

France Under the Regime of Herriot

The legislative elections of May 1 and 8 have resulted in the formation of a new government, composed almost exclusively of Radicals and secure in its overwhelming majority in parliament.

In the place of Tardieu, the open and forged representative of the Comité des Forges and the Comité des Houlleries (the two strongest and best organized of French imperialisms), we now have an outfit that represents above all, the export industries and several big commercial banks. The old majority has broken up in the face of this situation.

What is the latter going to do? What 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.

In this struggle it will clash with the United States, whose interests in the matter are no secret. But what the Herriot government is driving at, is a modification of the form of the foreign policy which will make up for the loss and pull France out of her isolation so that she will be able to present a more solid front against American imperialism.

Herriot's Internal Policy

In domestic policy, the declaration of 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 unemployment aid to 180 days—but it keeps under the cover of equitable phrases, its well defined intentions of attacking the wages of the employees, so as to bring about an "equitable distribution of sacrifices", that is to say, to give the signal for a new, big offensive of the capitalists against wages in general and against the standards of living of the workers.

Zurich Conference

(Continued from page 1) millions of workers that it will strain every nerve, in the development of events, to keep them prisoners of bourgeois rule. But what does the C. I., the vanguard of the proletariat, say? What is it doing? The proletarian needs of bourgeois society and the needs of the proletariat force the S. L. I. to speak. It remains for the C. I. to utilize this deceptive maneuver, made by the S. L. I. in the service of the bourgeoisie, for the interests of the proletariat. The merciless struggle against the Hitlerite advance, the struggle against the Japanese imperialism, the struggle for the resolute defense of the conditions of the workers and the unemployed constitute three planks of a united front and a fertile field for a united front in action.

Organizational Progress of the German Left Opposition

GELSENKIRCHEN (Ruhr): We can say that in Gelsenkirchen the Left Opposition has the sympathy of 60 percent of the best elements in the Party, and besides that, it is attracting many comrades who up till now were indifferent. In the course of the last election struggle, we issued Left Opposition placards, with the inscription "Trotsky says: Strengthen the Party". However, even the comrades who agree with our viewpoint still fear the enormous powers of the apparatus, its threats, slanders, isolation, etc.

After having carefully isolated the Oppositionists, and following all kinds of tricks and stratagems, 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 leadership fears most. Before its intimidation, those threatened to "immediately" expel all its suspects of "Trotskyism", the comrades in the ranks withdrew, incapable of offering any effective resistance. 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

Paris, Herriot or Chaumettes will not have to fear any more disagreeable demonstrations from the side of the Royalists and the Patriotic Youth. Secondly, there is the intervention of the Garde Mobile (militia in the dockers' strike at Port-de-Bouc. The bourgeoisie can rest assured that the rebels will not be allowed much leeway. And then, Jouhaux still represents France at Geneva.

We repeat: we must not be deceived about the significance of the retreat before the employees: it is and can only be provisional. There has already been some talk of difference on whether or not the moment is opportune for an attack. The present tendency is not to handle all the difficulties at the same time: to attempt, first, to obtain something at Geneva and Lausanne and then, to have a free hand to go over to the offensive against the working class by keeping an eye on the developments in the German situation.

The Struggle Under the Working Class

Under these circumstances, the question is posed with particular acuteness: Who will prevail in the working class—reformism or Communism? Which, the C. P. or the socialist party, will be able to gain its confidence? It must be admitted that the activity

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 Fifteenth Congress of the Russian party in December 1927, at which the whole Opposition was finally expelled, marked a decided turning point in the historical struggle we are reviewing. Up to that time, the Opposition had been assailed under the banner of Stalin's classic slogan: "Fire against the Left!" and sponsored by the international bourgeoisie and social democracy. Arrayed against the Left wing of the party was a solid bloc embracing not merely the present Stalin faction but also the group of Bukharin-Tomsky-Rykov who took distinct shape as a faction at its Right flank.

On all questions of international and domestic policy, on all question of principle and tactics, these two sections of the ruling bloc had presented a common front for five years. They went hand in hand against "Trotskyism". Together they decapitated the Chinese revolution and ruined the immediate prospects of the British revolutionary movement. The theory of "socialism in one country"

the "two-class party" revision of Marxism and the deflection of the middle peasant and worker from their political cohabitation. Their unity was symbolized when the fundamental program of the Comintern was presented to the Sixth Congress in the name of Stalin and Bukharin. But the unity of this granite "monolith" embracing the "incorruptible old Leninist guard" was less real than appeared. Those molecular forces of the class struggle which had fused it together and put it in the seats of power did not take long to create a crisis and disrupt the Right-Center bloc. The end of the Ebb-Tide At the end of 1927 the protracted ebb of the revolutionary wave was drawing to a close. The horizon was dotted with the first signs of a turning to the left in the international working class, still vague, but unmistakable. In the Soviet Union itself, the proletariat lullied by the long "reconstruction period" was beginning to arise and perceive the growing menace of the capitalist elements in the country. The expulsion of the Left wing from the party could have only one result: the reactionary forces in the country felt emboldened. When Chamberlain in England advocated that Trotsky and Zinoviev be shot and MacDonald insisted upon stronger measures against the "apostles of world revolution", they were merely saying bluntly what the Russian Kulak, Nepman and hard-shell bureaucrat were thinking and feeling. These elements the vanguard of the capitalist restoration in Russia, looked upon the decapitation of the Left wing only as the first step in their program. The success they attained with their first demand encouraged them to an unprecedented audacity. As against Trotsky, these counter-revolutionists were ardent adherents of Stalin and Co. With Trotsky out of the way they shifted towards the party faction which championed their cause with greater ardor than was manifested by the blind, empirical, oscillating group of Stalin. They found these champions where the Opposition, in its Platform, had said they were to be found: at Rykov's Right, and at the posts occupied by Tomsky, Tomsky and Bukharin. The latter in turn, now that inner-party resistance to their program was diminished by the Opposition's expulsion, began to unfold their standpoint

* An article on the Rolland-Barbuse anti-war congress will appear in the next issue.

of the C. P. Its influence are at the present time altogether insignificant with regards to that of the socialist party.

The socialist party intends to exploit thoroughly its electoral successes. It is rallying forces about itself from the Right as well as from the Left through the whole gamut of its tendencies. In front of its petty bourgeois, peasant and radical voters, it shows itself as a partisan of participation in the government. It has proposed a daring governmental program, knowing full well that the bourgeoisie does not as yet need its participation. It has even given its votes to the Herriot government to prove its good "republicanism". In front of its Communist voters, the Left wing is allowed to push forward for workers' unity, for the struggle against capitalism.

In the face of this increased activity of the socialist party, the feeble political role played by the C. P. in the country is really deplorable. The accounts rendered in the "Humanité" cannot conceal the insignificance of the Communist speeches in parliament because they are merely the expressions of a sick movement and not the expression of the desires and the actions of the broad working masses. The party is conducting a strug-

The Campaign against the Right

The famous Stalinist campaign against the Right began formally towards the end of 1928 and beginning of 1929. Actually it dates farther back. In sketching it briefly, let it always be borne in mind that both sides of this battle had for years past protested to all who would listen that there was no rift in the lute. No conference went by without Stalin and Bukharin engaging in mutual eulogies (and in view of their fundamental accord on principle, that was as it should be). But behind this melodious harmony could already be detected the discordant creaking of the Stalinist machine, grinding away at the foundation on which the Right wing stood. While their agreement on every point was being loudly protested, Stalin was engaged in completing the process, begun against the Left wing, of cutting down the party leadership until it embraced but one individual: Stalin himself. At the very congress (December 1927) where the Left Opposition was so brutally and disloyally driven from the party by both Stalin and Bukharin, could already be seen the first signs of Stalin's onslaught upon the coming spokesman of the Right faction. Not by Stalin himself; no, he preferred to send out his scouts, Lominand and Schatzkin, who launched a furious polemic against Bukharin. And while the congress (Stalin included) formally endorsed Bukharin, the former was whetting the axe for the day when it could be swung openly. Even at the Sixth Congress, both Stalin and

greater persistence and candor, to press upon Stalin to carry it out. But in their zealous optimism they overlooked a point of prime import: The strength of the Right wing lay in the classes outside the party, whose influence on the inside was not at all commensurate with what they enjoyed in the country as a whole; whereas the strength of the Stalin faction lay in the tremendous party apparatus and in the fact that, with the outlawry of the Leninist opposition, the proletarian mass would support even the unsatisfactory Stalin group as against the Thermidorian platform of the Right wing. This alone can explain the easy victory attained over the Bukharin faction by Stalin, in spite of the cowardice, half-heartedness, incompetence and bureaucratic intrigue which, as usual, distinguished the campaign conducted by the latter.

Change in Policy of C. P. is Needed

A complete and energetic change in the policy of the party is imposed by the events. After the democratic illusions, a certain repercussion is bound to be produced in the masses. To continue its policy would mean to continue to isolate itself, to exhaust itself. It must penetrate into the masses, to develop within them a clear program and issue concrete slogans. That is the prerequisite 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 of the exploited, the party ought to propose to the reformist organizations the united front against the offensive of the government and the bosses. It must prove itself the most zealous champion of trade union unity. Only on this condition can we overcome the election defeat, a sacrifice made for an entirely false political course. —LA VERITE.

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BRANDLER AND STALINISM SPANDAU.

At the meeting called by the C. P. G. O. (Brandler Opposition) our comrade Bauer took the floor Brandler replied with some nonsense about Trotsky, made uneasy by his latest pamphlet ("What Next") in which the Brandlerites are shown to be enriching the arsenal of Stalinist falsification. For Brandler, the German party, by the elimination of its old cadres, is destroyed. But if Trotsky and the Left Opposition make the same statement about Russia they are counter-revolutionists and Trotsky is to the "right of Otto Bauer". Brandler approved not only of the deportation of thousands of Oppositionists, but also of the assassination of Blumkin. In 1928 the Brand-

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Monday evening, there was a meeting of 5000 workers in one of the largest halls of Breslau. A member of the S. A. P. spoke in the name of the provisional committee. Eckstein spoke in the name of the Socialist Labor Party and Sandner for the C. P. All the speakers were almost unanimously on the analysis of the situation, but a discussion on the role of the parties took place. The representative of the C. P. approved the creation of common committees of struggle, without at the same time confusing the respective programs of each party, which should retain its complete independence for the future development of the struggle. That is correct! The meeting really expressed the desire of the masses to form a genuine united front of all the workers, 15000 workers, non-party, Communist, socialist youth, and members of the Reichsbanner

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Prize Contest

We are sorry to say that not a single party member was able to win the prize. We are therefore forced to disclose the full truth about the quotation we brought last week. The author was none other than the Best Disciple himself, Joseph (Sosso) Stalin. It will be found in his monumental work, The Theory and Practice of Leninism (Published in 1924 by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.), page 25. Of course since then much water has flowed under the bridge and Stalin has after that—in 1926—diabolized this correct revolutionary position on "socialism in one country" in the well known Djugashvili manner. 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.

WILL THEY LIQUIDATE THE SPLITTING TRADE UNION TACTIC

Thuelmann has spoken on the 'R. T. U. O. The Subject of the June 7th wrote on this note: "In full agreement with the report of Thuelmann, the session of the National Committee emphasized the need of creating a broad and amplified opposition movement, besides the R. T. U. O., which by new methods and by a rapid strategic orientation toward the factories will no longer block the road toward the revolutionary class front with the socialist workers, the unorganized and the Christian workers, but which will facilitate on the contrary, its development; we will consecrate all the forces at our disposal for this task." And in another paragraph: "It is necessary as rapidly as possible to do away with the policy of the so-called 'plans of attack' and 'programs of struggle'. However they do not wish completely to liquidate the R. T. U. O. That is why they state that "The general line of the R. T. U. O. was and remains correct, but it is necessary to achieve an accelerated course, an audacious turn for its application; we must elaborate new methods after realizing in practise the correct general line". Always the same thing. They recognize that the tactic was false but they do not wish to draw all the consequent that are incumbent on them.

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Growth of Spanish Left

In a recent issue of the Workers Age, Lovestone prints a correspondence from Spain, hailing most probably from his National-Communist friends in the Maurin group (Workers and Peasants' Bloc). Among other things, the Spanish Left Opposition comes in for a share of slander and lies on the part of the correspondent. For one thing, he credits our Spanish section with 300 members, when its actual membership is much closer to 1500 and where its connections and influence stretch over a national scope that neither the official party nor the Bloquistas can hope to reach. To call the Spanish of the Lovestone sheet and its bluff petty bourgeois allies, we reprint the following account of the growth of the S. L. O from its central organ, El Soviet:

Bullejos—the leader of the Stalinists—and his camp followers, the "Bloquistas" and their clique are attempting to prove that we are a small sect. The Stalinists are employing the expression, which they consider especially droll: the Trotskyite can all be taken care of by one taxi. But realities show the contrary and the most eloquent proof for this is the fact that the "Bloquistas" as well as the Stalinists do not let a moment pass without preoccupying themselves with this fantastic taxi.

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