

# FASCISM LASHES AUSTRIAN LABOR

(Continued from page 1)

of the Versailles Treaty, the article forbidding "anschluss" between Germany and Austria.

Thus was one more foundation stone knocked from under the shattered structure of the 1919 "settlement"—that settlement which was advertised to the world as the triumph of democracy and freedom, and which in practice served to usher in the blackest period of reaction in the world's history.

Hitler, however, gains from his coup only a temporary advantage in political prestige, a loud talking point to quiet for a brief time the underground murmurs of discontent which, spurred by the intolerable plight of the German people, must sooner or later break to the surface. Far from solving the economic crisis of German capitalism, the incorporation of Austria will in many ways only deepen that crisis. Austria supplies neither the raw materials, the consumer market, nor the fields for investment which German capitalism imperiously demands. On the contrary, as carved out by Versailles, Austria is an industrial and banking community faced to an even greater degree with the same conflicts which entangle the Germany economy.

### War Drive Speeded

The reply of the rival imperialisms to the bold stroke of Hitler—himself and his acts in large degree the product of their own crimes—was not long in coming. With one voice Washington, London, and Paris called for a redoubled pace and scale in rearmament, pointing headlong toward the war to defend their own spoils and privilege, their own preserves of exploitation, against the threat of the upstart.

The entire press of the "democratic" imperialism unleashed a whirlwind of vicious chauvinism, utilizing the Austrian crisis to whip up an uncontrolled jingo spirit leading the masses toward a Holy War to bolster up the shaken positions of the victors of the world slaughter of 1914-18.

Here was a heaven-sent opportunity to turn the resentment of their own peoples away from the exploiters at home, away from the social system which ensures that exploitation, and to direct it against the "foreign" enemy.

### Social-Patriots In Line

The imperialists and their direct spokesmen were ably seconded, nay far surpassed, by their hirelings and by the traitors within the ranks of the working class. The social-patriots outdid even their own past performances. In France, Leon Blum, head of the French Socialist Party and leader of the Second International, again took the helm of the imperialist state, calling for national union and the "ultimate sacrifice" in the interests of French capital.

In England, the Labor Party raised against the too "peaceful" policy of Chamberlain, and announced itself ready at any moment to swing the British working class into line for a war to protect the British Empire—to protect, that is, the enslavement of India, the Near East, Egypt, the natives of South Africa, the coolies of Hongkong.

Chamberlain accepted the offer

greedily. In his speech to the House of Commons, he declared: "I am confident that we would be supported in asking that no one, whatever his preconceived notion may be, shall regard himself as being excluded from any expansion of national effort which may be called for."

### Stalinists To Fore

Throughout the world the Stalinists announced their readiness for war. They made clear that they will recruit for any imperialist army whenever the democratic imperialisms decide the time has come to strike at their Nazi rival.

What a tragic and terrible deception!

Hitler did not grow from a vacuum. He is the natural, inevitable product of the worn-out social system now in its frightful death throes. He was nourished and called into being by these same "democratic" imperialisms, who thought that their own positions could be permanently ensured by fastening on the defeated Central Powers the straight jacket of Versailles. The Versailles system only hid for a short while an internal putrescence—shared by the entire world order of capitalism—which soon had to force its way to the surface.

But not alone the "democratic" imperialisms are responsible for Hitler. The brave social-patriots of the Second International share most directly and heavily in that responsibility: for it was the social-democracy which strangled in blood the German workers' revolution which alone could have prevented Hitler's rise to power.

### Stalinism Aids Fascism

And how mighty a share have also the Stalinists in that responsibility! For their fatal and hopeless policy of the "Third Period" once more shattered the German revolution, and led the German working class to bitter, abject defeat in 1933.

Now all of those who brought Hitler and Nazism to birth and to power unite once more for a Holy War, and call upon the workers of the world to follow them.

Such a war, far from wiping out Nazism, can only complete the subjection of the masses within every country to totalitarian dictatorship. Such a war will be directed solely, from both sides, against the lives and hopes and interests of the masses.

In reality, the lesson of the Austrian crisis is the final blow to all illusions of "capitalist stability," Versailles, the League of Nations, collective security, imperialist democracy, and the crucial illusion that the masses can gain anything from the support of any capitalist government, any imperialist war.

### The Revolutionary Road

The Austrian crisis, with iron fist, drives home the inescapable conclusion: there is one answer and one only to fascism, to Nazism—the workers' revolution! So long as the working class does the bidding of its own imperialists, that long will fascism continue its victories. The enemy is in our own country! By defeating that enemy—our own bourgeoisie—we strike the only effective blow at fascism and render the only genuine aid toward the liberation of the German and Austrian workers.

Stopgap



LEON BLUM

## BLUM CABINET NEW ATTEMPT TO STEM CRISIS

### Franç Dives As Regime Tries Desperately To Save Itself

French capitalism called again last week on the Socialist Leon Blum and he responded once more with a new effort to stave off the revolutionary crisis that threatens France.

The disastrous fall of the franc only served to underline the blankness of the impasse that faces the French capitalist regime.

### Prepares For War

Blum's first act upon taking office was to call upon the workers to "facilitate" the speed-up of the arms program by desisting from making "unreasonable" demands, following this up with a pledge to defend Czechoslovakia against Hitler, thus showing that France is heading swiftly toward a "solution" on the battlefields of imperialist war. This is the real meaning of Blum's effort to form a national union government.

Such a government will follow the present transitory cabinet which Blum has set up. If it does not, the French Francos in the General Staff will mobilize the Rights and the Fascists to impose by force the kind of government they want.

Is there not something ominously prophetic about Blum's innovation in his new government—a Ministry of Propaganda?

Even while he continues his efforts within the frame-work of French "democracy," Blum is preparing the characteristic forms of totalitarian rule. Before the French Francos clap him into a concentration camp they may thank him for his service!

### Treachery and Betrayal

The new cabinet resembles only in its most superficial aspects the honeymoon People's Front government that Blum brought into power in June, 1936. Since then two years' of continued crisis, of shameful treachery and betrayal of the workers' will to struggle for revolutionary solutions have wrought their changes in the objective situation and in the moods of the masses.

Blum will be even less able now to find common ground for the employers and the masses. Rather than let the masses surge forward to give their own answer to the questions of the day, he will drive all the more rapidly toward war.

That Blum unceremoniously shoved aside the Stalinist demands for participation in the government not only reveals the growing schism between the Socialists and the Stalinists but even more significantly reflects the fact that French foreign policy remains suspended in uncertainty.

### Soviet Pact Doomed

Helpless before the crisis precipitated by Hitler's bloodless conquest of Austria, France awaits Britain's lead. It will scrap its pact with Moscow should Britain demand it in the interests of an understanding with Hitler to the general effect: Attack the Soviet Union—leave Czechoslovakia alone.

In either case it is understood that war has drawn frighteningly close. That is why the present Blum government is and can only be a stopgap. The regime that is seeking to bamboozle the French workers into going to war once more for French capitalism can only pave the way for a regime that will be prepared to lash the workers as soon as they show signs of striking back.

# Anti-War Campaign On In Minneapolis

## Minnesota Farmer-Labor Group Takes Militant Anti-War Stand

The following is the complete text of the anti-war resolution adopted last week by the Third Congressional District Convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party:

WHEREAS there is growing danger of the outbreak of another World War, as is so clearly revealed by the actions of the National Administration in launching a gigantic program of naval and military expansion, including over a billion dollars for arms in the regular budget, an additional billion or more for new warships, and other military bills now being drafted at the direction of the Administration, and

WHEREAS the government's preparations for war are a mortal danger to the organized workers and farmers, as is revealed by the plans for a military dictatorship in war-time embodied in the Sheppard-May Bill with its provisions for compulsory conscription, prohibition of strikes, control of the press and regimentation of labor, etc., and

WHEREAS what is in store for opponents of war was even more clearly revealed by the boldness with which the Administration organized a lynch spirit against the Farmer-Labor congressmen and others who supported the Ludlow Amendment requiring a popular referendum before Congress can declare war,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Third Congressional District Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party goes on record against the war preparations, and against the specific bills in which these preparations are embodied, and all other bills of the same kind, and instructs the Convention Arrangements committee to give this resolution the widest possible publicity.

## Mark Commune Date By Anti-War Mass Meeting

With a new world war hovering not only over Europe but over America, the Socialist Workers Party is calling a mass rally "Against the Coming War" this Friday, March 18, at Manhattan Plaza, 66 East 4 St., at 8 P. M. This rally is a high point in the course of the campaign against the coming imperialist war now being conducted by the Socialist Workers Party throughout the country.

Events of the past few days alone, such as Hitler's invasion of Austria and the close of the latest Moscow trial which revealed more clearly than ever the isolation of the Soviet Union in a hostile capitalist world, raise with special sharpness the urgent need of an effective program against imperialist war.

Such an effective program, against imperialist war and for the defense of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution, will be presented by a list of prominent speakers including: Maurice Spector, associate editor of the New Internationalist; Nathan Gould, national organizer of the Young Peoples Socialist League; James Burnham, professor of philosophy at N. Y. U.; James Rorty, noted writer; and James Casey, former managing editor of the Daily Worker.

This meeting falls with special appropriateness on the 67th anniversary of the Paris Commune, the first example in history of working class rule.

Commemorate with us the glorious memory of these heroic fighters of the past, and join with us in raising their banner of the class struggle as our standard now in the fight against the coming war.

## 2,000 Meet To Protest Frame-up

(Continued from page 1)

Carlo Tresca, Bertram D. Wolfe and Max Shachtman, laid bare the contradictions in the Trial of the Twenty-One, revealing the roots of the latest judicial farce in the desperate crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy. A message of solidarity and congratulations from Leon Trotsky was read from the platform. They were also wires from Norman Thomas and Horace M. Kallen.

### Winding up Affairs

Announcing that the Committee was winding up its affairs, Secretary George Novack summarized the results of the Trotsky defense movement and the Dewey Inquiry Commission which grew out of it.

Max Shachtman summed up the historic achievements of the American Committee, and delivered a spirited rejoinder to those who are seeking to make anti-Bolshevik capital out of the debacle of Stalinism.

The full text of Trotsky's message to the meeting follows:

### Trotsky's Message

"From inside the fortress won by the proletariat, Stalin deals with socialism such blows as no one has yet dealt. If anyone sabotages the economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R., it is Stalin. If anyone undermines the military power of the U.S.S.R., it is Stalin. If anyone poisons the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard by treachery and betrayal, it is Stalin. Were united world reaction to seek an agent of its own choice, it could find no one more suited than Stalin. The Moscow trials represent the lone attempt in history to deceive all mankind. "However, if there is no limit

### Issue Cuts Through All State Politics; 544 Leads Drive

MINNEAPOLIS. — The war question is a burning issue in the daily political life of Farmer-Laborite Minnesota.

It is already obvious that the struggle against war is leading to a realignment of forces in the labor movement and the Farmer-Labor Party.

Left wing leaders of Minneapolis trade unions have been developing an anti-war campaign which has already led to repercussions in the Farmer-Labor Party. A systematic campaign against Roosevelt's war preparations is being waged by the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Teamsters Joint Council, the electrical workers, the furniture and warehousemen's unions, etc.

One important result of this campaign was the adoption of a militant anti-war resolution by the Third Congressional District Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party (the full text appears elsewhere in this issue).

### Stalinists Losing Out

An immediate result of this campaign is a split developing in the top leadership of the Farmer-Labor Party, dividing the pro-war Stalinized elements and Stalinists from the rest. Yesterday the pro-Stalinist Governor Benson combination appeared to be unbreakable. But pressure from the left is dividing them. The Farmer-Labor delegation in Congress voted for the Ludlow Amendment. Benson himself is campaigning against the Sheppard-May Bill, and has recorded himself in opposition to Roosevelt's naval program. All this is in direct opposition to the pro-war line of the Communist Party.

The Stalinists very well understand what is happening, and are attempting to weather the storm until the inevitable moment when the war crisis approaches a climax and the Farmer-Labor tops swing back into line. This was the Stalinist motivation for silence on the war question at the recent Farmer-Labor convention, even to the extent of not voting against the militant ("Trotskyist") anti-war resolution in the Third Congressional District Convention. But the harder the left presses along its independent line, thereby forcing the Benson-pacifist wing to declare itself, the more difficult it will be for the two sections in the ruling bloc of the Farmer-Labor Party to hang together during the next months.

On April 11, a gigantic mass meeting in the Auditorium, sponsored by all the joint bodies of organized labor—the Central Labor Union, the Teamsters Joint Council, the Building Trades Council, the Printing Trades Council—will deal with the problems of the present economic crisis and the war crisis.

### Bosses' Offensive

As part of the preparations for war, as well as a result from the desperation of capitalists in the face of the economic crisis, the labor movement here is confronted by a bosses' offensive. But it is significant to note that, unlike the usual capitalist onslaught against militant sections of the labor movement in a developing war crisis, the capitalists have as yet secured no aid from reformists in an onslaught against militant union leaders. Partial explanations of this situation are the strength and militancy of the trade union movement, and the deep roots struck into the mass movement by the militant union leaders.

These explanations are, however, only partial. The basic cause of the fact that the capitalists have been unable to secure reformist aid on a large scale for a joint onslaught on the left wing, is the raging economic crisis, which drives the capitalists into a general attack on all the sections of the labor movement, militant and reformist alike.

This combination of circumstances presents the revolutionists with unusually favorable opportunities for assuming the leadership of the masses in a

## SOVIET UNION NOTES

Stalin On His Onetime Allies—He Sheds Blood He Said Opposition Wanted—The Mystery of Postyshev  
By JOHN C. WRIGHT

### Stalin and Molotov on Bukharin — in 1926

In 1926, when Stalin and Molotov were in a bloc with Bukharin and Rykov, the State Publishers issued a pamphlet, first edition—200,000. This pamphlet is entitled "A Reply to the Opposition." The authors are: J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov. The contents are the summary speeches delivered by Stalin and Molotov at the Fourteenth Party Congress on the Political Report of the Central Committee.

In his speech, Stalin revealed a "plot" hatched allegedly in 1923, after the Twelfth Party Congress, to "destroy the Political Bureau," and to "turn the Secretariat into a political and organizational leading organ, composed of Zinoviev, Trotsky and Stalin."

Commenting on this "plot," Stalin indignantly said: "What is the import of this platform? What does it mean? It means to lead the party without Rykov, without Kalinin, without Tomsky, without Molotov, without Bukharin. Nothing came of this platform at that time not only because it was unprincipled but also because it is impossible to lead the party without the above-named comrades." ("A reply to the Opposition," Moscow 1926, p. 27.)

Echoing Stalin, Molotov accused the Opposition (among them Krupskaya) of seeking to exaggerate mistakes and foist "deviations" upon "comrade Bukharin, member of the Political Bureau, editor of our central organ." And then Molotov added the following: "This is no longer a desire to correct mistakes but rather a desire to exaggerate mistakes, a desire to create such a situation in the party as would create distrust toward the best members of our party, one of whom, as is recognized by the entire party, is comrade Bukharin." (Ibidem, page 34.)

In 1926, Stalin swore that it was "impossible to lead the party without Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky." In 1938, Stalin swears that they are "conspirators who served the interests of capitalism all their lives." (Pravda, Feb. 28, 1938.)

### Stalin and "Bukharin's Blood"

In the self-same speech in 1926, Stalin accused the Opposition of "hounding" Bukharin, and of demanding, no more, no less, "Bukharin's blood."

Stalin said: "How explain this unbridled baiting of comrade Bukharin? What do they really want of Bukharin? They are demanding comrade Bukharin's blood. That is just what comrade Zinoviev demands, by aiming the barb of his attack in his summary against Bukharin. You demand Bukharin's blood? We will not give you his blood, you might as well know it." (Applause. Cries: Hear! Hear!) (Ibidem, p. 26.)

### Stalin on the "Policy of Lopping Off"

Again, in this 1926 speech, Stalin revealed yet another conspiracy—this time, to expel Trotsky from the party. The leaders in this conspiracy, if one believes Stalin, were Zinoviev and Kamenev, who, at the end of 1924, proposed to expel Trotsky from the party. Stalin, together with the majority of the Central Committee, would not agree to this proposal. Shortly thereafter, Kamenev proposed to expel Trotsky from the Political Bureau. And Stalin comments: "... We did not agree with this proposal of the Opposition either. We obtained a majority in the Central Committee, and limited ourselves to removing comrade Trotsky from the post of People's Commissar of War. We refused to agree with comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev because we knew that the policy of lopping off is pregnant with great dangers for the party, that the method of lopping off, the method of blood-letting—and they were demanding blood—is dangerous and contagious. Today you lopp off one, tomorrow another, the next day a third—and what will then be left of our party?" (Applause.) (Ibidem, p. 22.)

In his concluding statements, Stalin once again returns to this theme. He says: "We are against lopping off. We are against the policy of lopping off... We are for unity and against lopping off. The policy of lopping off is revolting to us." (p. 30.) Comments are hardly necessary.

### The Postyshev Mystery

The defendants in the trial of the sixteen (Zinoviev-Kamenev et al.) in August, 1936 confessed that among the victims of their plot, Postyshev's name figured prominently. His name is mentioned in the indictment as one of those marked for assassination. Vyshinsky in his summary speech repeated his name time and again. The defendants were shot, in part, for "conspiring" against Postyshev's life. In the trial of the seventeen (Radek-Platakov et al.) Jan. 1937, Postyshev's name was again referred to as that of a prospective victim of the terrorists (see Verbatim Report, Eng. Edition p. 328; p. 348; p. 358 etc.).

Meanwhile, Postyshev has not only been removed (together with Rudzutak) from the Political Bureau, but even from the minor party post to which he had been demoted. It is reported that he is under arrest. No doubt he plotted with the executed defendants and the defendants-to-be to "assassinate" himself as a fenshish ruse to cover up his complicity. Just as we are asked to believe that Yagoda arrested, exiled, tortured and killed thousands of Oppositionists for years in order the better to disguise the fact that they were his fellow-conspirators.

### GENE FREY

MINNEAPOLIS. — Workers here are mourning the death of Gene Frey, Socialist Workers Party member, who passed from the ranks of the movement on February 28, following a brief illness. Comrade Frey was active in the Federal Workers Section, and was a member of the General Drivers Local 544.

All his life he was a rebel. He was a member of the old Socialist Party; active in the days of the Non-Partisan League; at the time of his death, a Fourth Internationalist. He was active on every picket line of recent years in Minneapolis. The staff of the Federal Workers Section attended the funeral.

### GALA SECOND APPEARANCE

The Red Puppets in "Oscar Gets The Pretzel Benders Daughter" and "Rafael's Prélude" SAT., MARCH 19th; 8 P. M. Dancing To Swing Music Lower East Side Branch 159 Rivington Street — Sub. 20c, Children 5c

## Fund Mounts For Chinese Comrades

The campaign of the S.W.P. to raise funds to assist the Communist League of China through the present difficult period, and to insure the extension of the work of the Chinese Fourth Internationalists, has already produced gratifying results.

Following the announcement in the February 19 issue of the Socialist Appeal and the sending of collection lists to Party locals, the following sums have been received by the national office:

Astoria Branch	\$7.79
Lower East Bronx Branch	2.50
Chester Branch	2.50
G. C.	2.00
H. S. H.	2.00
New Haven Branch	1.00

Horo Park Branch	3.00
Upper West Side Branch	4.00
St. Paul Branch	4.85
Wm. P. K. Gates	.50
Doston Branch	10.00
Newark District	9.15
Los Angeles Branch	6.50
Schlerville Branch	1.50
Denver Branch	1.10
Quakerstown Branch	1.99
East Side Branch	1.50
Collected by Local N. Y.	1.21
YFSL Boston Circle	2.00
Collected by Sol Lankin	1.50
Collected by Local N. Y.	2.00
Minneapolis Branch	15.00
Village Branch	7.00
St. Louis County Branch	2.00

TOTAL: \$57.71  
Of the foregoing sum, \$75.00 has already been transmitted to our Chinese organization. In order that a further sum may be remitted in the nearest future, party branches—especially those which have not so far acted in the matter—are urged to push the collection of funds and remit them without delay to the national office.

### SPEAKERS:

- Maurice Spector**  
Co-Editor, New Internationalist
- James Casey**  
Ex-Managing Editor, Daily Worker
- Nathan Gould**  
National Organizer, Y.P.S.L.

### Mass Rally

# AGAINST THE COMING WAR!

Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4 St.  
**FRIDAY, MARCH 18, 8 P. M.**  
Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

### SPEAKERS:

- James Burnham**  
Co-Editor, New Internationalist
- James Rorty**  
Writer, Lecturer