

WORLD OF LABOR
Congress of Dutch R.S.A.P. Overwhelmingly
Favors 4th Int'l; Defeats S.A.P. Splitters

The convention of the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.) held at Utrecht November 16 and 17 overwhelmingly endorsed the steps which had been taken by the leadership of the party in recent months in furthering the cause of the Fourth International.

The Political Committee of the R.S.A.P. on behalf of the party signed the Open Letter for the Fourth International in August of this year. It has participated, together with the other signatories—the International Communist League, the Workers Party of the United States and the Workers Party of Canada—in the preliminary work of establishing a Contact Commission for the Fourth International. The secretaries of the R.S.A.P., H. Sneevliet and P. J. Schmidt, are, in fact, the provisional secretaries of this Contact Commission.

Opponents of the P. C., associated with and largely under the influence of the German Socialist Labor Party (S.A.P.) living in exile in Paris today, conducted a campaign in the party against the P. C. on the ground that in taking concrete steps along with the co-signatories of the Open Letter for the organization of the Fourth International they were violating the fusion agreement which last year brought together the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland and the Independent Socialist Party, the latter being affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau and working there for the Fourth International. The S.A.P. leaders, while paying lip-service to the cause of the Fourth International, have consistently refused to take any concrete steps for its realization and by their criticism of those who were taking these steps, including Trotsky, have sabotaged the movement. Unquestionably for 4th International

The Political Committee of the R.S.A.P. had contended that though the party maintained a connection with the London-Amsterdam Bureau for the purpose of working openly within it for the Fourth International, the fusion congress had clearly placed the party in the ranks of those who were unequivocally committed to the building of the Fourth International, and that all steps taken by the P. C. had flowed politically and organizationally from this basic position of the party.

The Utrecht convention endorsed this position of the leadership by a vote of 2,500 for, with 250 against and 200 abstentions. The convention decided that the party in the future would establish direct and specific organizational ties only with such parties and groups as stand on the platform of the Open Letter, though fraternal relations will be maintained with any groups which are moving in the direction of the Fourth International. Organizational ties with the emigrant leadership of the German S.A.P. are definitely broken off by action of the convention because of the role played by this leadership in seeking to create turmoil within the Dutch party.

When both the representatives of the opposition who were given equal time at the convention and those of the Political Committee had presented their case to the membership, the membership was so incensed at the political bankruptcy and the organizational measures which had been employed by the opposition that they voted overwhelmingly, against the advice of the Political Committee, for more stringent regulations with regard to taking back into the party those who had been expelled or had left it than the P. C. resolution had recommended.

Of special interest is the fact that, as the organ of the R.S.A.P. puts it, a "crushing majority of precisely those branches mainly composed of former O.S.P. members," namely, the party which had been affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau, voted for the P.C. resolution and solidly supported themselves in unmistakable fashion with the leadership of the fused party.

The leading editorial in the issue of De Nieuwe Fakkel which reports the convention, concludes with the statement that the convention has cemented the fusion of the former R.S.P. and O.S.P. and in brilliant fashion rallied and strengthened this fusion and the independent party of the Fourth International based upon it.

It is interesting to note that the one voice raised in recent weeks in the parliaments of the European nations for the full Leninist program against war and sanctions was that of H. Sneevliet, Secretary of the R.S.A.P. in a remarkable address in the Dutch parliament.

NOMAD LECTURE POSTPONED

Max Nomad's lecture on "Intellectuals and the Class Struggle" will be postponed until Friday, Dec. 27, 8 P.M. It will be held at Branch 1 headquarters, 320 East 14th Street, N. Y. C.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D. DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.

5 Washington Square North 1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

600 in Newark WPA Protest

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On Friday, Dec. 13 a second mass meeting was held when it was reported that the county administrator would give no definite answer, another delegation was elected to see the State administrator. Plans were made at the meeting for the election of delegates from all projects to Action Committees to meet this week and bring back recommendations to a mass meeting on Friday, Dec. 20. Over 100 applications for membership in the Association were received at the meeting.

As the meeting was about to be adjourned a member of the Unemployed Councils demanded the floor. It was pointed out that they should have asked to have a speaker prior to the meeting but that if the workers were willing to stay there was no objection. The three hundred workers still in the hall indicated a willingness to listen and he was given the floor. When the Council's spokesman had concluded, he attempted to introduce a resolution through another speaker. This was objected to by the A.A.R. and the members of the Councils immediately set up a yell to permit the introduction of the resolution. This small group, composed mainly of non-project workers, then raised such a rumpus that a member of the executive board of the Workers Alliance who was in the hall took the floor and condemned the Councils for attempting to break up the meeting.

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relief administration's Jim-crow lodging arrangements, the delegates slept in the capitol building itself Saturday night. One of the delegates, the father of a family of 13 living on the miserably relieved orders, died of a heart attack on the second day. The heart attack was brought on by undernourishment.

Considerable progress along the line of united front action was achieved at the conference despite a number of obstacles due mainly to the usual splitting activities of the Stalinists and their Communist Party-controlled organizations.

The first step toward a state-wide united front of the unemployed in Pennsylvania was initiated by the Pennsylvania Unemployed League last September. In a perfectly loyal and correct united front procedure the P.U.L. invited the Pennsylvania Security League, the Allegheny County Unemployed Citizens League, the Communist Party-dominated Unemployment Councils and several lesser organizations to sponsor a joint conference in Allentown on September 11. The conference met, decided on a program of action and voted to reconvene in Harrisburg on September 20. On September 20 a joint committee presented the case of the jobless before the State Emergency Relief Board. On September 21 the conference elected Lester W. Heckman of the P.U.L. as its Continuations Secretary. It was agreed upon adjournment that all further united front activities were to be carried on through the Continuations Secretary.

On October 10 the organization again cooperated in a loyal united front before the Works Progress Administration in Harrisburg. All of these steps, besides helping to build up the sentiment for united action, achieved substantial results for the workers in the form of wage increases on the projects throughout the whole state.

These moves toward state-wide unity of the unemployed have been supplemented recently by the negotiations for national unity carried on by the N.U.L. and the Workers Alliance of America. At this point the Stalinists began an open campaign to undermine the progress of the national unity negotiations and to disrupt the united front that had been achieved in the state.

A Stalinist Coup

Through the unemployed organizations they control in Lancaster and York, they pulled off a regular coup d'etat in the "Inter-County Unemployed Alliance and Works Division." The latter organization, composed of unemployed units in several Eastern counties, elected as

Progressive Meet in NW

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Conference has come into existence in order to bring the progressive unionists in the northwest closer together, to provide a common meeting ground for the discussion of problems and the coordination of the educational activities of its members to unify and strengthen the labor movement.

2. The conference stands for a policy of class struggle and for industrial unionism as the necessary modern form of labor organization. All the experience since the formal launching of the conference a year ago has shown the correctness of this position. In the coming year progressive unionists everywhere must work more aggressively and energetically than ever to popularize these ideas and convince the unions of the necessity to adopt them and put them into practice.

3. The struggle for the industrial form of organization conducted at the recent convention of the A. F. of L. and the setting up of a committee headed by the presidents of several international unions to continue this campaign, are developments of the greatest significance and importance. Progressive unionists are bound to support every decisive step for industrial unionism which alone will make possible the organization of the unorganized millions, especially in the mass production industries, and thus strengthen the labor movement everywhere. Progressive unionists are likewise firm advocates of union unity. Wherever progressive organizations are kept out of the A. F. of L. because of craft union restrictions, or because of expulsion by reactionary officialdom, they should continue to work for unification without, however, giving up their progressive policies or their right of internal democracy.

4. The development of the big movement for industrial unionism within the A. F. of L. creates the conditions to coordinate the efforts of industrial unionists outside as well as inside the A. F. of L. The conference recommends that non-A. F. of L. unions follow the example of the independent unions of automobile workers at Detroit and declare their readiness to cooperate with the industrial union A. F. of L. forces and to enter the A. F. of L. on only two conditions: (1) indus-

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its regular Chairman and Secretary Harry Alexander and Daniel Hartman, respectively.

At a regular meeting of the governing body last month, the Stalinist George Wade of Lancaster and the Stalinist Bernard Child of York simply took advantage of the absence of the regular officers and usurped their places. With Communist Party members representing the Unemployment Councils and the Anthracite Workers Alliance present they decided, unauthorized, to call a state-wide conference in Harrisburg on December 7 and 8.

Without any authorization whatsoever, they added the name of the Pennsylvania Security League, some of whose locals belong to the Inter-County Alliance, as one of the sponsors of the call, besides the Councils and the other organizations mentioned. The P.S.L., caught off guard, apparently allowed itself to be so seduced, having in mind to steal a march in this manner on the Pennsylvania Unemployed League—a much more powerful organization and a more serious competitor than the Councils and the other Stalinist-controlled organizations. Both of these organizations, the Stalinists and the Security League, thus agreed disloyally to leave the P.U.L. as well as the Allegheny County Unemployed Citizens League (affiliated with the W.A.A.) out of the picture.

Stalinists Alarm Security League

The Stalinists immediately resorted to their old "united front below" tactic. Individual C.P. members in several of the 88 locals of the P.U.L. brought in the call and moved for the election of delegates to the December 7-8 affair. The Councils displayed frantic activity in a campaign to pack the conference, at which they planned, as was evidenced later, to set up a new state organization. The Security League became alarmed by this maneuver and at the last minute sent out a hurried call to the P.U.L. and the Allegheny County U.C.L. to come to the conference.

After protesting against the procedure and receiving an apology and an explanation from the P.S.L., the state committee of the P.U.L. decided to send a delegation but informed the locals of the Stalinist maneuver and instructed them not to send any delegates.

The "Daily Worker" of December 6 reported "wide-spread revolt" in the P.U.L. against the action of the state committee, and informed its readers that any number of locals were sending delegates despite the decision. At the conference on Saturday exactly 2 unemployed league delegates, besides the state work-

Whither the Relief Program?

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And what is the prospect for next year? Is this program going to be fulfilled? It is necessary to answer these questions.

Unemployment Permanent

In the first place, we must always bear in mind that unemployment, and wide-spread unemployment, is not a temporary but a permanent feature of the remaining years of capitalism. "Private" industry is not going to re-absorb the great body of the unemployed. According to the most favorable estimates (in all probability, much too favorable to be true), a maximum of 5,000,000 workers have been re-employed since the low point of employment in March, 1933. This leaves a minimum of 11,000,000 unemployed at the present time. Moreover, these figures take no account of workers on part-time who are not making during a year even a bare subsistence wage, or of the "new" workers coming from the schools, high schools and colleges. It also leaves out of account the highly seasonal character of employment in many of the great industries such as automobiles and textiles. The unemployment figures may be reduced still further by the continuation of the present upturn in the business cycle; but they will remain at an enormous figure.

Many of these unemployed still manage to live from savings, assistance from relatives, charity, or odd dollars that they pick up here and there. But these sources have been drying up, and "prosperity" is not returning to an extent sufficient to revive them. Of the rest of the unemployed, it is and will continue to be impossible that they can all or even a major part be taken care of by any "made work" or "relief work" or "public works" plan.

Direct Relief Still Primary

Direct relief—the dole—will continue as a permanent feature of declining capitalism. In the chaotic, anarchic conditions of capitalism in its death throes, no rational social planning is possible. It is a futile illusion of middle class imag-makers to suppose that the dole

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can be eliminated, an illusion similar to the older dream that a "co-operative commonwealth" can be built up alongside of and within capitalist society.

Important conclusions follow from these facts. Above all, they demonstrate that the problem of direct relief remains and will remain a central issue for the organized unemployed. The programs of the unemployed organizations must continue to have direct relief demands as a primary focus, and must avoid any perspective in terms of the illusory dream that the dole will shortly be eliminated. Moreover, it must be understood by the unemployed organizations that direct relief will continue to be in large part a Federal institution. Mass pressure against Congress and the Administration must be built up to demand not merely a continuation but an increase in direct Federal relief; and these demands must be coupled with the demand to finance the appropriations out of direct taxes in the form of inheritance, corporation, and income levies directed at the higher brackets.

But direct relief is likewise a problem for the "relief workers" themselves, in a double sense. In the first place, the low wage level of relief work (e.g., the WPA) makes supplementary relief in many cases imperative. Secondly, such institutions as the WPA are temporary in character. The projects extend over comparatively short periods of time, and when they are completed the relief workers are again thrown out of jobs. Thus the unemployed organizations proper must take the lead in integrating the relief work demands with the unemployed demands in general.

WPA—Attack on Relief Standards

In fact, one of the primary purposes of the WPA must be understood as an indirect attack on relief standards. This must be resisted at every point: by fighting against the wage levels of the WPA itself, by preventing lowering of direct relief in shifting the unemployed from one roll to another, by demanding supplementary relief, by insisting on immediate transference to adequate relief when a project ends, etc.

However, from another point of view, not less important, the WPA program constitutes a major attack

Texas Jobless Face Hunger

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Talk of General WPA Strike

Against this latest and most vicious onslaught of Roosevelt the 2nd, the unemployed of Texas are struggling manfully in a rather unorganized fashion. All over this vast area, there are occurring small conflicts on projects which are significant of a growing resentment even if they are ignored by the state press. In Shelby County, on the Louisiana border, the workers refused to dig ditches in the sticky mud until they were provided with longer shovels. When relief was temporarily discontinued in Wichita Falls several months ago, the city officials became so alarmed over the prospects of a mass uprising that they dropped all their duties to rustle food and clothing.

On every project of any size in Texas the workers are muttering of a general relief strike. Strike against the shameful wage scale of \$33 to \$68 per month; reduce the working hours to 70 per month in order that every needy person may have employment—these are the sentiments expressed when the men knock off work to eat their cold, soggy lunches.

Learning Solidarity

Most revealing of all is the increased solidarity between the unions and the unemployed organizations. During the past year, the unemployed have rallied to the picket-lines, preventing the more backward of their number from breaking a successive series of strikes. Negroes, Mexicans and whites, forgetting for the moment the blinding prejudices inculcated by the ruling class, and fighting a common battle—perhaps the first dim outline of the revolutionary pattern!

The younger group in the Texas Federation of Labor is fighting the old guard in a demand for an immediate general strike on all projects, to be reinforced by the collective strength of the trade unions. Spurred by misery as well as the promise of union support, the unemployed of Texas are becoming less demoralized, less ready to acquiesce in the whims of well-paid case workers. They are looking at the future and determining to live!

HAVE YOU FULFILLED THE EIGHT PAGE SUB QUOTA?

L.D. Trotsky's Wife Makes New Appeal for Son Sergei

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"On June 1, 1935 I addressed a letter to the press in which I stated that my 27 year old son Sergei was arrested at the beginning of the year by Stalin with the sole aim of persecuting him for the political activity of Leon D. Trotsky. My son is a professor at one of the highest technical schools in Moscow. He has never engaged in political activity. He has been absolutely loyal to the Soviet power. He has never even been in correspondence with his father.

"This letter caused uneasiness even among the so-called 'friends of the Soviet Union.' Some of them sent inquiries to representatives of the Soviet authorities abroad and in Moscow. They were told that my son was 'not in prison' allegedly, but was under special surveillance to prevent him from having relations with his parents.

"As a matter of fact no such relations existed (precisely for Sergei's own safety) unless one counts the rare communications from my son and myself confined to matters of health.

"However, it appears that the information that my son is 'not in prison' is absolutely false. During the last three months I sent to the address of my son's wife a very modest sum in a bank check to aid her, if such were possible, in helping Sergei. Having had no receipt from her, I made several inquiries at the bank, all in vain. On November 6 the Norwegian Credit Bank informed me that 'the orders in question were not executed since the recipient could not be found at the address indicated.'

"So they have also arrested my son's wife, who works in a library, who is utterly free of any political activity, and who in recent years has been struggling against tuberculosis. 3 months ago this young woman was still at liberty and she was the ONLY person who could have concerned herself with helping Sergei. The only reason for this arrest could have been my attempt to send her money.

"Any international committee of honest and sincere people could establish without trouble that the arrest of my daughter-in-law was due to no other reason.

"I can only ask myself: How to explain this latest arrest? Is it purely and simply out of feelings of vengeance, an arrest which does not have the slightest justification or political significance? Or is it that Stalin finds it necessary to hide from public opinion the REAL fate of my son? I cannot free myself of the thought that taking the new circumstances into consideration, the rumor circulated by the Soviet authorities that my son is 'not in prison' takes on a most fatal and irrefragable significance. If Sergei is not in prison then where is he? And where now is his wife?

NATHALIE TROTSKY.
Nov. 15, 1935

CHICAGO MEETING

"Will the Industrial Unionists Capture the A. F. of L.?"

Speaker:
PAUL HERMAN
MONDAY, DEC. 23, 8 P.M.
1214 N. Washenaw Ave.
Ausp: Branch 2, W.P., Chicago

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