

The Austrian Crisis and Communism

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 equilibrium, which is maintained thanks only to the conservative-conciliatory policy of the social democracy, extraordinarily facilitates the position of the Austro-Marxism. What it does in the Vienna city council is enough to distinguish it from the bourgeois parties in the eyes of the workers. And what it does not do—that is, the most important things—it can always put to the responsibility of the bourgeois parties. While Austro-Marxism exposes the bourgeoisie in articles and speeches, it very skillfully utilizes, as we have already said the international dependence of Austria in order to prevent the workers from rising against class enemy. "In Vienna we are strong, but in the country we are still weak. Besides we have a master over us. We must retain our positions within the democracy and—wait." That is what the most important idea of Austro-Marxist policy looks like. All this made it possible up to now for Austro-Marxism to play the role of the "Left" wing in the Second International and to retain all its positions against the Communist Party, which continues to heap mistake upon mistake.

An Important Instrument of Capitalism
 The Austrian social democracy helped the Entente make an end of the Hungarian revolution, helped its bourgeoisie to issue from the post-war crisis, and created a democratic asylum for unstable private property. Thus, it was the most important instrument for the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

But this instrument is an independent organization, with an independent, numerous bureaucracy and a labor aristocracy which has its own interests and its own pretensions. This bureaucracy, flesh of the flesh of the petty bourgeoisie, bases itself, according to its ideas, manners and customs upon the working class and constantly fears its dissatisfaction. This circumstance is the main source of friction and conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the social democracy, that is, between the master and the servant.

No matter how tightly the Austrian social democracy has enmeshed the working class in its net of political, trade union municipal, cultural and sport institutions, it is nevertheless plain—and the July 1927 days showed this especially clearly—that the reformists-pacifist methods alone do

not give the bourgeoisie the necessary guarantees.

What has been said explains the social functions of Austrian fascism. It is the second servant of the bourgeoisie, distinguishable from the first and standing opposed to it. The lower ranks of the social democracy are impelled forward by a proletarian instinct, even if a falsified one. The lower ranks of fascism feed upon the hopelessness of the petty bourgeoisie and declassed elements, in whom Austria is so rich. The leaders of the social democracy weigh down upon the class instinct of the proletariat with the aid of the slogans and institutions of democracy. The leaders of fascism show the despair of the rotting petty bourgeoisie a way out in the perspective of a saving overthrow, after which the "Marxists" will no longer be able to hinder the good headway of agriculture, of hand-work and trade.

Fascism, Bolshevism and Social Democracy
 We thus have in Austria the classic refutation of the philistine theory that fascism is born out of revolutionary Bolshevism. Fascism begins to play an all the bigger role in a country, the more plainly, the more revolting and intolerable becomes the contradiction between the policy of the masses, and the unpostponable requirement of historical development. In Austria, as everywhere else, fascism appears as the necessary supplement to the social democracy, feeds upon it and comes to power with its aid.

Fascism is the legitimate son of the formal democracy of the epoch of collapse. The principles of democracy are carried through in Austria, with special crassness, to absurdity. The social democracy lacks a few percent for a majority. It can however be said—and that is no paradox, but the naked truth—that the political stubbornness of the Austrian social democracy is based not upon the 43 percent of the votes it has, but upon the 7 percent which it lacks for a majority. The foundations of capitalism would remain inviolable were the Austrian social democracy to conquer the majority. But such a conquest is by no means guaranteed. It is idocy to believe that all questions will be settled by propaganda.

If one proceeds from the premise that the life of Austria will continue to develop within the limits of democracy, then one can absolutely not believe that in the course

of the next 25 to 50 years the Austrian social democracy will positively attain a majority. The economic life of all capitalist Europe stands before a great danger coming from the United States and other oversea countries. The economic decline of Austria, which is inevitable with a perspective of peaceful development, would sooner bring a loss of votes to the social democracy than a gain. Consequently, according to the logic of democracy, in spite of the fact that a further domination of the bourgeoisie dooms the nation to decay and cultural decline, in spite of the readiness of the overwhelming mass of the proletariat—this backbone of the nation—to take a step towards socialism,—this step cannot be taken because a few percent of the voters, the darkest, the most backward, the most depraved, stand aside from the struggle, vegetate in the dark, and are ready at the decisive moment to

give their votes and fists to fascism. Democracy has reached absurdity. In the epoch of the organic and planned development of capitalism, which was combined with a systematic class differentiation of the country, democracy played a historical role, including that of the education of the proletariat. Its greatest role it played in Europe. But in the epoch of imperialism, which primarily in Europe, is the epoch of decaying capitalism, democracy has landed in a blind alley. That is why we see in Austria, where the constitution invented by the social democracy, where the social democracy occupies a big place, holds the capital city, and where, consequently, we should be seeing the democratic forms of the transition from democracy to socialism in the most perfect manner—we see in reality that politics is regulated on one side by attacking bands of fascists and on the other by retreating troops of half-armed social democratic workers, and as the orchestral director of the democracy there comes forward an old police agent of the Hapsburg school!

To Be Continued

What Now?

The Bolshevik Opposition and the C. P. S. U.

By the Editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition

Continued From Last Issue . . .
The Question of Unity

To the proposal of the Opposition to reestablish the unity of the party upon Leninist bases, Yaroslavsky slavishly repeats the reply that the social democrats make to the Communists when the latter attempt to establish the united front of struggle against the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the social democracy, we know, invariably affirm that the Communists do not desire the united front, their aim being, on the contrary, the division of the working class, and that in proposing a united front they are doing nothing but deceiving the working masses. In order to do this, the social democrats do not refer to confiscated (and distorted) personal letters, but to the articles and speeches of the leaders of Communism. The indignation of the social democrats feeds in this case on the knowledge of its impotence in the struggle. The Communists, know, however, that we cannot and do not want to struggle against the bourgeoisie,—why do they offer us the united front? You are deceiving the masses!!! —No, reply the Communists, it is you who, by passing yourselves off as fighters, deceive the masses and we are unmasking you before them. If you do not want to be unmasked, prepare to fight!

It is by representing the faction of Stalin as the guardian of the unity of the party that Yaroslavsky deceives the party. Not only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but all the parties of the International are divided into three parts. All the organizers and directors of the Comintern in the epoch of Lenin have been removed, and, in overwhelming numbers excluded from the party. The prestige of world Communism continues to fall: he who says the contrary deceives the party. The five year industrial plan, the statistical draft for economic development—that does not settle the question. The party is the historical and fundamental arm of the proletariat. In its present state, with its present orientation of principle, its present regime and direction the party cannot succeed in its task.

In the Soviet Republic, the facade of the government apparatus, heritage of the October revolution, conceals the real situation of the party. This concealment does not exist in capitalist countries. International Communism is suffering losses all along the line and continues to fall back. And without a well-directed International, no five year plan will lead to socialism.

Under these conditions, the Opposition has once attempted to reestablish unity of the party. Naturally, we never doubted for a minute that this attempt would be repulsed. Now it has happened. The reply is given. The light necessary for those who needed it is given. Many Oppositionists who signed Rakovsky's declaration will still separate themselves from their fundamental nucleus. Let them go their way! For this fundamental nucleus has been able, in these last months, to recover completely from the stab in the back from those who capitulated. The effect of this blow, for the moment, was inordinately strong because of the isolation of the Oppositionists. The worse moment was in June-July. Therefore, it is not for nothing that Yaroslavsky is obliged to quote the June

letter. The editorial board of the Bulletin is now receiving dozens of letters indicating that the crisis of the Opposition is overcome. The reply of Yaroslavsky emphasizes a whole period. The Left Centrists who, out of necessity were a part of the Opposition up to the split of the Center-Right bloc, withdrew from it when official Centrism turn to the Right. That is in the nature of things.

The Leninist opposition closes its ranks again. We must regroup ourselves on a national as well as an international scale. Towards the U.S.S.R. and the C.P. S.U., as towards the International, our method remains as before the method of reforms. But we are not ready to fight for these reforms within the limits of legality which, in the struggle for their preservation, Stalin and his Yaroslavsky constantly narrow down. We esteem it necessary to double our efforts to organize the Bolshevik-Leninists as a faction within Communism, to publish systematically the Bulletin of the Opposition, to introduce it into the U.S.S.R., and to distribute it normally among the vanguard workers of the Soviet Republic. We call upon those who think as we do to determine to help us in this cause.

The Pot of Gold for Unemployed

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

DETROIT-(FP)—While members of the mayor's committee on unemployment confess they can do nothing with the problem and a local poster company is putting up posters to the effect that "Business is good; Keep it good! Nothing can get ahead of the U.S.," the Volunteers of America has this to say:

THE POT OF GOLD!

A local manufacturer announces the placing of thousands of workmen on his payroll. Papers print a pleasing picture of prosperity. Everywhere the story is repeated. With extra enthusiastic exaggerations each time.

Debt-ridden, destitute despairing husbands in hundreds of hamlets read the story with a ray of returning hope. Pitiful, personal belongings hastily heaped into a bundle. A wedding ring . . . a few last little luxuries pawned to pay the fare.

Hurry up, hurry on, to Detroit. That's where happiness is to be had. —We long looked for Pot of Gold has been located! Its in Detroit. . . . Don't the papers say so?

The arrival; and then the slow sodden sinking in of the terrible truth. "They ain't takin' on men. . . . just now!" . . . So there's another destitute, down and out family here. Another hopeless husband. Another weary, work-worn woman with children hanging hungrily to the hem of dargling dress.

Despair. . . . and a final, piteous plea for help from the Volunteers of America. Is it any wonder we NEED and ASK you to help us handle our terrifying task. . . . you to help us handle our terrifying tasks?

Larger numbers of class conscious rebels are looking to

the weekly Militant as their organ of expression. Free from futile bombast, exaggeration, falsehood and hysteria, the Militant aims to give its working class readers the news of the class struggle in this country and throughout the world, based always on facts and illuminated by a Marxist analysis.

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