

# World Socialism

## Revolutionary Socialism In France

By HERBERT ZAM

A development which may change the entire situation in France, at least so far as the labor movement is concerned, is the recent formation of a united left wing in the Socialist Party, "Gauche Revolutionnaire" (Revolutionary Left) under the leadership of Marceau Pivert, member of the national executive committee of the French Socialist Party. The new group was formed through the fusion of several groups, including the left wing of the "Bataille Socialiste," the "Action Socialiste," the "C. A. S. R.," the "Spartacus" group, the left wing of "Revolution Constructive" and several minor groupings, as well as numerous Socialists who were not previously in any group. The backbone of the new group is the Pivert Group, which was formerly part of the "Bataille Socialiste," led by Zyromski.

Zyromski was for many years looked upon as the leader of the left wing in the Socialist Party. Recently, however, he seems to have been completely under the influence of the Communists and his popularity has waned. His position on war (readers of The CALL will remember it from the famous Dan-Zyromski-Bauer thesis) brought him nearer not only the Communists, but also the official leadership of the party under Blum. Pivert at first tried to remain in "Bataille Socialiste" in the hope that Zyromski would be swung away from support of national defense, but the formation of Gauche Revolutionnaire seems to indicate that he has given up that idea.

### Issues Paper

The first issue of the organ of the new group, also called "La Gauche Revolutionnaire," contains the platform of the group and the reasons for its formation. The platform consists of six main points:

1. The defensive struggle against fascism must be converted into an offensive struggle against capitalism. The working class must choose between the alternative of a rapidly developing authoritarian capitalist state or the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the form of a workers' and peasants' government.

2. For a peoples' front of struggle. In view of the decreasing importance of parliamentarism, the main function of the peoples' front should be to prepare the masses for extra parliamentary struggle.

3. For a peoples' militia and the establishment of committees of public safety. The peoples' militia is looked upon not merely as a defensive weapon against fascism, but also as a preparatory step for revolutionary struggle. The committees of public safety would endeavor, together with the trade unions and peasant organizations, to control prices, the manufacture and transportation of munitions and other tasks.

4. In the struggle against war, the proletariat must on no account associate itself with a war conducted by its exploiters. Under a capitalist regime the slogan "national defense" is a bloody delusion. Neither in the name of "democracy" against external fascism nor of the defense of Soviet Russia nor of diplomatic considerations can any concession be made to war. The slogan of the revolutionists must be "If you want peace, prepare the revolution."

5. For the liberation of colonial people. The Socialists, while supporting the movements of the

colonial people for their freedom, must preserve their own organizations and Socialist policies against the native feudal and capitalist and petty bourgeois elements.

6. For organic unity. Neither of the two Internationals has an acceptable revolutionary policy. Unity alone will not be a guarantee for victory, as the united party will include contradictory tendencies. But it is only out of the internal development of a united revolutionary movement the correct policy will emerge. The fusion of the two parties will make possible an approach to the unorganized workers, will raise the fighting capacity of the masses and open new possibilities for revolutionary action. Organic unity, on a national and international scale, must be based on broad internal democracy in order to permit the expression of different views.

The Left Wing declares that its intention is to win a majority of the membership of the French Socialist Party to this program.

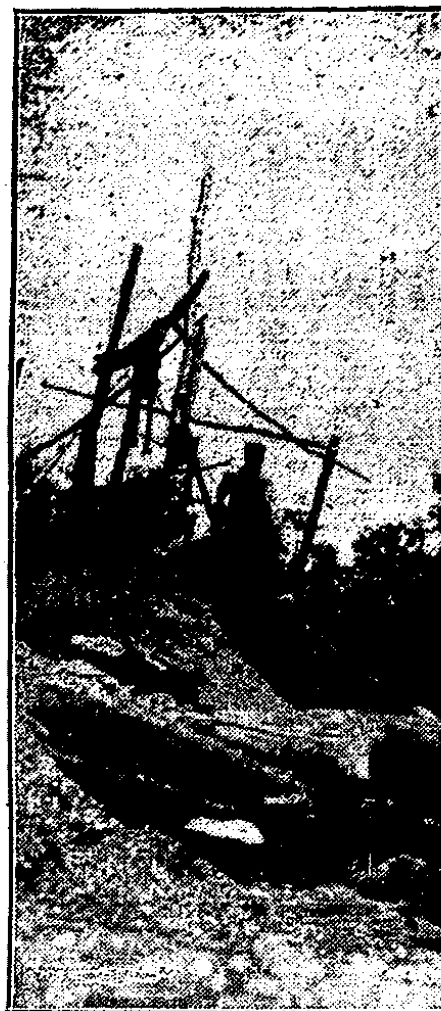
### Formation Timely

The formation of the Left Wing is very timely, and has undoubtedly been spurred on by recent developments in the country. The policy of the peoples' front has begun to collapse about the ears of its sponsors. Internally Laval has been flirting with the fascists. His continued promises to suppress them have not been kept, while the fascists have been growing more aggressive. The proposal of Pivert to organize defense groups has in the past been rejected, but today it has become clear even to the blind that no other method of fighting against the fascists is available. At the same time Laval has been orienting in foreign policy toward a rapprochement with Germany and an alliance with Hitler, thus scrapping the Franco-Soviet pact and leaving its supporters in the labor movement holding the bag. The recent Congress of the radicals and the elections to the Senate have further shown the unreliability of this party.

All these events combine to destroy the tendency, which was especially fostered by the Communist Party, to tie the labor movement to the Franco-Soviet pact and to rely on the radicals and bourgeoisie for the fight against fascism, rather than on the revolutionary action of the working class. The formation of the Left Wing will undoubtedly hasten a rapid reorientation in the Socialist Party and in the peoples' front.

One of the first acts of the Left Wing was to demand the calling of a special congress of the Seine organization of the party in order to put an end to the paralysis which has gripped it since the Mulhouse conference. This demand has been granted. The Left Wing is preparing actively for this congress and is agitating for the rejection of the report of the leadership (Zyromski). It has also begun a vigorous campaign against the expulsions of the Trotskyites and others from the youth organization, without in any way endorsing the policies or tactics of these comrades. The likelihood that the expelled will be reinstated in the near future was seen in a report of a special commission which on October 15 found that the expulsions were

# CAPITALISM



Pennsylvania coal miners—lotion through their bootleg coal in bare living to the "bootleggers"!

## WINGS

The public appearances and utterances of J. P. Morgan are as surprising as they are infrequent. Wall Street personified, lord of the dollar and pound, master of countless human destinies, ruler of industry, holder of the world's purse-strings for war or peace, he seems hardly human to most people. He is finance-capital in a frock coat, to the masses, a cartoon money-bag with a silk hat on top.

Portentous is the silence of this potentate. Mysterious are his movements from Wall Street to London's "City." Seldom, if ever, will he speak to reporters. Like the Bank of England's Sir Montague Norman, Morgan is a Greta Garbo among the world's omnipotents.

Once he was exposed unwillingly to the full glare of publicity, before a congressional committee, and a midget was placed upon his lap! The effect was sensational, colossal!

Now for the second time Morgan, the man, has been bared before the masses. This time it was a voluntary exposure. He actually spoke willingly to the reporters on his recent return to the United States.

What was the message, so full of import, that it burst through the bounds of his reserve?

All private fortunes will be wiped out in 30 years unless taxes and governmental expenditures are cut, Morgan told the press, and all colleges, many schools and all libraries will disappear!

Henry Ford, more garrulous than Morgan, has frequently revealed a similarly surprising contrast between purse power and mental puerility. His ideas about the Jews, about the depression being only mental, and so forth, are a match for Morgan's conception about colleges and libraries dis-

contrary to the party statutes. The Trotskyist group in the Socialist Party is not at present part of the united Left Wing, but is considering affiliation if an acceptable program is elaborated.