

French People's Front in New Crisis

Labor Systematically Robbed Of Gains Made in Struggles

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direction of a Bonapartist regime — at first, due chiefly to the requirements of foreign policy (alliance with England, strangling of the Spanish Revolution, rapprochement with Germany), but soon the internal situation (especially financial) forced the Senate (dominated by the Radicals) to kick over the traces and to replace the Blum cabinet by the Chautemps cabinet. In between, the SP has been trying to make the class-collaborationist policy of the People's Front palatable to the workers and to maintain harmony within its own ranks.

In any case, if one doubts the depth of the dissension within the Peoples Front, or, perhaps even the existence of a crisis, the smoke that has not ceased to obscure the political skies since the coming to power of Chautemps leaves little doubt as to the existence of the crisis, and, to a lesser extent, of its nature.

Socialists Continue Old Line

The National Congress of the SP at Marseilles (July 10-14) openly revealed the crisis. Coming on top of a postponement which facilitated the CAP (Permanent Administrative Committee) in making the decision to support the Chautemps cabinet, after having cracked down on the youth by dissolving the Seine Federation and its paper, *La Jeune Garde* and expelling the youth leaders, after having illegalized Pivert's "Revolutionary Left", there was bound to be fireworks and the Blum-Faure bureaucracy had to exert all its bureaucratic pressure to maintain its majority. But little did anyone think that the "Socialist" government bureaucracy would be so hard-pressed to maintain its majority, nor that there would be such violent incidents as the fist-fights and other turbulent scenes that many times threatened actually to stop the proceedings.

The most interesting aspect of the Congress was undoubtedly the existence of the three tendencies—Blum-Faure, Zyromski-Bracke and Pivert. To be sure, there was no opposition to the Peoples Front in principle—all such opposition having already been expelled or thoroughly squelched. The differences of opinions, therefore, all took place within the framework of class-collaboration, and are, at most, the differences between reformism and centrism. The actions of the first Peoples Front Government, "under Socialist leadership," were overwhelmingly approved by 4,549 to 26.

The major debate, front page news throughout the country, was over the Blum-Faure motion to continue participation in the Chautemps cabinet. It was carried after a tumultuous session by 3,484 mandates against 1,866. The differences became clear, however, only on the debate over general policy, which included perspectives for the future of the party. Blum-Faure again carried the day for their outright reformist policy, receiving 2,949 mandates. Zyromski-Bracke received 1,545 mandates for their positions, which was to support Chautemps but to prepare immediately for the replacement of Chautemps by another Blum

cabinet. In the words of Zyromski: "The Chautemps government is not in the image of the People's Front, but is a poor substitute (ersatz) for a People's Front Government." Pivert indignantly denied that he was a "Trotskyite" and proposed a "fighting government"—i.e., the formation of another Blum government immediately, for which he received 894 mandates. The victory of the right-wing bureaucracy was sealed with the election of the new CAP, on which there are 18 supporters of Blum-Faure, 9 of Zyromski-Bracke and 6 of Pivert.

The Stalinists, having toyed with the slogan of "Thorez to power" (Thorez being the General Secretary of the CP and its outstanding leader at present) on July 14th, were the next to cause the political pulse to beat when, on July 29th, *L'Humanite* (official organ of the CP) ran a front-page editorial for the immediate consummation of organic unity. "The workers want the united party. It was a mistake to have split in 1920." All this of course, with one eye cocked on the cantonal elections; for, under the French system of run-off elections and the People's Front agreements organic unity would mean that the unified party (which the Stalinists would be sure to dominate as they have in Catalonia in the case of the PSUC) would gain at the expense of the Radicals.

Radicals Divided

The Radicals, themselves, were meanwhile being torn in two. The so-called left wing, dominated by Daladier-Herriot and using the notorious Chautemps, of Stavisky scandal fame, as their mouthpiece, were confident that they could continue to use the alliance with the CP and SP to their own advantage. Fortified by increasing support from the big bourgeoisie (including *Le Temps*) they have so far kept the upper hand as against the so-called right wing, led by Caillaux, Bonnet and Delbos, who want to break with the CP and form a center government with Flandin, Laval and Co., more or less on the model of the old "cartel" governments.

The People's Front has entered its stage of permanent crisis. The government must more and more function openly for what it is—the conscious instrument by which the bourgeoisie maintains its oppression of the masses. That is the real significance of the communique of Oct. 2. What else can it mean when "the government recalls to all citizens the necessity for public order and social discipline," when it makes an appeal to the workers "to renounce definitely... all occupation of factories," when it is "resolved to put an end to the agitations and activities of certain foreigners on the soil of the republic"? All the parties of the People's Front are afraid of one thing above all—that the workers will become fed up with the continued treachery of the People's Front and will take matters into their own hands again, as they did in the glorious days of June 1936. That is why all the various proposals, contradictory and self-contradictory as they are, must yield before the imperative necessity for the French bourgeoisie to complete the establishment of

l'union sacrée, the national unity which will permit them to enter the coming war without any internal dissension at home.

The cantonal elections are important only insofar as they will elect the people who will then elect the members of the Senate. Undoubtedly, they will witness a "victory" for the People's Front, especially for the Stalinists, now the strongest single party in France. Apropos of the Senate, it is necessary to recall that part of the new program of the SP, published after the Marseille Congress, was for the reform of the Senate. When I asked Maurice Paz, member of the CAP and authoritative spokesman for Blum, "How can you expect the Radicals to carry out your new program, when the first program hasn't been carried out," he replied: "If the Radicals don't accept our new program, we must then finish the first program." Somewhat perplexed by this "logic," I took my question to Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx and an important cog in the reformist bureaucracy. This worthy stated quite baldly: "We have entered into an alliance with the Radicals. This entails certain responsibilities on our part, which we must be prepared to carry out." Such is the leadership that the French workers have today!

Sharp Struggles Ahead

What a picture France presents today! The crisis is evident. Mass revolutionary leadership does not yet exist. The fascist movement is divided within itself and not yet prepared to take power. The bourgeoisie continually lower the standard of living of the workers by depreciating the franc, and, incidentally weaken the position of the government as the elections approach. Hundreds of workers and peasants are being massacred in the French colonies, in Indo-China, in Algeria, in Morocco. Bonapartism rears its ugly head. Bourgeois democracy has outlived its historical usefulness. The counter-revolution is being prepared behind the backs of the People's Front.

The results of the elections can only intensify the crisis. If the workers enter the path of direct class struggle action in the near future, the bourgeoisie may be forced to rely upon a Blum-Thorez government to strangle the revolutionary initiative of the masses. Otherwise, if war does not intervene, the government may witness a steady drift to the right. In any case, complicated as the French political scene is, we do not hesitate to predict that Chautemps will fall in the not-too-distant future and that the French workers will be face to face with a ferocious reaction, wielded by the Stalinists, militarists or fascists, or any combination of the three. No, the course has not been altered by the French cabinet! It is simply that the French bourgeoisie are preparing for tomorrow. Will the workers be ready?

UNSER WORT

The attention of comrades familiar with the German language is called to "Unser Wort", the official paper of the German Section of the 4th International.

Comrades wishing to subscribe to the paper, or to receive bundle orders should use the following address for communications:

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Nominate James P. Cannon for Mayor in New York Campaign

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City Council, are now also the candidates of the Stalinists.

A series of "disgraceful deals" has removed the "independent" candidates for judgeships from the "labor" slates, and has replaced them with Republican, and in some cases, Democratic machine politicians.

Class Issues Dominant

Cannon's nomination will give the militant workers of New York an opportunity to express their determination to break with capitalist politics in all of its forms. The platform on which Cannon will run stresses the fundamental class character of the issue confronting the workers of New York, and the absolute necessity of solving them in the only possible way: by the independent class struggle of the workers for socialism. The platform goes on further to explain the nature of the People's Front which has been formed in support of LaGuardia, how it differs in no respect from the support given Roosevelt, and how the LaGuardia movement is used as a means for strangling independent struggle on the part of the workers.

The effects of the LaGuardia People's Front are already being felt in the New York labor movement. Not only the old-line trade union bureaucrats, but also the Lovestoneites, Stalinists and right-wing Socialists in the trade unions, are spending all of their time clamping down on militancy

in the current strike situation. A militant struggle might reveal that the "friend of labor" sends his police force too aggressively against the strikers. This has been noticeable, for example, during the recent painters' strike, in the Automat strike, and in the desperate efforts now being made to prevent the calling of a transport workers' strike on the B. M. T. subway.

At the same time, no protest is being made against the drastic cuts now being carried out by LaGuardia in next year's city budget, cuts which will be felt by every worker, since they involve wage increases, provision for adequate medical service, and many types of social services.

Write-In Campaign

It will be impossible to place Cannon's name on the ballot, at this late date. Thomas, in keeping with the small-time maneuvering he has been attempting in the campaign, waited until the last day permissible under the law to withdraw his name. This left no time for the circulation of a nominating petition. It will therefore be necessary to organize to "write-in" Cannon's name on election day. In spite of the handicap this may prove in terms of number of votes, it will in no way be allowed to interfere with or slow down the campaign itself—a campaign that will put the full program and policies of revolutionary socialism before wider sections of the New York workers than at any time during the past decade.

"New International" On Way

The New International magazine, known throughout the world in labor and revolutionary circles as an outstanding organ of revolutionary Marxism, will begin publication again, the first issue of the revived publication to be out sometime this month, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Soviet Republic.

Regarded generally as the most significant theoretical organ of the revolutionary movement, its sponsors are confident that the magazine will top even its former high standards. The publication will contain timely Marxian analysis of the American scene in the field of politics and labor; pertinent reviews and surveys of the international political situation, as exemplified by the conditions and events in Japan, China, Soviet Russia, Italy, Spain and, in fact, throughout the world. The best writers and thinkers in the revolutionary movement will contribute thoroughly informative, complete, and authoritative reviews on the burning issues of the day and period.

In no other publication in the English language will be found the material and penetrating articles which The New International will regularly carry in its columns. Foremost among its contributors will be L. D. Trotsky;

Documents and classics of Marxism, hitherto unpublished in English, or not at all and in many instances suppressed, from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Riazanov, Mehring, Plekhanov and numerous other theoreticians of the labor and revolutionary

movement, will appear regularly in *The New International*. A section of the magazine will concern itself with Marxist criticism of arts and letters. Well-known literary men will contribute to this department. The various tendencies in the revolutionary movement in the United States and international will receive thorough expositions in its columns. The role and significance of the rising movement for the Fourth International will receive special attention, and connected therewith the true history of Bolshevism, the reasons for the rise and fall of the Communist International, will be made clear adequately.

The contents of the first issue of *The New International* magazine will be announced in the forthcoming issue of the *Socialist Appeal*. The magazine, say its sponsors, The New International Publishing Co., will be issued monthly in 32 pages, the same size as the former publication. The magazine will retail at 20 cents per single copy. The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year and bundle rates are 14 cents in bundles of five and up. The National Action Committee of the Appeal Association has given its whole-hearted endorsement to the re-issuance of *The New International* and calls upon all members and supporters of the left wing everywhere to support the publication through subscription bundle orders and donations. Requests for information, orders and money for the magazine should be addressed to:

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