain  
Of Sacco's and Vanzetti's pain.  
("The men of this dying old society they brutally  
have pulled me away from the embrace of  
your brother and your poor mother.")

Pity the rats that will gnaw the moldy crumbs  
Of Charlestown and of Dedham Jails.  
And smell the smell of their blood  
And gasp.  
("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 wish to these rats. See things that I am not  
guilty of.")  
Pity them, pity them all.

XI.  
Sacco And Vanzetti Must Not Die!  
Shrill signs hurl the workers' cry.  
Strike. Protest. Telegram.  
Massachusetts doesn't give a damn.  
A million-throated workers' crying.  
Sacco and Vanzetti dying, dying.  
Sacco and Vanzetti dead.  
Dead.

WE SHALL NOT SOON FORGET!

XII.  
Hang up your justice on the sour-apple tree of  
your pride.  
Hand it up, I say, for vultures to feed on,  
For soft worm fattening, for the gladdening of all  
gnawing, ravenous things.  
Hang it up where its resonant stink will fill every  
corner and crack of the earth.  
Swing it, swing it.  
Hang up your justice on the sour-apple tree of  
your pride.

I.  
"Both are dead."  
Dead.  
Press the button. Turn on the juice.  
Dead.

Waiting, waiting.  
For what?  
Two wops to sit down in a chair  
And be dead.  
Show's over.  
Time to go home, go to bed.  
Time to forget, put it out of your head.  
Dead.  
(Death. Grim Reaper. Symbolic. Cloak. Hood.  
Scythe. Skull.)  
Dead.  
Both.

I walked out into the huge soft night.  
No light.  
Someone had strangled the stars.

II.  
Seven years to make a shroud.  
Seven years to make it strong enough  
To hold the whole of life.  
(Wonder how long it takes to make an electric  
chair?)  
Seven years for two wops.  
Dying.  
Dead.  
"Massachusetts is too proud—"  
Seven years to make a shroud

III.  
CITY  
JAIL  
HUNGER  
WORKER  
SUBWAY  
DEMPSEY  
BABE RUTH  
JESUS  
STRIKE  
STARVATION  
MURDER  
DEATH

IV.  
Three men in frock coats playing dice.  
Three men and a fourth playing with skulls.  
Fingers weblike and precise.  
Caressing calmly the fluttering dice.  
Harvard accents glide like gulls  
From lips like nooses hard and strong.  
What are the stakes? How long, how long?  
Four men in frock coats playing dice.  
Dice. Are they loaded?  
Loaded. Bloated.  
Four bloated frock coats playing with skulls.

V.  
And at two faces hangs the mask  
Of the immobile anguish of the years.  
This is the honorable task  
Of those bitten by subtle doubts or fears.  
Climb, you lousy wops, into your holes.  
The god of the Fullers and Thayers will care for  
your souls.

VI.  
Nights are made black for deeds like this.  
Nights are made black, muffled and secret.  
Press the button. Turn on the juice.  
Show's over.

And the corroding dawn.  
Waiting.  
Steals like a thief, trembling and ghastly white,  
Through the thick, bolted night.

The job is done.  
Whistles shriek in factory and mill.  
And the implacable sun,  
Climbing,  
Hangs splendid and terrible and still.



—Drawing by W.M. GROPPER



# American Workers Must Learn!

By W. W. WEINSTONE

Despite the fact that the history of the class struggle in America is filled with the brutality of the capitalist class, with violence and murder against individuals and masses of workers, there was a widespread illusion among a great number of people that Sacco and Vanzetti would not be executed.

This illusion affected not only the liberals and humanitarians in whose hearts "hope springs eternally," but the petty-bourgeois socialists as well. So brazen has been the frame-up, so threadbare the evidence and so profound the protest that these people believed the Massachusetts Bourbons would not dare go through with the sentence. But these petty-bourgeois liberals, humanitarians and socialists refuse to recognize the period in which we live—a period of sharp and decisive class struggle and of imperialist reaction.

These people failed to aid in mobilizing the masses of labor because they do not understand the position of American capitalism today and the transformation of America from a period of so-called "liberalism" and "democracy" to the stark reactionary country which it is today. The American capitalist class has always been vengeful and despotic toward the workers. Yet 1887 knew a Governor Altgeld who, still bearing the traditions of the pre-monopoly period, freed the remaining victims of the Haymarket outrage. The Fullers of today are the products of the monopoly period in which a despotic financial oligarchy rules with an iron hand over industry and government. It is this reactionary, imperialist oligarchy that murdered Sacco and Vanzetti.

Justice under American imperialism today is the justice of a Mussolini that knows no law but force and no weapon but murder toward the working class. In the days of Altgeld, American capitalism still found use of fine phrases and democratic gestures to delude the American masses. But that epoch was drawn to a close with the imperialist war when the governor who expounded the "New Freedom," Wilson, became the president who plunged America into the world slaughter, the author of the treacherous League of Nations and the collaborator of the enslaving Versailles treaty.

The Sacco-Vanzetti murder is the bloody seal that affirms the period of imperialist domination of America—the period of capitalist reaction, the period of raids and deportations against foreign-born workers, the period of imperialist war and decisive class struggles. This period knows no more of the America, an "asylum" for foreign-born workers. This is a period when America has become instead a huge penitentiary for all labor! What does this American imperialism care for the protest of international labor? It feels strong! Its treasuries are overflowing with the riches of the world. It feels and knows it is the banker to the world. With the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti it hurls a challenge to the working class. As the Caesars of old crushed the protest of their slaves and confirmed their power by stringing the limbs of their victims along the Appian way that all might see and tremble, so the American Caesars crushed the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti before the public gaze of millions, that the huge masses of workers may see the brutal might of American capitalism and submit unprotestingly to its yoke.

This is the reactionary America that speaks the language of the executioner. This is the America that keeps Mooney in jail, that hangs the Frank Littles, that prepares conscription laws against foreign-born labor, that prepares fresh attacks upon the wages and working conditions of American labor. This is the America that carried through the foul execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Petty-bourgeois illusions regarding this America means paralysis for the working class and in the end a betrayal to the struggle for the defense against reaction—a betrayal of the mobilization of the masses to crush the power of the capitalist class.

In this struggle for the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti, the socialist party and its allies, the Wolls and Greens, where they have not given direct assistance to these hangmen (as in the case of Green and Woll), have sowed illusions among the workers to expect mercy from these executioners of the capitalist class. American labor must learn its lesson. Unceasing class struggle! Only power, only might, only the full strength of the working class expressed in mighty industrial unions, in a powerful labor party, in revolutionary leadership of the labor movement by the Communist Party that had no illusions and has no illusions regarding the class enemies of the working class, can prevent future Sacco and Vanzetti cases. Away with the illusions of the cowardly petty-bourgeois socialists. On with a determined, unflinching struggle against capitalist masters—the executioners of our martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti.



Vose

## A Platform and a Slogan for Governor Fuller — The Murder Candidate

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

THE Minneapolis Tribune is another capitalist journal which breaks a lance against those who hold that Governor Fuller, mindful of the kudos which Cal acquired by getting credit for breaking the Boston police strike, decided to send Sacco and Vanzetti to the electric chair after Coolidge had stated that he did "not choose to run."

The Minneapolis organ of steel, railroad and flour milling capitalism brands such speculation as The Nation indulged in recently "a vile and ghastly insinuation."

WHY all the righteous anger?

Is it something now in the United States that capitalist politicians should try to ride into office with the support of the capitalist and middle classes grateful—for the crushing of a strike or the conviction of agitators and organizers of the working class?

It is of course a ghoulish business but does not the whole system rest on the ability and willingness of the capitalist class to squeeze the lifeblood from the masses in mine, mill and factory—and in case of resistance to kill enough to make the rest quit?

Fickert, the prosecutor of Tom Mooney was not too squeamish to make political capital out of his attempt to send Mooney to the gallows.

12:20 A. M., AUG. 23, 1927.

By WALTER SNOW.

The clock ticks on  
And the electric lights are still burning,  
But the minutes that have slipped by so  
casually since midnight  
Have seen Sacco  
And Vanzetti  
Breathe as well as I do now  
And then, like madmen, be strapped into a  
thing of steel  
And have the current that often lit their  
study books  
Run through their bodies  
Making them cease to think of their oppressed comrades,  
Unable to raise again their voices against tyrants  
And to even breathe  
Because the bankers, the judges and the priests so decreed.  
The clock ticks on  
But, starting with this very morning,  
Thousands who have been asleep before  
Will awaken

BORAH, the knight errant of middle class Americanism, rose to fame and fortune by reason of his services to the metal mining magnates of the Coesur d'Alene in the prosecution of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone. It was not his fault that the working class saved them from the hangman.

Senator Walsh of Montana was re-elected largely because of the votes bought and stolen for him by the copper trust as areward for his eloquent and patriotic justification of the murder of Frank Little.

At least a dozen lackeys of the lumber trust in the state of Washington stabilized their wavering political fortunes by smearing themselves with the blood of Wesley Everest, tortured to death by a white-collared mob in Centralia.

Was not the most famous utterance of Theodore Roosevelt that statement in regard to the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case by which he sought to prejudice the nation against them: "Murder is murder?"

WHO shall number the horde of little minions of coal, oil, steel, shipping, who swept into public office on the wave of gratitude from the ruling class aroused by the arrests, prosecutions and imprisonment of the I. W. W. during and after the war?

WHO can count the miserable little tools of Wall Street and its subsidiaries who were allowed to dip their hands into the campaign fund of the two capitalist parties by reason of their part in the "red raids" of 1919-20 which caused directly and indirectly the separation of families, unimaginable physical and mental suffering, and uncounted deaths?

WHY does the capitalist press rush to the defense of Governor Fuller?

It is evident that he has right and justice on his side, that in allowing Sacco and Vanzetti to be murdered he acted on precedent hallowed and sanctified by the endorsement it has from the most eminent, as well as the most humble, of American statesmen.

GOVERNOR Fuller should quiet at once all tendency toward "vile and ghastly insinuation."

He should, in a statement marked by the quiet dignity which the issue warrants, announce himself as a candidate on a 100 per cent American ticket with its official insignia an electric chair rampant on the charred corpses of two foreign-born workmen and the motto: "In hoc signum vinces." (By this sign we conquer.)

THE higher the office he runs for the more support he will get from the lords of finance and industry and his campaign documents, which should be signed by a bloody thumbprint, will make his signature known thruout the world.

Developments in Nicaragua and China make it almost imperative that the next president of the United States should have served an apprenticeship in murder.

But—  
No "vile and ghastly" insinuations.  
Let us stick to the simple and more horrible truth.



# THE MURDER OF TWO BR



**NICOLA SACCO**  
(1894-1927)

Born in Torremaggiore, Italy. Came to U. S. at age of 17, where he became shoe cutter. Worked in various New England cities. Survivors: Wife, Rose Sacco; son, Dante, 14; Inez, 6, born four months after Sacco's arrest. Active as organizer and speaker for years.



Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston worked ceaselessly to free the two workers. Vanzetti's letters to her from prison reveal in a poignant way his literary and intellectual interests.



50,000 workers crowd Union Square to demand freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti—in the face of machine guns, armored motorcycles, gas and tear bombs, and 2,000 cops.



Webster Thayer, who presided at the "trial" of the frame-up victims. His conduct at that time was violently prejudicial to the defendants, and even Fuller's reactionary committee described it as "indiscreet." When he sentenced Sacco and Vanzetti in Dedham last spring he didn't dare look in their faces once during the entire proceedings.



**JOHN SARGENT**

John Sargent, attorney general of U. S., who refused to permit examination of department of justice files showing conspiracy to "get" Sacco and Vanzetti because they were radicals.





# ER OF TWO BRAVE WORKERS



**BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI**  
(1888-1927)

Born in Valla Falletto, Italy. Unmarried. Came to U. S. in 1908. Worked as restaurant dishwasher and pastry cook in New York; in cordage mills at Plymouth, Mass. Blacklisted after strike there and began to peddle fish in Plymouth. Was active as speaker, and writer.



Despite the fact that the American Federation of Labor at five successive conventions demanded a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, its president was silent on the frame-up up to the last moment. Shamed by the tremendous labor demonstrations calling for their release, Green finally sent an apologetic letter to Gov. Fuller urging that the death sentence be commuted to life imprisonment.



Governor Alvin T. Fuller.  
Executioner of the two innocent workers. This manufacturer of Packard cars, his fortune valued at \$13,000,000, hopes now to step to a chair in the White House over the shattered bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti.

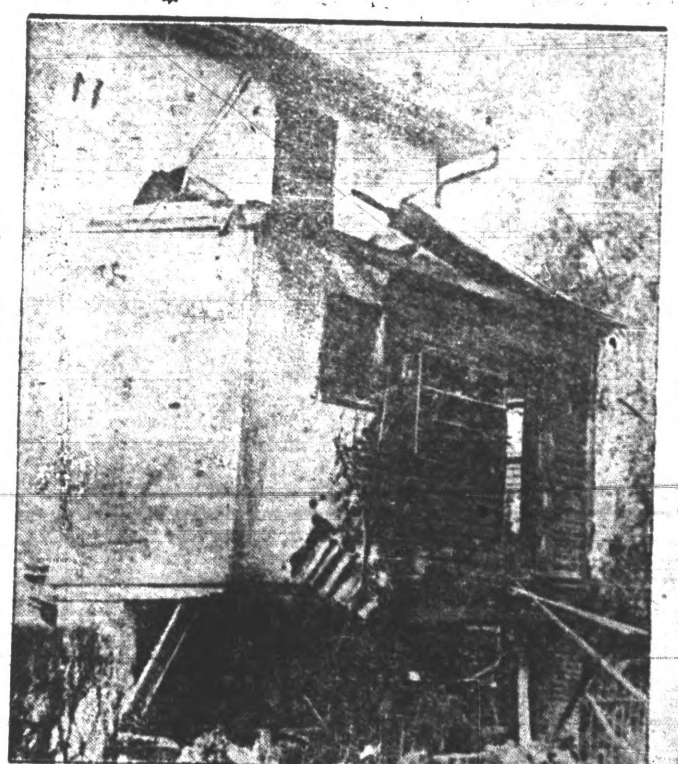


Fuller's "Advisory" committee: Straton, Lowell, and Grant. They gave the tone of respectability to the bloody verdict of the New England mill owners. Their report is a classic of prejudice, distortion and class hatred.

trial that fend-mittee sen-last once



**POWERS HARGOOD**  
Powers Hargood, former Harvard athlete, militant leader of miners. Arrested many times for picketing state house; in desperation police confined him in psychopathic ward of hospital for "examination."



"Mysterious" bomb explosion in Baltimore. Occupants were conveniently out of town at the time. These "accidents" usually occur when agents of capitalism are engaged in some particularly murderous act like framing Tom Mooney or killing Sacco and Vanzetti.



# "SHALL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN"

MONDAY at midnight they were murdered. The working class was not strong enough to stop it. Our shame, our grief and our indignation are fused in a universal desire to avenge their death. But how shall we do it?

1. **INDIVIDUAL VENGEANCE IS IMPOTENT.** Certain individualists who see society and its processes only as the work of good individuals and bad individuals have tried to concentrate their hatred upon Fuller or Thayer or Katzmann. They are hateful, contemptible, despicable creatures. Some day, when the working class has won power in America, our tribunals will call them to account for the murder of our comrades. But today the execution of individual vengeance upon them would not move the working class one step forward, would not weaken the frame-up system one iota—would rather strengthen it in the wave of reaction that would follow. There are a thousand Thayers on a thousand judicial benches, a thousand Katzmans functioning as district attorneys. If we were to execute one of them thru individual action it would only serve to delude our class into forgetting the frame-up system, into believing that Sacco and Vanzetti have been avenged, into forgetting the real culprit, the capitalist system and the capitalist control of government. Remove Thayer or Fuller or Katzmann from the scene and the system that created them and placed them in positions of power over the lives and destinies of their fellow men would create fresh tyrants to take their places. Judge Gary died last week but the steel trust continues to coin the sweat and the blood of workers into solid gold. If every individual directly connected with the Sacco-Vanzetti frame-up locally and nationally were to die tomorrow, the frame-up system would remain unshaken.

2. **WORKERS CAN EXPECT NO JUSTICE IN THE CAPITALIST COURTS.** If we think it is only because the judge happened to be Webster Thayer that Sacco and Vanzetti have been murdered, then we have learned nothing from our bitter experience. But there is a lesson that every worker must learn. It is taught by the Mooney case, it is taught by the Centralia case, it is taught by the Anita Whitney case, it is taught by the Min Wagon Drivers' case and the Stone-cutter's case, it was taught by the Haymarket case, it is taught by every injunction, every verdict of guilty against a picket, every violation of free speech, press or assemblage rights. That these dead comrades of ours shall not have died in vain, every worker in our land must be made to understand it. "Workers can expect no justice from the capitalist courts."

3. **OUR GOVERNMENT IS SO CONSTRUCTED AS TO THWART THE POPULAR WILL.** The Declaration of Independence speaks of a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind." Mankind throughout the world voiced the opinion that these two men were innocent and must at least get a fair trial. But all agencies of government involved showed an indecent contempt for the opinions of mankind. And they also showed contempt for the opinions and will of the American people. The distinguished "progressive" Senator Borah even thought it would be "cowardly" to yield to popular demand. Yet judges and senators and governors are supposed to be "public servants" and express the will of the people. But our government is so constructed that the very opposite is true. Setting aside the fact that wealth controls press and pulpit and school, the big political parties, individual politicians, appointments, nominations and elections, courts, executives and legislatures—considering the question purely from the standpoint of abstract democracy, —it is evident that our government with its system of checks and balances, of judicial legislation and contempt proceedings, of precedent, of "independent" judiciary, of growing executive power, of appointment, of two-party system, etc., etc. is not responsive to popular will. Now Senator Borah the "progressive" makes a boast of this fact.

4. **OUR RULING CLASS WILL NOT GIVE UP ITS POWER WITHOUT A STRUGGLE.** Socialists and liberals have tried to promote the illusion that America is "different." Altho history shows no single instance of a ruling class that has relinquished its power and privileges without a struggle, America is supposed to be a democracy responsive to popular will where a majority opinion will be sufficient to destroy the capitalist system and institute a better social order by just voting it in. The American master class is supposed to be ready to give up its privileges without a struggle. The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, proves the opposite. Every frame-up case, every strike, every injunction, every use of police or troops in strikes, proves the opposite. When steel workers fight for an eight-hour day—not to abolish capitalism but just to live a little more decently under it—the troops are called out. When miners fight for steady employment or a living wage—not challenging the system but fighting for a small additional share of the wealth they produce—barbed wire and machine guns are set up, mine guards and militia called out, meetings broken up, speeches forbidden, pickets slaughtered, leaders arrested and local unions smashed by force. If the American ruling class uses all the power of wealth and government, of courts and armed force against a mere fight for a living wage—to what

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

lengths will it not go against the workers if they attempt to abolish the capitalist system? Any one who cannot see the character of the American ruling class and its use of government must be blind indeed. American labor history is full of bloody pages and it has not yet challenged the capitalist system in serious combat. The Colorado massacre, Centralia, Homestead, McKeesport, Gary, West Virginia, Lawrence, Ludlow, Lowell, San Pedro, Everett, Butte, Calumet—to name any industrial center is to call up visions of a bloody battle in which workers were attacked by armed force not for challenging the capitalist system but merely for asking for the right to organize or to receive something approximating a living wage. Our ruling class is more arrogant and more brutal than most and will never surrender its privilege and power without a struggle.

5. **WHILE USING EVERY LEGAL RECOURSE, WE MUST BUILD UP A MASS MOVEMENT FOR WORKERS' DEFENSE.** Our admiration for the devotion and self-sacrifice of the men and women who made up the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston must not be permitted to blind us to one fatal and fundamental mistake that they made in their conduct of the case. We must draw all the lessons so that such tragedies will be combatted more effectually and prevented in the future. That mistake was a too great and exclusive dependence upon the legal processes of the courts and a deliberate effort at discouraging demonstrations and mass protests in America. They had seven years in which to build up a powerful mass movement which would have terrified the Massachusetts officials and their masters and stayed the hand of the executioner. They did not sufficiently understand the class mechanism involved, did not see the lesson of the Mooney case, the Centralia case and a thousand other frame-ups. They confidently counted upon an abstract classless "justice" and nourished too many illusions in the legal processes of the capitalist courts. They kept the workers believing that the courts would give justice, that the governor would give justice. For seven years when they might have been building a powerful mass movement to save Sacco and Vanzetti they discouraged the building of such a movement. Only after Fuller's decision a few weeks ago, did they perceive their mistake (or rather exhaust their illusions) when it was already too late and only a few weeks remained to build up a mass movement to arouse the popular will and save our two comrades. It is correct to use and exhaust every legal process that capitalist procedure allows but militant workers can expect no justice from capitalist courts except where the courts dare not carry thru the act of injustice. The only protection for militant workers is the organized power of the working class and all its allies and sympathizers. It was mass protest that saved Tom Mooney from death. Had we begun seven years ago, we could have built such a movement for Sacco and Vanzetti that they would not have dared to kill them.

6. **A PERMANENT DEFENSE COMMITTEE IS NEEDED.** The Sacco-Vanzetti case is not an isolated one. Acts of injustice, arrests for labor activity, frame-ups, occur in every strike and in every struggle. Dramatic cases ONCE THEY HAVE BEEN SUFFICIENTLY DRAMATIZED can and

no doubt should beget their special committees. But until they have attracted national and international attention? And the cases that never attract national and international attention? Such a permanent defense committee can handle EVERY case, dramatic or undramatic, grow with every case, learn with every case so as to be more efficient, more versed in the ways of courts and lawyers and frame-ups and publicity and protest, build up a continuous and cumulative public opinion against the whole system of class injustice and frame-ups, unite all branches of the labor movement so that anarchists do not have to depend only on anarchists, Communists on Communists, socialist on socialists, trade unionists on trade unionists, or a milliner let us say only on other milliners for defense. Even where a case is dramatic enough to warrant a special committee, a permanent defense organization could build a special defense committee more quickly and more efficiently than a bunch of inexperienced and bungling amateurs. Such a permanent defense organization representative of and open to all shades of opinion in the labor movement and ready to defend all cases of class injustice is the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE. It must be built and strengthened.

7. **WE MUST UNITE THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND STRENGTHEN IT.** The weakness of the American labor movement proved fatal in the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti. As long as it is divided, as long as there are innumerable warring groups, as long as militants are expelled and opponents of militant struggle are in control of the official machinery, our master class can afford to laugh at the feeble protest of the working class. That Sacco and Vanzetti shall not have died in vain, we must organize the unorganized, unite the warring unions, strengthen the labor movement, make it all inclusive of every tendency, develop its militancy and fighting spirit, eliminate its corrupt bureaucracy that shows no militancy in fighting capitalism but much militancy in fighting against militant workers.

8. **THE SOCIALIST PARTY BY FIGHTING UNITED FRONTS IS WEAKENING THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND SERVING CAPITALISM.** The biggest demonstrations for Sacco and Vanzetti were held in New York in Union Square. In these demonstrations the International Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, the Emergency Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, the International Labor Defense, the I. W. W., the Workers Party, various trade unions and other labor organizations united. The socialist party refused to join in the demonstrations. A strike was called for August 22nd, the day set for the execution. The socialist party condemned the strike and instructed its adherents not to participate. Business agents of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers under socialist control instructed bosses in various shops to fire any worker going out on strike. When the Workers Party wrote a letter to the socialist party saying: "However great our differences may be we must set them aside and unite our forces in this hour of need," August Claessens threw the letter on the floor in the presence of the messenger who gave it to him. Thus the socialist party did its share to weaken the movement to save Sacco and Vanzetti and to perpetuate division and dissension in the labor movement. Notable exception must be made in the case of Alfred Baker Lewis in Boston who was actively engaged in united front activities with Communists, anarchists and

(Continued on Page 7).

## Our Murdered Comrades

By HARRY MEYERS.

So you've left us Nicola Sacco—  
And you too, Bartolomeo Vanzetti—  
You've sampled American democracy as it is understood in Boston.  
Boston, the hub of culture.  
Here they grind out the blood of the workers  
So that some be-spectacled, anemic, knock-kneed young idlers might stay.  
That they might acquaint themselves with the prophets of the past  
while stoning the prophets of the present.  
That they might admire the art of Dante, Boccaccio and other  
Italians of the past and slaying the Italians of the present.  
You have left to join the other fighters of the class-struggle.  
The Chicago anarchists who paid with their lives for the 8-hour day.  
Ling the impetuous, Parsons the studious, Fisher the warm-hearted,  
Engels the fiery one, and Spiess the scholar, torch-holders of the future.  
You have left to join the other fighters of the class struggle,  
Joe Hill, the singer divine who fell before a firing squad in Utah.  
Wesley Everest, unsexed and lynched by the 100%'s of Centralia.  
Frank Little, the I. W. W. organizer lynched by the forces of smug respectability in the Anaconda town of Butte.  
Farewell, Sacco, Vanzetti—fighters, supreme heroes magnificent—  
We'll never forget.  
THE DEATH WATCH



**"--Shall Not Have  
Died in Vain"**

(Continued from Page 6).

other tendencies in the labor movement. He did valiant work in the defense and we marched together on the picket line, went to jail together, united our forces in a common effort to make the Boston strike successful, etc. Some day men like Alfred Baker Lewis and Upton Sinclair and others who believe in labor unity not labor division and in fighting capitalism not Communism will realize that the socialist party officialdom believes otherwise, that it cannot be removed, that it uses the Baker Lewises and Sinclairs as fig leaves to cover its reactionary nakedness and they will break with the party which serves capitalism by dividing and weakening the labor movement.

9. "PROGRESSIVE" CAPITALIST POLITICIANS PROP UP THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IN TIME OF CRISIS. Brandeis's refusal to intervene on the silly pretext that he had "personal relations with people interested in the case" and Borah's shameful declaration that no self-respecting government would yield to "the opinion of mankind" or demonstrations of popular will—are outstanding evidences of the fact that the so-called progressives are props of capitalism who in time of crisis find "progressive" justifications for reactionary acts.

10. WE MUST BUILD A LABOR PARTY AND FIGHT FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT. The necessity for labor to unite its forces politically, clean out the agents of the capitalist political parties from leadership in its own ranks, and sweep the boss-controlled judges, legislators and executives out of power is an obvious lesson from the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

11. WE MUST FIGHT FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. It is not merely a Thayer or a Fuller or a Katzmann but the system that breeds Thayers and Fullers and Katzmans, that exploits workers and persecutes them for activity on behalf of their class—it is the capitalist system that has murdered our two comrades.

12. THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT CANNOT BE DESTROYED BY TERROR. History is on our side in the class struggle. All the forces of social development lead to the strengthening and ultimate triumph of our movement. An act of class brutality and terror, such as the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, in place of frightening the workers into desertion of our movement has the opposite result. It arouses and awakens countless fresh hosts of workers. The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti has disillusioned millions of workers with the capitalist courts, has stirred up their militancy, driven them to the left, put them in a fighting mood. It has weakened the ruling class by unmasking it. It has strengthened international proletarian solidarity by teaching the workers of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia and North and South America to act together in a common cause. It has brought new sympathy and support to the labor movement from individuals still under the sway of belief in capitalism and its institutions. Those who already sympathized have become more actively sympathetic. The Heywood Browns and Edna Saint Vincent Millays, the Lawsons and Dos Passos and innumerable other writers and artists have been brought closer to the workers' movement, had their sympathy aroused and some breath of our struggle and our cause must necessarily pass into their writings, serving to undermine capitalism ideologically and prepare the way for a better social order. Sacco and Vanzetti fought for the organization of certain unorganized workers and against capitalism. A little handful of workers followed them and knew of them. Today they have been made into martyrs and heroes and millions follow them into a struggle for the organization of the unorganized and against the capitalist system. In life their voice reached only handfuls. In death their voice is heard round the world. Sacco and Vanzetti are taking their own vengeance. That which was weak in them has perished. That which was strong has been magnified into a powerful force that makes the mighty tremble in their places of power. Ours is the task of keeping alive the memory of their struggles and sufferings, their heroism and their martyrdom. Of carrying on the cause of labor for which they died, of organizing the unorganized workers, of unifying labor's forces, of putting an end to the frame-up system. Of abolishing capitalist justice, capitalist control of courts and governments, of abolishing the system whose enemy and whose victim they were. Let us pledge ourselves that they shall not have died in vain. Let us pledge ourselves to carry on the cause for which they fought and died until the workers are free and capitalism no longer exists on the face of the earth. That is their wish. For that they died. For that we must live and fight. And in that manner will the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti be avenged.

# The Labor Movement and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case

By WM. Z. FOSTER

THE American ruling class has dared to execute our comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti. In the face of a world-wide protest of the workers and notwithstanding the condemnation of everybody with even a tinge of liberalism in their makeup, the exploiters, throwing aside even the pretenses of legality, have ventured to do away with these two loyal champions of the working class. It was a brutal act of terrorism, which will bring no profit to the capitalists. It was a cynical example of class justice which will waken masses of workers to the hypocrisies and horrors of capitalism.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case far transcends in significance the framed-up charge of murder which furnished the technical basis of it. It is a political issue of the most vital importance. The workers in other countries understood this infinitely better than here. Hence, their monster demonstrations. The capitalists, strong and arrogant in their profits of imperialism, wrung from the exploited workers all over the world, saw in the Sacco-Vanzetti execution an opportunity to deliver an attack at the labor movement, through its most advanced section, the left wing. Hence, the tyrants struck their deadly blow.

In this great class drama what a sorry role was played by the men who stand at the head of the trade unions. Once again they have acted as agents of the employers. Instead of trying to save Sacco and Vanzetti and thus check this offensive of the employers against the workers, they have facilitated

their execution. Great mass strikes, militant demonstrations of all kinds were all that could have saved Sacco and Vanzetti. But these labor lieutenants would have none of such movements. They blocked every effort at real struggle against the executioners of our comrades. Their long course of treachery was climaxed in their last minute statements admitting the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti (statements of A. F. of L., Chicago Federation of Labor, etc.) and asking that their sentence be commuted to life imprisonment.

The betrayal of the workers by their false leaders evidenced by such treacherous policies as support of the old capitalist parties, refusal to organize the unorganized, establishment of the B. & O. Plan, etc., receives just one more expression in their shameful failure to support Sacco and Vanzetti. It was such treason by the so-called leaders of labor that jailed Mooney and Billings and that has kept them imprisoned for all these years.

Sacco and Vanzetti are dead, but the cause for which they died goes on, fertilized by the blood of these new martyrs. It is our duty to make the capitalists pay as dearly as possible for these cold-hearted murders. Millions of workers all over the world are aroused and indignant at this attack upon their leaders and their organizations. It is our big task to point out to them the full political meaning of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, to teach them that the same forces that murdered our comrades are those that oppress the workers in the shops and subject them to the bitterest of exploitation.

The Sacco-Vanzetti execution must be the signal for a renewed struggle against capitalism on every front. One phase of this must be a drive to free all political prisoners. To the eternal shame of the labor movement such men as Mooney, Billings and others remain year after year in jail.

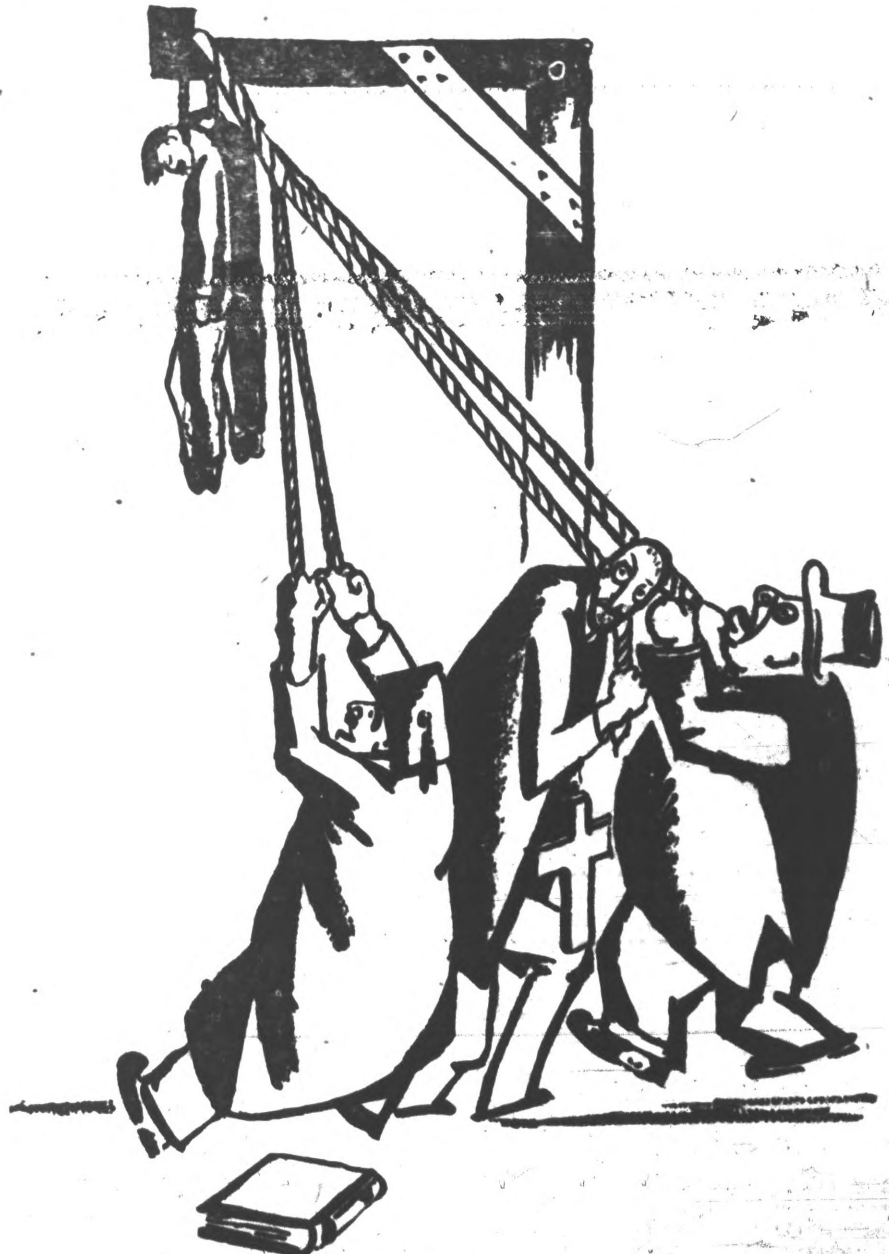
Every trade union, every shop must be made to ring with protests against the assassinations of their comrades. The masses of workers must be turned out to great memorial protest meetings in all industrial districts. August 22nd must be set aside as a day upon which the proletariat all over the world demonstrates against the murder of our comrades and for the emancipation of the workers.

## WITHOUT THE BOSSES.

Tune of America.

By MARGARET CHIKI.

All Comrades called to thee  
Ruthenberg of liberty  
To you we turned.  
Long did we want your lead  
To rid us with great speed,  
Of bosses proud and strong  
But it won't last long.



**READ THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY**

The Church, The Courts, The Colleges—All Hangmen.

—By M. Pann



# "AUGUST 22"

The date of August 22 we commit to our memory. It becomes an historic. Capitalism got its pound of flesh. The working class got its lesson. August 22nd becomes a calanion call to struggle. August 22nd becomes our banner.

Capitalism is strong enough in America to deal the working class a brazen blow. But capitalism is not sure enough of its powers to be magnanimous. If there were a wave of revolutionary unrest in America, they would not dare to murder Sacco and Vanzetti. If there were no revolutionary unrest in the world at large, they would have been shown "clemency" and "fairness." As it is, their murder was decided as a lesson and a warning to the working class.

Sacco and Vanzetti were placed in jail in 1920 in consequence of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered in 1927 in consequence of the peasant and workers revolution in China. American capitalism says to the American workers, "Beware! If you are influenced by revolutionary ideas, you will have many Saccos and Vanzettis." American imperialism says to the imperialists of the world, "Look up to me! The thing you are afraid to do at home I do before the eyes of the whole world. Follow my example!"

American imperialism is a leader of world imperialism. (The world rulers are envious of their American brethren, though ostensibly protesting against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti—in the interests of national rivalry!) American imperialism has more means to bribe the Socialists and the union leaders who, at the crucial moment, came to its aid by rejecting the general strike, and by a weak-kneed demeanor. But the tens of thousands who quit work on that memorable day of August 22nd to crowd Union Square, the tens of thousands

## Sacco, Vanzetti Will Not Be Forgotten

By ALEX BITTELMAN

The rulers of America have gone through with the murder of our two brothers. Despite the demands of the toiling masses the world over, despite the demands of the workers of America Sacco and Vanzetti were killed to satisfy the class hatred, the interests and "prestige" of the American capitalist class.

Sacco and Vanzetti will not be forgotten. Already their suffering and martyr deaths have moved to protest and struggle against imperialist capitalist reaction in the United States large masses of workers all over the world. Already millions of workers are opening their eyes to the shame and hypocrisy of capitalist class justice. Already the oppressed working masses are beginning to realize the menacing implications of the developing capitalist offensive upon the labor movement.

As far as the working class is concerned the martyr deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti must mark a fresh concentration of effort for strengthening the struggles of the workers against the capitalists. The American labor movement must draw all conclusions and learn all the lessons from the action of the American capitalist class in murdering Sacco and Vanzetti. More organization, more consciousness and more militancy—this must be the answer of the working class to the challenge of American imperialism.

Sacco and Vanzetti will not be forgotten. Already they have become a living part of the struggle of the oppressed masses all over the world. Already they have become symbolic of the suffering and misery of the millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers oppressed and persecuted by American capitalism. Already their death is becoming the rallying cry for struggle against capitalist oppression with renewed efforts in all parts of the world.

The attack upon the labor movement must be resisted and working class power must be mobilized to repel the capitalist offensive. The working class militants against whom this attack is directed in the first instance must redouble their efforts towards the awakening and mobilization of the American working class. Only in this manner will we fulfill our duty to the working class and to the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Political consciousness and political struggle must rise in scope and intensity. The masses must learn—and are learning—that reliance can be placed upon anything else but the organized power of the exploited masses. Intensify the struggle for the organization of the unorganized. Push forward with greater vigor the strengthening of the trade unions and their radicalization. More efforts must be invested in the struggle against imperialism, militarism and war. And more energy must be devoted to the promotion of independent political action by the workers in the struggle against the capitalist dictatorship and for the rule of the working class.

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

who struck and demonstrated in other cities,—they understand the meaning of the murder, they have accepted the challenge, they, on their side have given a strong and solemn warning.

Shoulder to shoulder and arm to arm they stood at Union Square. It had not been so easy to quit work at 3 o'clock. One risked one's job, one risked one's bread. The watchful eye of the official union machinery followed every striker, noted the names of the rebels, put them on the blacklist. Tomorrow they may find themselves on the street. Today they could not withstand the call to strike. Today they are burning in feverish anguish at Union Square.

And what are the words that meet with the greatest acclaim? What are the slogans that kindle the hottest flames? It has long been known that the victims are innocent. One has learned to see the guilt of the Thayers and Fullers, the Lowells, Brandeises, Holmeses. One has paid them the tribute searing contempt. One has not the slightest hope of favorable action on the part of the State. One is tried of compassion, exhausted by pain, poisoned by hate. What else can be said? Where is the way out?

But something has happened. Relief has come. An avenue of release has been opened: a line of work appears to beckon!

"We shall build up the labor organizations," the speakers says, "in the first line the labor unions; we shall turn them into instruments of struggle against capitalist exploitation; we shall turn them into instruments of power to be able to halt the hand of the assassin in cases like that of Sacco and Vanzetti.

"We shall build up a labor party to represent the laboring masses. We shall utilize the labor party as a united front of all the toiling and the exploited against the power of their exploiters. We shall create a political weapon to frustrate such attacks as the frame-up on Sacco and Vanzetti.

"We shall build up a mass Communist Party to march at the head of the entire labor movement and to unify all its activities by one clear aim along a clearly defined road—the abolition of capitalism."

There is a new meaning to those familiar words. New sparks kindle in the eyes of the assembled. A stone weights melts in their souls. "We shall work," "We shall struggle," "We shall build today and tomorrow," "We shall strengthen our ranks and steel our wills," the speakers say, and it is in the hearts of the masses that they read those words. It is like an oath. But still, the most wonderful, the actually liberating word has not been uttered. Now it comes.

"Only when the working class will hold the power of state will such trials against working class fighters become impossible." With power in the hands of the working class just punishment will be meted out for such crimes. "Proletarian justice will secure freedom for the working class!"

Waves of approval are surging from the human sea. Eyes sparkle. The ideology of class struggle, hitherto a set of thoughts, becomes a live emotional experience. Every drop of the workers' blood feels that they need working-class courts, working class laws, working class rule, a working class state! They life their eyes and see mounted policemen above their heads, machine guns on the sidewalks, armed motorcycles ready for action, revolvers and clubs everywhere, and they say to themselves, "This is the same power that has already dressed Sacco and Vanzetti in the garb of death. This power is a servant of our masters, it has been created to secure their domination. We cannot rely on it. We must have our own power in order to live like human beings."

The future has touched the assembled thousands with the fingers of a message. They felt clearly that it is there, that it is not a work of imagination. Thousands of workers of a sudden realized that they were citizens of a new world, for which they must fight, for which it is worth to suffer. In the light of this new world the death of Sacco and Vanzetti assumed in a new aspect. They do not die in vain. Their work is not lost. Their spirit lives. We will march on to that goal where they were driven by their impetuous souls. We shall arrive.

And that evening in front of the Freiheit,—was it not an oath of class unity, a merging of thousands of spirits in one spirit of revolt?

Nobody had called, nobody had organized the vigil. They came in thousands, many-tongued, many voiced; Italians, Greeks, Russians, Yanks. They stood in the dark while their spirits glowed. They stood in silence while cries pierced the dark sky overhead.

They lived with Sacco and Vanzetti. They went with them through the last hours of their lives, through the last agonies. A miracle happened. Fifteen—twenty thousand became like one as if in a prayer,—but not to god. Fifteen—twenty thousand vowed something which they will carry in their souls to the very grave,—but not a word was

uttered. Only eyes spoke in the dark. Only hearts hammered in a heavily laden atmosphere. There was pain akin to a curse. There was sadness as gripping as trumpets. Tears in the eyes—steel in the blood. A lump of suffering in the throat—lightnings overhead.

Night vigil. Night light. Union square trees made heavy with dew. Night-cool iron railings. Broken up figures in the Freiheit windows. Engine throb of armed motorcycles nearby. White light over the news sheet in the Freiheit window, like a lone, forgotten tear. Green, red, yellow and blue auto lights in the streets. Black, thick serpents of human bodies—one line, another, a third. Closeness of strangers, mutual understanding without words, glances of friends who are afraid to speak lest they burst in a howl. Dark building walls all around. The sky sinking lower, heavier, darker, almost touching our heads. Tension, bated breath. Uncontrollable tremor. Then the news in the Freiheit window:

### SACCO MURDERED.

A wail, a shout. A storm-tossed forest. Sharp cries are cutting the thick howl, knife-like. Man weep. Old, hardened men weep. Thousands curse.

### VANZETTI MURDERED.

The Square is a storm-lashed ocean. Human waves rise, clash, wind, thunder. Lights flare. Horns shriek, engines vibrate. The walls sway. The ground underfoot shakes. Everything moves in a circle, around and around. Only the forlorn light in the Freiheit window shines in vain. There is nothing more to say.

Out of the chaos, the "International" is born. The song grows. The song gains momentum. This is the answer.

### "ARISE YE PRISONERS OF STARVATION"

We will come. We will not forget. We have gained something on the date of August the 22nd. We will make it bigger, deeper. Sacco is alive, Vanzetti is alive—in us, with us.

We will come.

We write down the date: August 22, 1927. We write down the names: Sacco and Vanzetti.

## "CARRY ON!"

By ROSE BARON

Sec'y Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee.

The fight is not finished. It has merely begun. The memories of our martyred comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti must be perpetuated. The heroic efforts of the many comrades who voluntarily aided us in our work must not be in vain, nor must the gallant deaths of our glorious dead be in vain.

Soon the Emergency Committee will no longer exist. It has served its purpose. We were beaten by sheer force of barbaric power.

We appeal to all those who aided us in the fight not to give up hope. We ask them to remember the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti. We ask them to think of their revolutionary ideals.

The work of rescuing class war prisoners will go on. The International Labor Defense, the creator of the Emergency Committee, will continue to function for framed-up workers in the prisons and courts of this corrupt country.

We have just witnessed a titanic episode in the age-old war of the classes. We have made many new friends. To those friends as well as to our old comrades we ask that this harrowing experience be made a bond of sympathy which will enable us to meet our enemies in the future with unbroken front ranks.

To the hundreds of thousands of workers who struck and demonstrated in Union Square we say that their efforts were not in vain. You are the spearhead of the militant working class. Carry on.

What are we to do so that the struggle may not be in vain?

Build the International Labor Defense. Read the Labor Defender. Take an active part in freeing all class war prisoners. Urge your fellow-workers to do the same.

Help to build The DAILY WORKER. When all other newspapers either ignored or falsified the facts on the issue the WORKER pointed to the correct path. It exposed criminal Thayer, the reactionary Fuller and the murder-bent Advisory Committee.

We have been asked to tell of the work which we did in the effort to burst the bars of Charlestown Prison and bring Sacco and Vanzetti back to the ranks of our fighting army. There is little we can say. Let us not talk of what we have done but to what lies ahead of us.

Build the I. L. D.

Build The DAILY WORKER.

Build a wall of Labor against the frame-up system.

In this way only can we carry on the class war effectively. Only in this way can we avenge the death of our dear comrades who died gloriously with revolutionary messages upon their lips.