France Under the Regime of Herriot gle against war, the I. L. D. one for amnesty; the C. G. T. U. (Red Trade Union Center) one against wage cuts.

overwhelming majority in parliament.

French imperialism), we now have an haux still represents France at Geneva. outfit that represents above all, the export industries and several big commer- about the significance of the retreat be- It has proposed a daring governmental them a clear program and issue concial banks. The old majority has broken fore the employees: it is and can only program, knowing full well that the crete slogans. That is the prerequisite up in the face of this situation. On the be-provisional. There has already been bourgeo sie does not as yet need ts one hand, the Marin group (the extreme some talk of difference on whether or participation. It has even given its Republican reactionaries) and part of not the moment is opportune for an votes to the Herriot government to the Tardieu group have declared them attack. The present tendency is not to prove its good "republicanism". In front selves hostile to the group in power from handle all the difficulties at the same of its Communist voters, the Left wing the inception, chiefly because it includes time: to attempt, first, to obtain some. is allowed to push forward for workers' within its majority the votes of the so- thing at Geneva and Lausanne and then, unity, for the struggle against capitalcialists. On the other hand, the rest of to have a free hand to go over to the ism. the Tardicu group, under Flandin-the offensive against the working class by former Minister of Finances expressing keeping an eye on the developments in of the socialist party, the feeble political pose to the reformist organizations the the interests of certain banking groups, the German situation. the interests of certain banking groups, the German situation.

The Struggle Within the Working Class is really deplorable. The accounts renand leaving the field free for the Herriot government.

indication has it given in this respect, in the course of the first days of its existence? And what can it do?

The Lausanne Conference

In foreign policy, it is faced with great problems. It will have to deal with reparations and debts at the Lausanne Conference, with armaments at Geneva. Behind all sorts of vague formulations, it is becoming apparent that the orientation of the new government will not be much different, basically, from that of the former one. No mony.

United States, whose interests in the the Left wing of the party was a solid matter are no secret. But what the bloc embracing not merely the present the class struggle which had fused it to ist Opposition, the proletraian mass would made his sensational Moscow speech Herriot government is driving at, is a Stalin faction but also the group of modification of the form of the foreign Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov who took dispolicy which will make up for fost time tinct shape as a faction at its Right and pull France out of her isolation so flank. that she will be able to present a more solid front against American imperial- domestic policy, on all question of prinism. The Lausanne Conference ought to ciple and tactics, these two sections of ing to a close. The horizon was dotted permit us to gauge correctly the present the ruling bloc had presented a common correlation of forces. In any event, the front for five years. They went hand in Left in the international working class, difficult position of French imperialism hand against "Trotskyism". Together still vague- but unmistakable. In the Socannot be concealed.

Herriot's Internal Policy

the cabinet mentions with sufficient emphasis several measures in favor of the workers-amnesty for political prisoners, which has not yet been voted on: the prolongation of the period of unemplyment aid to 180 days-but it keeps un-

favorable opportunity.

Not even the slightest illusion can exist within the ranks of the Communists with regard to the Herriot government. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note two facts which from the day of its formatradition of the Radical governments, prepare its victory in the development Rykov, Tomsky and Bucharin. cowards in the face of the police, violent when it is a matter of fighting the of Chiappe in the prefecture of police at next issue.

The legislative elections of May 1 and | Paris, Herriot or Chautemps will not of the C. P., its influence are at the 8 have resulted in the formation of a have to fear any more disagreeable de- present time altogether insignificant with new government, composed almost ex- monstrations from the side of the Royal- regards to that of the socialist party. clusively of Radicals and secure in its ists and the Patriotic Youth. Secondly, there is the intervention of the Garde thoroughly its electoral successes. It is avowed representative of the Comite des at Port-de-Bouc. The bourgeoisie can Right as well as from the Left through a certain repercussion is bound to be dept. For one thing, he credits our box I the comite des last rest assured that the rebale will not be In the place of Tardieu, the open and Mobile (militia) in the dockers' strike Forges and the Comite des Houllereres rest assured that the rebels will not be the whole gamut of its tendencies. In produced in the masses. To continue its (the two strongest business combines of allowed much leeway. And then, Jou- front of its petty bourgeois, peasant and policy would mean to continue to isolate

We repeat: we must not be deceived

What is the latter going to do? What is posed with particular acuteness: Who insignificance of the Communist speech- of trade union unity. Only on this con- trary and the most eloquent proof for will prevail in the working class-re- es in parliament because they are mere- dition can we overcome the election de- this is the fact that the "Bloquistas" as formism or Communism? Which, the ly the expressions of a sick movement C. P. or the socialist party, will be able and not the expression of the desires to gain its confidence?

It must be admitted that the activity masses. The party is conducting a strug-

The socialist party intends to exploit rallying forces about itself from the events. After the democratic illusions, radical voters, it shows itself as a partisan of participation in the government.

role played by the C. P. in the country united front against the offensive of the Under these circumstances, the question dered in l'Humanite cannot conceal the prove itself the most zealous champion one taxi. But realities show the conand the actions of the broad working false political course.

But all this is very limited, it touches the self-same sections of sympathizers and does not unfold any substantial mass Lovestone prints a correspondence from time with our advances. We will only movement.

A complete and energetic change in the policy of the party is imposed by the itself, to exhaust itself. It must penetrate into the masses, to develop within for an acquisition of new forces, for leading the masses into struggle. In order to take root in the masses, it is necessary first of all to abandon the entire policy which flows from the theory of "social Fascism".

In view of the threat that is hanging over the head of the employees and In the face of this increased activity of the exploited, the party ought to pro- to prove that we are a small sect. The feat, a sacrifice made for an entirely well as the Stalinists do not let a mo-

In a recent issue of the Workers Age, Therefore we will deal from time to Spain, hailing most probably from his bring a few cases for the present. They Change In Policy of C. P. is Needed National-Communist friends in the Maurin are good examples. group (Workers and Peasants' Bloc). In Badajoz-Our group in Maguilla-Among other things, the Spanish Left In Maguilla, neither the party nor the Opposition comes in for a share of sland- Bloc have sufficient members to fill a Spanish section with 300 members, when had twenty comrades. Progress achieved

> its actual membership is much closer in one month is very satisfactory. Our to 1500 and where its connections and group has now more than fifty members influence stretch over a national scope with a big influence in the trade unions. that neither the official party nor the Bloquistas can hope to reach. To call group in Maninios-In Maninios the taxi the bluff of the Lovestone sheet and of the official party and that of Maurin its Spanish petty bourgeois allies, we are positively vacant. Ours is almost reprint the following account of the growth of the S. L. O from its central has been established, very enthusiastic, organ, El Soviet:

Bullejos-the leader of the Stalinists -and his camp followers, the "Bloquistas" and their clique are attempting Stalinists are employing the expression, ment pass without preoccupying them-_LA VERITE. | selves with this fantastic taxi.

considerable influence in the trade un-Another group organized in Hombres-

In Corunia-The organization of a

bursting. A group of twelve comrades

very active, with a big following and

The official party and the Maurinists do not even know that there is a town by the name of Hombres in Spain. Therefore they haven't a single member there. The Communist Left Opposition, on the other hand, has recently organized a group of comrades who are carrying on an excellent struggle in defense of our viewpoint. This group already enjoys a considerable influence among the trade union organizations in the locality.

In Puenteduema-A month ago we had in this town only two comrades. The work which they have carried on since, has netted the fruitful results of a dozen comrades at this writing. The party and the Maurinists are conspicuous by their complete absence here.

In Tejares (Salamanca)—In Salamanca, the official party has tried its utmost to divide our comrades. But since they could not alienate our class conscious comrades they aligned themselves with really corrupt elements. In their ranks is one who during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was regally appointthat the party has admitted into its ranks the traitor and renegade, Pumerwhich he described as nothing short of ega (Editor of the Central party organ —a sort of Spanish H. M. Wicks—Ed.). explain the easy victory attained over the storation in Russia, i. e., a counter-rev- It is well fo us to notice with which Bucharin faction by Stalin, in spite of olution, he took care to insist that there elements the Stalinists are aligning was no "Right danger" in the leader- themselves in their fight against the petence and bureaucratic intrigue which, ship, that it was not embodied in Buch- Opposition. It is natural that with these gress, since the workers do not care to Not only have they not won over any of our comrades: but when in Tejares (Sal-......

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Break in the Right-Center Bloc and the Left Zig-zag of Stalinism

The events which followed the Fif-1 the "two-class party" revision of Marx- greater persistance and candor, to press Rykov solemnly reported to the foreign matter which faction of the bourgeoisie teenth Congress of the Russian party in ism and the delfication of the middle upon Stalin to carry it out. But in their delegates, without, mind you, blinking controls the levers of the government, it December 1927, at which the whole Op- peasant were born of their political coh- zealous optimism they overlooked a an eye-lash, that the reports concerning will have to hold on to the maintenance position was finally expelled, marked a abitation. Their unity was symbolized point of prime import: of the Versailles Treaty in order to as- decided turning point in the historical when the fundamental program of the sure the general interests of the French struggle we are reviewing. Up to that Comintern was presented to the Sixth in the classes outside the party, whose Trotskyist, counter-revolutionary calbourgeoisie, and to its present military time, the Opposition had been assailed Congress in the name of Stalin and influence on the inside was not at all umny. This was just as solemnly and strength in order to preserve its political under the banner of Stalin's classic Bucharin. place in Europe in its struggle for hege- slogan: "Fire against the Left!" applauded by the international bourgeoisie In this struggle it will clash with the and social democracy. Arrayed against

On all questions of international and they decapitated the Chinese revolution viet Union itself, the proletariat lulled and ruined the immediate prospects of by the long "reconstruction period" was In domestic policy, the declaration of the British revolutionary movement. The theory of "socialism in one country".

Zurich Conference

(Continued from page 1) der the cover of equivocal phrases, its millions of workers that it will strain well defined intentions of attacking the every nerve, in the development of Donald insisted upon stronger measures gies (and in view of their fundament- "We thought that after finishing with wages of the employees, so as to bring events, to keep them prisoners of bourabout an "equitable distribution of sacri- geois rule. But what does the C. I., the fices", that is to say, to give the signal vanguard of the proletariat, say? What for a new, big offensive of the capital- is it doing? The contradictory needs of hard-shell bureaucrat were thinking and discordant creaking of the Stalinist ma- to us." Bucharin cried impotently (but last week. The author was none other ists against wages in general and against bourgeois society and the needs of the feeling. These elements the vanguard chine, grinding away at the foundation on in private!) about Stalin: "Who is he? than the Best Disciple himself, Joseph the standards of living of the workers. proletariat force the S. L. I. to speak. The employees understand the threat in- It remains for the C. I. to utilize this volved and their trade union organiza- deceptive maneuver, made by the S. L. I. tions-autonomous and reformist, both in the service of the bourgeoisie, for the gram. The success they attained with completing to it. He changes his theory ab. by the Daily Worker Publishing Com--have immediately reacted and with interests of the proletariat. The merci- their first demand encouraged them to the Left wing, of cutting down the party ruptly, according to who it is that he pany, Chicago, Ill.), page 25. vigor. The government has beaten a re- less struggle against the Hitlerite adtreat, but in such a fashion as makes vance, the struggle against the Japanese it of an entirely provisional character. | imperialist war, the struggle for the re- olutionists were ardent adherents of No one doubts for a moment that it solute defense of the conditions of the Stalin and Co. With Trotsky out of the will reiterate its proposals at the first workers and the unemployed constitute way, they shifted towards the party tion, show that it remains within the class positions of the proletariat and Stalin's Right, at the posts occupied by launched a furious polemic against Buch. Who were by that time defeated in ad-

lith" embracing the "incorruptible old strength of the Stalin faction lay in the most furious battles were taking place visory capacity, and who was a member Leninist guard" was less real than ap- tremendous party apparatus and in the within the monolithic leadership! Final- of the reactionary 'Union Patriotica'. parent. Those molecular processes of fact that, with the outlawry of the Lenin- ly, as late as October 1929, when Stalin It is no surprise for us when we know gether and put it in the seats of power support even the unsatisfactory Stalin against the "Right danger in the party", did not take long to create a crisis and group as against the Thermidorian platdisrupt the Right-Center bloc.

The End of the Ebb.Tide

At the end of 1927 the protracted ebb of the revolutionary wave was drawwith the first signs of a turn to the an unprecedented audacity.

As against Trotsky, these counter-revthree planks of 2 bold policy and a fer. faction which championed their cause tile field for a united front in action. With greater ardor than was manfested Neither the "red days" of yesterday, nor by the blind, empirical, oscillating group

* An article on the Rolland-Barbusse party resistance to their program was the former was whetting the axe for the ing, and that was not long in coming. workers. First, there is the retention anti-war congress will appear in the diminished by the Opposition's expul- day when it could be swung openly. Even sion, began to unfold their standpoint at the Sixth Congress, both Stalin and

commensurate with what they enjoyed unsmilingly repeated throughout the But the unity of this granite "mono- in the country as a whole; whereas the Comintern, at the very moment when the ed to act for the dictatorship in an adform of the Right wing. This alone can the tendency towards a capitalist rethe cowardice, half-heartedness, incomas usual, distinguished the campaign conducted by the latter.

The Campaign against the Right

The famous Stalinist campaign against the Right danger! the Right began formally towards the ments in the country. The expulsion of ing it briefly, let it always be borne in snatching away all the foreign parties ous adherence to the Left Opposition. the Left wing from the party could have mind that both sides of this battle had from under Bucharin's nose in the "coronly one result: the reactionary forces for years past protested to all who would ridor congress" of the Sixth Congress in the country felt emboldened. When listen that there was no rift in the lute. in 1928, and all the organizational posts Chamberlain in England advocated that No conference went by without Stalin in the Russian party in 1929. Tomsky Trotsky and Zinoviev be shot and Mac- and Bucharin engaging in mutual culo- lamented bewilderedly to his friends: tion", they were merely saying bluntly should be). But behind this melodious peace; now it turns out that they want what the Russian Kulak, Nepman and harmony could already be detected the to apply the same methods of struggle of the capitalist restoration in Russia, which the Right wing stood. While their An intrigant absolutely devoid of prinlooked upon the decapitation of the Left agreement on every point was being ciples. He is concerned only with mainleadership until it embraced but one in- has to choke off at a given moment." dividual: Stalin himself.

by both Stalin and Bucharin, could al- lanov, then every other second rank lead- Djugashvili manner. ready be seen the first signs of Stalin's er of the Right wing until he had torn onslaught upon the coming spokesman of the footing from under Bucharin and Co. the Romain Rolland-Henri Barbusse. of Stalin. They found these champions the Right faction. Not by Stalin him- Only when these typically Stalinist precongress of tomorrow can substitute for where the Oppostion, in its Platform, self; no, he preferred to send out his liminaries had been accomplished did a realistic policy which will fortify the had said they were to be found: at scouts, Lominadze and Schatzkin, who Stalin open up publicly against the "trio" arin. And while the congress (Stalin vance; only their signature to the pre-The latter in turn, now that inner-included) formally endorsed Bucharin, pared statement of capitulation was miss-

differences within the Russian Political The strength of the Right wing lay Bureau were sheer nonsense and simply

arin or Rykov-but in the somewhat ob- people the party cannot make any proscure official, Frumkin! And Bucharin? He was the man who wrote the official have anything to do with such elements. resolution of the Political Bureau against, However that may be, it was never- amanca) the party organized a group of beginning to arise and perceive the end of 1928 and beginning of 1929. Ac- theless by this contempeible game of forty workers, these same workers a growing menace of the dapitalist ele- tually it dates farther back. In sketch- hide-and-seek that Stalin succeeded in short time later declared their unanim-

But while the heroes of the Right wing

-MAX SHACHTMAN. (To be continued)

Prize Contest

We are sorry to say that not a single against the "apostles of world revolu- al accord on principle, that was as it Trotsky we would be able to work in party member was able to win the prize. We are therefore forced to disclose the full truth about the quotation we brought (Sosso) Stalin. It will be found in his monumental work, The Theory and wing only as the first step in their pro- loudly protested, Stalin was engaged in taining power and he subordinates every. Practice of Leninism (Published in 1924

> Of course since then much water has flowed under the bridge and Stalin has At the very congress (December 1927) wept and wrung their hands, Stalin cut after that-in 1926-dialecticized this where the Left Opposition was so brut- down, first, Frumkin, then the Right wing correct revolutionary position on "socialally and disloyally driven from the party head of the Moscow organization, Ug- ism in one country" in the well known

> > Nevertheless, the fact that none of the party comrades responded in the contest is very alarming. The ideological level is being threatened. The comrades must fight for a course in the complete works of Stalin at the Workers School to meet this grave situation.

We, for our part, are still ready to do our bit in support of the project of the vest pocket edition.

Organizational Progress of the German Left Opposition

GELSENKIRCHEN (Ruhr): We can | and is taking very deep roots among the theory of social Fascism, but that it say that in Gelsenkirchen the Left Op- numerous sympathetic comrades. position has the sympathy of 50 percent of the best elements in the Party, and a young Communist of Berlin — "The ers! In the course of the discussion with is "evidently as is usual since the fall of Bruening. The Nazi in the in the course of the last election strug- the Pentecost, to hold educational class- the party, the former came to us and gle, we issued Left Opposition placards, es. The subject was the "united front" said, if we thought that the party was isolation, etc.

After having carefully isolated the Oppositionists, and following all kinds of tricks and strategems, the bureaucracy succeeded in expelling them "on the q. t.". Thereupon the expelled members sent a letter of protest to the District Leadership which they remitted at the same time to the party members in the form of an open letter. Several comrades declared themselves ready to sign this letter and to support our demands. especially to open the discussion. It is, precisely this fact the sub-district lead- influence of the social democracy among erdship fears most. Before its intimid- the workers, and then to establish the ating, its threats to immediately expel real united front from below. There can the elimination of its old cadres, is deall those suspected of "Trotskyism", the be no question of splitting the trade stroyed. But if Trotsky and the Left comrades in the ranks withdrew, incap- unions, they told us. They declared for Opposition make the same statement into a theory, Brandler adopts the slogan its complete independence for the future application; we must elaborate new

All this is, of course, temporary. The Left Opposition does not consider itself beaten. On the contrary the work of the Left Opposition is being organized to the second question they only of the deportation of thousands of collaboration with the U. S. S. R. in the same thing. They recognized the united front of all the workers. 1500 nize that the tactic was false but the workers, non-party, Communist, socialist do not wish to draw all the consequence said that it was necessary to retain the tion of Blumkin. In 1928 the Brand-tion. But we fear that this slogan can be against unemptoyment by systematic only of the deportation of thousands of collaboration with the U. S. S. R. in the united front of all the workers. 1500 nize that the tactic was false but the connection with the control of production of Blumkin. In 1928 the Brand-tion. But we fear that this slogan can be against quemptoyment by systematic only of the deportation of thousands of collaboration with the U. S. S. R. in the united front of all the workers. 1500 nize that the tactic was false but the connection with the control of production with the control of production with the united front of all the workers. 1500 nize that the tactic was false but the connection with the united front of all the workers. 1500 nize that the tactic was false but the connection with the U. S. S. R. in the against quemptoy and the control of production with the U. S. S. R. in the against quemptoy and the control of production with the united front of all the workers. 1500 nize that the tactic was false but the connection with the united front of all the workers. 1500 nize that the tactic was false but the united front of all the workers.

besides that, it is attracting many com- various sub-sections called upon the the political leaders of the sub-section when Stalin concerns himself with theor- attack against the Reichsbanner local U.O. The Rote Fahne of the June 7th rades who up till now were indifferent. Youth to form open air camps, during on the subject of the so-called turn in etical questions". But for Russia this called forth a united front in 24 hours wrote on this subject: with the inscription "Trotsky says: and "Fascism, social democracy, Com- making a turn we were correct, but we Strengthen the Party". However, even munism". In my group we discussed would have to keep our silence and the comrades who agree with our view- the difference between Fascism and the not argue these questions with them. point still fear the enormous power of social democracy, but due to the false the apparatus, its threats, slanders, and well known point of view that the unit organization with whom we had following questions concretely: How do tion." you describe the united front of the work- BRANDLER AND STALINISM ing class? (1) Do you consider the so- SPANDAU.cialist party a prop of Fascism and is well as the rank and file, social fascists?

that it was first necessary to destroy the able of offering any effective resistance. work in the Free Trade Unions, disavow- about Russia they are counter revolu- issued by comrade Trotsky in the begin- development of the struggle. That is methods after realizing in practise the ing the R. T. U. O. (Red Trade Union tionists and Trotsky is to the "right of ning of 1930, which consists of the strug- correct! The meeting really expressed correct general line". Opposition)

was useless to employ the word "social BERLIN: Excerpts from a letter by Fascism" in discussions with the work-

"It is interesting to note that an old party develops in this question, the ans. frequent discussions, participated in the wers to our questions were always em- discussion of another sub-section and barrassed and pitiful. We posed the defended the position of the Left Opposi-

it because of that, you split the trade O. (Brandler Opposition) our comrade politics. Now it is true that revolution- stein spoke in the name of the Socialist unions (R. T. U. O.)? (2) Do you consi- Bauer took the floor Brandler replied aries should not be moralistic pedants, Labor Party and Sandner for the C. P. essary as rapidly as possible to do away der the leaders of the socialist party as with some nonsense about Trotsky, made but still less-bureaucratic cynics. 'Gyp-'In reply to the first question they said Next?) in which the Brandlerites are shown to be enriching the arsenal of Stalinist falsification.

For Brandler, the German party, by

and at the time of the assassination of of his naturally limited ideas. Besides defense in Breslau. Blumkin, their daily paper condemned . . . so much anti-Bolshevist Trotskyism this act. One could ascertain even then could spoil things for them with Stalin. of this tactic? Does it not immediately the development of the Brandlerites to- UNITED FRONT ACHIEVED wards Stalinism. Here is Brandler's IN BRESLAU position towards "socialism in one coun- BRESLAU .-- As in all German cities, SPLITTING TRADE UNION TACTIC "stupidity" is correct, because of the in- of all the workers in this city, ready to contestable successes of socialist con- defend themselves against Fascism. The Thaelmann, the session of the National struction." But Brandler is always C. P. comrades united with members of Committee emphasized the need of creatspeaking of possibilities of beginning the Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.) and ing a broad and amplified opposition construction, possibilities that no one the Reichsbanner; and in two days the movement, besides the R. T. U. O., even thinks of denying. But what we streets of the city presented a complete- which by new methods and by a rapid demand to know is this; if this constructly changed picture. It was no longer strategic orientation toward the faction can be victoriously achieved com- the Nazis that dominated them, but the torics will no longer block the road topletely and without the aid of the Eur-

opean revolution. On the question of the appropriation of 5000 workers in one of the largest of the ideas of the Russian Opposition halls of Breslau. by Stalin, Brandler cynically replied that At the meeting called by the C. P. G. to "gyp" ("Klauen") was not a sin in name of the provisional committee. Eck. at our disposal for this task."

All the speakers were almost unanim- with the policy of the so-called "plans uneasy by his latest pamphlet (What ping" certainly does no harm to those ous on the analysis of the situation, but of attack" and "programs of struggle". from whom one "gyps", for it is only a discussion on the role of the parties However they do not wish completely the involuntary admission of the correct- took place. The representative of the to liquidate the R. T. U. O. That is why ness of their policy. But it does harm C. P. approved the creation of common they state that "The general line of the the revolutionary party which exists by committees of struggle, without at the R. T. U. O. was and remains correct, same time confusing the respective pro- but it is necessary to achieve an acceler-True to his lack of principle, erected grams of each party, which should retain ated course, an audacious turn for its Otto Bauer". Brandler approved not gle against unemployment by systematic the desire of the masses to form a genu-

lerites protested against the deportations, only be an alien substance in the system have enrolled to organize groups of self-

What does the C. P. leadership think

bear fruit? WILL THEY LIQUIDATE THE

try": Textually he says that this theory the Fascist terror has grown in Breslau | Thaelmann has spoken on the 'turn'

"In full agreement with the report of ward the revolutionary class front with Monday evening, there was a meeting the socialist workers, the unorganized and the Christian workers, but which will facilitate on the contrary, its devel-A member of the S. A. P. spoke in the opment; we will consecrate all the forces

And in another paragraph: "It is nec-