

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## AUSTRIA NEXT IN ORDER! Austrian Bonapartism

By Leon Trotsky

The situation in Austria is not qualitatively different from the situation in Germany, but only lags behind it in its development. After the political life in Austria had fallen under the press of the Fascist overturn in Germany, the culmination in Austria is drawing closer not by days, but by hours.

Austria is passing through a period that is analogous to the period of Brüning-Papen-Schleicher in Germany, or to the period of Held in Bavaria, that is, the period of semi-Bonapartist dictatorship, which maintains itself by the mutual neutralization of the proletarian and Fascist camps. For Austria too we prefer the term Bonapartism (in contradistinction to all other purely descriptive and absolutely meaningless formulations such as clerical-Fascism, legitimist Fascism, etc., etc.), as a very clear characterization of the feature of a government that veers in between two irreconcilable camps; a government that is forced to an ever increasing degree to supplant the social support that is ebbing away from under its feet. There is expressed in the tendency toward Bonapartism the urge of the possessing classes to escape an open break with legality, a long period of civil war and the bloody Fascist dictatorship by means of military and police apparatus that are screened by the paragraphs kept in reserve in democratic constitutions.

analysis, as well as the fresh experience in Germany equally bespeak the fact that the Viennese police and bureaucratic dictatorship cannot long maintain itself. Matters are rapidly coming to a head. The power must be taken either by the Fascists or by the workers.

**The Possibility of Postponement**

We do not know what is going on back-stage. But there cannot be any doubt that the governments of those countries which surround and oppress Austria have brought into action all the levers. Not a single one of these governments, not even Italy, has any interest in seeing the power in Austria pass into the hands of the Fascists. The leaders of the Austrian social democracy see, indubitably, in this situation the highest trump of the whole game; in their eyes the revolutionary activity of the Austrian proletariat must needs be supplanted by financial and other different sorts of pressure that can be brought by the nations of the former Entente. This reckoning is the most fallacious of all. The hostility on the part of the victor nations toward national socialism was one of the reasons for its explosive growth in Germany. The

closer that the Austrian social democracy will link itself with the policies of France and of the little Entente, whose task consists in keeping Austria in the state of "independence", i. e., isolation and impotence, the greater will be the rate at which Fascism will turn into a party of national liberation in the eyes of petty bourgeois masses. Along this line, only the armed intervention of the Entente, i. e., outright occupation could prevent Fascism from the conquest of power. But in this, the question of Austria merges with the question of Fascist Germany. If Hitler finds a modus vivendi with France—and there is hardly any reason to doubt it—then France will find a modus vivendi with Fascist Austria. In both cases, of course—on the bones of the proletariat, German and Austrian. To think that Fascist Austria would immediately destroy those barriers which separate it from Fascist Germany is to place much too great a significance upon "national" phrases and to undervalue the capacity of Fascism for wagging its tail before those who are stronger than it. It can be said with assurance that of all strategic calculations, the

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## American Committee Appeals for Exiled Russian Bolshevik-Leninists

Under the blows of Stalinist persecution and the increasing hardships of the crisis in the Soviet Union, thousands of our comrades of the Russian Opposition, in prison or exile, are enduring such privations that their very lives are in danger. Comrade Trotsky, as chairman of an International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Exiled Bolsheviks (Left Opposition) has written an appeal for help, which we publish below.

An American Committee of this commission has been organized, consisting of Sidney Hook, treasurer; Max Eastman, Diego Rivera, V. F. Calverton, Herman Simpson, and B. J. Field, secretary. This committee is appealing for support to all friends of the October Revolution who want to help keep physically alive the tremendous revolutionary forces represented by the imprisoned and exiled Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition in Soviet Russia.

We ask the friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition to support the work of the American Committee and contribute as liberally as possible to the fund which it is raising.

To All Friends of the October Revolution:

In the prisons and in the places of deportation of the Soviet Union there are thousands of Bolsheviks who built up the Party during its

illegal period, who took an active part in the October Revolution, who fought during the civil wars, who laid the foundations of the Soviet State. Even now, all of them remain absolutely devoted and firm soldiers of the proletarian revolution. In the time of danger for the Soviet State they will constitute the surest detachment in its camp. They were subjected to persecution only for having criticized the policy of the leading faction—within limits where internal criticism constituted the vital element of Party democracy within Bolshevism. Among the deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition, the figure most widely known throughout the world is Christian Georgievich Rakovsky, former member of the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, Soviet Ambassador in Paris and in London.

A great part of the Left Opposition tried in 1928-1929 to be reinstated into the Party at the price of renouncing its right to criticism. There were several thousand individual capitulations of this kind, bound up to a certain extent with exaggerated hopes in the Five Year Plan. The experience of the past four years has resulted in the majority of the "repentant" becoming again the object of ferocious persecutions. Suffice it to say that among those arrested and deported during the last few months and above all during the last few weeks are: Zinoviev, one of the founders of the Party, permanent member of the Central Committee, Chairman of the Communist International and of the Petrograd Soviet; Kamenev, one of the closest collaborators of Lenin, permanent member of the Central Committee, adjutant to Lenin in the position of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, I. N. Smirnov, one of the indefatigable founders of the Party during the years of Czarism, member of the Central Committee, leader of the struggle against Koltchak, member of the Council of People's Commissars; Prochabrensky, the oldest member of the Party, one of its best-known theoreticians, member of the Central Committee, who carried out until very recently an important diplomatic function abroad. One could also cite scores of names of the best-known revolutionary Bolsheviks (V. Kasparova, L. S. Sosnovsky, B. M. Elstis, V. Kossir, N. I. Muralov, F. Dingelstet, V. M. Smirnov, Saponov, Grunstein, Mratchkovsky, Oufintsev, Perevertev, and others), who, during the most difficult years, constituted the framework of the Party, and along with them, hundreds and thousands of the younger generation (V. B. Elstin, the son; Solntsev, Magid, Yakovin, Nelsolon, Stopalov, Poznansky, Sermax and others) who went through the years of the civil war, through the years of enormous difficulties and of grandiose victories of the proletarian regime.

The situation of the imprisoned and deported Oppositionists, the majority of whom have been separated from their work and their family for the past five years, is absolutely extraordinary. They represent the left wing of the Bol-

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## Start Fund for German Left

We have already called the attention of our readers to the Fund which is being collected on an international scale to assist the German section of the International Left Opposition in its work. Our comrades are carrying on under the greatest of difficulties. The first issue of this paper "Unser Wort" (Our Word), which came out less than two weeks after the proscription of the whole Communist press by the Hitler regime, has now been followed by the second number, this time six pages. Our comrades report that the copies of the paper which are smuggled from Czechoslovakia into Germany, are eagerly read and spread from hand to hand by the militant workers. But the obvious difficulties created by the terror regime make it imperative that the vanguard throughout the world should lend financial assistance to our German comrades. It is towards this end that the preliminary International Conference of the Left Opposition decided to establish a Fund for the German Opposition. Every member of the Opposition throughout the world is being assessed a day's wage for this purpose. In addition, we are making an urgent appeal to all our friends and sympathizers to contribute speedily and generously to this fund. The New York branch has already set itself the quota of \$75.00; the other branches will act correspondingly.

The need is great and urgent! The response should be quick and speedy! Send all funds to 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Unique Russian Film to Be Shown

Announcement has just been made of the first private movie showing of the first authentic and actual pictures of the important events and actions of the Russian revolution.

The most important film you have ever seen, one you will want to see over and over.

The filming of these events was taken by over one hundred camera men working directly under the various governments and noted officials and leaders in Russia.

The life and time of the Czar and his family. The July 1917 revolution. The Kornilov Counter-Revolutionary Attempt. The Rule of Milukov. The Acts of the Social Revolutionaries. The Rise of the Bolsheviks. The Role and Deeds of Lenin and Trotsky and other leaders of the Bolsheviks. The Growth of the Soviets. The Bolshevik Insurrection and Rise to Power. The Civil War on the various fronts. The Red Guards and Red Army in action from the uprising through the years. Grand Scenes of the Russian Congresses of the Communist International. The Bolsheviks and the Death of Lenin.

The Exile of Trotsky to Prinkipo.

This and more is to be seen in the greatest film on the history of Russia and the Russian Revolution.

This is a limited, private and subscription performance under the auspices of the Film Club of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). No tickets at the door. Members must obtain subscription tickets in advance. Subscriptions are strictly limited to the seating capacity of the hall. The film will be shown at the LABOR TEMPLE, 242 East 14th St., New York City, on Saturday, May 6th, 1933 at 8 P. M. sharp.

Members, obtain your subscription ticket at once at the headquarters of the Communist League of America (Opposition), 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Convict Patterson

### United Mass Protest Must Save Scottsboro Boys

A viciously prejudiced jury composed of twelve representatives of the poisoned ideology of the reactionary, capitalist South brought in a verdict of guilty against Haywood Patterson, the first of the Scottsboro boys to be tried in the new trials ordered by the United States Supreme Court. According to Alabama law the jury is charged with the duty of fixing the penalty. The jury decided on death in the electric chair.

With this verdict the blood-lust ridden, southern capitalists have reaffirmed their intention to snuff out the lives of all who dare to resent and struggle against the intolerable conditions to which capitalism reduces the workers and share croppers in the South in its ruthless scramble for profit. That is the significance of the verdict for our class and our cause. As far as the Scottsboro boys themselves are concerned, it is not at all a verdict arrived at after due process of law. There is no such thing for workers in capitalist courts. It is murder done according to the niceties of the law and with due regard for the devious course of "justice" in the higher courts. It is class murder.

From the legal point of view the state had no case. Its witnesses were the usual social riff-raff sharked up by the prosecution in frame-up cases. A notorious prostitute was its chief witness. And her testimony was flatly contradicted by Ruby Bates' sensational reputation of her former evidence. Other evidence introduced by the defense left no doubt that the state's chief witness was a perjurer. The weakness of the state's legal case was compensated for by extra-legal "arguments". Fiery crosses flamed against the night sky from the hills surrounding the town. Armed mobs threatened to storm the jail, lynch the boys, the witnesses and the defense lawyers. Armed militiamen were on duty in the town. The prosecution appealed to local prejudice throughout. But in its summation it reached the depths of narrow-minded provincialism and medieval bigotry. To read it is to make the blood boil. All of this, inevitable and to be foreseen from the beginning, outweighed the legal evidence or lack of it.

That is how it was in the Mooney and the Sacco and Vanzetti trials; the same frame-up, prejudicial intimidation, corruption and inflaming of ignorance and vicious prejudice in these monuments to capitalist bestiality are lessons which have been burned into the consciousness of the workers the world over. Large sections of the workers know what these trials are worth. Their experience teaches them daily what capitalist justice is. In their understanding it is an inseparable part of the capitalist system.

The capitalist press, the handmaiden of these brutal orgies, has not been slow to discharge its duty to its masters. It pretends to be astonished by the verdict. The New York World Telegram feigns astonishment. It is sure that the verdict will be overturned in the higher courts. By this perfidious hypocrisy it strives to keep alive the illusion that justice is impartial, above the classes. The Times also bemoans the sad miscarriage of justice. But it cannot see what remains to be done. Perhaps the Governor of Alabama will pardon the victims or commute their sentence to a term of imprisonment! That is the Times' way of saying that the case is a legal one, a matter of "justice", not to be taken out of the channels of bourgeois democracy.

The N. A. A. C. P. says the same thing but says it more openly. The attack on the I. L. D. and the Communist Party for organizing a mass protest movement, which the Times only implies, the N. A. A. C. P. makes explicit. The Scottsboro Case is a foul blot on the pages of the struggle of the Negroes for economic, political and social equality. From the very beginning of the case it assisted the prosecution to the best of its ability. It strove with all its resources to hamstring the defense organized by the I. L. D. All through the fight it rabidly attacked the I. L. D. and the Communist Party. Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays in its executive councils, offered to enter the case on condition that all the lawyers in the defense would agree to disassociate themselves from all organizations. This was equivalent to a demand that the I. L. D. retire from the case.

## Genuine United Front for Mooney Formed by the St. Louis Workers

St. Louis. A genuine unity movement to mobilize the workers of this city for the freedom of Tom Mooney, is now well under way. Besides the organizations which have already endorsed the movement, efforts are being made to draw in every other working class organization in the city. Below is to be found the call sent out by the "Free Tom Mooney United Front Conference", through its secretary, comrade Marlin Payer, who is also secretary of the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

- Pattern-Makers' Union,
- Molders' Union No. 10,
- Unemployed Citizens' League,
- International Labor Defense,
- St. Louis Waiters' Union,
- Local No. 20
- Communist League of America (Opposition),
- International Workers' School,
- John Reed Club,
- Communist Party,
- International Workers' Order,
- Needle Trades Workers Industrial Order,
- Young Communist League,
- Molders' Union Local No. 59.

TO ALL DISTRICT COUNCILS, LOCAL UNIONS, LODGES: TO ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL, FRATERNAL, CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL: GREETINGS:

In accordance with the stirring call issued from San Quentin prison by TOM MOONEY, the St. Louis Molders' Defense Committee has taken the initiative in organizing a "FREE TOM MOONEY" UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE of all unions and working-class organizations to fight for the immediate FREEDOM OF TOM MOONEY and to work for the building of a large FREE TOM MOONEY NATIONAL CONGRESS to be held in Chicago, Illinois, April 30th to May 2nd, 1933. We are sending you herewith the call for the election of delegates to this Congress.

The freedom of TOM MOONEY is rightfully the deepest concern of the entire working-class. It was because MOONEY was a fearless fighter in behalf of organized labor and for better working conditions that he was framed and has already spent nearly 17 years of his life behind prison bars.

In order to give the widest possible support to TOM MOONEY, we feel it is necessary and timely that in St. Louis (in addition to the mass-meeting on the day of Mooney's new trial, April 28th, we also organize a joint demonstration and parade on May First in support of the fight for MOONEY'S FREEDOM. This will give added weight and pressure to the NATIONAL MOONEY CONGRESS in Chicago and serve to unite broad masses in the struggle.

We therefore call upon your organization to endorse the MOONEY MAY-DAY DEMONSTRATION AND PARADE IN ST. LOUIS and also to send three representatives to the United Front May/Day Conference which will be held at Turner Hall, 1508 Chouteau Avenue, on Sunday afternoon, April 16th, at 2 P. M. sharp.

SHOW SOLIDARITY OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN ST. LOUIS while our delegates are deliberating in the Chicago NATIONAL MOONEY CONGRESS on the next steps in the fight for the FREEDOM OF TOM MOONEY AND ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!

Forward to the Freedom of Tom Mooney!

For a Mass Mooney May Day Demonstration! ! !

FREE TOM MOONEY UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE

Endorsed by:

- Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee,
- Unemployed Councils in St. Louis,

## Moscow Trial Starts

The trial that is taking place in Moscow at present, involving the British organizers of sabotage connected with the Metro-Vickers concern, throws light upon the feverish efforts of the foreign imperialists to hasten the collapse of Soviet economy, brought to a critical state by Stalinist mismanagement. As we go to press, the stories cabled from across still bear a confused and contradictory character. We expect to have a critical account and an evaluation of the proceedings in a coming issue of **The Militant**.

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## Illinois Hunger March Smashed

The April 7th State Hunger March organized by the Illinois Committee of the Unemployed Councils was ferociously smashed by the armed state forces—the combined forces of the state militia, the state highway police, the county sheriffs and their deputies, and, in some localities, the American Legion—under the direct leadership of Governor Horner. A conference of county sheriffs with Gov. Horner was held several days previous to the State Hunger March and immediately after that there began a reign of terror and arrests against the Hunger Marchers.

In the northern part of the state, after the large Chicago delegation met the delegation from Rockford at Ottawa, the Hunger Marchers were attacked by the state highway police and gassed and clubbed. Over fifty Hunger Marchers were arrested and Karl Lockner, the chairman of the Illinois Committee is still being held in jail. After the battle with the police in which the marchers defended themselves courageously, they were forced to turn back toward Chicago. In Peoria, Bloomington, Decatur and other places the police placed barriers on all the highways leading to Springfield, stopped every auto and questioned every person on the way toward Springfield. And if they could not give a good account of themselves they were turned back; even farmers coming into town to sell their eggs had to go through a hard drilling by the state highway police.

In the southern part of the state the state authorities were even more vigilant, especially in and around Macoupin County where the miners have organized powerful Unemployed Councils. In Virden, a small mining town, the whole town was placed under mar-

ital law by the mayor, martial law proclamations were pasted all over the town which warned every citizen of the town to stay in his house on the day of the march. In Livingston, the American Legion members of the Progressive Miners of America were deputized to keep the Hunger Marchers from going into Springfield. Tony Minierich, secretary of the Illinois Committee of the Unemployed Councils was arrested in Bend at a mass meeting and is still held in jail on turned-up charges in Carlinville where he was taken after the arrests.

The state armed forces not only smashed the Hunger March but are trying in every way possible to prevent the growth of the Unemployed Councils. The reason for this is the desperate plight of the unemployed workers, especially

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## OPEN FORUM

### The Farmers' Revolt and the American Workers

Speaker:  
JACK WEBER

International Workers School Hall  
126 East 16th Street  
Sunday, April 6 1933, 8 P. M.  
ADMISSION: 15 Cents

Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

### Perth Amboy

THE TRAGEDY OF THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT MUST A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY BE ORGANIZED IN GERMANY?

Speakers:  
JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary, C. L. A. (O.)  
ALBER WEISBORD, National Secretary, C. L. S.  
on Sunday, April 23, 1933, 8:30 P. M.  
at the OLD Y. M. H. A. HALL, Smith and McLeannan Sts.  
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

Joint Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) and Communist League of Struggle.

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## Roosevelt Reforestation Swindle

Tens of thousands of American boys are being herded into regular army camps, presumably for forestry training. A quarter of a million will be regimented by May 15, according to Robert Fechner, national head of the "Civilian Conservation Corps". The government is pushing for the full quota of 250,000 by the middle of May, when the reforestation program is to begin in earnest.

The 1,800 supposedly homeless youths from New York who boarded the buses for Fort Slocum are the first victims of a novel brand of efficiency known as the "New Deal". According to the government plan, each of the nine military corps areas from New England to the Pacific Coast, will be a recruiting or "conditioning" center for the forestry workers of that area. They will be given army work clothes, army grub and live

in army barracks. They will all get military training in the form of infantry drill under the strict discipline of superior officers. "Education" and "recreation" will be completed supervised by government authorities.

"We intend to make self-supporting men of them," says Adjutant Purey of Fort Slocum. Let's see what he means by that. Do the men actually receive the \$30 per month that they are promised? Not at all. The "investigators" of the New York Home Relief Bureau of the Department of Public Welfare are instructed to supply 7,500 unmarried young men between the ages of 18 and 23 from off the relief list. They are neither homeless nor wandering. \$25 of every \$30 earned by the worker is to be deducted and turned over to the Home Relief Bureau which promptly deducts that amount from the family budget, plus \$1.50 per week (or over \$6 per month) from the food budget. Others are removed entirely from the Welfare list. Anyone who knows the narrow margin upon which "relief" families live, knows what hardships these deductions are.

Now the Home Relief Bureau of the Department of Public Welfare has on its lists 180,000 families, or almost a million individuals. It spends ten million dollars a month caring for them. Of these there are about 60,000 on what is called "work relief" under the City Commission Work Bureau. Each man works five days every other week, or a maximum of ten days a month. For this he gets \$45 a month, but he is cut loose and must support his family on this sum. Those on Home Relief, however, average \$35 to \$65 per month. The budgets are pared down to an almost unbeliev-

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## Boston Meeting

THE CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Lecture by  
MAX SHACHTEMAN  
Editor, **The Militant**

at BELMONT HALL,  
150 Humboldt Avenue

On Sunday, April 23, 1933, 8 P. M.

Auspices, Boston Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

Friday April 21, 1933 at 8 p. m. **SPRING DANCE & FESTIVAL** Jazz Orchestra - Songs - Other Features  
IRVING PLAZA HALL 15 St. Irving Pl. for the Benefit of 'THE MILITANT'  
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition) and Protomagia Club.