

# THE NEW MAGAZINE

Section of The DAILY WORKER

SATURDAY, OCT. 8, 1927.

This Magazine Section Appears Every Saturday in The DAILY WORKER

ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor

## THE CAUSE OF THE MARTYRS

By JAMES P. CANNON

**S**TANDING on the scaffold forty years ago the Haymarket martyrs warned the hangmen that their case was by no means ended. "The day will come," said August Spies, "when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today." Events are bearing testimony to the truth of this assertion.

The Fortieth Anniversary of their martyrdom shows their memory greener than ever before. Their spirit was alive in the great movement for Sacco and Vanzetti, and the militant workers generally, especially the rising generation, are learning to esteem more highly than ever before the priceless heritage of the pioneers who died for the cause of labor in November 11, 1887. Their very names have become a battle-cry to stir the blood of the revolutionaries of today, and we dare assert they will be heard in the triumphant shouts of the final victory of the working class tomorrow.

The holding of the Third Annual Conference of the I. L. D. on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Haymarket martyrs gives to that occasion an exceptional significance and importance. "Third Annual Conference of International Labor Defense—Fortieth Anniversary of the Haymarket Martyrs." The very words ring like a slogan, and indeed they are a slogan, for they signify the binding together of the fight of the living workers with the imperishable memory of the illustrious dead. A true commemoration of the men of Haymarket could not be a funeral affair—their tradition and spirit are a call to battle.

The memory of Parsons, Spies and their comrades in life and death were very dear to those two who followed them on the path of martyrdom a few weeks ago in Boston. Sacco wrote with great warmth of "the celebration day of the martyrs of Chicago, that in the mind of humanity oppressed never will be forgot." In our estimate we put Sacco and Vanzetti beside the giants of 1887, and properly so, for they were of the same heroic stature and they died in the same fight, which was not an individual nor an isolated one in either case. The rope which strangled the Haymarket martyrs, the chair which snuffed out the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti, the prison walls which confined them all—these instruments of torture and death are weapons in the class war employed against prisoners taken on the field of battle.

The martyrs of 1887 understood this well and used the courtroom and the scaffold as a forum from which to proclaim it to the world. Sacco and Vanzetti understood it no less, as all their utterances testify, and they knew and understood also—what so many around them did not know and understand—the indissoluble bonds which united them, their cause and their fate, to the other militants of the labor vanguard who languish in the prison

cells of capitalism today or await trial before the courts of the class enemy.

"See if you cannot do something for Tom Mooney," Vanzetti used to entreat those who came to see him in Charleston prison. "Tom is a sick man. He will die in prison soon if something is not done for him," he told a writer who visited him during his last days.

These great and noble spirits who died in the electric chair felt themselves to be, as they were in fact, blood-brothers to all the persecuted, imprisoned and tortured fighters of the liberation struggle of the workers. They saw the great movement of the masses which was set into motion in their behalf as a class awakening and they wished it to become a liberating force for others as well as for themselves.

Sacco told Judge Thayer on the day the death sentence was pronounced: "I know the sentence will be between two classes, the oppressed class and the rich class. . . . That is why I am here today on this bench, for having been of the oppressed class."

Shall the Sacco-Vanzetti case be "wound up" now? Shall the record be closed and the fight be stopped and the magnificent movement dissolved?

The other side has proposed this. They have agreed to a conspiracy of silence in the papers about the case, they have burned the films and they want us to "forget." Having killed Sacco and Vanzetti they want also to kill the Sacco-Vanzetti movement or, at least, to reduce it to a sterile cult, separate and apart from the burning issue of the others who suffer in prison or face trial in the same cause.

Our task as militants is to defeat these aims, and the Third Annual Conference of the I. L. D. will be the concentration point for the higher development of our fight. We will not allow the Sacco-Vanzetti movement, called into life by their examples and by the untiring energy and sacrifices of the class-conscious workers, to be dissipated. The memory of Sacco and Vanzetti, like the memory of the Haymarket martyrs, must become an inspiring force in the living struggle of today and tomorrow. The various elements which compose it must be bound more closely together, and the full class significance of the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti made clearer to all the workers who participated in the fight. The driving power of the Sacco-Vanzetti movement as a whole, enriched and broadened in its outlook by its merger with the glorious memory and tradition of the Haymarket fighters which shines with brighter luster than ever before on the Fortieth Anniversary of their martyrdom, must be directed, with all its driving power into a new fight for the liberation



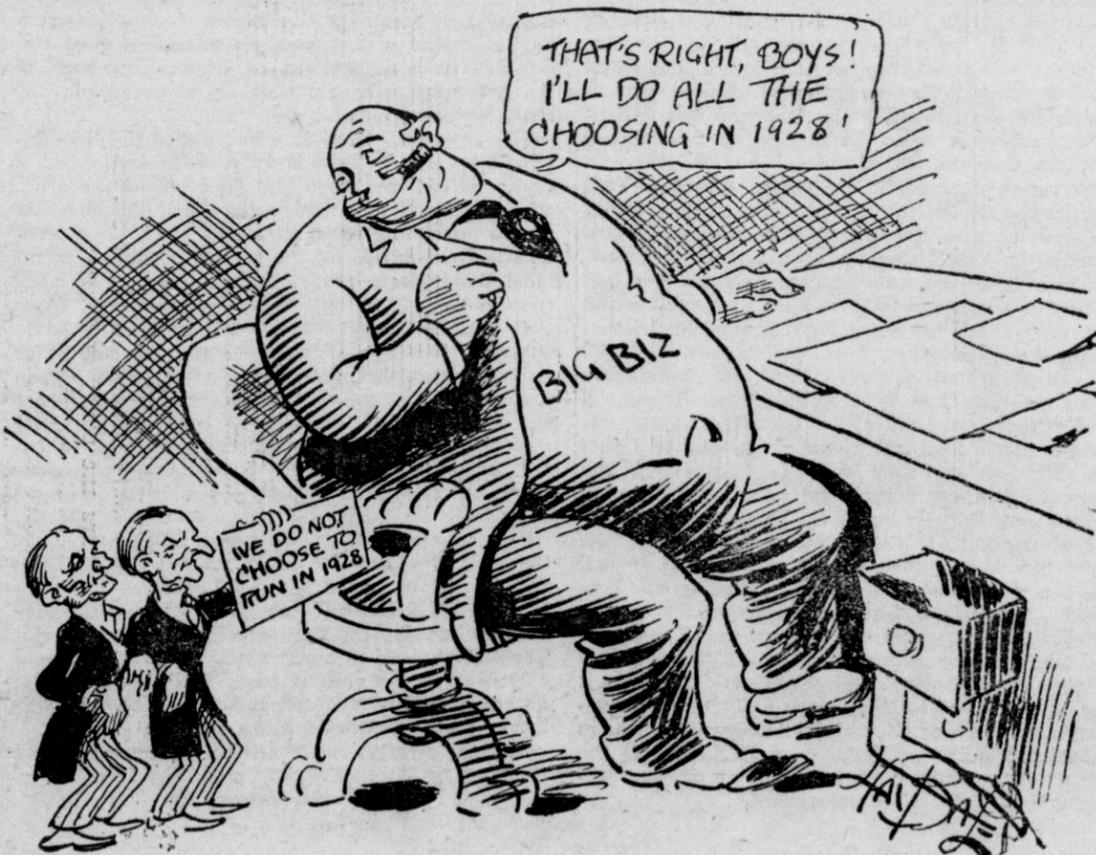
of the class fighters, many of them obscure, some of them all but forgotten, who suffer in the prison hells of capitalism today.

The basis of this fight which we take up anew in the name of the martyred dead is the united front of all workers, regardless of party or viewpoint, who stand on the platform of the class struggle. This was the line and policy of the heroic dead. The guiding lines of Parsons, Spies and their comrades harmonize with our united front conceptions and can very well illuminate our pathway in the common fight today. For they were men of the broad movement and the open fight; all sectarian and clique tendencies were alien to them.

The Boston martyrs likewise stood for common action and united struggle, despite the stupidly sectarian and even reactionary influences which surrounded them. Vanzetti told me with his own lips that he believed in the intrinsic worth of all demonstrations and protests and the necessity of united action of all forces when the issue to be fought for is a common one. In a letter to me dated April 11, 1927, signed jointly by Sacco and Vanzetti, they say: "When free and in solidarity with others, we have believed that there are circumstances under which a unity of efforts is desirable. . . . What is essential is good faith in each and all, for that would harmonize and direct to the common good all the different elements, characters and actions."

There is power in heroic example to stir the imagination of the masses and inspire them with that courage and solidarity and faith without which there can be no fight and no victory. The martyrs of 1887 and those of August of this year have alike set before the present and the coming generation an example of noble dignity and selfless daring unsurpassed in the history of all times and all classes. And when these qualities of personal conduct are combined—as they are combined in both instances—with clear-eyed vision and practical wisdom for the regulation of the common fight, then the story of their life and death becomes indeed a heritage of immeasurable value. The class movement of the workers proudly claims that heritage as its own and draws upon it for strength and inspiration in its struggle for a better and higher life.

The Third Annual Conference of International Labor Defense will mark a mile-post in the development of the American working class. The class-conscious elements meeting there will organize their forces for new battles against the lynch-law and frame-up system of the exploiters and will bind together, more closely and indissolubly than before, the issues and struggles of today with the undying tradition of the martyrs of the past. The Third Annual Conference of the I. L. D., meeting on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Haymarket martyrs, and animated in its work by their spirit and the spirit of Sacco and Vanzetti, will demonstrate before the world that the aims of the executioners have been defeated. The cause of the martyrs is alive and is fighting on to victory.



# The International Labor Defense In Action

ON the eve of the Third Annual Conference a brief review of some of the campaigns conducted by International Labor Defense in the past year or so will show that while they have been of a variegated nature, covering every field and section of the labor movement, there has, at the same time, been a unifying thread that has connected one task with the other in a logical harmony with the work of creating a mighty instrument of struggle and defense for the American working class.

The work of the past period that overshadowed all else was the mobilization of a world-wide movement for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. The International Labor Defense was the organizing center for the protest movement in this case. The I. L. D. does not believe in confining defense work to the tortuous and corrupted channels of the courtrooms. It was the I. L. D. and the militant workers everywhere that succeeded in taking the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti out of the poisonous atmosphere of the courts, and raising it as a banner to rally angry, determined armies of the people in every part of the world. Almost at one blow, in swerving the course of the movement from the hopeless, drab channels of the vindictive machinery of class law, into the vivid, tumultuous torrents of the mass movement, the legal red tape that bound Sacco and Vanzetti like Prometheus was cut like the Gordian knot. The case of Sacco and Vanzetti was transformed from a "law suit" into a burning issue of the class struggle.

Hundreds of mass meetings were arranged by the I. L. D. for Sacco and Vanzetti. The country was flooded with leaflets, and special issues of its official organ, "The Labor Defender." Hardly a demonstration or gathering of workers for Sacco and Vanzetti occurred without the striking poster of the I. L. D., drawn by Fred Ellis, having its place at the head of it. The Sacco-Vanzetti united front conferences organized throughout the country, which embraced hundreds of thousands of organized American workers, were formed in almost every case upon the initiative and with the energy and experience of the I. L. D. The magnificent international movement of solidarity, which pounded with sledge-hammer blows upon the prison doors until the very last moment, was greatly aided by the I. L. D. which appealed by cable to the sections in various countries and to the executive committee of International Red Aid for renewed support to the protest movement.

At the core of all the work of the I. L. D. has been the belief that only in the creation of a powerful movement of the workers, on a non-partisan basis, but pursuing a class policy, lies the safeguard for

By MAX SHACHTMAN  
(Editor of the "Labor Defender").

the successful conduct and conclusion of all its activities. This belief has characterized all the work of the International Labor Defense.

The work of building a movement for Sacco and Vanzetti was not, of course, the beginning and end of the activities of the I. L. D. Literally dozens of other workers and fighters have in the past year been defended, always on a non-partisan basis. The list includes men and women arrested in all parts of the country, belonging to different parties and organizations and holding various views, and victims of capitalist persecution in other countries.

There is the fight against the continued persecutions of the Passaic textile strikers who are being victimized because of the struggle they carried on for almost a year against the mill barons. Many of them have been imprisoned already, on framed-up charges, and indictments still hang over the heads of numerous others. Most of the dependent families are in a destitute condition and the financial aid that the I. L. D. sends to them every month is a real material aid to them and a spiritual support to the strikers in prison.

The fight carried on by International Labor Defense against the deportation to Italy of Enea Sormenti, one of the foremost working class opponents in this country of fascism, probably saved him from imprisonment or death at the hands of the black-shirts. Through our efforts Sormenti was permitted to depart for whatever other country he desired.

Sormenti is not the only foreign-born worker against whose deportation the I. L. D. has fought. With the same vigor it opposed the deportation of the three anarchist workers in Fall River, Massachusetts, and the Czecho-Slovak workers' leader, Emanuel Vajtauer. At this moment, it is conducting the defense of Stephen Zinich, a South Slav Communist editor, who is being held for deportation by the authorities.

The I. L. D. has not been lacking in the fulfillment of its international obligations. It is no exaggeration to say that the campaign of I. L. D. successfully destroyed the value of "Bloody Queen" Marie's tour and brought to the attention of thousands of American workers the frightful terror against workers and peasants in Roumania. The new wave of persecution in Poland and Esthonia was exposed in the United States by the I. L. D. and warning pro-

test sent the capitalist executioners of that country that the progressive workers of America demanded an end to the reign of terror in those lands.

The I. L. D. has been able in large measure to coördinate and centralize the work of legal defense for workers in this country. Thousands of dollars have been spent in the past year for legal defense in the scores of large and small cases that have come up in court. Every strike and action of the workers has resulted in arrests or indictments, which the I. L. D. spared no resources to fight. In many cases the prompt and proper action of the I. L. D. has been the means of releasing the arrested worker and enabling him to resume his place on the firing line.

Not the least important work of the I. L. D. has been its policy of sending regular monthly checks for five dollars to all imprisoned class war fighters. It means a great deal to the men in prison to know of the movement and interest among the workers on the outside, and to be able to purchase these little comforts—fruits, candies, cigarettes and tobacco—that they are otherwise denied by their jailors.

Equally important has been the contribution sent to the dependent families of imprisoned workers. The twenty dollars they receive every month from the I. L. D. is of considerable aid in relieving the hardships of the mothers, wives and children of these soldiers of labor who have sacrificed their freedom for their devotion to the movement of the working class.

The popularity of the I. L. D. has grown throughout the country, steadily, since its organization in 1925. It is as yet small and weak in comparison with its gigantic tasks. But it is an upward-striving movement of solidarity which draws ever larger bodies of workers into its fighting ranks. The coming conference will mark a new stage in this development and give a new impetus to its work.

Every new struggle brings with it new victims of class persecution and justice. The frame-up system does its work with the cold-blooded regularity of a juggernaut. The I. L. D. has thus far proved a dozen times over its value to the working class and the labor movement by its militant class fight for labor defense. The signs of coming great struggles, which are already now apparent, are also harbingers of greater battles that will be fought in the movement of labor defense, the movement of the great solidarity. The work that the I. L. D. has already accomplished permits one to say that it will be found in the van of the struggle—a shield of the working class.

## A REPORT ON CHINA

AT the executive meeting on July 28th a paper was read by Comrade Losovsky on the character and outlook of the revolutionary movement in China.

Comrade Losovsky pointed out that the counter revolution had already virtually engulfed the whole of China. Of course, the differences between the Peking, Nanking and Wuhan generals and their respective civil political advisers had not entirely been composed. Nevertheless, the fact was there that Wuhan had ceased to be a revolutionary centre, that the power of authority had passed into the hands of the militarists, and the workers' and peasants' organizations had been destroyed.

How had the Wuhan revolutionary government descended to such a stage, to sanction the military coup d'etat and to allow the destruction of those elements which had carried it into office?

"While in Wuhan," Comrade Losovsky said, "I frequently heard the statement made by prominent Kuomintang leaders, and even by some Communists, that China had no bourgeoisie of her own, that the entire big bourgeoisie consisted of foreigners. This seemingly innocent theory furnishes the key to an understanding of the position of the left wing of the Kuomintang. For, if the whole big bourgeoisie consists of foreign imperialists, and the Kuomintang fights only the foreign imperialists, then the ranks of the Kuomintang should be open to all the elements of the native Chinese bourgeoisie, and the Kuomintang organization should protect the interests of all the bourgeoisie groups. Of course, this theory has no foundation whatever in the actual facts. There are considerable and influential elements of purely Chinese big bourgeoisie, who own important industrial, transport and commercial enterprises. This bourgeoisie is endeavoring all the time to make use of the antagonistic currents which spring up in the process of development of the Chinese revolution.

"As the national armies continued their advance northwards and approached the important industrial centres, the struggle between the classes, which the Kuomintang leaders had been trying to direct into the channels of legal industrial arbitration and tame organizations of the peasantry, began to break out on the surface. The clash of interests within the united front of the Kuomintang became revealed as soon as the national army came within sight of Shanghai. We have also witnessed the intensifica-

By A. LOZOVSKY

tion of the class struggle on the territory of Hunan and Hupei. The April split in the Kuomintang party and the treachery of Chiang Kai-shek did not arise from a dispute over platforms and programs, but on the pretended campaign of ousting "foreign influences," of having Borodin and other counselors removed. Chiang Kai-shek gained thereby credit not only in the eyes of the big bourgeoisie, but also in the eyes of the Nationalist sympathizers among the petty bourgeoisie. His words about Borodin the foreigner being an obstacle to the success of the revolution had their effect. One must also bear in mind that the split was sought also by the imperialists, who acted through their armed forces and their diplomats. Two conditions had been put to Chiang Kai-shek by English, American and Japanese diplomacy: a rupture with USSR and a rupture with the Communists, promising him in return a whole series of economic and financial favors. This was the line chosen by Chiang Kai-shek, who began by breaking with the Communists, whilst hostility towards the USSR came as an automatic sequence.

"The split in the Kuomintang party and the formation of two governments—that of Nanking and that of Wuhan—proved a source of great friction within the Kuomintang ranks which grew in direct ratio to the growth of the workers', and particularly of the peasants' movement in Hupei and Hunan. A good deal was written about the objective circumstances which drove the peasants to take to fighting. Mention ought to be made, however, of the particular features which render the peasant movement so exceedingly intense. These features consist, first of all, in the exceptional density of the population in the provinces of Hunan and Hupei, which affords good facilities for united action. Another characteristic feature consists in the unique cohabitation of twentieth century social relations and tenth century survivals in present-day China, a mixture of capitalism and feudalism. There is a whole number of localities where there are no industrial workers at all, and the leading role belongs exclusively to the peasants' organizations. Yet the actions of the peasants bear the stamp of organization and of political consciousness.

"It is interesting to note the ideological forms taken on by the campaign of the big bourgeoisie and the military reaction against the peasants' and workers' movement. At Hankow, for instance, a theory was evolved about so-called "excesses" and "diseases of leftism." This theory consists in the assertion that the Chinese workers' and peasants' movement is still in a stage of infancy, that it has not yet grown mature, and that therefore it suffers from "infantile left diseases," resorting to "excesses" of every kind. The term "excesses" is used here to describe such actions as are characteristic of any revolutionary upheaval, such as the arrest of thievish officials directly by the people, the donning of a silk-hat upon a usurer's head (a token of degradation according to Chinese notions), and so on. As excesses were also described the most elementary industrial actions of the workers, such as the presentation of demands for a weekly day of rest, for shorter hours, etc.

"The peasants' movement had scared the Kuomintang leaders. As the peasants' movement grew, it began to encroach upon the interests of the army officers, the trading bourgeoisie, and the elements of the population associated with them. The peasants' movement had hit the pocket of many a prominent Kuomintang leader. Efforts began to be made to curb the zeal of the "unripe" workers and peasants' movement. At the same time it ought to be observed that the Wuhan government had never enjoyed real power, that virtually the power was in the hands of the military. It is for this reason that the counter revolutionary coup had been so easily effected in Wuhan. On top of this was the fact that the trade unions and the peasants' organizations were led almost exclusively by intellectuals, and that the system of appointments prevailed, whereby the Kuomintang party had placed its henchmen in the mass organizations, which made it easy to liquidate the workers' and peasants' unions.

"It is difficult to understand the Chinese situation without knowing the structure of the Chinese army. The make-up and the methods of the military forces operating in the various parts of China do not at all correspond to what we understand by a modern army. In the matter of army organization the Chinese army reminds one of the hordes commanded by Slav princes in pre-historic times. The Chinese gen-

(Continued on page 7)

# Frame-ups in the American Class Struggle

FOR the first time in the history of the American working class a great wave of protest against the frame-up and murder of two workingmen finds in existence an organization able to make their struggle, torture and death an integral part of the national and international class struggle.

The judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti will be welded into the fighting tradition of the world working class movement by the conference of the International Labor Defense to be held in New York City November 11, 12 and 13—the fortieth anniversary of the Haymarket martyrs.

The date of the conference has in itself great significance. Due to the deliberate concealment of the real meaning of the execution of the Haymarket martyrs by a labor officialdom anxious to avoid the stigma of militant struggle in connection with its corrupt craft union policy, comparatively few workers have been allowed to know that the murder of the Haymarket martyrs coincided with the struggle of the American workers for the eight-hour day and was part of the price paid by the workers in the course of that struggle.

But still more culpable has been the conspiracy of silence on the part of labor officialdom in connection with the deep political significance of all the classic frame-ups of American labor militants which have given the word "frame-up" a special connotation in international circles.

These frame-ups form a chain whose every link is duplicated by a corresponding link in the chain of American capitalist-imperialist development.

Every time American capitalism has been preparing to take another step in its career of robbery and oppression, every time it has been preparing to tighten its grip on the natural resources and the masses of this and other countries, there has appeared, as part of the class struggle, and as one of the principal weapons of the ruling class, an attempt to murder by legal process, leaders of the labor movement and the working class.

To celebrate each new period in its history American capitalism has plucked human sacrifices from the ranks of the workers. The altars of American capitalism may take on new architectural forms, the ritual chanted by the priests of capitalism may have discarded the savage minor notes, the electric chair may displace the knife of obsidian, but the class character of the victims never changes—always they are workers.

Each gigantic frame-up marks a historical period in the life of American capitalism.

This is the Marxian explanation of this American institution—far more typical of America than the formal democracy which fools think it negates.

1887—the Haymarket martyrs swing from the scaffolds.

In 1886 American capitalism was emerging from the competitive period. The owners of the huge fortunes founded on Civil War graft and augmented by the period of outright looting of the natural resources which followed it, were pooling their power and laying the foundations for the era of trustification which approximately two decades saw completed.

New burdens were placed upon the working class. They could no longer combat with old methods the rising might of the trusts. Hours could be shortened only by united action on a scale far wider than had ever been attempted before.

Always the ruling class picks out for its victims those individuals with a political doctrine which tends to synthesize the struggles of the masses. They pick those of the working class who see farther than the mass and who put forward a challenge to capitalism as a system. Capitalism is not concerned with the fallacies of revolutionary doctrine—it is concerned only as to whether the workers who voice them are actually leading other workers to struggle in a given conflict, broadening and deepening it.

Thus it happens that anarchists, syndicalists, socialists and Communists have, during various historical periods, been singled out for persecution.

As American capitalism in 1886 struck at the working class in order to make easier its drive toward centralization, it fixed on anarchists whom it believed were giving to the eight-hour movement a political character dangerous to capitalism's further progress.

1887—Haymarket Martyrs—Passing of the competitive period of American capitalism.

Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer and James Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners were framed up in 1906. They were charged with the murder of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, a bitter foe of the metal miners' union.

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

(National Committee Member of the I. L. D.)

These leaders of the most militant union the American labor movement has ever produced, were kidnapped in Denver, Colo., and every effort was made to send them to the scaffold.

More class-conscious and aggressive than it is today, the American labor movement rallied to the aid of these workers and they were saved. The eloquence of Gene Debs aroused millions of workers to the class meaning of this frame-up.

To what period of capitalism did this frame-up correspond? One will seek in vain in the official declarations of American labor officialdom for any explanation. Yet to the working class this connection of the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone frame-up with the rise of American capitalism is of the greatest importance.

In 1906 the trustification process had reached the mining regions of the Rocky Mountain area—the last stronghold of competitive capitalism in a basic industry. (An exception must be made of coal mining where special conditions intervened to prevent the rapid completion of the process.)

Great struggles were taking place between the capitalists of metal mining—Clark, Daly, Heinze, etc.

Combines were being formed under the control of Wall Street. Especially was this true of copper and zinc. The Amalgamated Copper Company, the forerunner of the Anaconda, was crushing Heinze. The biggest and richest properties were coming under the control of various Wall Street groups and losing their individual competitive character.

The Western Federation of Miners, with its control of wages and working conditions, its militant policy and its long record of victorious struggle, stood in the way of the triumphant onward march of Wall Street. It was decided that it must be smashed.

It was. The Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone frame-up was part of the process. Only a shadow of the union was left with Butte Miners' Union Number One its strongest center. In 1914, seven years after the frame-up, Butte Miners' Union was destroyed and trust capital was left in complete control of the metal mining industry.

1906-07—Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone frame-up—Completion of trustification in basic industry.

In 1916 the American ruling class was preparing to launch its imperialistic program on a world scale. The House of Morgan had loaned the allied governments billions of dollars.

These loans were endangered by the might of German imperialism which the allied nations alone could not overcome. A little blood bath would harden the American masses for the still sterner tasks which they would be told to carry out as the dream of world conquest expanded.

The first period of trustification was over. Tribute was flowing in from foreign nations where the surplus profits of America's marvelous industry had been invested. The provincialism of the



PICTURE OF WORKER, WHO HAS BEEN EVICTED BECAUSE HE WAS UNABLE TO PAY THE RENT, WEEPING OVER DEMPSEY'S HARD LUCK

American population had to be replaced by a lust for a place among, or even above, the great European powers.

Preparedness parades were the order of the day. Patriotism was the watchword and such subversive acts as the organization of exploited workers must be discouraged.

Two birds could be killed with one stone.

The rabble could be shown that it was unwise to follow men who were against imperialist war and tireless in their efforts to strengthen the organizations of the workers.

Some one threw a bomb into a preparedness parade in San Francisco.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, after the American workers had torn the noose from their necks, still waste their lives away in California prisons.

The House of Morgan had its way. The working class was driven to the shambles, one by one their scanty privileges vanished under the pressure of "war necessity." Mooney and Billings became numbers on the prison roster.

1916—Mooney and Billings—American imperialism was ready to enter the world war and begin a new epoch in its struggle for world domination.

In 1920 the war fever was still at a high pitch in the United States and Sacco and Vanzetti were two among the thousands of workers suspected of revolutionary tendencies who were arrested, imprisoned and deported.

They were held for seven years by the inquisitors—held until their march to the sacrificial altar, and the burnt sacrifice of their bodies, would fit into the historical mosaic of the American frame-up.

When they were murdered their deaths marked, as had the torture and deaths of other victims of the classic frame-ups, the entry of America's ruling class into a new period.

The House of Morgan militarized the American masses for "a war to end war."

But as Sacco and Vanzetti uttered their last words in the Massachusetts death-house, the rumble of a new war was heard by those workers whose senses have been sharpened by their battles in the first line of the class struggle.

1927—Cinders which once were Sacco and Vanzetti—a world war in the making. The offensive against the Soviet Union enlists the best minds of the British ruling class. The defense of the fatherland of the world's workers becomes the duty of every proletarian.

The drive of American imperialism for world domination is on in full force. The Morgan adventure in 1917 has paid huge dividends. Tribute is paid to Wall Street in golden streams.

Small trickles are diverted to bribe and debauch the official leaders of the labor movement. They sell themselves to American imperialism while everywhere the labor movement is being beaten down.

Once again the American ruling class, leaving one epoch and entering another, christens its new program with the blood of worker sacrifices.

But this time the working class will understand.

No longer shall the criminal conspiracy of silence on the part of the misleaders of labor serve to make these frame-ups appear as arbitrary incidents, something separate and apart from the whole struggles of the exploited masses.

The Third National Conference of the International Labor Defense will at one and the same time link historically the frame-up system of American imperialism with its bloody assaults along the whole front of the class struggle, and forge against it a weapon that can and will be wielded by the working class to the end that the high priests of Wall Street will find their altars barren of worker sacrifices from now until the might of the workers shall overturn forever the edifices on which so many of their comrades have died.

To American imperialism the Third Annual Conference of the International Labor Defense will say: "We have read the record and it is too long."

"Not another worker's name shall be numbered there."

"Our purpose is to defend but you will find that part of the world working class movement as we proudly claim, we have learned well the lesson that the best defense is the strong attack."

"We level our attack at the frame-up system in the name of the Haymarket martyrs, in the name of Haywood, in the name of the Centralia I. W. W.'s, in the name of Mooney and Billings and in the name of Sacco and Vanzetti."

Every worker who is loyal to his class will support the Third National Conference of the International Labor Defense and strike a blow at American capitalist class justice typified by the frame-up system.

# A Working Class Epic

By JOSEPH FREEMAN

DEEP in the memory of class-conscious American workers rankle the Haymarket executions, the blood of workers in Colorado and Centralia, the frame-up of Tom Mooney and a hundred other incidents of the class-war which lay bare in a flash the brutalities of the prevailing system of society.

Such incidents enter into the tradition of each succeeding generation of workers as it takes up the task of emancipation. And it is good that they are remembered. It is good for American workers to remember and pass on to their children the story of Frank Little and the story of Joe Hill; above all it is good for them to remember and tell over and over again the story of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

No single episode in recent history has lighted up with such terrible power the whole skeleton of American capitalist society as the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. Every element in that society was tried and tested by this historic case. The industrial and financial oligarchy, the subserfient courts, the press, the educational institutions, the police and the army, the patriotic societies and the department of justice; the lukewarm A. F. of L. bureaucracy; the honest deluded liberals and those who only posed as liberals; the entire labor movement of America, with right, left and center; its anarchists, socialists, and Communists; the legal profession, the artists, the passive "public"—every section, every class, not only in America but all over the world—every group was stripped bare by the Sacco and Vanzetti case and its true nature exposed.

The story of Sacco and Vanzetti, therefore, becomes important not only as the story of two individual workingmen murdered by the capitalist state; but as the story of contemporary capitalist civilization. It is a story so simple that it is hard to tell. The countless motions, appeals, legal phrases, newspaper articles, leaflets, and demonstrations of these seven years have naturally obscured the severe outline of the story; yet when it is clearly told it has the power and depth of a passion play. For it is the story of any two class-conscious workers at the cost of whose lives the capitalist state enforces its principle of private property.

The story has been told many times, but never until now completely, flesh and blood acting against a social background. In "The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti" by Eugene Lyons, the International Publishers Co. presents the first and so far the most authentic history of the two men and of the issues involved.

Lyons has had the advantage of being associated with the Sacco and Vanzetti case from the very beginning. He was on the inside of the case, and watched it develop from day to day, at the time when it was dismissed with a few lines by the capitalist press and when even the labor press neglected it, failing to realize its importance. Every detail of the case is now of tremendous importance in retrospect. At the start few realized that the arrest of two obscure Italians would develop into a symbol of the world class struggle. Legal arguments have obscured the dramatic succession of events; here they are lucidly outlined by a mind saturated with the facts and gifted with a sense of words and of human and social values. The result has been a work that has the value of a historic document, accurate in detail and logical in presentation; and at the same time moves with the drama and power of a good novel.

The author begins with Vanzetti's childhood in Villa Falletto where he lived a life "remote and placid" in the house of comfortably-fixed parents; and of Sacco in Torremaggiore, equally pleasant in its South Italian setting. Both dream of America, the land of opportunity; and like so many millions of other Europeans follow their dreams to these shores. They arrive, Sacco at seventeen and Vanzetti at twenty,—unknown to each other and not even dimly guessing the far-off fate in store for them.

In a fine chapter called "Intruders," Lyons describes the lot of the immigrant in America. It happens to be the story of two Italian immigrants in Massachusetts; it might as well be the struggle of any other two immigrants.

"Until yesterday Vanzetti was a distinct personality. He had a family, traditions, roots in the ground of Villa Falletto. There was continuity and meaning in his life. But no sooner had he stepped on American soil than these things fell away from him. He became a 'dago' and a 'wop,' his name a jumble of letters and of no consequence, his language and his mannerisms fair game for the burlesquers. He became factory fodder, a 'hand,' scarcely reckoned by his hosts as a 'white man.'"

The same is true of Sacco. Both men are scorned not only by the native bourgeois but the native skilled worker.

The story goes on to trace the "Americanization of Two Immigrants," and again it might be the

story of a million immigrants battling for the right to live in a highly mechanized industrial country which is the antithesis in every way of the little semi-feudal villages left behind in Italy.

Life, however, begins to teach Sacco and Vanzetti. They begin to think about themselves and their position in society. Vanzetti reads history, philosophy, poetry and that great fiction which sounds stranger than truth because it deals with more profound truths which we do not face in every day life. The two men learn class-consciousness from experience and from revolutionary literature. They join radical groups; they get close to the American class struggle.

"All that happened in these years was implicit in the situation when Sacco and Vanzetti were first arrested. It was implicit in their own histories of hard work and lofty dreams in a strange land. Everything that happened developed almost spontaneously.

"Therein lies the power and the importance of the drama. This story of two alien workers in America is an epic of all aliens and of all workers in America. Sacco and Vanzetti were chosen for their epic role almost accidentally. They proved themselves big enough to fill it. They demonstrated what grandeur there may be in simple, modest workers. With every tortured hour of their ordeal they expanded, even their image on men's minds expanded. They found powers of endurance, a clarity of understanding of their own plight in relation to the plight of their fellow men. They never wavered, never complained.

"And they died like heroes. Even their enemies exclaimed in awe-struck admiration. As to their friends—for them old frayed words like 'martyrs' and 'heroes' have become young and real. They have acquired names and a history."

—From the forthcoming book, "The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti," by Eugene Lyons.

gle. Here too their story assumes epic greatness precisely because it is not unique but typical; because Sacco and Vanzetti are not leaders but rank and filers—revolutionary workers like thousands of others toiling in the depths of the masses, doing their daily chores in the working class army. Their nobility is that of simple workers who have begun to understand.

"I learned," Vanzetti said, "that class consciousness was not a phrase invented by propagandists but was real, vital force and that those who felt its significance were no longer beasts of burdens but human beings."

But these two thoughtful workers, struggling for

## To the Comrades of the Toulon Revolt

Hail Comrades!  
Those of the Potemkin  
salute you!  
Those of the Revolution everywhere  
send you greetings!

Poor food, bad living conditions,  
the papers said.  
These are the sparks  
that set off conflagrations.

From your prison windows  
you waved flags  
stained crimson  
with your own blood,  
singing the Internationale!

A mere handful you were,  
unarmed.  
Before your daring  
the earth trembles!

You, too, have shoved the reluctant world  
a little further  
toward the inevitable Dawn!

HENRY REICH, Jr.

the emancipation of their class, do not live in a vacuum. The author paints their background. New England, with its declining textile industry, its decadent Yankee aristocracy is battling against waves of immigration and against the rising trade unions. The great Lawrence strike breaks out in 1912. A year later we find Sacco helping conduct a strike in Milford. Vanzetti also becomes a "goddam agitator," punished by the blacklist.

Against this background of New England factories, strikes, and labor agitation the figures of Sacco and Vanzetti become human and their subsequent fate intelligible. By taking part in the struggle against the brutal rule of the textile barons they are making it possible for a judge to say some day, "the defendant's ideals are cognate with the crime." They become the "enemies of society," i.e. of capitalist society.

More than that. America enters the war. The government of bankers and industrialists turns loose an army of spies against the "enemy within." With the aid of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, radicals—especially foreign-born radicals—are hunted down, arrested, and deported. The American ruling class suffers from a "red nightmare." Sacco and Vanzetti are active on behalf of some comrades caught in the net of the department of justice. They have prepared a leaflet showing up the imperialist nature of the "war for democracy and civilization." They go about their daily work, Sacco as a shoemaker and Vanzetti as a fish peddler.

Suddenly they are arrested. They imagine the police wants them for a political offense. They understand capitalist society too well not to realize that they are "guilty" of wishing to overthrow it. They contradict themselves on examination in order to protect other class conscious workers. But the fact is that they are charged with robbery and murder at South Braintree and Bridgewater.

They breathe freely knowing they are innocent of the crimes charged. And perhaps if they were merely two ordinary individuals they would have been freed; but from the very beginning, the prosecutor, buying for blood, dragged out the radical records of the two men and from that moment they were doomed.

The rest of the story is history, though many of the most striking details are collected for the first time in Lyons' book. Analyzing New England's fears for working class protests the author traces the lies and contradictions of prosecution witnesses. He invests the various figures with flesh and blood. We get full length portraits of Thayer and Katzmann, Fainting Lola and the boy who lied on the witness stand and retracted their testimony and then again retracted their retractions; the various pistol experts; the defense attorneys, including Fred H. Moore, whose figure looms heroically in the Dedham courtroom; Governor Fuller and Judge Grant; above all Sacco and Vanzetti themselves, holding to their social faith throughout seven years of torture. The book also tells in a lucid way of the legal battles, the appeals and denials; the workers' demonstrations all over the world and the pressure brought to bear by the ruling class to crush the two men who had become the symbol of working class revolt. The struggle is followed step by step to the final moment when American capital, in defiance of mass protests in every country including this one, asserted its will and killed Sacco and Vanzetti.

"If it had not been for this thing," Vanzetti said to Judge Thayer shortly before his death, "I might have lived out my life talking on street corners to scorning men. I might have died unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for men's understanding of men as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

Of the many true, and beautiful and strong words which Sacco and Vanzetti said during their seven year struggle these are among the best, as are those letters urging their fellow workers outside of prison to carry on the battle against oppression and for emancipation.

This story of the "Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti" will reach workers in every country; it is already being translated into Russian, German, Italian and other languages. The book is illustrated with photographs of Sacco and Vanzetti; Judge Thayer; Governor Fuller and others of the leading figures in the case; as well as a number of the best cartoons on it which appeared in various newspapers over the world. No American worker can afford to miss so clear and moving and authentic a presentation of a great American working class struggle.

# British Imperialism and India

The following article by Comrade Saklatvala, member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and member of the British parliament was written by him for the Communist press after his return from a visit to his native land. Saklatvala is the only Communist in the British parliament and his constituency is the working class district of Battersea, where he is extremely popular among the workers despite the opposition of the reactionary labor leaders.—Editor.

I HAVE been to India and I have come back. Whilst I was there events were daily happening which would make me pity Great Britain more than India, and after I returned I see events happening here which, without the imperialist hold over India, would not have been possible and which are dragging the British working class on their downward path.

The British race has a reputation for being conservative on the whole and (though several of its members wear different political labels and trade marks), has betrayed its conservatism at every turn of events. At the same time the history of the world and the modern geography of the world, give you instances that the British race is enterprising, is daring, and possesses many men and women of revolutionary spirit. I often ask myself, are the British and in their innermost nature really conservative temperamentally or do they appear conservative as an economic effect of tremendous advantage gained by them through their spirit of enterprise and revolutionary temperament? I feel more inclined towards this latter belief.

Somehow or other, large numbers and members of the working class have been permitted to believe in the possibility of a stationary life, even in inevitable and gradual progress whilst you wait. With the qualities of daring and enterprise and unscrupulousness of method of some of her sons, the economic resources of this island country became so vast in a comparatively poor world that men and women began to feel that their share in the distribution of it, however unjust or unfair it is, would be ample enough for all purposes of life, and this spirit of complacency sustained the whole of the nation for over a century, till it has created a state of mind much akin to the fatalism of their Oriental brethren.

The world's conditions have changed. Capitalism has grown, capitalistic competition has become keener; class interest has become sharper, imperialism has stepped in as a powerful instrument with which to undermine the standard of life in Britain, and yet through all these changes, in spite of the thunder and quaking shocks of the revolution of Russia and mighty changes in Europe the habit of the mind of the Briton still drags on in the same groove. He does not realize that what appeared to him to be a stationary condition was nothing but continuous replenishment from inexhaustible sources of loot from abroad. There is neither an assured continuity of economic or political rights, much less an inevitable and gradual progress.

The neglect of the British working class to study British imperialism in its proper light is leading to the accomplishment of two processes, namely, a rapid Britainizing of a capitalist master-class in India and a rapid Indianizing of the large working class in Britain. In Britain within the class struggle one sees gigantic efforts on the part of the workers

By SHAPURJI SAKLATVALA

to level up their conditions of life and their political rights to those of the upper classes. Then one travels in India and sees a picture of sharp contrast, a transplanted life of modern European luxury and comfort and a little away from it a stagnant life of the human being, even as it used to be a thousand years ago.

Take your worst slums, your most congested lodging-houses and yet you cannot conceive of that broken-down mud-hut to enter which even a stature of 5 feet of humanity has got to nearly double up. There is no other ventilation or opening for light and there is even nothing to see inside these huts, which are invariably completely unfurnished. I am not talking now of villages; I am talking of large industrial centers like Nagpur and Cawnpore where exist cotton mills more flourishing than most cotton mills in Lancashire, and where several thousand workers are still consigned to these death-traps.

You struggle here by forming organizations, conducting agitations and fighting for various rights to improve the health of the working class population and to reduce their death-rate. Then one goes in India, and there is to be seen openly modern Western industrialism, under European or Indian capitalist control, bare-facedly worsening the health conditions of the workers, increasing the toll of death till infantile mortality which normally in India would be as high as nearly 206 per 1,000 reached the appalling figure of 600 to 800 per 1,000 amongst children born to parents working in factories. Poverty, misery, human degradation seem to be a rightful heritage of the workers in the new industries in the East. The people out there seem to accept it with philosophical calm. The Westernized Indian himself looks upon it as something that matters neither seriously nor immediately and which he seriously believes would be remedied as soon as political power is seized by him from the foreign intruder. He does not realize that any nation, in order to wrench power from a foreign conqueror or oppressor, would require national strength and consciousness of tremendous dimensions and this could not be obtained and consolidated without the workers and the peasants in his land being well organized.

## THE PATIENT PLODDER

His driven stride grows sullen with the weight  
That he has carried through long centuries;  
His famished soul is wreckage of the seas  
Of life; his hope becomes disconsolate  
As he plods on. O, who dared relegate  
Upon his beaten back these calumnies?  
And whom can this maligned apostle please  
But brutes with brutish moods to satiate?

When will eyes peer into his abode  
And send a beam of light to chase away  
The shadows that have lingered there so long?  
It almost seems this human antipode  
Has staggered on, unable to relay  
Aloud his sorry, unmelodic song.

—TRAIL THAISIS.

On the other hand, in order to alleviate the mental agony of his suffering poor, or simply through the accustomed unfeelingness of the capitalist profiteer, the educated Indian tries to instil a philosophical contentment in the workers and the peasants and to prevent as far as possible any self-consciousness dawning upon them. Thus is accomplished with success a vast experiment of the British imperialist of producing modern goods and services of public utility through human agency at a cost incomparably lower than at home. He also succeeds in personal domination by keeping large masses of humanity as bond-slaves, rigorously tied to their jobs through the necessity of staving off starvation and through the severity of legislative enactments.

In the midst of this process some of us cried out against it in Britain, but in vain, to tell the Briton that his immediate task lay in levelling up the conditions of his fellow-workers in India. But the appeal failed to touch the British worker. His leaders and his organizations worked like machines that were invented and perfected before the advent of economic imperialism and peril, and proved incapable of devoting themselves to better their conditions.

An almost concerted view was taken that the low level of the Indian was well deserved and that the higher level of the British workers was something that was permanently secure by his own merit. The shrewd capitalist class on the other hand awaited stabilization of conditions to the difference between two standards of human life under its control which were well marked and were capable of being brought to play their part under one and the same common imperial commercialism. Then, by exerting the ordinary pressure of a competitive system of life he compels the British worker to level down to the economic position of the Indian worker, which process will naturally continue till a common level is reached either one as low as that of the Indian, or one as high as that to which the British organizations assist the Indian workers to reach.

For the last four years the cry of the Indian workers went out unheeded by British ears to secure for them trade union rights similar to their own and to save them from proposals which were not conferring special rights for the Indian workers but which were tightening the bonds of serfdom upon them.

Here once again the British worker dreamt that his own position was secure forever, up to a certain stage and it would be the lookout of the Indian worker to safely reach that stage of advancement. However, under economic imperialism, such dreams are soon shattered, today the challenge goes forth to the British workers to level down to the serfdom of the Indian workers. I see therefore two rapid developments, the Britainizing of a master-class in India and the Indianizing of the working class of Britain. To me it is as clear as daylight that the primary duty of the British workers is to form an international solidarity with the Indian and Oriental workers and to level them up for the sake of securing a world standard and not to look upon such an act of solidarity as a mere spasmodic expression of internationalism or as an act of secondary charity from the stronger to the weaker group.

More words are useless and unnecessary; events will prove the correctness or otherwise of this forecast.

# Amsterdam and the Italian Proletariat

THE fact that the majority of the former leaders of the Italian General Confederation of Labor had gone over to the fascists, and that the secretary of the G. C. L., Buozzi, had decided on his own account to transfer the organization abroad, had the opposite result from what had been expected by the traitors and deserters. The G. C. L. is not dead, it continues to exist in Italy, to the bitter fury of the fascists and the galling aggravation of the Amsterdamites. The trade union conference convened at Milan on February 20 (illegally, of course), upon the initiative of three revolutionary federations of the G. C. L., and at which were represented nearly all the G. C. L. elements which escaped destruction at the hands of the fascists and who remained loyal to their organization, decided unanimously to refuse to recognize the legality of the resolution of the traitors to dissolve the G. C. L., and expressed itself categorically against the transfer of the G. C. L. abroad.

The G. C. L. must stay in Italy and its bottom organizations must be transferred to the factories and workshops where it is easier to carry on an illegal existence, and where it is possible to get into closer touch with the masses of the workers—such was the decision of the conference. A provisional G. C. L. executive was elected whose business it will be to work for the reorganization and extension of the trade union organizations, and for the calling of a convention for the purpose of finally shaping the structure and the activity of the G. C. L., and

solving a number of problems connected with the trade union movement in Italy.

In spite of the severe conditions of underground work, in spite of the ceaseless arrests of members of the Provisional Executive, and of mass arrests among the organizations, the work of the G. C. L. went on and is going on with great success. Not later than one month after the calling of the conference the publication was renewed of the G. C. L. organ "Battaglie Sindicali," which has since been regularly appearing each month in the shape of a series of local publications issued in the larger centres (Milan, Turin, Genoa, Venice, Rome, etc.), whilst the total circulation has reached 25,000, being considerably in excess of its former legal circulation.

On the week of May 1 a recruiting campaign was announced for membership in the G. C. L., netting more than 4,000 new members, which was no mean success under the conditions of underground work and under the fascist regime. In the course of the recruiting week there were hundreds of illegal meetings held throughout Italy. In a relatively short space of time there was revived a number of national federations and inter-trade union organizations (at Milan, Turin, Como, Rome, etc.). As distinguished from the legal G. C. L. which during the last period of its existence had completely given up the active struggle and the defense of the working class, the provisional executive has unfolded vast activities in preparing the masses of the workers for the fight against the capitalist offensive. In the columns of

"Battaglie Sindicali," at illegal meetings, and in tens of thousands of manifestoes and leaflets, the G. C. L. threw light upon the position of the working class and exhorted the workers to active protesting and fighting for their rights and interests. A pamphlet was published and distributed in 15,000 copies, in which were set out the demands advanced by the G. C. L. in the interests of the working class. A campaign was conducted on the problem of unemployment, and another campaign for the defense of the proletarian youth.

Particular activity was developed by the G. C. L. in connection with the wage-cutting campaign started in May by the fascist government and the employers. In answer to the campaign against the workers' wages, the G. C. L. threw out the slogan of strikes and demonstrations, giving out instructions in this sense to its affiliated bodies.

The strike at the Breda Car Construction Works had found the restored Metal Workers' Union (FIOM) fully prepared, and it issued a series of manifestoes which were widely circulated among the Breda workers and generally among the metal workers of Milan who had been stirred to action.

The Milan Chamber of Labor issued a manifesto formulating the demands made on behalf of the unemployed and the discharged workers. The Turin Chamber of Labor issued a manifesto appealing to the workers to offer resistance to the employers' campaign against the wages.

(Continued on page 6)

# A Communist Reply to Marshal Foch

Marshal Foch, butcher-in-chief of the united allied command in the last part of the world war, recently gave the Hearst press an interview which was charged with hostility against the Soviet Union. The following reply to Foch's tirade is from Andre Marty, the noted French Communist who commanded the French battleship on service in the Black Sea that hoisted the Red Flag when her commander was ordered to fire on the Soviet forces in the early days of the Bolshevik revolution. Comrade Marty is now serving a sentence in a French penitentiary for anti-capitalist activities.—Ed.

(Translated from "L'Humanite" by Leon Mabile).

Prison of La Sante, Paris,  
August 24th, 1927.

To Mr. Marshal Foch,  
Late Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies.

Mr. Marshal,

You just gave an interview to the Hearst press regarding the statement you made in 1919 to the Ambassadors' Conference, that "if the states surrounding Russia would receive ammunition and sufficient military means you were to once and for all destroy every single Bolshevik menace." Your offer was rejected, you said because "everybody was tired of war."

You are trying to make believe that if the Russian revolution lives it is because the Ambassadors' Conference refused to follow your suggestion.

Permit me, Mr. Marshal, to recall to you a few facts, which, if they do not change your opinion, will at least be useful in enlightening the too many workers who read the capitalist press.

In February 1919, as the Allies' Chief Commander, you did more than to arm the states surrounding Russia, executive agents of the Franco-British imperialist gang. On December 18th, 1918, you made the 156th Division land upon Russian soil by force; then you accumulated arms and ammunition upon the Roumania-Ukrainian front, and upon the Black Sea border. Beginning April 1919 more than 100,000 Roumanian, Serbian, Polish, White Guard Russian, Greek and French soldiers, supported by more than 60 battleships of every size surrounded Revolutionary Russia in an iron vise, and Clemenceau continually repeated that in six months he would crush the Bolsheviks.

The French capitalists, their ministers and militarists of whom you were the chief at the time forgot one thing: that before you could assassinate the Russian Revolution more than tanks, airplanes and heavy cannon are necessary; you must have soldiers and sailors who would obey you.

Certainly you did not neglect to arrive at this point. You employed lies. Thus, on Dec. 8th, 1918, the general staff (Orient Army, Order No. 6224-3) announced to the 156th Division that their transfer from Salonica to Odessa and Sebastopol was not for purposes of war, but so that they would be quartered under better conditions. Once the transfer had been accomplished the "Allied Army Bulletin" and other papers of the same sort repeated the most fantastic stories about the Russian Revolution: community of women (prostitute), invention worthy

## Amsterdam and the Italian Proletariat

(Continued from page 5)

Nor did the G. C. L. forget about the agricultural laborers. It took steps to restore their union and to publish an illegal organ for the rural proletariat. Taking timely notice of the state of unrest that was growing in the rice zones of Northern Italy, the G. C. L. started a special paper for the working women in the rice fields. And it was largely as the result of the work of the G. C. L. and the agricultural laborers' union that strikes of working women broke out in the rice fields of the provinces of Vercelli and Novara. (On the eve of the strike the union had distributed about 20,000 manifestoes). There was also restored the Union of Poor Peasants, and so on.

Without confining itself to the narrow sphere of purely national questions, the G. C. L. responded to all international events of any consequence. It sent greetings to the Brussels Congress of Oppressed Peoples; it takes a stand upon the question of the war menace and the defense of the USSR; it issued a manifesto on the occasion of the murder of Comrade Voikoff in Warsaw, and in its press it carries on a campaign in defense of the Chinese Revolution. It addressed the American consulate in Rome on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti and so forth.

Thus, the G. C. L. has proved itself to be the

By ANDRE MARTY

of your tools, the betrayal of the German imperialist agents, Lenin and Trotsky; the torture and massacre of prisoners by the Bolsheviks and other stupidities of that sort.

You employed torture; your police under General d'Anselme, high director, commander in Odessa murdered dozens of revolutionary workers, as an example, Lastotchkine, the president of the Bolshevik Party was drowned by your police April 5th, 1919, after being tortured 15 days, sticking needles under his finger nails to make him speak. You used assassination: your officers surpassed their White Russian friends by slaughtering any person suspected of Bolshevik propaganda. Among many cases I will cite the crimes of March 1st, 1919, in the course of which eleven persons were massacred, among them three young girls and our comrade Jeanne Labourbe. You used mass slaughtering as on the night of March 10th, 1919 where Admiral Legay bombarded Kherson killing more than 100 women and children; as on April 29th, 1919 where Colonel Trousson (made general by Herriot of the League of the Rights of Man) slaughtering with machine guns a quiet parade in the streets of Sebastopol, killing French sailors and Russian workers, among them a young girl by the name of Mouraheva Thais. At night you shot proletarian fighters, as those French soldiers of the 19th regiment of artillery whose names you are yet hiding, your court martial having sentenced them by the dozens to Devil's Island.

And anyway, nothing stood in the way of the moral force of the social revolution—none of your plans could stop the class conscious awakening of thousands of workers dressed up as sailors and soldiers.

You dare to pretend that if the Ambassadors' Conference would have listened to you, you would have crushed the Bolsheviks? Is that so?

The 58th infantry regiment and the 2nd R. M. A. did receive the order to take possession of Tiraspol on the 2nd of February 1919. But you had to send back those regiments to France very quickly and after taking the arms from the soldiers you sent them to Morocco for punishment.

When in March your friend Grigorieff attacked Kherson, did not two companies of the 176th regiment refuse to march and had to be brought back to Odessa.

It is too bad, Mr. Marshal that on April 5th, 1919, you did not witness the evacuation of Odessa when the 19th regiment of artillery, the 2nd regiment of Genie, and the 1st R. M. A. wrote glorious pages into the history of the revolutionary movement. You would have seen the glorious French army fraternize with the Red Guard, you would have been able to admire the magnificent spectacle given of entire companies marching in front of the Odessa Soviet with guns reversed and singing the Internationale. And yourself, Mr. Marshal, would have done the same thing that the officers of your Orient Army did, some of whom took the nearest boat and others running to Akkermann while French bullets whistled by their ears.

A few days later in Bendien, the 4th and 8th

successor to the best traditions of the Italian Labor Movement, and the only trade union organization which, in line with the Communist Party, wages an untiring fight against Italian fascism and capitalism, a fight that is beset with many sacrifices and dangers.

This role of the G. C. L. has been recognized by all the advanced elements of the Italian proletariat. Proof of this will be found in the fact that the illegal press of the G. C. L. has the widest circulation among the masses notwithstanding the fact that the reading and keeping of illegal literature is severely punished by the fascists. It should also be noted that the publications of the G. C. L. are eagerly bought by the workers, so that the G. C. L. press is able to run almost without deficit.

The attitude of the workers towards the G. C. L. was formulated in speeches made before the conference on February 20th both by Maximalist and reformist workers, as well as at factory and workshop conferences throughout Italy. Everything that is honest and militant in Italy, and among emigrant Italian workers abroad, adheres either organizationally or ideologically to the G. C. L. It should also be observed that among the members of the leading central and local trade union organs everywhere, along with the Communists, there are also workers of other tendencies and of no party affiliations and that among the victims who suffered for the G. C. L. are both Maximalist and reformist trade union workers, whilst some of them have previously occupied prominent positions in the old G. C. L.

Thus, common struggling and common sacrifices are welding together the workers of the different tendencies, creating a genuine militant united pro-

Colonial Regiments refused—as did those of Archangel—to fire a single shot on the Red Army.

Then you thought about sailors because they were not in direct contact with the Russian Revolution. With them it was not long!

April 16th it was the Battleship Protet (Andre Marty was officer); April 20th in Sebastopol the squadron mutinied; the biggest battleships as France, Jean Bart, Vergniaut, Justice, hauled up the Red Flag; the sailors landed and demonstrated with the workers. April 27th in front of Odessa, it is the battleship Walbeck-Rousseau, on board of which I was imprisoned, which in turn joined the revolt. And then the Buirix—in every ship without a single exception there was revolt.

The fire gained the Mediterranean Sea. In Constantinople May 1919, in front of the terrorized officers the sailors of the Battleship Jean Bart demonstrated in the city singing the Internationale, and the Young Guard. At Itea in Greece it was the battleship Guichen which mutinied. The officers were only able to maintain control of the boat with the help of colored soldiers.

At Toulon, France, June 11th, the Flagship Provence refused to start out for the Black Sea and turned its guns toward the Naval General Headquarters. For two days the sailors held meetings in the city and were masters of the situation. It needed two regiments of cavalry and thousands of horse gendarmes to prevent them from opening the Arsenal Navy Prison.

At Brest, Cherbourg, Rochefort, Bizerta, the same manifestations were repeated till August and the government handled them only by sending the sailors back to their families.

It was with these men that you were trying to crush the Russian Revolution? Really, Mr. Marshal, if you had been at Odessa and tried to conduct things the way Clemenceau and Poincare did, it is probable that today I would not be writing polemics with you, but you would be in the Pantheon, insulting by your presence the memory of Jean Jaures.

One thing we know, and that is your declaration was inspired by your government of big capital and constitutes a menace against the U. S. S. R.

I believe that the time of Gallifet, Thiers, and other butchers of the Paris Commune is passed, and it is useless for you to try to imitate them. And as you address the French imperialist menace, (whose representative you are) to the U. S. S. R., remember that we are tens of thousands of ex-fighters from Russia and the Black Sea who will right now double our efforts to arouse the workers and peasants, soldiers and sailors, against the war that you are preparing at the order of the French capitalists and the so-called socialist government. And the day on which you will again try the crime of 1919 we will do everything with the entire support of our Communist Party, for this time the soldiers and sailors will not only refuse to march against their Russian brothers, but will put their arms in the service of the workers and peasants in order to crush by social revolution your capitalist regime of dirt, blood and war.

Receive, Mr. Marshal, my anti-militarist and revolutionary salute.

ANDRE MARTY.

Communist Deputy in the French Parliament,  
now in jail in La Sante, Paris.

letarian front. The vanguard of the working class looks with both pride and hope upon its G. C. L. as upon the augury of victories to come in the battles against fascism and the bourgeoisie. Yet this is not the way the G. C. L. is looked upon by the Amsterdam crowd.

Refusing to recognize the legality of the dissolution of the G. C. L. announced by a band of traitors, and scouting the idea that the leading organs of the G. C. L. might be transferred abroad, far away from the masses of the workers, the Milan Conference, convened with due observance of all the requisite formalities, had full reason to consider itself the only legitimate spokesman of the masses of the workers entitled to speak on their behalf both in Italy as well as abroad, and also before the Amsterdam International to which the G. C. L. was hitherto affiliated. The Milan Conference therefore resolved to get in touch with Amsterdam, and together with the latter to organize the preliminaries for a G. C. L. convention for the purpose of electing a permanent executive, and disposing of the most urgent problems of the trade union movement in Italy. It was further decided to send a delegation to Amsterdam to regulate all questions arising from the conference's decisions. The Italian comrades acted in this manner because they did not consider it expedient to alter the attitude of the G. C. L. towards Amsterdam without a decision to that effect by its regular convention, and also because they deemed their stay in the ranks of Amsterdam useful for the unity campaign of the international labor movement.

**READ THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY**

# A REPORT ON CHINA

(Continued from page 2)

eral is an employer who hires soldiers and pays them wages, whilst he himself takes toll from the population of the territory where his forces are quartered. Therefore, the army has a specific character of a band of despoiling mercenaries. As to the 'ideology' of the army, it is like this: the 'boss', i.e., the general, decides for whom to fight and what program to advocate, whilst all his hired underlings—from the officers down to the soldiers in the ranks—blindly obey his commands. For this reason the military are looked upon contemptuously throughout China, and the appeal to the workers to join the army in order to strengthen the revolutionary influence did not meet with the proper response.

"Of somewhat different character was the Wampu Military Academy with its 8,000 cadets prior to the coup performed by Chiang Kai-shek. However, after the imprisonment of several hundred revolutionaries and the execution of some of the Communist cadets and officers, the 'spirit of liberty' was banished from the Wampu Academy, and it is now controlled entirely by the Cantonese reactionary general, Li Ti-sing. Another trait of the Chinese army is the easy manner in which the generals transfer their allegiance from one 'supreme commander in chief' to another. This is due to the fear of the respective generals that they might lose their provinces on which they feed and maintain their armies. Therefore the generals swerve around with amazing alacrity from the defeated 'leaders' to the winning side, and the forces of the defeated side rapidly dwindle away.

"The antagonism between the masses of the workers and peasants on the one hand, and their intellectual leaders which came from the petty bourgeoisie on the other hand; the antagonism between the mercenary bandit troops and the rest of the population, and finally, the class antagonisms within the Kuomintang body—all this was bound to

lead to the final collapse. By its fear of the masses, and by preaching its pet theory of the unripeness of the masses, it had contributed to its own downfall. Besides the theory of unripeness, there were also several other theories evolved to meet different eventualities. Thus, for instance, it was asserted by some Kuomintang people that the workers' and peasants' movement was pursuing selfish aims, whereas the national movement demanded self-sacrifice. Such a theory made it easier to use armed force against the workers and peasants. In order to cure them of their 'selfishness', the guns were trained on them. Therefore, the coup d'etat was the logical upshot of the Kuomintang policy of fear of the masses, which had not been adequately countered by the trade unions and the Chinese Communist Party.

"Now the whole territory of China is under the sway of the counter revolutionary generals and their 'governments'. The Chinese revolution has sustained a defeat. The question now amounts to this, whether this defeat is going to be of long or short duration?

"Personally I believe," Comrade Losovsky continued, "that the situation in China resembles that of Russia in 1906, after the defeat of the December revolt of 1905. But the workers' and peasants' movement in China has acquired such an impetus that the period of reaction, which lasted in Russia from 1906 to 1917, is not going to be so prolonged in China. A considerable factor of the Chinese situation consists in that millions of Chinese workers and peasants have entered upon the arena of political activity. Despite the brutal shooting down of thousands of militants, the movement among the peasant masses goes on unabated, whilst a good deal of inflammable material has been stored up. It is also important to note that all the military regimes and groups in China are exceedingly unstable. This leads us to assume that notwithstand-

ing the heavy defeat of the revolution, the new upheaval in China will come not after the lapse of decades, but within the next few years. Just now, after the defeat, there springs up in China a new generation of leaders who are reared by the masses of the peasants and the workers from their own ranks. Hitherto there were no real Jacobins in the Kuomintang, and there were few of them in the Chinese Communist Party. Yet the Chinese revolution needs its own Jacobins.

"During the last eighteen months the revolutionary movement of China had a great reverberating effect upon all the countries of the Far East. Everywhere a great change was observable, and in the first place, in India. It is true that the labor movement in that country is still in its initial stage of development, but there is already a number of tokens indicating a smoldering ferment of revolution. Suffice it to mention the fact, among others, that hundreds and thousands of Hindoo soldiers, sent to China to crush the revolution, have thrown in their lot with the revolutionaries. The English commanders frequently had to withdraw entire detachments of Hindoo troops, because they were found to be 'unreliable'. The Svaraj people in India are showing great sympathy for the Chinese revolution, tho the Svarajists' left wing has many points of similarity with the left wing of the Kuomintang.

"The effect of the Chinese revolution has been considerable upon Japan, too. It has served to enliven the workers' and peasants' movement in Korea. We are also getting news of the effect of the Chinese events upon the Philippine Islands.

"All these new factors," Comrade Losovsky concluded, "have cast their reflection upon the labors of the Pan-Pacific Conference, which should be considered as the most important event in the international labor movement during the current year. Our chief task for the present is to consolidate in a practical manner the results of that conference."

**The  
COMRADE**  
Edited by the Young  
A Page for Workers'



**Young  
SECTION**  
Pioneers of America  
and Farmers' Children

## COLUMBUS DAY

On October 12, 1492 Christopher Columbus, an Italian adventurer who set out to find a new route to the West Indies, discovered America. He claimed this country for Spain because he was financed by that country. This accidental discovery of America came about when Constantinople was captured by the Mohammedans (Turks) who thus cut off trade with the East. The merchants who were interested in this trade were forced to seek new routes. Spain being a great sea-going nation at that time was especially interested and therefore backed Christopher Columbus.

Since the discovery of America, the workers and farmers of this country have suffered untold hardships in making it one of the richest and strongest powers in the world. But have the workers and farmers profited by this? No, only those who live on the sweat and toil of the workers are better off. For the workers and poor farmers there is only misery and want. For the children of the workers there is poverty and unhappiness. While for the rich and their children there is luxury and idleness. Only in Soviet Russia, where there is a workers' and farmers' government, are the workers and their children happy. For there they are their own bosses.

The bosses who derive benefits from this country wish this system to exist forever. They want the workers and their children to be satisfied with things as they are. Therefore in the schools they use this holiday to instil patriotism in the hearts and minds of workers' children. We must, however, fight against all this. We must continue spreading the truth about Soviet Russia among all workers' children. We must get all workers' children to join the Young Pioneers of America and help make our government a workers' and farmers' government like the Soviet Union.

## Our Letter Box

### FUNNY

By STARSY STALMON.

Once a little boy who was making snowballs asked a lady who was passing by, "Do you want to buy some snowballs? They are five cents a dozen."

"No, I don't," answered the lady.

"Well," said the little boy, "you will get them just the same."

## PAPER GODS

Dear Comrades: One day the boy that sat in front of me asked me if I believed in God. I said no and he told the teacher. She told me she wanted to speak to me after school. When she had dismissed the class she asked me why I didn't believe in God. I told her I did not want to believe in imaginary things. She said that she would prove that there is a God on Monday. When Monday came and I went into the room my teacher showed me a picture of a man dressed in white cloth. She asked me what was that and I said it was paper. The teacher blushed and when turning away I heard her murmur, "I wonder if there really is a God."

—BINITA ASTRAUSKAS.

## Answers To Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 34 is: **THREE CHEERS FOR THE COOPERATIVE PIONEERS.** The following have answered correctly:

Miriam Rosenfeld, Bronx, N. Y.; Selma Etnis, New York City; Estelle Goldstein, Bronx, N. Y.; Morris Molotnik, Brooklyn, N. Y.; May Malyk, New York City; Rose Hertzberg, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Jack Rosen, New York City; Sidney Yadin, Bronx, N. Y.; Mae Feurer, Bronx, N. Y.; Sonia Frontz, Corona, L. I.

## THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE No. 35

This is a new kind of puzzle. Let's see if you can do it! Fill in the missing names with colors that rhyme with the previous line.

At a Pioneer meeting, these were there:

A boy so big and bold  
Lets you know he's Comrade. . . . .  
A young fellow full of fight  
The comrades call him Comrade. . . . .  
His friend beside him so nice and clean  
Is known by all as Comrade. . . . .  
That little girl who said how do you do?  
Why, her name is Comrade. . . . .  
That big boy there, who is standing back  
Answers to the name of Comrade. . . . .  
The girl who opens the meeting today  
Signs her name as Comrade. . . . .

And last but not least (from Passaic 'tis said)  
Our old friend Comrade Johnny. . . . .

Send all answers to the Daily Worker, Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., New York City, giving your name, age, address and the number of the puzzle.

## LET'S FIGHT ON

By SOL GROBSMITH

"Let's Fight On" our leader has said,  
Let's fight on till the capitalists are dead,  
The capitalists will not rule us forever,  
To fight and win we must endeavor.

Our binding chains will be torn apart,  
As blood sucking capitalists have torn our heart.  
After that, this country will be free.  
Free, free for you and me.

## BOSSSES HAVE NO BRAINS

Dear Comrades: One day my little sister came home from the movies and asked my mother why a bull particularly didn't like red. "In the movies today," my sister said, "there was a big, fat bull chasing after a red cloth held by a man. Why don't they like red even though they don't gain anything by it?" "They haven't any brains that's why they don't like red," my mother explained. After thinking a while my sister said, "Oh, now I know why the capitalist doesn't like Soviet Russia because the capitalist is the same as a bull—he has no brains."

—JULIA DAGILIS.

## A POEM

By EMMA PALL.

We working children have to bear the rich  
Who scorn us as frogs in a ditch,  
But it mustn't last long  
For we'll fight for our rights  
As long as the Red Flag waves high.

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# DRAMA

## Gobs On Dry Land

"Romancing 'Round" at Little Theatre With Helen MacKellar Is Entertaining

THERE'S a little bit of hokum in them all, else they would never brazen their way on to Broadway. There is a good deal of hokum in "Romancing 'Round" and those who go to the theatre for intellectual stimulation instead of for pure and simple amusement may wish they had been elsewhere, unless they have an eye for the type of plump pulchritude that is offered for public consideration by Helen MacKellar, the upper and nether extremities of the show.

Miss MacKellar is aided in her ordeal by a clever dispenser of gags, in the person of Theodore Westman, who impersonates James Dade of the U. S. Navy. Gag-making is said to be one of the most remunerative by-products of the theatre business and a good gag-shooter is as indispensable to a modern comedy as a cup and cane to a blind panhandler.

It appears that Conrad Westervelt, the author of the play had seen his gaglegger and Miss MacKellar before he started work on the play. For the benefit of the voluptuous blonde, Mr. Westervelt had Neena Dobson, the heroine, born in poor circumstances and of a poorer father, poor in morals as well as worldly goods. To make matters worse this disagreeable parand fell downstairs and injured his back which gave him another excuse for dodging a job.

His daughter Neena was obliged to put on her best bib and tucker and only got as far as 33rd and Broadway when a big-hearted pedestrian accosted her and for three years she upheld the family financially while upholding her honor. Nobody could doubt this after one look at the delightful Miss Kellar.

But Neena's soul became uplifted by her paramour's philosophy so much so that she left his room and board and got a job in a restaurant which is partly owned by her rascally father. There she meets and becomes smitten by a sailor. One thing follows another as things usually do until her discarded bread and butter, egged on by her greedy parent dies of heart disease in the restaurant while pressing her to return to his nest. Her sailor sweetheart happened to be present when the big-hearted rich man's heart thumped its last, but he was not tried on a murder charge, but for failure to arrive at his ship in time with a chronometer.

The last act cleared up everything nicely and the only casualties are the wicked father and the dead philanthropist. Neena married her jolly sailor and the divers other males that were in love with her swallowed their regret and went their ways.

Besides Miss MacKellar and the champion gag-shooter, others who deserve honorable mention are Sally Orton, the hard-boiled cutie, who prefers a captain to a gob, all other things being equal and Charles Ritchie, as the Lieutenant takes his love-making rebuffs without a whimper.

If the playwright is trying to prove anything, he managed to do it without attracting my attention.

—T. J. O'F.

The program of Dance Moods by Tamiris at the Little Theatre this Sunday evening, will include interpretations of Debussy, Berger, Paladilhe, Calleja, Scott, Satie, Powell, Gershwin and a dance without music entitled "The Queen Walks in the Garden."

Finlay Campbell, Canadian bass-baritone, at his debut recital in Town Hall, Tuesday evening, will sing a group of early Italian compositions and also French, Russian, Scotch and English songs.

Enrique Fernandez Arbos of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra who is to come here this season as guest conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, will bring with him a number of new works of the modern Spanish school. His programs will be Spanish in character and will include compositions by Hallfer, de Falla, Corelli, Espla and Turina.



Helen MacKellar



JANET GAYNOR

In "Seventh Heaven," which will be seen on the Cameo Theatre screen beginning today.

### Music Notes

#### PHILHARMONIC

Willem Mengelberg will conduct the opening concert of the Philharmonic Orchestra next Thursday evening, at Carnegie Hall. The same program will be repeated on Friday afternoon. He will conduct through the concert of Sunday, January 8. Arturo Toscanini will make his first appearance on January 26 and will direct from that time until the end of the season. In the interval between Mr. Mengelberg and Mr. Toscanini, Sir Thomas Beecham and Bernardino Molinari will appear as guest conductors.

For his opening program Mr. Mengelberg has chosen the Beethoven Second Symphony, Vivaldi's Concerto Grosso in A minor, Concerto for wind instruments and orchestra of Vittorio Rieti, and a novelty which will be announced shortly.

#### BEETHOVEN SYMPHONY

The Beethoven Symphony Orchestra, Georges Zaslavsky conductor, will give its opening concert of the season at Carnegie Hall, Wednesday evening. Mme. Luella Melius will be the soloist. The program: Egmont Overture, Beethoven; Symphonie fantastique, Berlioz; Cortège macabre, Copland; Polonaise, from "Mignon," Thomas; Bell Song, from "Lakme," Delibes, and Carnaval Overture, Dvorak.

Richard Crooks will be heard in recital at Carnegie Hall, Wednesday evening, October 26.

Socrate Barozzi, Roumanian violinist, will give his local recital in the Town Hall, Wednesday afternoon, October 26.

Jose Echaniz, Cuban pianist, will make his first appearance of the season at Town Hall, Sunday afternoon, October 16.

Augusta Lenska, contralto of the Chicago Opera will give a recital at Town Hall, Saturday afternoon, October 15.

The script for Emil Jannings's next picture, "Hitting for Heaven," has been translated into three languages from the English, German for Jannings himself, Swedish for Mauritz Stiller, the director, and Russian for Olga Baklanova, who is in the cast.

# AMUSEMENTS

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The music program at the Roxy will include: Irving Aaronson and his Commanders who have been just returned from Paris after a two years engagement. Doris Niles will appear in an Indian Ballet, the 13th Rhapsody of Liszt and "The Ballet of the Stars" are other features.

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